

STUDIA CERANEA

Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre

for

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

5, 2015



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Medieval Armenian pilgrim crosses on the wall of the outer gallery by the Holy Sign church (Surp Nšan) in Haghpat monastery, Armenia. Photo: Andrzej Kompa

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ARTICLES

Ivan Biliarsky (Sofia)

MARRIAGE AND POWER (IMAGES OF AUTHORITY)

To the memory
of Constantinos G. Pitsakis
and of Theodore Piperkov*

The ritual is in the core of my study and it is to state from the beginning that it should be perceived as a combination of text and image that creates a complex of actions having important consequences in different spheres. This article is part of a larger research on the conceptualization of power and its religious basis in pre-modern societies, carried out through a study of the inauguration rituals that mark not only the instigation of the power of the ruler but also suggests its religious basis, conceptualization and justification. It is grounded on source material from Byzantium and its legacy in the countries of South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. There is an obvious relation between nuptial church office and royal coronation in Eastern Christianity that has not been entirely studied. In many languages (Greek, Latin, Slavic and so forth) even the appellations of both ecclesiastical rites are the same or similar. Expectedly, the ritual acts correspond too. All this should signify that their meaning is analogous. I strongly believe that they should be studied comparatively.

I. Legitimation of power in pre-modern societies

The woman – mother, sister, and wife – is one of the main legitimating figures for religiously justified power. This happened in different ways and I shall try to present one of them, namely matrimony. Before embarking on the topic itself, I would like to make some specifications and clarifications:

a) I shall not dare to give an exact definition of *power* as a phenomenon and as a concept, but we shall attempt some elucidations of it from the beginning. David Cannadine wrote that *Power is like the wind: we cannot see it, but we feel its force*¹.

* They are two friends of mine that I (or better to say *we*) lost last years. They, both of them, were very interested – even in different ways – in marriage in Roman and in Christian culture. The influence of Professor Pitsakis on my research is quite obvious in this article. I pray God be ever with them.

¹ D. CANNADINE, *Introduction: divine rites of kings*, [in:] *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. IDEM, S. PRICE, Cambridge 1987, p. 1.

There are several types of power (social, political, economic and so forth) and it can be exercised in different ways, through different mechanisms, institutions, practices, interpretations and so on, but – in order to simplify the answer only for my needs concerning this my article – I shall dare to define power as a process of imposing the will of one person on another one. This imposition has different forms and it could be (and I would say that in most cases it is) not at all brutal and violent. Even in these soft cases, however, power has to be argued and accepted. The argumentation could be accomplished by force, but order imposed by force usually is not secure and may be accepted only temporarily and in restrictive conditions. Power should be welcomed by the people and this requires a strong legitimation. Without going into detail, I will state that in pre-modern societies this legitimation should be and could be only religious or quasi-religious. The religious interpretation of power resides in its delivery in the hands of an extra-human or divine person, who exercises the authority either through his/her emanation and incarnation as a human or through the delegation of power. Every power aims at the creation and maintenance of order in the society, and the theological argumentation of this order cannot but be related to universal cosmic harmony that is actually the transcendental divine harmony, emanating in our world through power². Exactly this actualization of divine power in the world is, in my view, the *legitimation* of power in pre-modern pagan societies where the King had the power and was the legitimate ruler because divine presence was channeled through him as the incarnation of the deity or of the sacred in general. In the monotheistic Abrahamic religions, power belongs to God and His terrestrial lieutenant could not be deified. He had his legitimation by the obtaining of Divine grace; thus he becomes the chosen and sacred (meaning: passed through God's anointment) King and ruler. The aim is the same – the achievement of order and harmony in the terrestrial world that come from the divine celestial order – but it comes not as core principle but as Providence and the Will of God. So, the legitimation should be seen as proof of veracity of the Chosenness and of the fidelity of the King to God.

b) The legitimacy of every power should be proved and confirmed continuously during the time of its exercising, but this legitimation and confirmation are especially important in the moment of its formation, of its beginning. Questions of the sort, *Why exactly this power?* and *Why exactly these persons in power?*, exist and they should be answered as early as the moment of the investiture of the ruler. In response to the previous clarifications, one can easily answer: the power is in the hands of this person because all power belongs to God or to the deity who maintains universal harmony and homeostasis, and this person is his/her emanation (in the pagan case) or His chosen and His lieutenant. This general answer, however, does not explain how to identify the person who is the emanation of the deity

² M. HERBERT, *Goddess and King: The Sacred Marriage in Early Ireland*, [in:] *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. L.O. FRADENBURG, Edinburgh 1992 [= C.YTCS, 7], p. 265–267.

or the one chosen by God. To arrive to this elucidation is more complicated. Traditionally, royalty is associated with heritage, and the power is reserved for a single family or a clan. Election of the ruler exists, but in the popular view it is not very typical. Regardless of this opinion, it is to be noted that in pre-modern times election and not inheritance was the usual and somehow more traditional – at least theoretically³ – manner by which to select the ruler. This election has however very little to do with our understanding about elections today. Principally, it was the same: the actual (at least theoretically) bearer of power chooses the person in function. This is the Sovereign – Lord God, a pagan deity or the so-called *people* of our time. This choice was how transcendental power became immanent – but how accomplish the emanation of the One in the visible world or personalize the lieutenant? The particular ways for accomplishing this are many and could take different forms, the use of a special electoral corpus included. This would be – however – not an expression of its own decision but rather that of the transcendental divine Sovereign.

c) We can say that such an election is a ritual because the transcendental Will can reach us only in a ritual way (or through a prophet). It is followed by a ritual of investiture that confirms and proves it. Thus, we can say that this election is a type of *rite de passage* in the sense of Arnold van Gennep⁴, during which the chosen person takes on a new quality. This new quality could be either an effect of substantial change, a result of alteration in the person of the ruler (closeness, emanation, divine incarnation etc.), or a change in the relations of the ruler, in his role in the social context; these new relations are actually the new quality. Both of these changes happen through the election – an actualization of the divine will in the visible world.

Some years ago a special article was dedicated to these two types of *rite de passage* in the case of certain sacraments and ruler's inauguration rites⁵. The text sought to study two pairs of rites with some relation to power: the first (Holy Baptism and royal anointment) changing the person substantially, and the second (marriage and coronation) changing the relations of the person. In my present article, I shall not deal with the first case (that of substantial alteration of the person), not because it is not important, nor because it is not related to the legitimating figure of the woman. On the contrary, in as much as the royal anointment is just such an act, I strongly believe that the substantial change after the *rite de passage* has a special importance in the investiture ritual as a demonstration of God's choice. Even the usual term for designating the chosen king is *anointed*. Birth – as the same

³ It is to be emphasized, however, that usually the official solemn act of election was used to conceal the retaining of the power in the family.

⁴ A. VAN GENNEP, *Les rites de passage*, Paris 1909.

⁵ I. BILIARSKY, *Deux ensembles de rites de passage concernant la personne et la 'Res publica': Bap-tême/Onction et Mariage/Couronnement*, [in:] *Personne et RES PUBLICA*, éd. J. BOUINEAU, Paris 2008, p. 239–253.

type of relevant fact – is directly related to the woman as legitimating figure. Birth has a special relevance because it seems to be in contradiction with divine choice. At least theoretically, no political system was founded on birth, as it is a natural fact, tributary to the fortuitous forces of chance and not to the Wisdom of the Creator. In order to avoid this, however, birth is conceived not as a physical act of heredity, but as a choice made for a clan or family/dynasty. Even more, the very person of the ruler is chosen, but the determination is made in his mother's womb. This is again a scriptural model, based on a quotation from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah: *Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye people, from far; The LORD hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name* (Isa 49, 1). Of course, the prophets as well as the biblical patriarchs are used as royal paradigm, and this *election* certainly is in vigour for the kings too. One should stress, however, that the Holy Scripture uses the expression that the choice of the leader or of the powerful person is done *from his mother's womb* and not *from his father's loins*. This confirms the importance of the figure of the woman/mother in the legitimation of authority by birth: not by the natural act but by divine choice from the womb of the mother.

In any chance, just this type of legitimation is not subject of my article and I shall pass to the next part on my study.

II. Relation and unity as legitimation of power in the framework of universal harmony (or, to simplify the expression: *in a pagan culture*)

In my research, I will approach power as a relation. This is not only a type of subordination or a construction of a hierarchy, but a relation of unity, in which the society reaches toward universal harmony – the task, duty and obligation of every power. In this sense, power becomes similar to the Creator in the cosmogonical myth, which tells of the harmonization of the chaos, by which order is inserted into it and thus power is obtained in the universe in order to recreate and sustain homeostasis, life in the world. Power is conceived therefore as a result of the Creation, an imitation of the Creation, and necessary for recreation or renewal of the results of the Creation.

Thus, the relations god-world and king-kingdom could be conceived as a type of unity. They are different, because only different objects can unify with one another. The usual image (or one usual image) of unity in society is matrimony, which is linked to origin and to ancestry, and therefore to the descendent line that it recreates but also to the world by the recreation of the links of society. Marriage is considered in the pre-modern societies as a model of relation, connection and unity. This type of connectivity – modeled after its divine archetype (god-world) – could be a pattern for relation in the political domain. Thus we arrive at marriage, and especially holy marriage, as a legitimation of power in some historical societies.

The hierogamy is one of the typical means for the legitimation of power in the pagan religions. It has different manifestations in special rituals, is perceived differently in diverse cultures, and becomes the central institution of sacral kingship. It consists of marriage and sexual intercourse between the ruler and a female chthonic deity, usually related to fertility and hunting, or intercourse directly with the goddess of Sovereignty. This rite could take place annually or during the enthroning of a new ruler.

The rituals are well described in the historical and anthropological literature, mostly in Ireland and the Celtic countries in the West,⁶ as well as in some primitive cultures in Asia and Africa. We have an account of the rite of hierogamy of the Irish kings, given by the 13th century author from Wales, Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia*, III, 25). It concerns a practice in Kenelcunnil, Ulster, Ireland. It includes the copulation of the King with a white mare, who serves as the incarnation of the female deity, sacrifice and consumption of the animal, as well as a bath in the broth obtained by boiling her flesh⁷. We see a description that at least partially was designated to horrify the Christian readers. We have to bear this fact in mind, but it does not mean that we should reject the source or neglect the author. It is certain that we see a ritual that could be interpreted as a rite of unification between the ruler and a female deity. Not only does the copulation of the king with the mare support this understanding, but also the subsequent killing of the animal, her boiling, consumption and the king's bathing in the broth. In the context of the Insular Celtic culture, it is easy to discover in this ritual a hierogamy. In result of it, the ruler obtains his power and becomes part of the cosmic harmony through unification with the deity by her incarnation, the mare. For our study, it is important to stress that the unification ritual is presented as *gamos*, as matrimony, conceived as the supreme form of unity.

In the Irish tradition we have some other examples of matrimony presented as the source of power. These are the so-called *Loathly Lady stories* found in the 11th-century Irish saga, *Adventures of the Sons of Eochaid Mugmedon* (or *Echtra mac nEchach Muimedóin*)⁸, as well as in Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Wife of Bath's Tale*,

⁶ M. HERBERT, *Goddess and King...*, p. 264–275 and the cited literature.

⁷ GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, *The Topography of Ireland*, trans. TH. FORESTER, ed. TH. WRIGHT, Cambridge–Ontario 2000, p. 78:

Once all the people had been assembled together, a white mare was led in the middle of the crowd. Then, in full view of everybody, this person of highest rank [the king] approached the mare bestially, not like a prince but like a wild beast, not like a king but like an outlaw, and behaved just like an animal, without shame or prudence. Immediately afterwards the mare was killed, carved up into pieces and thrown in boiling water. A bath was prepared for the king with the broth, and he sat in it while scraps of the meat were brought for him to eat and to share with the people around him. He was also washed with the broth and drank it, not with a cup or his hands, but directly with his mouth. Once this ritual had been performed, his rule and authority were assured.

⁸ *Adventures of the Sons of Eochaid Mugmedon*, [in:] *Ancient Irish Tales*, ed. T.P. CROSS, C.H. SLOVER, London 1936, p. 508–513; M. HERBERT, *Goddess and King...*, p. 270sq.

which is a part of the *Canterbury Tales*. We would like to emphasize the first one, which tells us that after the kiss of Niall Noígíallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages, Eochaid's son), the Loathly Lady became a beautiful maiden, an incarnation of the Sovereignty of Ireland that the prince obtained for himself and his family for many generations.

So, in order to obtain, to possess and to justify his power, the ruler must achieve unity with a superhuman person, and this unity usually takes the form of matrimony or *gamos* (in order to stress all the aspects of the relation, sexual contact especially). The idea is to represent, to stress the unity-giving power or the power-giving unity, which thus introduces the harmony and order so necessary and incapable for the very existence of the Cosmos. From the religious point of view, this practice could be qualified as *pagan* or *pantheistic* by definition because it appeals not to the Will of the Almighty or to imitation of His actions, but exactly to the harmonization of natural forces, identified with pantheistic gods and goddesses.

III. Matrimony and power in Christianity

In Christianity, marriage is also a *rite de passage* of relation, but it is conceptualized in a different way. It gives the opportunity to pass from a status of relation (absence of relation) to another (presence of relation), which is a paradigm and pattern for some other links. The archetype is the divine model of relation that refers not to human connection but to that of the Lord God. We saw that we find a similar situation in pantheistic milieus, but there the relation or intercourse is physical, whereas in monotheistic religion it cannot but be an imitation of God.

In Christianity, matrimony is a replica of the relation between Lord Jesus Christ, called the *Bridegroom*, and the Holy Church, called the *Bride*. This is a relation of unity (as the Church is the Body of Christ) and a relation of power (as God is head of the Church and celestial King). Thus, unity and power enter a complex that will be the focus of our interest. In all the monotheistic religions (and I would say with the People of Israel and in Islam even more than in Christianity), all power belongs to God, derives from God and is exercised by God Himself directly or through His chosen anointed lieutenant. The King is that lieutenant, and all his actions and especially his enthronement should refer to God and should stress the divine origin of his power. So the unity between the Bride-Church with her celestial Bridegroom and King should be the point of reference not only for every wedding but for every act of acquiring of power as well.

The parallelism of the intended result produces the parallelism and similarity between the initiating *rites de passage*, in our case the royal coronation as a part of the rite of royal investiture, and Christian marriage. It is almost complete regarding the liturgical texts and liturgical actions, and in certain languages even the appellation of the rites is the same: *venchanie* in Slavonic languages or *stephanoma/stepsis* in Greek, both of them deriving from *stephanos/venets'* = *wreath, crown*.

The Greek service is called *Akolouthia tou stephanomatos* and, in Latin, *Officium coronationis nuptiarum*. Nevertheless, the concrete historical development of both ecclesiastical offices is quite different. Their practice is diverse: one is widespread and applicable to everyone, having strictly personal legal effects, whereas the other is attached and limited to royalty, with clearly political and religious effects. So, the mentioned parallelism should be seen as deriving not the legal and political (or public) consequences of the rites, but from their identical conceptualization as generative of relations. We see them therefore as *rites de passage* concerning relation/connection and consequently – power. Despite the different liturgical character and public/legal effects of both rites, they possess many common features and encompass many similar or identical ritual actions, the complex of which should testify to their common meaning and final goals. This imposing deduction forces us to try to demonstrate and make clear this common sense. This means to find out the power-related features of marriage and the matrimonial features of the ruler's power in the relation King-Kingdom.

IV. The rituals and their character

Both rites – coronation and marriage – had no place amongst the liturgical practice of the Early Church. Imperial investiture followed a military Roman ritual, and early Christian marriage was completely under the rule of the Roman law. To both of them could be added a religious blessing that was only a benediction of the newly created relation without any constitutive implication. Concerning matrimony, these were the so-called *Eucharistic nuptials* – a special nuptial office with a short Eucharistic liturgy (a kind of presanctified one). After its final establishment as an ecclesiastical rite, the special nuptial office, with no relation to the Eucharist, became necessary for the creation of a matrimonial relation. This happened in Byzantium definitively in the beginning of 10th century in relation to the controversy concerning the 4th wife of Emperor Leo the Wise (by Novella 89 of the same emperor); Church marriage was absolutely necessary for Christians and it became the unique way to create a married family.

The main difference, however, between two rites is in their liturgical character. The Christian nuptial service is a sacrament in all Eastern Churches, as in the Roman Catholic Church, but the coronation never had a place amongst the official sacraments. From the juridical point of view, the sacrament is a strictly normative action, under the rule of the canon law, which should take place in this world but have its results in the celestial transcendental world. This is an act that gives divine grace, which we cannot obtain except from the Almighty. Actually, the sacrament is an act of God, performed in Heaven, to which correspond certain acts in the immanent world fulfilled by authorized persons after the divine will, announced to us by the Revelation. So, the Church presents the institutional way, necessary for the legal relevance of the sacraments and their application in social relations. On

the other hand, the royal/imperial coronation never took on the character of a sacrament and remained restricted to the moral and ideological sphere. Its moral importance was constantly increasing and had a strong impact on the legitimation of king's power, but it never became a sacrament of the Church and necessary as starting point for power, seen in the optic of the public law.

The Orthodox Church and the Eastern non-Chalcedonian churches always recognized the sacramental character of matrimony. The Roman Catholic Church arrived definitely to the same point some later, during the debate with the reformed theologians. The final decision was formulated at the Council of Trent in order to oppose Martin Luther and Jean Calvin, who both rejected every idea of matrimony's sacramental character. Christian marriage is, they asserted, a pious but secular affair, being under the rule of imperial constitutions and anyway not a sacrament. In response, the Roman Catholic Church created a special canon of the Council in Trent⁹ declaring marriage one of seven sacraments that distribute divine grace, being inaugurated by Lord Jesus Christ as a part of the Evangelical Law. This was the normative culmination of a long tradition of the Roman Church from Late Antiquity onward.

As a sacrament, Christian marriage is an act of God performed through a priest and the participants themselves. That is why the Roman legal concept of divorce is unacceptable for the Canon Law. Once completed as an action in this world, the rite engenders the participation of God and becomes His affair and is thus beyond human control. In order to induce it, the ritual should complete certain acts that are constitutive in their effect. Thus we see that Christian marriage is a *rite de passage* concerning a transition from one type of relation (or absence of such) to another, or its creation; in our case two persons become one unity, a couple, in their relation to God and then to human society.

Christian matrimony has its foundation in the Holy Scripture, inasmuch as it – like all other sacraments – was founded by Lord Jesus Christ. His first miracle took place at the nuptials of Cana of Galilee (Io 2, 1–11), but actually it has its source in the Old Testament's account of the Creation and especially the creation of the woman from Adam's rib (Gn 2, 21sq). The true model of Christian matrimony, however, is not the relation between Adam and Eve but that of Lord Jesus Christ and His Church. That is why its main scriptural basis is the Epistle of St Paul to Ephesians (5, 22–32), in which the relation between husband and wife is directly related to that of Lord God and His Church. This is, to be sure, the imperative model of Christian matrimonial relation, which also prescribes its beginning and all of its elements. Being at the heart of the theological conception of matrimony, this model of relations has an impact on the liturgical demonstration and

⁹ *Concil. Trident.*, canon I, Sess. XXIV, [in:] *CONCILIUM TRIDENTINUM. Canones et Decreta, 1545–1563*, p. 96 – http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/04z/z_1545-1563__Concilium_Tridentinum__Canones_et_Decreta_%28Altera_Lectio%29__LT.pdf.html [29 X 2015].

completion of the abovementioned point. It imposes the sacramental character of the ritual, stipulates its religious, social and juridical consequences and relates it to other rites. Here, we have to seek the common model between coronation and matrimony, but we must clarify this model, because the relation of Lord Jesus Christ to the Church is quite complex. The Universal Church is the body of the Saviour and He is the Head of the Church, being simultaneously King and Priest in the order of Melchisedek.

Coronation was never a sacrament, but it obviously is a *rite de passage* that joins the *Res Publica* (the State) and its ruler by creating between them a relation quite similar to the matrimonial one. A comparative study of both rites shows that not only the appellations of the offices identical, but so are some actions, symbols, and liturgical objects, as well. All of them stress the indissoluble relation between the bride and bridegroom, and therefore between the king and the kingdom as well.

V. The Crown

As we have already pointed out, the names of both rites come from an object that is usually attributed to royalty as a symbol of power: the crown (*stephanos, corona, and venets*). This name derives from the very rite, which includes usage of crowns. During the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, the Church used the true crowns for marriage, and this continues to be the practice in Orthodox Churches in the Slavic countries.

The crown (a headgear that serves as a symbol of royalty) is the most obvious sign of the common sense and consequences of both rituals. Thus it appears essential for our study. Originally, the crown (*corona*)¹⁰ was not a royal symbol but triumphal one. It is a circle made of flowers and leaves. In pagan times it was put on the head of the winner of competitions (both athletic and artistic). In Rome it was an attribute of the *triumphatus*, the person granted the triumph. The relation to victory, it is quite clear in this case, too, but we have to pay attention to the fact that the person granted by a triumph represented *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* and wore some royal insignia. In a certain sense, the *triumphatus* has a strong at least symbolic relation to power. The crown as a symbol of triumph and victory is especially important for our study because it obviously participates in the scheme of representation of supernatural crowning of the victor: angels putting a wreath on the head of the winner/victor is a pagan invention that passed later to the ruler's investiture symbols in Byzantium and other countries¹¹. Apart from being a triumphal symbol as a prize for a victory, the crown is a festal one too,

¹⁰ CH. WALTER, *The Iconographical Sources for the Coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gračanica*, [in:] *Византијска уметност почетком XIV века. Научни скуп у Грачаници*, ed. С. ПЕТКОВИЋ, Београд 1978, p. 186.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 190sqq.

and as such was worn during different ceremonies, especially related to marriage and funeral rites. I do not think, however, that the crowns at Christian nuptials derive directly from the pagan festal practice: the easiest way to explain them is to pursue the festal/triumphal direction, which is, however, strongly related to the idea of power.

The *diadem*¹² is a different symbol that finally was associated with the crown. It is a band decorated with pearls that sometimes has a big jewel in front. It was always a sign of royalty and power. As such it remained untypical for the Romans and was associated habitually with the Oriental and Hellenistic monarchies. Emperors wore crowns as symbols of victory and gave crowns to winners of different competitions, especially in the Hippodrome, but its relation to power was quite theoretical and mediated. In the later period we find some combination of crown and diadem in order to arrive at a headgear called *crown*, which represented the victor as well as the ruler in the Middle Ages. This innovation began with the monarchization of imperial power in the late third century and crystallized in the time of Constantine and his successors¹³. Another Constantinian innovation was the idea of God crowning the emperor with a wreath/diadem as a symbol of the divine origin of his power. The civic ritual of imperial investiture remained fundamental and lasted practically up to the end of the Empire in the mid-15th century, but the new Christian conception led gradually to the creation of an ecclesiastical rite that began in the fifth century and gained more and more at least moral importance. The practice that was introduced by Constantine is especially significant, because this emperor is the symbol and incarnation of the Christian ruler's idea, and this is why every reference to him can be seen as setting a standard for other holders of power. This concerns the emperor's headgear as well, thanks to the legend, told by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in *De administrando imperio*, revealing that the diadems and imperial robes were not made by men but sent by God to Constantine the Great as signs that God had granted him supreme power on earth¹⁴. The use of Psalm 20/21 in the coronation rite is extremely important, because it creates the link between the motif of power and the motif of victory, which together are related to God's intervention, help, choice and justice.

Thus the emperor became God's chosen and champion – therefore he was crowned by God – but he was not the only one. The martyrs and certain other Christian saints are usually represented with crowns. This headgear is given by Lord Jesus Christ to the bearers of the supreme virtues in some representations of the *Celestial Ladder* of John Climacus¹⁵. The just people have their crowns in the

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 186.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 187, see also plate 1 c.

¹⁴ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, ed. G. MORAVCSIK, trans. R.J.H. JENKINS, Budapest 1949, p. 66–67.

¹⁵ J.R. MARTIN, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Princeton 1954, p. 16sq. See the expression: *The monk who is poor is lord of the world – Scala paradisi*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXVIII, col. 928.

Heavens because of their being Christian champions. The use of the expression *athlete of faith* is common in the Early Christian as well as in some mediaeval writings. Exactly that sense justifies the use of crowns for martyrs too. The martyrs are pure victors and bearers of heavenly power in order to be propagators of the faith: they vanquish the enemies of God in a holy struggle for faith and Salvation by their martyrdom and that is why are able to become *witnesses* (the original sense of the word *martyr*) and thus propagate faith in God and squash Evil.

The crown used in the marriage rite has the same victorious meaning. In Ancient Greece, different types of wreaths and garlands were used in the marriage rites, but they were mostly festive symbols of a sort of Bacchanalia, which provoked a negative attitude toward nuptial crowns in some Christian authors¹⁶. Despite these commentaries, the Early Church probably used crowns, and this practice is confirmed by several authors from the fourth century onward¹⁷. We have such references in the works of St Gregory Nazianzen¹⁸, John Chrysostom¹⁹, the Pope Nicholas Ist in his *Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum*²⁰, in a Fifth century Syro-Roman Lawcode²¹, Theophylact Simocatta²² and so forth. Following the data from the Euchologia, the imposition of crowns by the officiating priest became regular from the tenth century onward²³. It should be stressed that the period coincides with the controversy in Byzantium concerning the fourth marriage of Emperor Leo VI the Wise, the resolution of which led to the definitive clarification and stabilization of the ecclesiastical rite as a necessary juridical act for the creation of matrimonial relations, which was enacted by the same emperor's Novella 89²⁴.

Nuptial crowns entered not only accounts and interpretations of the rite, but also its representations. They are quite typical for images of royal/imperial weddings, but in these cases we should bear in mind a possible influence from the

¹⁶ CH. WALTER, *Marriage Crowns in Byzantine Iconography*, 3or 10, 1979, p. 8.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 8sq.

¹⁸ GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Letter 231* – L. ANNÉ, *Les rites des fiançailles et la donation pour cause de mariage sous les Bas-Empire*, Louvain 1941, p. 156.

¹⁹ Joannis Chrysostomi, *Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, Homiliae XVIII in Epistolam primam ad Timotheum. In Epistola I ad Timotheum caput II Homilia IX*, [in:] PG, vol. LXII, col. 546.

²⁰ *Responsa Nicolai PP, № 3: Responsa Nicolai Papae I. ad consulta Bulgarorum anno 866*, ed. D. DECHEV, Sofia 1922 [= УБ, 16], p. 13.

²¹ K.G. BRUNS, E. SACHAU, *Syrisch-Römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1880, p. 23–27, 52sq., 94, 128; H.J. WOLFF, *Witten and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Postclassical Law*, Haverford 1939, p. 83sq.

²² *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1887, p. 57.

²³ А. ДМИТРИЕВСКИЙ, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока*, вып. II, *Euchologia*, Киев 1901, p. 4 (Sinait. 957, f. 22v), p. 30 (Sinait. 958, f. 78v); P. TREMPERAS, *Mikron Euchologion*, I, Athens 1950, p. 23sq., 55sq.; J. ZHISHMAN, *Das Eherecht der orientalischen Kirche*, Vienna 1864, p. 156–160.

²⁴ P. L'HUILLIER, *Novella 89 of Leo VI the Wise on Marriage: Theoretical and Practical Impact*, GOTR 32, 1987, p. 153–162.

imposing presence of royalty; we shall comment on this later. We should emphasize certain representations of the couple of Cana of Galilee wearing crowns. We have at least four of them: Manuscript Ivron 5, f. 363v; Vienna, Library of Mechitharist Congregation, cod. 242, f. 191v; the mural painting in St Nicholas church, Ljuboten (Macedonia); the mural painting in St Nicholas Orphanus church in Thessalonica²⁵. The representation of the couple resembles an imperial one, and not only because of the crowns but because of the complete iconographical scheme. Thus we can say that they bear their royal/imperial features only because they are on their nuptial feast, not even during the divine office but around the table. The suggestion is quite obvious, but it needs to be clarified in its deep sense.

Let us see what the meaning is of the crown of the martyrs, ascetics or spouses in the Early Church, and try to answer the question of its relation to the royal coronation, if any. Several citations lead to the conclusion that originally the marriage crown was perceived as a sign of purity and virginity. In his *Homily 9 on I Timothy 2*, cited above, John Chrysostom asserts that the crown is a prize for the triumph of virginity over the carnal temptations of the world²⁶. The 11th-century canonist Nicetas of Thessalonica maintains that crowns should not be used during the nuptial rite in the case of second marriages, because it is a sign of virginity that ought to be absent in such a case²⁷. The already mentioned Syro-Roman Lawcode calls the wreath the *glorious crown of virginity*. There are many cases that could confirm this point, but it is necessary to define its sense and to answer exactly why this meaning is given to the crown. We have already suggested that it has a similar or identical sense as in other cases²⁸. Even taken as a symbol of virginity, it is directly related to the crown of virtues, given to the monks and martyrs by the Celestial King for having resisted torture or the temptations of the world, as already mentioned. Keeping one's virginity until marriage is to keep Christian virtue and to defeat Evil in the universal collision aiming toward the Salvation of Humankind.

Even if virginity is related to the universal victory over the hereditary Foe of mankind, I do not believe that this is the general, the most important, most significant essence of nuptial crowns. They are a part of a complex that is strongly related to the conception of power in several directions, as I shall try to examine here below. In the paired concepts of virginity-victory, I think the second is more important, while the first part is a way to confirm the victorious character of matrimony, which binds it to royalty. The first victim for the faith is the protomartyr Stephen, whose very name means *crown*. Thus we find instituted

²⁵ CH. WALTER, *Marriage Crowns...*, p. 5sq. Cf. also note 39 on p. 15.

²⁶ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMOS, *Homiliae XVIII...*, col. 546.

²⁷ А. ПАВЛОВ, *Сборник неизданных памятников византийского церковного права*, Санкт-Петербург 1898, p. 30.

²⁸ CH. WALTER, *Marriage Crowns...*, p. 8.

a tradition that represents martyrs with crowns. This is the reason several references to holy martyrs and especially to the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebastia are included in the nuptial divine service²⁹. In the nuptial blessing prayers, the couple is related to the Forty Martyrs exactly because they receive crowns from Heaven. There is no need to underline that all the martyrs are not only witnesses of the faith but also *imagines Domini*, because Lord Jesus Christ in His Sacrifice is the First victim and archetype of all martyrs. Even more, He is victorious too because just through His Sacrifice and Passion, He vanquishes Death in the Universe forever. In His person we find the most brilliant, most obvious and most eloquent model that justifies the unity between Martyrdom, Victory and Royalty.

VI. Images and Archetypes

The connection between Matrimony and Royalty could be articulated and proved by use of certain scriptural and other images and archetypes as well. We can find them in the liturgical texts, in certain representations and in a variety of ritual practices. Bearing in mind the normative character of the Old and New Testament readings during the divine offices for both rites, it is reasonable to pay particular attention to them and their connotation.

The nuptial service includes the chanting of some texts from Holy Scripture that could be specified as *royal*. For example, the verse, adopted from Psalm 8, 6 and framed in the imperative and in plural: *Crown them with glory and honour*. The priest chants it after the placing of the crowns on the heads of the couple. Psalm 8 is a typical royal psalm that combines the motif of victory over enemies with the motif of the chosen and crowned king. The use of this psalm is a clear reference to the similar character of both the nuptial office and the royal coronation. We should stress that in some cases the text of Psalm 8 is cited in its entirety during the divine service of marriage³⁰.

Before the reading of the Epistle to the Ephesians and of the Gospel (Io 2, 1–11, Marriage in Cana of Galilee), the nuptial service includes a *prokeimenon* (chanting of psalm verses) from the royal Psalm 21/22, 4–5, changing the person from singular (for the King) to plural (for the couple): *Thou set a crown of pure gold upon their heads. They asked life from Thee, and Thou gave it to them – Length of days forever and ever*. Before the very coronation of the couple this – I repeat – typically royal Psalm is cited entirely (Ps 21/22, 1): *The king shall joy in thy strength, O LORD; and in thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoice!* etc.). It is also used in the coronation

²⁹ C. PITSAKIS, *Un thème marginal du culte de Saint Constantin dans l'Église d'Orient: Saints Constantin et Hélène protecteurs de la famille*, *Diritto @ Storia*, N° 2 Marzo, 2002 – Memorie, <http://www.dirittoestoria.it/memorie2/Testi%20delle%20Comunicazioni/Pitsakis-marginal.htm> [9 X 2013].

³⁰ L. cit.

rite in the form *Thou settest a crown of precious jewels upon his heads. He asked life from Thee, and Thou gave it to him – Length of days forever and ever*³¹.

We see therefore the creation of an almost identical image of the participants in both *rites de passage* and it is confirmed by certain other practices as well. One of these is the nuptial rite of the so-called *Bridegroom's sword*. This ritual is very old, and it is testified to as such in certain manuscripts, but after the 19th century it is very restricted in its area of application³². The description of the custom relates that the priest girded and armed the bridegroom with a sword and cited another royal psalm – 44/45. This old ritual was in practice in the Pontic (Black Sea) Greek Orthodox milieu until the first half of the 20th century, and disappeared with the disintegration of these communities³³. Our data about the application of the rite are mostly provincial and not directly associated with the imperial power in Constantinople, but obviously they created a *royal* image of the bridegroom and strengthened the relation between marriage and enthronement inauguration practice in Byzantium and the neighboring countries. This image does not only derive from the sword as a ruler's attribute, which underlines the military character of the winner and defender of the faith, assigned to the royalty. The latter is also confirmed by the contents of the text of the cited psalm, which is quite eloquent.

The Psalter is a *royal* book and certainly a part of the royal ideology for Hebrews and Christians. This is due mostly to the sense and the contents of the psalms, but also to their authorship, as they are attributed to King and Prophet David, whose image is certainly a royal paradigm *par excellence*. That is why the use of his person and of his texts for marriage is quite eloquent as to its conceptualization. Such a case offers the use of narrations or images of the nuptial/coronation of King and Prophet David with Michal, King Saul's daughter. They are the most frequently represented Old Testament couple in Christian art³⁴. Bearing in mind the importance of the figure of King David for royal ideology, we are utterly justified in seeing in these representations a combination of the acquisition of nuptial wreaths and a royal coronation. We should stress that in all these cases we find not only the coronation as nuptial rite but also some other marriage gestures, such as *dextrarum iunctio* (a typical passage rite of relation to which we shall pay attention a bit later). In an illuminated copy of the *Book of Kings* from the Vatican Library (*Vat. graec.*, 333, f. 24v), King Saul, on a throne, has in his arms both David and Michal³⁵. This composition could be perceived as matrimony through royalty. Representations of the crowning of David and Michal – either nuptial or royal – are found in the illuminated Psalter from Vatican Library (*Vat. graec.* 752). The scene is represented

³¹ I. BILIARSKY, *Le rite du couronnement des tsars dans les pays slaves et promotion d'autres 'axiai'*, OCP 59.1, 1993, p. 103–104, l. 29–31.

³² C. PITSAKIS, *Un thème marginal...*

³³ *L. cit.*

³⁴ CH. WALTER, *Marriage Crowns...*, p. 4sqq.

³⁵ J. LASSUS, *L'illustration du Livre des Rois*, Paris 1973, p. 54.

three times in the manuscript that contains two cycles of David's life³⁶. In the first of these cycles (f. 2), Saul crowns David and Michal and an inscription announces that the king of the People of Israel confers royalty upon them. The next two scenes convey the Psalm 151: one represents David alone, without Michal, crowned by Saul as co-ruler, and in the other Saul crowns David and Michal, which probably refers to the first Book of Samuel 18, 27. This verse is clearly and concurrently royal, victorious and related to matrimony, because King Saul gives his daughter Michal to David because he has destroyed the Philistines.

As was already stated, the theme of victory strongly relates matrimony to royalty. The bridegroom's sword is a suggestion of war and one of the typical royal images is that of a glorious victor. In the traditional, primarily folkloric culture, weddings are often related to war. This is the main topic of an attractive and stimulating book by Ivan Venedikov³⁷, published more than quarter of century ago, that collected massive folkloric material but suffered – unfortunately – from all the ideological patterns of that time. To dismiss them is not amongst our goals, and I shall comment only some rational points that could be found in the Venedikov's study. First of all, we should stress the military character of the traditional Balkan (and not only Balkan) wedding³⁸. This is obvious and quite well documented: the wedding procession of the bridegroom's family is organized and conceived as a martial campaign: it is equestrian, they have their banner, their commanders; the bride's home is like a fortress (or a fortified city) and the people of her family are its defenders; the bridegroom has to destroy the gates, to fight the bride's brothers and to conquer his future wife. We can find several explanations of these events but the most important is the victorious character of the marriage. This character is confirmed by certain archetypes in the folkloric texts. Here I would like to cite the narrative about the wedding of forty princes to forty brides who are king's daughters³⁹. We cannot avoid in this case referencing the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebastia, who – as typical crowned martyrs – are well represented in the ecclesiastical wedding office.

There are also two more elements that link the traditional wedding to the ruler's ideology, and especially to the imperial veneration of St Constantine. First, there are certain motifs of the solar veneration that could be detected in the traditional marriage feast. These are quite well represented in the folkloric texts, and Ivan

³⁶ E. DE WALD, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint III, Psalms and Odes 2*, Vaticanus graecus 752, Princeton 1942, p. 4. 457.

³⁷ И. ВЕНЕДИКОВ, *Златният стожер на прабългарите*, София 1987.

³⁸ The first part of the book is generally dedicated to this topic: Ив. ВЕНЕДИКОВ, *Златният стожер...*, p. 9–60 and sqq.

³⁹ А.П. МАТИНОВ, *Народнописни материали от Граово*, СНУНК 49, 1958, p. 354, № 7; И. ДЖУРЕНОВ, *Народна проза от Пазарджишко*, СНУНК 56, 1980, p. 132, № 78; Л. ДАСКАЛОВА-ПЕРКОВСКА, Д. ДОБРЕВА, Й. КОЦЕВА, Е. МИЦЕВА, *Български фолклорни приказки. Каталог*, София 1994, p. 104–105, № 302А.

Venedikov paid special attention to them⁴⁰. This is the whole cycle of the marriage of the Sun we find in the Bulgarian folkloric songs and tales. The late scholar is inclined to see here an influence of the veneration of the Sun in the military circles in Late Antiquity, which passed into Bulgarian popular tradition in the 19th and 20th centuries. This is not impossible, but even in order to enter into details, we should identify in these remains mostly the veneration of the *Sol invictus*, then a local Thracian tradition. This imperial Roman pagan cult had a significant impact, especially in the Balkans in the Greek and Bulgarian milieu. I mean the *Anastenaria* tradition, as still exists in the mountainous region of Strandja, divided by the border between Bulgaria and Turkey next to the Black Sea littoral. It is not the subject of this research and I shall limit myself only to emphasizing that it takes place on the feast day of Sts Constantine and Helena and its very specific rite includes blood sacrifices and dancing on the blaze. The veneration of the holy emperor and his mother forms by definition a complex together with the veneration of the Holy Cross – a clear victorious symbol in Eastern Christianity. The connection of *Anastenaria* to Roman imperial veneration of *Sol invictus* is quite well studied, and the presence of the Sun, his wedding and his implications in marriage relations with humans give us an important opportunity to perceive a new interrelation between matrimony and power/royalty. As for the fire dancing tradition in Strandja, it is enough to say that one of the arguments for connecting it to imperial Solar veneration is precisely the use of the image of St Constantine.

The first Roman Christian emperor is surely an image of the pious and victorious ruler in Eastern Christianity, but additionally he is strongly represented during the marriage ceremony both in ecclesiastical and in folkloric practices. In Bulgarian folklore, there are (were) cases, when the husband had the ritual name of *Constantine* during the day of the wedding and especially during the rite itself, which presented him in a new quality, a *new man* who was not only *husband* but also a *royal person*⁴¹. The very act of marriage was called *to go to Tsarigrad* (*Constantinople*), which should signify *to wed*. Constantinople, the New Rome, is undoubtedly an imperial/royal space and paradigm. As a holy emperor (one of the few in Byzantium), Constantine is the archetype and model for Orthodox rulers. His person and its use in the marriage rituals, to be sure, strongly associates matrimony and royalty in Eastern Christianity. Maybe the clearest expression of the relation between marriage and royal coronation is found in the Armenian Church, where the bridegroom is called *takhavor* (King) not only on the day of the

⁴⁰ И. ВЕНЕДИКОВ, *Златният стожер...*, p. 266sq, 387sq.

⁴¹ It is to note that *new man* may redirect toward the royal ideology as the ruler is usually perceived as *imago Christi*. Lord Jesus Christ is, sure, a new man being a New Adam. All of these is related to the idea of renovation that is essential for the imperial ideology – P.J. ALEXANDER, *Strength of the Empire and Capital as Seen through Byzantine Eyes*, S 37, 1962, p. 351–354; I. BILIARSKY, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah. The Destiny and Meanings of an Apocryphal Text*, Leiden 2013, p. 163sq.

wedding but also eight days after⁴². In Greek popular songs, the spouses are called *basileus* and *basilissa*.

Constantine's archetypal figure is even most important in our case because of his obvious association with Victory through the veneration of the Holy Cross. It became the Labarum of the Christian Roman army and the divine sign of triumph over the enemies of God, because Constantine saw it on the eve of the battle at Milvian Bridge. The Holy Cross is related to the holy emperor, because the wood of the Lord's Passion was found by his saintly mother in Jerusalem. The importance of the Constantinian model for the imperial ideology is beyond doubt and I do not intend to discuss and prove it here. It is important, however, that the veneration of Sts Constantine and Helena is connected to matrimony and they are perceived as celestial protectors of the family. Constantinos Pitsakis offered a special study on the topic and justifiably labeled that part of the holy emperors' veneration *marginal*⁴³, but it is of special importance for this present research and I shall discuss it concisely.

Sts Constantine and Helena are (were) venerated as protectors of the family and especially by couples during weddings that occurred in Greece, Bulgaria, Armenia and so forth. We find this not only in folklore but also in high culture. The holy emperor and his mother are well represented in the nuptial ecclesiastical service as well. St Helena is evoked several times in the text of the *ordo*. Both of them are cited openly as divine protectors of the family in the *apolyxis* (the final benediction) of the nuptial office, together with the Mother of God, the Holy Apostles and a few other saints.

As the nuptial service does not include its own liturgical hymns, in Byzantium the Church used in marriage the *kontakion* and *apolytikion* for the feast of Sts Constantine and Helena. St Constantine and his mother have an important place in the ecclesiastical calendar with their holiday (May 21), which is the focus of celebrations during the *imperial Constantinopolitan month of May*, together with the City's birthday – May 11th. This entire complex is strongly related to Christian imperial political ideology, to the salvation mission of the Empire and its role in universal history. That is why its connection to the ritual practice of marriage is especially important for the interpretation of the latter in the context of royalty or/and *vice versa*. The very texts of the *kontakion* and *apolytikion* confirm it⁴⁴.

⁴² K.N. ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ, 'Ο χριστιανικός ναός και τὰ τελλούμενα ἐν αὐτῷ, Αθήνα 1921, p. 652.

⁴³ C. PITSAKIS, *Un thème marginal...*

⁴⁴ See the texts and commentaries in the article of C. PITSAKIS, *Un thème marginal...*:

Apolytikion: Having seen in the Heaven the sigh of Thy Cross and having received, as Paul did, an appeal that was not of human origin, the Emperor became Thy apostle, O Lord, and entrusted the imperial City in Thy hands. Save it ever in peace by the intercession of Theotokos. And have pity to us (or: Thou, the only philanthropist). Kontakion: Today Constantine with his mother reveal to us the Cross, the most venerable Wood, which is the shame of Jews but for the faithful rulers it is their weapon versus the foes, because it revealed for us a great miracle, horrifying in the wars.

In these texts we find all the important *imperial* themes, related to the political ideology of the Christian Eastern Roman Empire: a pious ruler, humble to God; a victorious emperor, who conquers his enemies by the strength of the Lord's Cross; the capital City (*theosôstè*), divinely saved by the intercession of the Mother of God, which is the center and eye of the Christian world; the *isapostolos* (equal to the apostles) emperor, propagator and defender of faith. All of these texts, which are chanted at the nuptial service, witness to its *imperial* understanding and the interrelation and interdependence between matrimony and power.

VII. *Dextrarum iunctio* and the Unity

At the end of this survey of the common features of royalty and matrimony, I would like to add one more ritual practice that took place with both of them. It is not related to any insignia of power but is quite compelling in regards to the instituted relations. This is so-called *dextrarum iunctio* or right-handholding, right-handshake between the spouses of the family couple and the persons in power, respectively⁴⁵. Maybe this practice originates in marriage⁴⁶, but in the imperial Roman period it passed to military representations and finally to those of power. We find many such representations on coins, sculptures and so on. All these power and military cases are certainly interrelated, and the sense of the handholding is the same: the triumph of the peace of *Pax Romana*. This sense covers the essence of Roman political ideology, and was candidly expressed by inscriptions accompanying certain representations of the imperial handshake: *Pax et libertas*; *Consensus exercitus*; *Concordia Augustorum*; *Pietas saeculi*; *Concordia/Fides/Pietas mutua Augustorum*, etc.⁴⁷ So we see that the gesture of holding hands is an expression of the mutual consensus and fidelity that is at the basis of peace as a fundamental concept of Roman political doctrine. It is central not only for the state and public society but, to be sure, for the family as micro-society and micro-cosmos as well. We saw that it passed from marriage to the political sphere, but the sense is equally shared between both. Maybe this is the reason why the most expressive examples of *dextrarum iunctio* reunite familial and political concepts: the handholding of the imperial couples and especially that of Caracalla and Plautilla, with the inscription *Concordiae aeternae, Concordia felix, propago imperi*⁴⁸. It stresses the unity of family and the unity of power, the extension of the family harmony to agreement, unity, order and peace in the Empire. This is surely an expression

⁴⁵ I would like to recommend the interesting study of Father Christopher Walter on this topic: CH. WALTER, *The 'dextrarum iunctio' of Lepcis Magna in Relationship to the Iconography of Marriage*, AAF 14, 1979, p. 271–283.

⁴⁶ L. REEKMANS, *La 'dextrarum iunctio' dans l'iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne*, BIHB 31, 1958, p. 23–95.

⁴⁷ See the numerous citations in CH. WALTER, *The 'dextrarum iunctio'...*, p. 273–275sqq.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 275.

of a pagan concept of universal harmony, but the notion of peace and unity is not at all unfamiliar to Christianity.

The practice of *dextrarum iunctio* also entered Christian nuptial practice, but it never became a constitutive element of ecclesiastical marriage. It always remained *an expression of mutual consent and of reciprocal fidelity*⁴⁹. As such, and together with the *jugum* and nuptial crowns, it is a sign of the creation of matrimonial unity and solidarity. This unity is already unity in Christ. Symeon of Thessalonica wrote that the priest unites the right hands of the couple, aiming to confirm and demonstrate that they are already united in God and they become one entity in Him⁵⁰. Meanwhile, the handholding is not so typical for Byzantine imperial representations of power, because that power belongs to and derives from God, and its civic republican sense of harmony and accordance remains at a secondary level. We do find it, however, at imperial weddings, which certainly combine the idea of matrimony and that of authority. Here we have to return again to the biblical archetypes of both power and marriage. Old Testament patriarchs are without any doubt figures of power of the royal type. As ancestors of the Chosen People, they unite the image of king and leader with that of father. This is why it is important to note the cases of representation of *dextrarum iunctio* in them. Father Christopher Walter signals several such cases⁵¹: Moses and Sephora, Jacob and Rachel, etc.

It is especially important to stress one clearly archetypal case that we have already mentioned: King and Prophet David and Michal. They are represented as right-handholding on one of the Cyprus plates with David's life cycle, dated to the period of Heraclius⁵². The young couple is represented against the background of an architectural composition: from both sides they are surrounded by two musicians playing flutes; David and Michal hold hands, linked in-between by a figure that should be King Saul. For me, there is no doubt that the representation is both royal and nuptial. King David is the very image of pious kingship, chosen by God, humble and repentant. King Saul is an image of royalty as well, and despite the fact that he is not so pious and humble, he has the priority of being the first chosen king of the Chosen People. Michal is the connection between them. The wedding of David and Michal is certainly related to the royalty of Jesse's son. So we see a representation of both royalty and matrimony united by a gesture of consent, Concordia and peace. They expose an ideal, being the focal point of all imagery of harmony and solidarity.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 277sqq.

⁵⁰ *Symeonis Thessalonicensis, Archiepiscopi, De honesto et legitimo conjugio*, [in:] PG, vol. CLV, col. 509; CH. WALTER, *The 'dextrarum iunctio'...*, p. 277.

⁵¹ CH. WALTER, *The 'dextrarum iunctio'...*, p. 277–282.

⁵² *Wealth of the Roman World, AD 300–700. Exhibition catalogue*, ed. J.P.C. KENT, K.S. PAINTER, London 1977, p. 103 № 180; CH. WALTER, *The 'dextrarum iunctio'...*, p. 280–281.

VIII. Character of the Relation. Conclusion

I think that the corresponding character of the rites and of the integral nature of the interconnection between King and Kingdom and between both spouses of the marriage couple is out of doubt, but it remains to specify its essence. This specification could help us to distinguish the role of the figure of the woman as legitimating power in the case of royalty in connection with its correspondence to marriage. In order to arrive at a conclusion, I would going back to our thesis that both initiating rituals are *rites de passage* of relation, so as to assure a new status of relation amongst the participants.

We see then that the legitimation and confirmation of the kingship in some pagan cultures passed through a hierogamy, conceived as a unity with the universal harmony in the image of a chthonic goddess. This unity is expressed by a (pagan sacred) marriage that usually includes sexual intercourse between the King and the deity as well.

In the monotheistic milieus, we find some formally similar traits that bear a fundamentally quite different sense. Christian marriage is a relation between man and woman, instituted by God after the model of the relation between Lord Jesus Christ and His Church. The latter was the subject of many interpretations, but I would like to pay attention especially to those that treat the *Song of Songs that is Solomon's* (or *Canticles*) and the episode of the meeting of King and Prophet Solomon with the Queen of Sheba, presented in the Bible but also in the Quran and in the Ethiopian book of *Kebrā Nagast*⁵³. Viewed through a Christian lens, both of these accounts (i.e. that from the *Song of Songs* and that from *Kebrā Nagast*) present the relations between the bride and the bridegroom under the archetypal model of the relation of Jesus Christ to His Church, He being a priest and king of the order of Melchisedek (Ps 109/110, 4; Heb 7, 14–17). Melchisedek, the King of Salem, is a veterotestamentarian paradigm for the priesthood but also for the royalty. Both cases cited above (the *Canticles* and the Queen of Sheba's story) are put together in the commentary of Origen on the book of the *Song of Songs*, where the bride and bridegroom are interpreted as the same image of Jesus Christ and His Church, as in the case of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba⁵⁴. It is to be underscored that the image of Melchisedek in Christian theology is exactly a new type of king that corresponds to the incarnated Logos but not to the Davidic royalty. Thus, the model of relation becomes more universal and is not restricted

⁵³ *Kebrā Nagast. Die Herrlichkeit der Könige (Nach den Handschriften in Berlin, London, Oxford und Paris)*, ed. C. BEZOLD, München 1905; E.A. WALLIS BUDGE, *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek* (I), Oxford–London 1932; G. COLIN, *La gloire des rois (Kebrā Nagast). Épopée nationale de l'Éthiopie*, Genève 2002 [= COF, 23], p. 118.

⁵⁴ ORIGÈNE, *Commentaire sur le Cantique des cantiques*, I, *Texte de la version latine de Rufin*, intr., trans. et notes L. BRÉSARD, S.J.H. CROUZEL, Paris 1991 [= SC, 375], p. 274–293.

to the Hebrews as the Chosen People⁵⁵. Lord Jesus Christ (and Melchisedek as His prefiguration in the Old Testament) is Priest and King, but in relation to the Church (the faithful people) as to His body, He is ever in royal quality. In the scriptural, theological and poetic texts, the Bride (and so the Church, as seen in the *Song of Songs*) is called only *queen*.

This concept passed from theology to liturgical practice and finally to the rituals of power. Ritual is not only the decoration of power, its ornament or propaganda. It is an integral part of the phenomenon of authority, one of the ways for it to be legitimized and to be exercised. The notion of union is crucial both for marriage and for coronation. The original connection of the nuptial service to the Eucharistic liturgy is strong argument in this sense because the marriage becomes relation to the Communion as a supreme union. The parallelism between both rites supposes the special relation of the king to power or to the state (conceived as the unity of people and country), which is usually represented by the model of the relations between husband and wife as a general model of the integral relation in this world, having its archetype in the heavenly one. That is why the rite of passage to Kingship corresponds to that of marriage, instituted by Lord Jesus Christ under the model of His own relation to the Church. That is why both of them repeat more and more certain ritual gestures that confirm the unity, harmony, accord, consent and Concordia – all of them basic for relations of this type.

And in the very end, I shall cite my late friend Constantinos Pitsakis, who proposed a supplementary theological interpretation of matrimony as a source of power, taken from the Old Testament and especially from the Book of Genesis 1, 28:

And God blessed them (Adam and Eve), and God said unto them, 'Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.'

We see that God gave power to Adam and Eve, the first couple. It should be stressed that Adam (as well as all the Old Testament patriarchs) is a royal image and paradigm. He is a prefiguration of Lord Jesus Christ, Who is called New Adam. The bridegroom takes on this quality during the nuptial and he obtains universal power exactly by entering the matrimonial relation because of the propagation, multiplication and recreation of Humankind, and thus represents an imitation, a mimesis and continuation of God's work. In order to be such, the bridegroom cannot be alone, because in order to obtain such a power, he needs his bride.

⁵⁵ Vide I. BILIARSKY, *The Birth of the Empire by the Divine Wisdom and the Ecumenical Church (Some Observations on the Ethiopian Book of Kebra Nagast)*, [in:] *The Biblical Models of Power and Law/Les modèles bibliques du pouvoir et du droit*, ed. I. BILIARSKY, R.G. PĂUN, Frankfurt am Main et al. 2008 [= RRei, 336], p. 23–43.

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Abstract. This article is devoted to the question concerning the conceptualization of power and its religious basis in pre-modern societies, carried out through a study of the inauguration rituals – especially the marriage – that mark not only the instigation of the power of the ruler but also suggests its religious basis, conceptualization and justification. It is grounded on source material from Byzantium and its legacy in the countries of South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. The analysis has shown the woman as legitimating power in the case of royalty in connection with its correspondence to marriage. The legitimation and confirmation of the kingship in some pagan cultures passed through a hierogamy, conceived as a unity with the universal harmony in the image of a chthonic goddess. From the Christian point of view the relations between the royal bride and the bridegroom was under the archetypal model of the relation of Jesus Christ to His Church. He (Christ and the christian ruler) became a priest and king of the order of Melchisedek. That is why the rite of passage to Kingship corresponds to that of marriage, instituted by Lord Jesus Christ under the model of His own relation to the Church.

Keywords: power conceptualization and legitimization, pre-modern societies, *rite de passage*, Christian marriage, Byzantine political and religious ideology, Orthodox liturgy and theology.

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WISDOM HAS BUILT HER HOUSE (PROVERBS 9, 1–6). THE HISTORY OF THE NOTION IN SOUTHERN AND EASTERN SLAVIC ART IN THE 14TH–16TH CENTURIES*

Wisdom has built her house;
she has set up a its seven pillars.
She has prepared her meat and mixed her wine;
she has also set her table.
She has sent out her servants, and she calls
from the highest point of the city,
“Let all who are simple come to my house!”
To those who have no sense she says,
“Come, eat my food
and drink the wine I have mixed.
Leave your simple ways and you will live;
walk in the way of insight”

The story of the personified Divine Wisdom, building a house for herself, and then organizing a feast in it, mentioned in the ninth chapter of the Old Testament *Book of Proverbs*, seems to be – through its pictorial quality – a perfect theme for artists concerned with plastic creativity. What astonishes us is the fact that this motif was virtually absent in Eastern Christian Art until the turn of the 14th century. As emphasized jointly by experts on this issue, to this day no artefact of Byzantine provenance containing a representation of *Sophia* inviting people who want to accompany her to a feast has been preserved¹. In the older literature

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¹ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *Волотовская фреска “Премудрость созда себе дом” и ее отношение к новгородской ереси стригольников в XIV в.*, ТОДЛ 26, 1971, p. 222; D.F. FIENE, *What is the Appearance of Divine Sophia?*, SRev 48, 1989, p. 454; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости*, [in:] *София Премудрость Божия. Выставка русской иконописи XIII–XIX вв. из собраний музеев России*, Москва 2000, p. 194 (Italian version of the article in: *Sophia. La Sapienza di Dio*, ed. G.C. AZZARO, P. AZZARO, Milano 1999, p. 226–229); Н.В. ПОКРОВСКИЙ, *Евангелие в памятниках иконографии преимущественно византийских и русских*, Москва 2001, p. 465; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *София Премудрость Божия в древнерусской литературе и искусстве*, Москва 2006, p. 65–66. Galina S. Kolpakova claims that this type of work, prepared around 1263, was included in the painting which decorates the interior of the *Hagia Sophia* temple in Trebizond. Г.С. КОЛПАКОВА, *Искусство Византии. Позд-*

on the subject one might come across the idea that the issue was initially found in the manuscript painting of the Latin circle, which then, at the end of the Middle Ages, moved to the Balkans². While we do not have enough source material to incline us towards a thesis supporting the Western European origins of the iconographic scheme discussed in this article, so we can not deny that it is in the area of Serbia and western Bulgaria that the earliest examples of iconography relating to the *Book of Proverbs* 9, 1–6 are known. Moreover, there is no doubt that their dissemination across the lands of the Southern Slavs is inscribed into a broader cultural movement characterized by the return to ancient aesthetics, referred to in the literature as the Paleologian Renaissance³.

Certainly the oldest example of the iconography of *Sophia's banquet*, which has survived to the present day, is a painting located on the southern wall of the narthex of the Mother of God Peribleptos and St. Clement Church in Ohrid, dated back to 1295⁴. The personified Wisdom was located here on the left side of the

ний период, Санкт-Петербург 2010, p. 69–70, 78, 287. Sirarpie der Nersessian assumes that the representation referring to Prov 9, 1–6 adorned a part of the dome of the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonica. The representation preserved in fragments shows some stylistic similarity to the representations of *Sophia's banquet*, which we know from South Slavic art. However, it does not include the most important element from the point of view of our considerations: the personification of Divine Wisdom. In the center of the work on the analyzed painting there is a male figure, which is sometimes interpreted in the literature as a portrait of King Solomon. S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion*, [in:] *The Kariye Djami*, vol. IV, *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, ed. P.A. UNDERWOOD, London 1975, p. 341–342.

² K.C. FELMY, “Die unendliche Weisheit, des Lebens Allgrund und Erschafferin”. *Die Ikonen der Weisheit und die Göttliche Liturgie*, [in:] “Die Weisheit baute ihr Haus”. *Untersuchungen zu Hymnischen und Didaktischen Ikonen*, ed. K.C. FELMY, E. HAUSTEIN-BARTSCH, München 1999, p. 49; H.B. ПОКРОВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 465; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie de la Sagesse Divine dans la tradition byzantine*, *CA* 10, 1959, p. 270; A. GRABAR, *Sur les sources des peintres byzantins des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, *CA* 12, 1962, p. 379; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Note sur quelques image se rattachant au thème du Christ–Ange*, *CA* 13, 1962, p. 209; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 214, 222; J. MEYENDORFF, *Wisdom–Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme*, *DOP* 41, 1987, p. 391, 393; L. USPIENSKI, *Teologia ikony*, trans. B. DAŃ-KALINOWSKA, Poznań 1993, p. 195; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 194. The problem of influence of the Palaeologian Renaissance and hesychasm on the development of iconography of Divine Wisdom in 14th century has been analysed the monograph: Z. BRZOWSKA, *Sofia – uosobnifikowana Mądrość Boża. Dzieje wyobrażeń w kręgu kultury bizantyńsko-słowiańskiej*, Łódź 2015, p. 49–55, 198–226.

⁴ V.R. ПЕТКОВИЋ, *La peinture Serbe du Moyen Âge*, vol. I, Belgrad 1930, p. V, 24; I.D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient*, Bruxelles 1936, p. 140; A.M. АММАН, *Darstellung und Deutung der Sophia im vorpetrinischen Russland*, *ОСР* 4, 1938, p. 144; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 270; С. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *Фреске Марковог Манастира и живот св. Василија Новог*, *ЗРВИ* 4, 1956, p. 223; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Note...*, p. 209; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Л. ПРАШКОВ, *Хрелева башиња Рильског манастира и ее стенопис*, [in:] *Древнерусское искусство. Зарубежные связи*, Москва 1975, p. 155; S. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *La table de la Sagesse dans la literature et l'art serbes*, *ЗРВИ* 16, 1975, p. 221; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции в росписи XIV в. Манастира Зарзма*, *ВВ* 43, 1982, p. 139; С. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *О Трпези Премудрости у српској књижевности и уметности од раног XIII до раног XIX в.*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Одабрани чланци и студије*

iconographic scheme, giving her the form of a young woman clad in ancient Greek attire (blue-purple chiton with short sleeves, with a gold ribbon around the neck). *Sophia* sits on a throne, holding her bare feet on a footrest. With her left hand she points to the table in front of her. Her head is uncovered and long, dark brown hair is supported with a band. Behind the Divine Wisdom there is a pair of outstretched wings⁵.

Also noteworthy is the inclusion in the analyzed artefact of many elements from the so-called “Wisdom iconography of light”, which is, according to Priscilla Hunt, a reference to the representation of Wisdom as one of the energies of God, typical of the theological thought of Gregory Palamas⁶. The head of *Sophia* is

1933–1978, Београд–Нови Сад 1982, p. 227; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *Послание Титу-иерарху Дионисия Ареопажита в славянском переводе и иконография “Премудрость созда себе дом”, ТОДЛ 38, 1985, p. 8; И.Ф. МЕЙЕНДОРФ, Тема Премудрости в восточноевропейской средневековой культуре и ее наследие, [in:] *Литература и искусство в системе культуры*, ed. Б.Б. ПИОТРОВСКИЙ, Москва 1988, p. 246; IDEM, *Wisdom–Sophia...*, p. 394; P. BALCAREK, *The Image of Sophia in Medieval Russian Iconography and its Sources*, Bsl 60, 1999, p. 600; K.C. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 43; L. LIŠIĆ, *Die Ikone “Sophia – Weisheit Gottes” aus der Sammlung der Museen des Moskauer Kreml. Zur Frage nach der Herkunft und der Zeit des ersten Auftauchens des sogenannten “Novgoroder” ikonographischen Typs*, [in:] “*Die Weisheit baute ihr Haus*”..., p. 31; M.V. MARINI CLARELLI, *Personificazioni, metafore e alegorie nell’arte paleologa*, [in:] *L’arte di Bisanzio e l’Italia al tempo del Paleologi 1261–1453*, ed. A. IACOVINI, M. DELLA VALLE, Roma 1999, p. 58; L. LIŠIĆ, *La Sapienza nell’iconografia russa*, [in:] *Sophia. La Sapienza di Dio...*, p. 59; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194; Л. ЛИШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия в русской иконописи*, [in:] *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; Н. ПИВОВАРОВА, *Премудрость и Церковь*, [in:] *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 324 (Italian version of the article in: *Sophia. La Sapienza di Dio...*, p. 358–359); Л. ЛИШИЦ, *Премудрость в русской иконописи*, ВВ 61, 2002, p. 140, 142; М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *Образ сакральной Премудрости*, [in:] М.Н. ГРОМОВ, В.В. МИЛЬКОВ, *Идейные течения древнерусской мысли*, Санкт-Петербург 2001, p. 56; M. OSTERRIEDER, *Das Land der Heiligen Sophia: das Auftauchen des Sophia-motivs in der Kultur der Ostslaven*, WSA 50, 2002, p. 41; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 67; И.М. ЪОРЂЕВИЋ, *Дарови Светог Духа у проскомидији Богородичине цркве у Морачи*, [in:] *The Monastery of Morača*, ed. B. TODIĆ, D. POROVIĆ, Belgrade 2006, p. 196; A. DEYNEKA, *The Ackland Sophia: Contextualizing, Interpreting, and “Containing” Wisdom*, Chapel Hill 2007, p. 34; V. TSAKAKDA, *Darstellungen der Hagia Sophia bzw. der Weisheit Gottes in der kretischen Wandmalerei*, BZ 101, 2008, p. 227; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *София Премудрость Божия. Проблемы и перспективы религиозно-философского и искусствоведческого осмысления*, ГРЦР 44/45, 2008, p. 299–300; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, “Премудрость созда себе дом” в богословской и изобразительной традиции XIV в., [in:] *Сербско-русские литературные и культурные связи XIV–XX вв.*, ed. Л.К. ГАВРЮШИНА, Санкт-Петербург 2009, p. 7; Г.С. КОЛПАКОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 77–78, 287; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *Символическая связь Премудрости Божией и Евхаристии в сербском монументальном искусстве XIII–XIV в.*, СRe 4, 2010, p. 134.*

⁵ J. MEYENDORF, *L’iconographie...*, p. 270; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 9; K.C. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 43; L. LIŠIĆ, *La Sapienza...*, p. 59; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194; Л. ЛИШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; IDEM, *Премудрость...*, p. 142; M. OSTERRIEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 41; И.М. ЪОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁶ P. HUNT, *The Wisdom Iconography of Light. The Genesis, Meaning and Iconographic Realization of a Symbol*, Bsl 67, 2009, p. 103.

adorned with a glory composed of two figures: a blue rhombus and a gold circle in which a cross is inscribed (typical for the images of Christ)⁷. Moreover, the figure of personified Wisdom is surrounded by several concentric circles and her silhouette seems to shed rays of light⁸.

The Ohrid depiction is a fairly faithful illustration of the text of Prov 9, 1–6. Next to the figure of *Sophia* there is a table on which is a bowl for bread, a jug of wine and a book, open to Prov 9, 5: Ἐλθετε φάγετε τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρτων καὶ πίετε (*Come, eat my bread, and drink the wine which I have mingled for you!*)⁹. The items placed on the table as well as the above-cited quotation seem to be a clear allusion to the sacrament of Eucharist¹⁰. On the right side of the iconographic scheme three servants of *Sophia* are represented, giving them the shapes of enticing young women, dressed – like their lady – in the ancient style. One of them is holding an amphora in her hand, whereas the other two carry loaves of bread¹¹. Behind them there is a large building in the shape of a three-aisled basilica, surrounded by a portico, where you can easily see seven columns. Most likely, there is a depiction of Wisdom's House, described in the *Book of Proverbs*, which is supported by seven pillars¹².

⁷ I.D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 140; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 270; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Note...*, p. 215; EADEM, *Program...*, p. 341; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; M.V. MARINI CLARELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194; M. OSTERRIEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 41; И.М. ЪОРБЕВИЃ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 134. In Eastern Christian literature, starting from the times of the Fathers of the Church, the Old Testament Wisdom was usually identified with the second person of the Trinity – the Son of God. The Hagia Sophia churches in Byzantium were devoted to him, the theological treatises and hymnographic texts (for example the canon for Holy Thursday by Cosmas of Maiuma) were written in honour of him and he was represented on “Sophia” icons. I have attempted to analyse this issue in: Z. BRZOWSKA, *The Church of Divine Wisdom or of Christ – the Incarnate Logos? Dedication of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the Light of Byzantine Sources from 5th to 14th century*, *Scer* 2, 2012, p. 85–96; EADEM, *Sofia – Mądrość Boża. Przymiot, energia czy odrębna osoba Boska w teologii Kościoła wschodniego (do XV w.)*, *Hy* 20, 2013, p. 1–21; EADEM, *Sofia – upersonifikowana Mądrość Boża...*, p. 22–86.

⁸ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 222; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁹ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 270; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Note...*, p. 215; EADEM, *Program...*, p. 341; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 43; M. OSTERRIEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 41; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹⁰ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 270; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 222–223; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; M.V. MARINI CLARELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 58; А. ДЕЙНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 34–35; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

¹¹ I.D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 140–141; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 270; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 222; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Program...*, p. 341; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 9; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194; M. OSTERRIEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 41; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹² J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 270; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 222–223; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Program...*, p. 341; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; M.V. MARINI CLARELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 58; L. LIFŠIĆ, *La Sapienza...*, p. 59; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; ИДЕМ, *Премудрость...*, p. 142; M. OSTERRIEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 41; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

A quite unusual development of the theme of *Sophia's banquet* is found on a painting which decorates the eastern wall of the narthex of the Church of the Entrance of the Holy Mother of God into the Temple, being a part of the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos¹³. Unfortunately, the original polychromy of the interior of the church, created most probably in 1320–1321¹⁴ underwent extensive “renovation” at the beginning of the 19th century, as a result of which significant parts of the paintings lost their original form¹⁵. According to experts on the issue, the current iconographic scheme – illustrating Prov 9, 1–6 – can be considered with some degree of uncertainty as a monument dating from the 14th century made at the behest of Stephen Uroš II Milutin of Serbia¹⁶.

In the Hilandar artefact there is a laid table, at which three winged figures feast. According to many researchers, one of them, located – as in the above-discussed painting of Ohrid – on the left side of the iconographic scheme, can be identified as the personification of Divine Wisdom¹⁷. She is sitting on the throne, supporting her feet on a footrest. She is enshrouded with sidelong robes: chiton and himation in contrasting colors. Using her left hand *Sophia* is reaching for a vessel located in front of her on the table. She seems to reach her hand out towards the other participants of the feast.

The most fascinating element of the depiction is the fact that personified Wisdom is shown here with three identical heads, surrounded by a joint rhomboid glory¹⁸. These types of image are very rare in Byzantine art¹⁹ and seem to suggest that the figure of *Sophia* should be recognized as the personification of all persons of the Trinity²⁰. The Trinitarian connotations on the Hilandar iconographic scheme is also suggested by the two other figures accompanying the Divine Wisdom at the table. Looking at the painting, at first glance, three angels feasting together can

¹³ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icongraphie...*, p. 272; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 140; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601; B. TODIĆ, *Serbian Medieval Painting. The Age of King Milutin*, Belgrade 1999, p. 60, 83, 105, 153, 165, 198, 353–354; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 299–300.

¹⁴ Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 140; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601; B. TODIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 353; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

¹⁵ S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Program...*, p. 341; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 140; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601; B. TODIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 60, 353; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁶ Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 140; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁷ А.М. АММАНН, *op. cit.*, p. 145; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Program...*, p. 341; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 140; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁸ S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Program...*, p. 341; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 140; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁹ А.М. АММАНН, *op. cit.*, p. 145; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icongraphie...*, p. 272; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 134–146; И.Ф. МЕЙЕНДОРФ, *Тема...*, p. 246; ИДЕМ, *Wisdom–Sophia...*, p. 394; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601; B. TODIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 60, 83, 105, 165, 351, 354; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 299–300; M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *The Wall Paintings from the Monastery on Kot H in Dongola*, Warszawa 2011, p. 155–159.

²⁰ Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 140; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601.

be seen, which is a scene that can be easily associated with depictions of the *Old Testament Trinity*. However, in the discussed artefact some clear references to Prov 9, 1–6 can be found. Certainly, one of them is a richly decorated canopy put over the heads of the feasting persons, which is supported by seven pillars. The placing of the image of biblical King Solomon on the right side of the iconographic scheme seems to be of great importance²¹.

Almost at the same time, on the initiative of King Stephen Uroš II Milutin of Serbia, another monument of Serbian art was created, which contains a representation of personified Divine Wisdom, feasting in the house built by herself – it is a painting from 1321, which decorated the eastern wall of the altar in the Church of the Annunciation in the Gračanica Monastery²².

Sophia sits in the center of the iconographic scheme at the table on which there is only a parchment and writing material. She is covered with a purple robe without sleeves, which clearly emphasizes her bustline. Her head is uncovered and surrounded by a gold and circular glory. Behind her a pair of outstretched wings can be seen. In her left hand, as if in reference to the most archaic forms of sapiential iconography, the personified Wisdom holds a scroll of parchment, whereas in the right hand she holds a reed pen²³.

Despite the relatively free treatment of the issue one cannot have any doubts that the painting is actually an illustration of a story from the ninth chapter of the *Book of Proverbs*. A lesible inscription, located in the upper part of the depiction informs us about it: *пѣрѣм[ѣд]ростѣ съза себѣ храмъ*²⁴. Moreover, behind

²¹ S. DER NERSESIAN, *Program...*, p. 341–342; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 140.

²² V.R. РЕТКОВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. VI, 53; A.M. АММАН, *op. cit.*, p. 145; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icongraphie...*, p. 270, 273; S. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *La table...*, p. 220; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 139; С. РАДОЧИЋ, *О Трпези Премудрости...*, p. 226; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 8; И.Ф. МЕЙЕНДОРФ, *Тема...*, p. 246; ИДЕМ, *Wisdom–Sophia...*, p. 394; Б. ЖИВКОВИЋ, *Грачаница. Цртежи фресака*, Београд 1989, pl. VII; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 44; L. LIŠIĆ, *Die Ikone...*, p. 31, 35; В. ТОДИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 252, 330–331; ИДЕМ, *Грачаница. Сликаство*, Приштина 1999, p. 80, 144; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194; Л. ЛИШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 10–11; Н. ПИВОВАРОВА, *Премудрость и Церковь...*, p. 324; Л. ЛИШИЦ, *Премудрость...*, p. 140; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 61, 66; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; А. ДЕУНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 34; М. GLIGORIJEVIĆ-MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Classical Elements in the Serbian Painting of the Fourteenth Century*, ЗРВИ 44, 2007, p. 366; M. TENACE, *Le sens des représentations de la Sophia comme ange dans la tradition orthodoxe russe. Un pont entre teologie, philosophie et art*, JECS 59, 2007, p. 267; V. TSAKAKA, *op. cit.*, p. 227; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 299–300; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 7; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²³ I.D. ŞTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 141; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icongraphie...*, p. 270; S. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *La table...*, p. 221; ИДЕМ, *О Трпези Премудрости...*, p. 227; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 9; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Б. ТОДИЋ, *Грачаница...*, p. 145; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 66, 181; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Д. БОЈОВИЋ, *Трпеза Премудрости*, Београд–Ниш 2009, p. 16, 65; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 7; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁴ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icongraphie...*, p. 270–271; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; Б. ТОДИЋ, *Грачаница...*, p. 80; M. TENACE, *op. cit.*, p. 267; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 66; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

the personified Wisdom is a portico with seven columns, which is a symbol clearly referring to the text of Prov 9, 1–6²⁵. In the painting there is also a place for the servants of *Sophia*: they approach from both sides the table, behind which sits their lady, and their silhouettes – like that of the iconographic scheme from Ohrid show the strong influence of ancient aesthetics. Yet, this time the creators of the considered artefact showed a remarkable inventiveness: the loose robes of both girls and musical instruments (tambourines?) in their hands make us guess they are dancers or musicians rather than regular servants²⁶.

At this point it is worth noting one more element: the considered iconographic scheme, like the painting from the Hilandar Monastery discussed above, evokes in the viewer – through careful placement of characters – an association with the representations of the *Old Testament Trinity*. Interestingly, in the iconography of the interior of the Annunciation Church the image of three angels hosted by Abraham and Sarah was placed in a close proximity to the scene of *Sophia's banquet*²⁷.

Unquestionably, the most developed form of the scheme can be found in the paintings – made in 1343–1348 – that decorate the vault of the chapel of St. Nicholas, which is part of the Serbian Visoki Dečani Monastery. It contains a group of four thematically related scenes, which are a very faithful illustration of the story of the ninth chapter of the *Book of Proverbs*²⁸.

²⁵ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 270; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Program...*, p. 341; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600; K.C. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Б. ТОДИЋ, *Грачаница...*, p. 145; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 66; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁶ I.D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 141; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 270; K.C. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Б. ТОДИЋ, *Грачаница...*, p. 207; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

²⁷ S. RAĐOČIĆ, *La table...*, p. 220–221; ИДЕМ, *О Трпези Премудрости...*, p. 226–227; K.C. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 44; В. ТОДИЋ, *Serbian Medieval Painting...*, p. 154, 250, 331; ИДЕМ, *Грачаница...*, p. 144, 194–195; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁸ V.R. РЕТКОВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. VII, 98; I.D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 141; А.М. АММАНН, *op. cit.*, p. 145; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 271; С. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *Старо српско сликарство*, Београд 1966, p. 136; ИДЕМ, *La table...*, p. 221; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 222–223; Л. ПРАШКОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 155; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 139; С. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *О Трпези Премудрости...*, p. 227; ИДЕМ, *Улога антике у старом српском сликарству*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Одабрани чланци и студије...*, p. 71; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 8; И.Ф. МЕЙЕНДОРФ, *Тема...*, p. 246; ИДЕМ, *Wisdom – Sophia...*, p. 394; В. ТОДИЋ, *Tradition et innovations dans le programme et l'iconographie des fresques de Dečani*, [in:] *Dečani et l'art Byzantin au milieu du XIV^e siècle. A l'occasion de la celebration de 650 ans du monastere de Dečani. Septembre 1985*, ed. V.J. DJURIĆ, Beograd 1989, p. 258–259; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 600–601; K.C. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 44; L. LIŠIĆ, *Die Ikone...*, p. 31; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194; Л. ЛИШИЦ, *Премудрость...*, p. 140; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 67; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; М. ГЛИГОРИЈЕВИЋ-МАКСИМОВИЋ, *Иконографија Богородичиних пробраза у српском сликарству од средине XIV до средине XV века*, ЗРВИ 43, 2006, p. 286, 300; А. ДЕУНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 34; М. GLIGORIJEVIĆ-MAKSIMOVIC, *Classical Elements...*, p. 366; V. TSA-MAKDA, *op. cit.*, p. 227; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 299–300; Д. БОЈОВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Е.Б. ГРОВОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 7; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

In the painting, located in the western part of the vault, there is Lady Wisdom sitting on a throne next to a table laid for a feast. The image refers to the representation of *Sophia*, common in 14th-century Serbian painting: she is covered with a pink chiton, trimmed with a gold ribbon around the neck and a green himation. The head is uncovered and adorned with a glory composed of two figures – a golden circle, behind which the contours of a rhombus are visible. Behind *Sophia* there is a pair of wings. The personified Wisdom holds in her left hand a scroll of parchment and she puts her right hand up. In the background there is a building, which is certainly a representation of the house of *Sophia*. In the upper part of the scheme there is a quote from Prov 9, 1 (*Wisdom hath built herself a house, she hath hewn her out seven pillars*)²⁹.

In the northern part of the vault there is a painting that illustrates Prov 9, 3–4 (*She hath sent her maids to invite to the tower and to the walls of the city: Whosoever is a little one, let him come to me!*). Again there is a generously laid table and behind it are two winged figures, most probably – the images of the maids of the Lady Wisdom. The figure on the left holds in her hands a loaf of bread and her companion holds up a cup of wine³⁰. The interpretational context is thus extended by clear connotations of the Eucharist³¹. The third scene, located in the eastern part of the vault, is worst-preserved. In the center there is a table with a purple canopy on it. The figure represented on the left side of the painting can be interpreted – by analogy with the above discussed depictions of Ohrid and the Hilandar Monastery – as the image of the personification of Divine Wisdom inviting people who want to accompany her to the feast. The representation was likely accompanied by a quote from Proverbs 9, 5 (*Come, eat my bread*)³².

In the last southern part there is a scheme based on the painted representations of the scene of the Communion of the Apostles. The winged figure located on the left side of the painting can probably be regarded as an image of *Sophia*, taking into account the fact that the figure is covered with identical robes as the personification

²⁹ I.D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 141; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 271–272; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Program...*, p. 341; V. TODIĆ, *Tradition...*, p. 259; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194–195; И.М. ЂОРЂЕВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 196; М. ГЛИГОРИЈЕВИЋ-МАКСИМОВИЋ, *Иконографија...*, p. 285; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 134–135.

³⁰ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 272; V. TODIĆ, *Tradition...*, p. 259; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 195; М. ГЛИГОРИЈЕВИЋ-МАКСИМОВИЋ, *Иконографија...*, p. 285; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300–301; В. СВЕТКОВИЋ, *Some Hierotopical Aspects of the New Jerusalem Programmes in the Fifteenth-century Serbia*, [in:] *Новые Иерусалимы. Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств*, ed. А.М. Лидов, Москва 2009, p. 618, 631; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 135–136.

³¹ I.D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 141; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 272; V. TODIĆ, *Tradition...*, p. 259; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 194–195; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 301; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

³² J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 272; V. TODIĆ, *Tradition...*, p. 259; М. ГЛИГОРИЈЕВИЋ-МАКСИМОВИЋ, *Иконографија...*, p. 285; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 301; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

of Divine Wisdom in the first scene of the group. She leans in the direction of an imaginary group of people next to her, giving a cup of wine to the man standing closest to her. In the upper part of the depiction there is an inscription taken from Prov 9, 5 (*drink the wine which I have mingled for you!*)³³.

The tendency to depict Divine Wisdom in the form of a young woman, dressed in costume based on the ancient Greek fashion, spread in the land of Eastern Slavs in the second half of the 14th century. At the end of the century the first attempts to develop the story in terms of iconography, originating from the ninth chapter of the *Book of Proverbs*, appeared in the Russian art. Perhaps the oldest known example of the illustration of Prov 9, 1–6, coming from Russia, is a miniature, located in the lower right corner of the 63rd card of the *Kiev Psalter* (1397, РНБ, ОЛДП f. 6) right next to the text of Psalm 45³⁴. There is a small-sized figure, represented inside a building with three domes with a cross. Putting both hands up, it seems to support the ceiling of the building. Its head is uncovered and surrounded by a circular, golden glory. Behind this there is a pair of outstretched wings³⁵. It is also worth nothing that the figure is covered with an unusual kind of robes. They do not resemble – which one would expect given the means of representing *Sophia* in South Slavic painting – an ancient female chiton, evoking associations with the official regal costume (purple robes with a gold sash and dark red shoes)³⁶. The image seems to anticipate certain elements of the representation of Divine Wisdom, typical of the art of Novgorod the Great in the 15th and 16th centuries. In the upper part there is an inscription, which leaves no doubts of the identity

³³ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 272–273; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Note...*, p. 215; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 223; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 9; В. ТОДИЋ, *Tradition...*, p. 259; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 195; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *Премудрость...*, p. 140; М. ГЛИГОРИЈЕВИЋ-МАКСИМОВИЋ, *Иконографија...*, p. 286; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Д. БОЈОВИЋ, *op. cit.*, p. 68; М. ЧХЕНКЕЛИ, *op. cit.*, p. 135–136.

³⁴ *Киевская Псалтирь 1397 года из Государственной Публичной Библиотеки имени М.Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина в Ленинграде* [ОЛДП F 6], ed. Т.В. ЮРОВА, Москва 1978, fol. 63; А.М. АММАНН, *op. cit.*, p. 144; В.Н. ЛАЗАРЕВ, *Мозаики Софии Киевской*, Москва 1960, p. 20; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Исследование о Киевской Псалтири*, Москва 1978, p. 64, 118; ИДЕМ, *Искусство книги в Древней Руси. Рукописная книга Северо-Восточной Руси XII–начала XV вв.*, Москва 1980, p. 49; И.Ф. МЕЙЕНДОРФ, *Тема...*, p. 246; ИДЕМ, *Wisdom–Sophia...*, p. 394; F. VON LILIENFELD, “*Frau Weisheit*” – *in Byzantinischen und Karolingischen Quellen des 9. Jahrhunderts – allegorische Personifikation, Hypostase oder Typos?*, [in:] ЕАДЕМ, *Sophia – die Weisheit Gottes. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1983–1995*, Erlangen 1997, p. 129; Г.В. ФЛОРОВСКИЙ, *О почитании Софии, Премудрости Божией, в Византии и на Руси*, [in:] *Догмат и история*, Москва 1998, p. 394–414; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 596; M. OSTERRIEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 46; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 8, 69, 71, 182; А. ДЕЙНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 6, 63; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 250, 292.

³⁵ Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Исследование...*, p. 118; J. MEYENDORFF, *Wisdom–Sophia...*, p. 394; F. VON LILIENFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 129; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 596; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 69, 182; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

³⁶ F. VON LILIENFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

of the figure, shown in the miniature: *ѿтая софія*³⁷. Experts are inclined to assume that the work contains a representation of the personification of Divine Wisdom, building a house for herself³⁸.

It is much harder, however, to give a definitive answer to the question why the depiction, referring to Prov 9, 1–6, was included by the creators of the *Kiev Psalter* in the form of illustrations to the text of Psalm 45. As emphasized by the researcher of the manuscript, G.I. Vzdornov, it is an unprecedented representation. In none of the preserved Byzantine and Slavic Psalters is there an image referring to the story of the ninth chapter of the *Book of Proverbs*³⁹. Furthermore, the miniature, which adorns the 63rd card of the manuscript, does not show any convergence in style and composition with the scenes of *Sophia's banquet*, known from 14th-century Serbian fresco painting. The only other artefact that could – with some degree of uncertainty – be considered a source of inspiration for the creators of this painting is a headpiece, which adorns one of the cards of Branko Mladenović Psalter, created in 1346 (currently kept at the National Library in Bucharest). A building with a dome and an inscription (*прѣмноу дро[стѣ] съз[д]а себѣ храм*) is represented on it⁴⁰.

The representation of the scene of *Sophia's banquet*, which certainly served as a model for other later depictions of this type, known from the Eastern Slavs, seems to be a painting from the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Volotovo⁴¹. It was completely destroyed during World War II. The examination

³⁷ A.M. AMMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Исследование...*, p. 64, 118; F. VON LILIENFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 129; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 596; M. OSTERRIEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 46; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 69; А. ДЕЙНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 6; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

³⁸ Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Исследование...*, p. 118.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 64, 118.

⁴⁰ S. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *La table...*, p. 219; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Исследование...*, p. 64; С. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *О Трпези Премудрости...*, p. 225; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴¹ J. MEYENDORF, *L'icônographie...*, p. 272, 274; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 212, 214; М.В. АЛПАТОВ, *Фрески церкви Успения на Волотовом Поле*, Москва 1977, p. 18–19, pl. 12; А.И. ЯКОВЛЕВА, “Образ мира” в иконе “София Премудрость Божия”, [in:] *Древнерусское искусство. Проблемы и атрибуции*, ed. В.Н. ЛАЗАРЕВ, О.И. ПОДОБЕДОВА, Москва 1977, p. 395; Э.С. СМЕРНОВА, *Миниатюры двух новгородских рукописей*, [in:] *Древнерусское искусство. Рукописная книга*, Москва 1983, p. 188; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 9; И.Ф. МЕЙЕНДОРФ, *Тема...*, p. 246; ИДЕМ, *Wisdom–Sophia...*, p. 394; D.F. FIENE, *op. cit.*, p. 454; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово. Фрески церкви Успения на Волотовом поле близ Новгорода*, Москва 1989, p. 57; P. BALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 601; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 60; L. LIĘŚC, *Die Ikone...*, p. 31–32; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; Н. ПИВОВАРОВА, *Премудрость и Церковь...*, p. 324; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *Премудрость...*, p. 142; М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Т.В. ВОЛОДИНА, *Культура региона: художественная культура Великого Новгорода. Избранные страницы*, Великий Новгород 2002, p. 27; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 76, 80; А. ДЕЙНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 34; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End. The Interpretation of the Last Judgment in a Novgorod Wisdom Icon*, Bsl 65, 2007, p. 282; A. SULIKOWSKA-GĄSKA, *Spory o ikony na Rusi w XV i XVI w.*, Warszawa 2007, p. 261; В. ПУЦКО, *Резная деревянная икона пинского князя*, ГБ 23, 2008; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 13. The

of the polychromy, which adorns its interior – made most likely in the 80–90^s – must therefore be carried out on the basis of photographs and drawings, prepared in the first quarter of the 20th century⁴².

The painting had the form of an elongated rectangle⁴³. In the lower left corner there are the contours of a table, on which, however – in contrast to the above-discussed Balkan iconographic schemes – there is nothing⁴⁴. Above it, as if in the background, there is a building, which resembles an ancient Greek sanctuary supported by seven pillars⁴⁵. On its roof, in the upper left corner of the painting there is a figure holding in its left hand an unfolded parchment. The inscription on it was read: *прѣ[мудрост]т[ь] созда со[вѣ] храмъ и [у]тверди столпъ 7 [за]кла своя же[р]тв[енная и раство]ри [в] ча[ше] свое[и] [вино и у]гото[в]ла свою трапезу посла сво[его] раба⁴⁶*. The above-mentioned quote can be identified as being from the *Book of Proverbs* 9, 1–3⁴⁷. It is much more difficult to interpret the depicted figure next to the inscription. Perhaps it is an image of biblical King Solomon who, in the Middle Ages, was considered the author of the *Book of Proverbs*⁴⁸. A further part of the scheme contains a depiction of Divine Wisdom sitting on a throne with her back to the viewer. *Sophia* is covered with regal robes as was the case in the miniature from the *Kiev Psalter* and on later icons from the Novgorod the Great. In one

idea of T.A. Sidorova, who assumed that the inclusion of the *Sophia's banquet* in the interior of the church in Volotovo was intended to oppose the Novgorod heresy of the *strigolniks*, has been rejected by the scholars; T.A. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 228–231; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, p. 66–67; P. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 602.

⁴² Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 301. In the interior of the church in Volotovo conservation works are being carried out to restore the greatest possible part (50–80%) of the original polychrome of the temple. The project is carried out in the Laboratory of Scientific Restoration *Freska* in Novgorod the Great under the direction of Tamara I. Anisimova. The scene of *Sophia's banquet*, which was originally located on the barrel vault of the narthex of the church, has not been reconstructed yet, but there is a chance that conservators who work on the painting will manage to restore it to its correct state in the near future.

⁴³ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, pl. 181.

⁴⁴ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; P. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 602; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; ИДЕМ, *Премудрость...*, p. 142; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴⁵ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 215; А.И. ЯКОВЛЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; P. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 602; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; ИДЕМ, *Премудрость...*, p. 142; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 77; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 20; P. HUNT, *The Wisdom Iconography...*, p. 104.

⁴⁶ Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, pl. 181.

⁴⁷ К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁴⁸ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 215; А.И. ЯКОВЛЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; P. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 602; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 78, 182; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

hand she holds a long sceptre. Her head is surrounded by a poorly preserved glory, which most probably originally had the shape of two overlapping rhombuses⁴⁹.

On the right side of the Divine Wisdom one can see the barely noticeable figures of her three servants, who (as in the *Book of Proverbs*) kill animals for the feast⁵⁰. Above them there is a figure of an old man holding a scroll in his hands. Unfortunately the inscription on it did not survive into the beginning of the 20th century⁵¹.

In the central part of the work there is a scene which resembles a representation from the Visoki Dečani Monastery: a group of servants give cups of wine to the people⁵². To the right of them there is another male figure who holds a scroll in his hand, with a fairly well-preserved inscription:

[вс]евин[н]а [и]п[о]дательна жнз[н]у вє[з ч]исла пре[мү]д[ро]сть в[о]ж[н]ия созда
храниъ свои от пр[ε]ч[и]стыя безмүжнныя м[а]т[ε]рє ц[ε]рк[о]вь плотнү обложи себе
славенъ прославися х[ри]сто[с]ъ в[о]г[г]ъ нашъ⁵³.

It is not difficult to note that this is a quote from one of the troparions from the first stanza of the canon of the Matins of Holy Thursday by Cosmas of Maiuma, in which the process of building a house by Divine Wisdom is compared to the act of Christ's incarnation in the human form through the Virgin Mary⁵⁴. In this context it seems quite probable that the two male figures, represented on the painting are, as it has been suggested in the literature, the images of those Byzantine hymnographers of the 8th century to whom Eastern Christian liturgical

⁴⁹ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 214–215; А.И. Яковлева, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Л.М. Евсеева, *Две символические композиции...*, p. 139; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Г.И. Вздорнов, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; Р. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 602; К.С. FELMҮ, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; ИДЕМ, *Премудрость...*, p. 142; В.Г. Брюсова, *op. cit.*, p. 77–78, 182; С. Золотарев, *op. cit.*, p. 301; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 13, 20; P. HUNT, *The Wisdom Iconography...*, p. 103–104.

⁵⁰ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Г.И. Вздорнов, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; Р. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 602; Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; В.Г. Брюсова, *op. cit.*, p. 78, 182; С. Золотарев, *op. cit.*, p. 301; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 20.

⁵¹ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Г.И. Вздорнов, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; Р. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 602; К.С. FELMҮ, *op. cit.*, p. 60; С. Золотарев, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁵² Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 215; А.И. Яковлева, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Г.И. Вздорнов, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 11; В.Г. Брюсова, *op. cit.*, p. 78; С. Золотарев, *op. cit.*, p. 301; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 20; P. HUNT, *The Wisdom Iconography...*, p. 103–104.

⁵³ Г.И. Вздорнов, *Волотово...*, pl. 181.

⁵⁴ А.И. Яковлева, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Г.И. Вздорнов, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; Р. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 603; К.С. FELMҮ, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; В.Г. Брюсова, *op. cit.*, p. 78; А. ДЕУНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 20; P. HUNT, *The Wisdom Iconography...*, p. 104.

poetry owes the most important works devoted to *Sophia*: Cosmas of Maiuma and his half-brother, John of Damascus, the author of the *Canon of Pascha*⁵⁵.

On the right edge there is – as if in reference to the text of the canon of the Matins of Holy Thursday – an image of the Virgin and Child. The intention of the anonymous artist is quite clear: the house of *Sophia* on the left side, a representation of a person, who in the hymnography of the Eastern Church was associated with it on the right one⁵⁶.

The painting from the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Volotovo is probably the oldest known attempt at the development of that motif of the *Sophia's banquet* in terms of iconography, coming from the East Slavs. In the discussed depiction there are references to the earlier iconographic schemes of this kind, emerging in the Balkans in the 13th and 14th centuries as well as some innovative elements, which in time would become typical of Russian representations, illustrating the story from the ninth chapter of the *Book of Proverbs*.

The most representative example of the East Slavic variant of the discussed iconographic scheme is the icon that was originally created for the church of the monastery of St. Cyril located in the vicinity of Novgorod the Great⁵⁷. This artefact, dated to the end of the 15th century⁵⁸ or the first half of the 16th century (up to 1548)⁵⁹, is now located in the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow

⁵⁵ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 223; А.И. ЯКОВЛЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, p. 58, pl. 181; Р. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 603; К.С. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 60; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 78, 182; В.Д. САРАБЬЯНОВ, Э.С. СМИРНОВА, *История древнерусской живописи*, Москва 2007, p. 312–313; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 302; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Р. HUNT, *The Wisdom Iconography...*, p. 104.

⁵⁶ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 215; А.И. ЯКОВЛЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 396; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Волотово...*, pl. 181; Р. VALCAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 602; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Т.В. ВОЛОДИНА, *op. cit.*, p. 27; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 78, 182; В.Д. САРАБЬЯНОВ, Э.С. СМИРНОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 312–313; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 7, 20; Р. HUNT, *The Wisdom Iconography...*, p. 104.

⁵⁷ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 212; D. LIKHACHOV, V. LAURINA, V. PUSHKARIOV, *Novgorod Icons 12th–17th century*, Leningrad 1980, pl. 205–206; D. LIKHACHOV, *Novgorod. Art Treasures and Architectural Monuments 11th–18th centuries. Architecture. Frescoes. Archeological Artefacts. Minor Arts. Icons. Illuminated MSS*, Leningrad 1984, pl. 196; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 12–13; К.С. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 57; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 183; Р. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 281; В.Д. САРАБЬЯНОВ, Э.С. СМИРНОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 590; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*; A. TRADIGO, *Ikony i święci prawosławni*, trans. E. MACISZEWSKA, Warszawa 2011, p. 45.

⁵⁸ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 274; М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Р. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 281; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁵⁹ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 274; D. LIKHACHOV, V. LAURINA, V. PUSHKARIOV, *op. cit.*, pl. 205–206; D. LIKHACHOV, *op. cit.*, pl. 196; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 12–13; Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Г.К. ВАГНЕР, Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, Р.Г. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Великая Русь. История и художественная культура X–XVII в.*, Москва 1994, p. 360, 371; К.С. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 95; А. ДЕЙНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 35; В.Д. САРАБЬЯНОВ, Э.С. СМИРНОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 590; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 302; А. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

(inventory № 28830)⁶⁰. The icon – like many other 16th century Russian sacral paintings – is a well-developed image in terms of composition⁶¹. The scene of the feast, laid by Lady Wisdom is included. The figure of *Sophia* is located on the left side of the depiction – just as it is in the painting in the church of the Mother of God Peribleptos in Ohrid, in the Hilandar Monastery or the church in Volotovo. Her image was agreed with the typical sapiential iconography, which was already widespread in that period in Russia – like the ancient representation of muses. *Sophia* is wearing a white chiton, which uncovers the shoulders and clearly emphasizes the bustline. It is worth noting the windswept robes shown in almost the same way as in miniatures adorning Russian Gospels of the 15th and 16th centuries (e.g. МГУ, 2 Bg 42; РГБ, ф. 247, Рогожск. № 138; БАН, 13.1.26). The head of *Sophia* is uncovered and surrounded by a glory, consisting of two rhombuses in red and green. The Divine Wisdom sits on a throne, supported by seven pillars. In her right hand she holds a long sceptre and in her left she holds the Eucharistic chalice⁶².

Interestingly enough, the figure of *Sophia* is surrounded by an extensive mandorla, consisting of several concentric circles. Perhaps the introduction of the element to the depiction should be explained as a reference to the theological concepts of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. It may be suggested by the placement of angelic figures in the two outer circles, described in the pages of the *Celestial Hierarchy*: seraphim, cherubim, thrones (first-sphere angels, which are closest to the Creator) in the red field and the angels of lower orders in the green and brown circle, which is most distant from Divine Wisdom⁶³. It cannot also be excluded that it is an attempt of iconographic representation of the most important themes of the theology of Gregory Palamas. The circles directly surrounding *Sophia* are almost completely black, which can be interpreted as a reflection of the image of the unsearchable nature of God. Angels located in further spheres (red and green) would, in this context, be the personification of God's uncreated energies⁶⁴.

⁶⁰ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 212; D. ЛІКНАСНОВ, V. LAURINA, V. PUSHKARIOV, *op. cit.*, pl. 205–206; D. ЛІКНАСНОВ, *op. cit.*, pl. 196; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Г.К. ВАГНЕР, Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, Р.Г. СКРЫННИКОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 360, 371; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 53; М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 57; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 95; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 281; В.Д. САРАБЬЯНОВ, Э.С. СМІРНОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 590; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 303; А. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁶¹ В.Д. САРАБЬЯНОВ, Э.С. СМІРНОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 594–595; А. SULIKOWSKA-GAŚKA, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁶² J. MEYENDORFF, *L'iconographie...*, p. 274; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 213; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 54, 56; L. LIŠIĆ, *La Sapienza...*, p. 64; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Л. ЛИФШИЦ, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 16; ИДЕМ, *Премудрость...*, p. 146; М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 13; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 90–91; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 282–283; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*; А. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁶³ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 13, 15; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196.

⁶⁴ А. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

The icon is, above all, a faithful illustration of the text of Prov 9, 1–6. Next to the figure of *Sophia* there is a table laid for a feast, at which her servants are bustling about. One of them pours wine from the amphorae in the ground into pots and cups. Behind him two other men kill calves which are to be eaten during the feast⁶⁵. In the background there are seven servants of Divine Wisdom, giving out – in the same way as on the Volotovo painting – cups of wine to people⁶⁶.

There are also three other figures that appear in the same context on a wall painting in the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Volotovo. On the right side there is a figure of the Virgin and Child in an identical mandorla as *Sophia*. The glory consists of several concentric circles, the last of which, the most external one, includes red figures of seraphim and cherubim⁶⁷. On the back facade of the building there appears a male figure, depicted in regal purple robes and a gold crown. It can be identified as King Solomon. He holds in his left hand a scroll with a quote from Prov 9, 1⁶⁸. At the foot of the Mother of God is another figure of a saint. His attire (dark brown cloak and white turban on his head) seems to suggest that it is a portrait of John Damascene⁶⁹. However, a different interpretation can be adopted if one takes into account the text located on the scroll the saint holds (всєвин[н]аа и жив[о]тѣ податєлнаа м[у]дрость божиа соз[д]а хр[и]ста собѣ), which is a fragment of the first stanza of the canon of the Matins of Holy Thursday by Cosmas of Maiuma⁷⁰.

In the upper part of the icon there is a representation of the house of Lady Wisdom. It was given the form of large six-pillar basilica with seven domes (six smaller and one central)⁷¹. Below there is a depiction of seven ecumenical councils.

⁶⁵ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 213–214; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 213; М.Н. Громов, *op. cit.*, p. 57; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 284; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*; A. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁶⁷ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icônographie...*, p. 274; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 12–13; К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 58; М.Н. Громов, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 13; В.Г. Брюсова, *op. cit.*, p. 92; А. ДЕЙНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 35; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 284, 287; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*; A. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁶⁸ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icônographie...*, p. 274; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 213; В.Г. Брюсова, *Толкование на IX Притчу Соломона в Изборнике 1073 г.*, [in:] *Изборник Святослава 1073 г. Сборник статей*, ed. Б.А. Рыбаков, Москва 1977, p. 300; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 13; К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 56; М.Н. Громов, *op. cit.*, p. 57; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 91; А. ДЕЙНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 35; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 287; A. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁶⁹ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icônographie...*, p. 274; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 213, 220; В.Г. Брюсова, *Толкование...*, p. 300; К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 58; М.Н. Громов, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 13, 20; А. ДЕЙНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 35; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*; A. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁷⁰ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icônographie...*, p. 274; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 213, 220; В.Г. Брюсова, *Толкование...*, p. 300; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 13; К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 13, 20; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 92, 97; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 287; A. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁷¹ J. MEYENDORFF, *L'icônographie...*, p. 276; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 214; К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 92, 183; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 284.

This gives the impression that it is an element which was ineptly combined with the image of a temple, probably added by a later author⁷². It is worth noting that although the conciliar scenes were shown fairly conventionally (each of the meetings of the clergy is chaired by the emperor sitting in the center of the congregation), the 16th century artist included a few historical details. For example, in the depiction of the council in Chalcedon (451), which was held in the St. Euphemia Church there is a figure of a saint resting on her tomb; in the scene of the council in Nicaea of 787 the figures of two rulers: Empress Irene and her son Constantine VI can be seen⁷³. In the uppermost part of the depiction there are seven angelic figures, included in medallions. Each of them holds a scroll with a different quotation from the Old Testament *Book of Wisdom* (Wis 2, 24; 1, 5; 2, 23; 1, 12; 1, 13; 2, 1)⁷⁴. These figures probably represent the gifts of the Holy Spirit or the churches of the Apocalypse of John⁷⁵.

Summing up, the icon is the most complete representation of the motif of *Sophia's banquet*. It contains many direct references to the text of the *Book of Proverbs* and to Christian symbolism (the sacrament of the Eucharist, the dogma of the incarnation of Christ). A novelty is, however, an attempt to extend the interpretational context of the artefact with a historical thread, represented by a fairly realistic depiction of seven ecumenical councils⁷⁶.

At this point it is worth noting that the work may have served as a model for later artists. To this day, three 16th century icons, carved in wood, have been preserved, which contain representations of *Sophia's banquet*, and show significant compositional and stylistic similarity to the above painting. Perhaps the oldest of them is a small icon, originally held in the collection of A.S. Uvarov, and currently in the collections of the State Historical Museum in Moscow (ГИМ, № ОК 9153)⁷⁷. There is still a lack of unanimity as to the dating of the object. In the literature there is information that it was created at the end of the 15th century⁷⁸,

⁷² М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 57; P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 281, 284, 290; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*

⁷³ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 214; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; А. ДЕУНЕКА, *op. cit.*, p. 35; А. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁷⁴ Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 214; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 53–54; Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 57; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*

⁷⁵ Л.М. ЕВСЕЕВА, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; М.Н. ГРОМОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 13; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 97, 183; А. TRADIGO, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁷⁶ P. HUNT, *Confronting the End...*, p. 287.

⁷⁷ А. УВАРОВ, *Резная икона "Премудрость созда себе дом", принадлежавшая пинскому князю Федору Ивановичу Ярославичу, 1499–1522*, Москва 1867, p. 8; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 212, pl. 3; И.И. ПЛЕШАНОВА, *Два резных образа в собрании Русского Музея*, Пку 1979/1980, p. 209, 210, 216–217; Г.М. ПРОХОРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 9; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 60; Е.Б. ГРОМОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 20; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 117; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*; С. ЗОЛОТАРЕВ, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁷⁸ А. УВАРОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 8; В. ПУЦКО, *op. cit.*

at the turn of the century⁷⁹ or even in the first half of the 16th century⁸⁰. It has been suggested the icon was made in Novgorod⁸¹.

There is no doubt that the iconographic scheme in the icon clearly refers to the previous representations of the scene from Prov 9, 1–6, known to us from Russia. The personification of Divine Wisdom is placed on the left side of the depiction. Her figure inscribed in a circle is characterized by unprecedented delicacy. *Sophia* sits on the throne, supporting her feet on the footrest. She is enshrouded with ancient Greek robes, whose windswept ends seem to fall freely behind the back of the figure. The head of Lady Wisdom is revealed and adorned with a rhombus glory. In her right hand *Sophia* holds a sceptre and in her left most probably an Eucharistic chalice⁸². Right next to the figure of Divine Wisdom there is a table with two items, which would give rise to associations with the sacrament of the Eucharist: a cup of wine and a loaf of bread. Around them the servants of *Sophia* are bustling about: three of them are killing animals, one is pouring wine into cups and five of them are giving full cups to people⁸³.

In the upper left corner, the house of Wisdom is represented by a three-aisled basilica, decorated with a portico supported by seven columns. There are also a few figures which had already appeared in the same context on the icon at the Tretyakov Gallery and described previously. On the right side there is an image of the Virgin sitting on a throne with the Child on her knees. It is surrounded by a circular nimbus. Just above the figure of the Virgin there are seven medallions with the busts of angels. Next to the facade of the house of Wisdom there are also two male figures holding scrolls in their hands. They may be interpreted as King Solomon and Cosmas of Maiuma⁸⁴. Unfortunately, it is impossible to read the inscriptions now, due to a bad condition of the object.

The representation of the scene of *Sophia's banquet* on two other icons carved in wood should be regarded as a faithful representation of the same scheme that shaped the depiction on the icon from the collection of Uvarov. The examination of both will, therefore, be limited to the identification of the elements differentiating the three artefacts.

The perfectly preserved representation of *Sophia*, holding a feast in the house built by herself, can be found on a miniature relief icon, which now belongs to

⁷⁹ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, pl. 3; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 9; К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 60–61; Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁸⁰ И.И. Плешанова, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁸¹ Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196.

⁸² К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 60–61; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 117; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*

⁸³ А. Уваров, *op. cit.*, p. 9; К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁸⁴ А. Уваров, *op. cit.*, p. 8–9; К.С. FELMY, *op. cit.*, p. 60–61; Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 117.

the collection of the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg (ГРМ, № ДРД-47)⁸⁵. It was made – according to the inscription on the reverse – by a priest named Ananias and then offered by Fyodor Ivanovič Yaroslavovič to Fyodor Ivanovič Ščepin: **ДАНА БЫТЬ КНЯЗЕМЪ ФЕДОРОМЪ ИВАНОВИЧЕМЪ ЯРОСЛАВИЧА ФЕДОРОУ ИВАНОВИЧОУ ЦЕПИНОУ РОБИЛЪ ПОПЪ АНАНІЯ**⁸⁶. The first of the above-mentioned figures can be identified as the Duke of Pinsk Fyodor (died 1525)⁸⁷. On this basis it should be assumed that the artefact was created in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Moreover, a paleographic analysis of the quote of Prov 9, 1–2 on the icon suggests that it was taken from the so-called *Bible by Francis Skoryna* – an old print issued early in 1517. The date of creation of the icon should therefore be limited to between 1517 and 1525⁸⁸.

The personification of Divine Wisdom is represented in almost the same way as on the icon coming from the collection of A.S. Uvarov. *Sophia* sits on the throne, supporting her feet on the footrest. She is covered with a chiton and himation on her shoulder. Her head is uncovered and surrounded by a standard circular nimbus. In her left hand she holds a scroll and stretches out her right hand as a gesture of blessing. Interestingly, the gender of *Sophia* cannot be clearly defined. The figure is massive and the hair is short. Perhaps the intention of the author was to represent not a female personification of Divine Wisdom, but Christ Emmanuel. This can be proven by the inscription located next to the figure: **ИС ХС**. The figure of *Sophia* is surrounded by a circular nimbus with an inscription in the rim: **ЗАКЛА СВОЯ ЖРТВИ ЧЕРПАЕША ЧШИ ВИНО** (Prov 9, 2)⁸⁹.

The scene of *Sophia's banquet* is presented in a fairly conventional way. Next to the figure of *Sophia* there is an empty table around which servants are bustling about: two of them kill animals, one pours wine, and others are giving filled cups to people gathered around them. Above this there is the façade of the house of Wisdom. King Solomon leans out from the balcony, holding a scroll with the text of Prov 9, 1: **ПРМДРОСТЬ СОЗДА СЕБЕ ХРМЪ И ЧТЕРДИ СТАП СДМЪ**. On the right side there is an image of the Mother of God with Child surrounded by a glory with a fragment of the Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom depicted in its rim: **ЧЕСНЕНШЦЮ ХЕРУБИМЪ И СЛАВЕНШЦЮ ВО ИС[ТИН]У СЕРАФИМЪ**].

⁸⁵ Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 212; И.И. Плешанова, *op. cit.*, p. 210–211, 216; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 12; К.С. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 60, 62; Л.М. Евсеева, *Пир Премудрости...*, p. 196; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 20; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 115; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*; С. Золотарев, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

⁸⁶ И.И. Плешанова, *op. cit.*, p. 214; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 115–116.

⁸⁷ А. Уваров, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 212; И.И. Плешанова, *op. cit.*, p. 209, 214; К.С. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 60–62; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 116; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*; С. Золотарев, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

⁸⁸ В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ И.И. Плешанова, *op. cit.*, p. 211; К.С. FELMU, *op. cit.*, p. 61; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 115; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*

Below, there is a figure of Cosmas of Maiuma holding a scroll with a quote from the first stanza of the canon of the Matins of Holy Thursday: **БОЖИИНА ПОДЯТЪЛНА МЪДРОСТЪ**. In the upper part there are seven medallions with busts of angels. Above there is the following inscription: **СОФЕИ [ПРЕМУ]ДРОСТЪ ЕЖИЯ ДАИЯ БЫСТЪ КИЗМЪ ФЕДОРОМЪ ИЕ**⁹⁰.

It should be added that one more icon carved in wood has survived to this day, which – thanks to the inscription in the upper part – can be considered an object prepared at the request of the Duke of Pinsk Fyodor Ivanovič Yaroslavovič. Interestingly enough, for a long time it was known solely thanks to a drawing from mid-19th century attached to an article devoted to Russian art in the museum collections of Paris⁹¹. The layout of the icon is almost identical to the above-discussed depiction of the scene of *Sophia's banquet*. The differences are limited only to minor details, such as distribution of dishes on the table, lack of mandorla surrounding the angelic figures and minimal discrepancies in the method of staging the figures. The only element that makes it possible to give a clear (negative) answer to the question whether the icon from the Paris collection and that from the State Russian Museum, is the same one is the accompanying inscription. It can be read as follows: **СОФЕИ ПРЕМУДРОСТЪ ЕЖЯ ВРОБЛЕНА ПОВЕЛЕНІЕМЪ БЛГОБЕРНА КИЗЯ ФЕДОРА ИВАНОВИЧА ЯРОСЛАВЧА**⁹².

An interesting representation of *Sophia's banquet* can be found in a part of a foldable icon, made in the 16th century for the Ipatiev Monastery in Kostroma⁹³. In this small artwork, carved in bone, there is *Sophia* sitting next to a richly laden table. Her figure was stylized to look similar to ancient images of muses: personified Wisdom is wearing a chiton and himation. Her head is uncovered and surrounded by a circular nimbus. Right next to *Sophia's face* there is an inscription: **ИГ ХГ**. Wisdom is accompanied by three servants: one of them in the foreground kills a calf, and two other give cups of wine to people gathered on the right side of the iconographic scheme. Above is the image of Mother of God, in a circular mandorla. In the upper left corner there is a representation of the house of *Sophia*,

⁹⁰ И.И. Плешанова, *op. cit.*, p. 211; К.С. FELМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 61; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 115; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*

⁹¹ А. Уваров, *op. cit.*, p. 1; П. Лебединцев, *София Премудрость Божия в иконографии Севера и Юга России*, Киевская Страница 10, 1884, p. 565; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 212, pl. 4; И.И. Плешанова, *op. cit.*, p. 209, 210; Г.М. Прохоров, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Е.Б. Громова, *op. cit.*, p. 20; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 116; В. Пуцко, *op. cit.*

⁹² А. Уваров, *op. cit.*, p. 1; П. Лебединцев, *op. cit.*, p. 565; К.С. FELМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 61; В.Г. Брюсова, *София Премудрость Божия...*, p. 116.

⁹³ Н.В. Покровский, *Древности Костромского Ипатьевского монастыря*, ВАИ 4, 1885, p. 21; Т.А. Сидорова, *op. cit.*, p. 212, pl. 7; И.И. Плешанова, *op. cit.*, p. 211; К.С. FELМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 63; М.Н. Громов, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

next to which there are two male figures who look at Mary. Most probably they are King Solomon and Cosmas of Maiuma⁹⁴.

The overview of Eastern Slavic art depicting the scene of *Sophia's banquet*, with reference to the compositional scheme worked out in Russia in the 14th and 15th centuries, should be concluded with a discussion of a 17th-century icon made for the Shelter of the Mother of God church, in the Rogozhskoe Cemetery of the Old Believers in Moscow⁹⁵. At first glance, this painting seems to be a true copy of the above-described depictions. The figure of Divine Wisdom in a mandorla consisting of several concentric circles is located at the left side of the picture. In the foreground there is a table, around which servants are bustling about, two of them killing an animal, one pouring wine into cups which are then distributed to the assembled people. Just above this there are the figures of Solomon and Cosmas of Maiuma, holding scrolls in their hands. A huge building, the house of Wisdom is right behind the king. Over the head of the hymnographer there are eight medallions. The largest of them holds an image of the Virgin with Child, whereas the other contain busts of angels. The picture is accompanied by a quote from Prov 9, 1: *ПРЕМУДРОСТЬ СОЗДА СЕБЕ ХРАМИТЬ И ОУТВЕРДИ СТОЛПОВЕЪ СЕДИМЬ*⁹⁶.

Where is the novelty then? At first, it should be emphasized that on the left side of the picture, i.e. in the place where one would expect to find a female personification of the Divine Wisdom, there is a figure of a long-bearded old man sitting on a throne, surrounded by angelic figures. He is enshrouded in a white robe and his head is surrounded by a nimbus of two rhombuses: red and brown. It should be assumed that this is a non-canonical depiction of God the Father like in the so-called *Ancient of Days* (in reference to the vision of the prophet Daniel)⁹⁷. The picture would be therefore one of the earliest pieces of evidence of the identification of *Sophia* with the First Hypostasis in Russian spirituality.

In the 17th century, a separate depiction of *Sophia's banquet*, modeled upon Western European patterns, began to form among Eastern Slavs. It will not be discussed at this time, since it falls outside the chronological limits of this article⁹⁸. Finally, it is worth noting that the considered motif appears in the post-Byzantine

⁹⁴ Н.В. ПОКРОВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 218; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁹⁵ Н.П. КОНДАКОВ, *Лицевой иконописный подлинник*, vol. I, *Иконография Господа Бога и Спаса нашего Иисуса Христа*, Санкт-Петербург 1905, p. 88, pl. 34; Т.А. СИДОРОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 212; В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *Толкование...*, p. 298; И.И. ПЛЕШАНОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 210; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 63.

⁹⁶ В.Г. БРЮСОВА, *Толкование...*, p. 298; К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁹⁷ К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁹⁸ Discussion on the representations of the scene of *Sophia's banquet* from the 17th and 18th centuries can be found in the article: К.С. ФЕЛМУ, *op. cit.*, p. 46–53.

period paintings that decorate the monasteries in the area of Bukovina, including the Sucevița monastery (16th century)⁹⁹.

In conclusion, the motif described in this article enjoyed great popularity in the art of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. At the turn of the 14th century iconographic depictions, referring to Prov 9, 1–6, began to appear. Initially the scene of *Sophia's banquet* became common in South Slavic painting to arrive in Russia in the middle of the 14th century. On the artefacts that illustrate the story of the ninth chapter of the *Book of Proverbs*, *Sophia* is usually represented as a young woman in ancient Greek robes (chiton and himation). Her head is surrounded by a distinctive nimbus, of two figures: a circle and a rhombus (in the Balkans) or two intersecting rhombuses (Russia). In the images of this type it is possible sometimes to see an attempt to identify *Sophia* with Christ.

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⁹⁹ I.D. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *op. cit.*, p. 140, 141–142, 164; A.M. AMMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 145; N. ISAR, *L'espace iconique – inscription et transfiguration. La rhétorique paradoxale de l'image sacrée à l'âge post-byzantin*, SeS 3/4, 2005/2006, p. 203, 204, 207, pl. 2.

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Abstract. *Sophia's banquet (Divine Wisdom's banquet)* – this type of iconography is an illustration of a specific passage of the ninth chapter of the Old Testament *Book of Proverbs: Wisdom hath built herself a house* (Prov 9, 1–6). That text became widespread in Old Russian literature within liturgical books containing passages of the Old Testament. Also the comment of Anastasius Sinaites for Proverbs 9, 1–6 was translated into Old Church Slavonic. Iconographic images of the Wisdom's banquet scene should be considered as a phenomenon typical of South Slavic wall paintings from the period of fourteenth century. Later on, the discussed motif became popular in Old Russian art and began to appear on the East Slavic icons.

Keywords: *Sophia*, Divine Wisdom, *Book of Proverbs*, medieval Slavic art

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III. 1. Three-headed personification of Divine Wisdom from the scene of *Sophia's banquet* (Prov 9, 1–6). The eastern wall of the narthex of the Church of Entrance of the Holy Mother of God into the Temple (a part of the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos), 1320–1321. Drawing by E. Myślińska-Brzozowska.

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III. 2. *Sophia's banquet* – a painting on the eastern wall of the altar in the Church of the Annunciation in the Serbian Gračanica Monastery, 1321. The Old Church Slavonic inscription in the upper register quotes Prov 9, 1. Drawing by E. Myślińska-Brzozowska.

Magdalena Garnczarska (Kraków)

THE ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIF OF A GRIFFIN AND A HARE ON THE SO-CALLED SARACENIC-SICILIAN CASKET FROM THE WAWEL CATHEDRAL TREASURY IN CRACOW

This text deals with a set of common artistic tastes connecting Islamic and Byzantine court culture. These common artistic tastes concerned the luxurious works of secular art. The main research method used to explore the issue was a comparative analysis of the iconographic sources, including the written ones. The so-called Saracenic-Sicilian casket from the Wawel Cathedral Treasury in Cracow serves as an example of the analysis of these inter-cultural connections, as it showcases the Arabic-Byzantine artistic links.

The Saracenic-Sicilian casket is made of silver and decorated in techniques such as beaten, repoussé, cast, engraved, nielloed and gilded¹. It has a cuboidal form, a lid of trapezoidal sides and a rectangular handle (18 × 24 × 15 cm)². The longer sides are decorated with the following combat scenes: a man killing a lion with a knife, a lion biting a naked man, an armoured horseman fighting with a footman, and a man on horseback stabbing a lion. Each scene is framed in two semi-circular arches on thickset columns. The shorter sides are decorated with fantastic animal struggles: a lion biting a creature of two bodies and one head, a dragon with two heads biting a chimera. Confronted pairs of animals are depicted on the lid: lions, griffins (on the longer sides), and peacocks. A hare-like animal³ is depicted on the top. Additionally, the base of the lid is encircled with Kufic letters. The Arabic sentence, repeated three times, is usually translated as: *To you alone does the whole state*

¹ The photographs of the casket in: A. LIC, *Wybrane motywy literackie pieśni cyklu akrytyckiego w programie przedstawień na srebrnej skrzyneczce w zbiorach Muzeum Katedralnego im. Jana Pawła II na Wawelu*, Kraków 2011, p. 98–101 (master's thesis; the typescript in the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow).

² M. WALCZAK, *Casket, called a Saracenic-Sicilian casket*, [in:] *Wawel 1000–2000: Jubilee Exhibition. Artistic Culture of the Royal Court and the Cathedral*, ed. M. PIWOCKA, D. NOWACKI, trans. K. MALCHAREK, K. KWAŚNIEWICZ, Cracow 2000, vol. I, p. 220. The Polish version of the catalogue: *Wawel 1000–2000: wystawa jubileuszowa. Kultura artystyczna dworu królewskiego i katedry*, ed. M. PIWOCKA, D. NOWACKI, Kraków 2000, p. 219.

³ It is sometimes considered as a dog, cf. A. LIC, *op. cit.*, p. 11, 59–60.

*belong, and I love you, or: To the possessor of the kingdom for ever and ever*⁴. Recently, Dorota Malarczyk of the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Jagellonian University translated it as: *He is a ruler of the whole kingdom, I love you, or: The whole kingdom belongs to him, I love you*⁵.

The casket was recorded in the 1110 inventory of the treasury of Cracow Cathedral as one of the box-shaped reliquaries. The 1563 inventory called it a reliquary for the soil sprinkled with the blood of Saint Stanislaus (*gleba S. Stanislai*), the bishop of Cracow, who was murdered in 1079. In 1602 the box – with other reliquaries – was put in a special container, which was hidden in the cathedral and after that it fell into oblivion. The casket was found by accident on 8th March 1881, during the visitation by Bishop Albin Dunajewski and then it was displayed for the first time⁶. During the Second World War the box was in possession of Werner Kundlich (who took it on 4th June 1940)⁷. The box was returned to the Wawel State Collections of Art on 23rd July 1945 damaged, but the conservation was not carried out – by Wojciech Bochnak – until 1999. Since then it has been displayed in the John Paul II Cathedral Museum⁸.

For the first time the casket was analysed by Igancy Polkowski in 1881. He recognized it as Persian work from the Sassanian period of the 5th century⁹. Since then, researchers have been pointing to various other possible places of origins of the box. Marian Sokołowski identified it as a Saracenic work of art from the 12th century. Furthermore, he claimed that the casket was made in Asia, in the areas conquered by the crusaders¹⁰. Tadeusz Kruszyński suggested Sicily, because it is there, that the full fusion of the Arabic and Christian art took place in twelfth century. He also mentioned the influence of Byzantine art¹¹. In the following years the casket was mentioned in more general publications and researchers usually just referred to the discussed hypotheses on the origin of the box¹². Only recently,

⁴ I. POLKOWSKI, *Skarbiec katedralny na Wawelu w 32 tablicach autografowanych przedstawiony*, Kraków 1882, s.p. (cetera: *skarbiec katedralny*); M. SOKOŁOWSKI, *Trzy zabytki Dalekiego Wschodu na naszych ziemiach*, SKBHS 3, 1884, p. 156. The English translation by: M. WALCZAK, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁵ English translation by the author. B. BIEDROŃSKA-SŁOTA, *Skrzyneczka relikwiarzowa ze skarbcza katedry na Wawelu*, [in:] *Magistro et Amico amici discipulique. Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, ed. J. GADOMSKI, Kraków 2002, p. 665.

⁶ M. WALCZAK, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁷ For further details on this event, cf. J. URBAN, *Katedra na Wawelu w latach 1939–1945 w relacji księdza Kazimierza Figlewicza*, ACr 28, 1996, p. 575.

⁸ M. WALCZAK, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁹ I. POLKOWSKI, *Dawne relikwiarze Katedry Krakowskiej*, „Czas” 84, 1881, s.p.; IDEM, *Skarbiec katedralny*.

¹⁰ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 153–160.

¹¹ T. KRUSZYŃSKI, *Srebrny relikwiarz średniowieczny w skarbcu Katedry Wawelskiej*, [in:] *Skarbiec Katedry Wawelskiej i Muzeum Metropolitalne*, Kraków s.a., p. 8–37.

¹² E.g. cf.: *Katalog zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, t. IV, *Miasto Kraków*, cz. I, *Wawel*, ed. J. SZABLŃSKI, Kraków 1965, s. 117–118; M. WALICKI, *Wyposażenie artystyczne dworu i kościoła*, [in:] *Sztuka przed-*

Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa has put forward a new proposal about the provenance of the casket. She has discerned some links with art of the Latin West and suggested that the casket was made in France or in Germany in the second half of twelfth century¹³.

It should be emphasized that none of the proposed hypotheses is sufficiently convincing. Neither its iconography nor stylistic features allow for the unequivocal identification of the place of origin of the casket. Therefore, it is important to look at this situation from a different perspective, because the lack of answer to the question about the provenance is – paradoxically – also the answer. Namely, it is undeniable that the Wawel casket is an example of a high-quality and luxurious piece of art. It was probably intended for a person of high social status. Perhaps for a ruler – as it is indicated by the inscription – Islamic or Christian. In such a case, the issue of the provenance was not the most significant. Especially, as the motifs depicted on the box are universal and deeply rooted in the Mediterranean culture – combats of men and animals and fantastic creatures were well known in Arabic as well as in Christian art (both East and West, but particularly in Byzantium):

Warrior contests, battles of men and beasts, dancing, music making, and buffoonery were all favourite subjects for the courtly arts of the eastern Mediterranean, including those of Byzantium and Islam¹⁴.

So, all of the above-mentioned themes had the very decorative character. They can certainly be interpreted in many different ways, but it must be remembered that in secular art the references to religion were not too essential:

(...) luxury art representative of those spheres of life outside the strictly religious one, keeping in mind that in Byzantine society and culture there was never a clear-cut division between the secular and the religious. These worlds coexisted, tightly interwoven in daily life. Objects with a secular function and appearance often included religious imagery. Depictions of biblical stories on secular works did not necessarily make them religious – on the contrary, these stories were often used in the context of worldly actions and ambitions¹⁵.

romańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku, ed. IDEM, Warszawa 1971, vol. I, p. 282 (Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej I); G. FEHÉRVÁRI, *Working in Metal. Mutual Influences between the Islamic World and Medieval West*, JRAS 1, 1977, p. 3–16; B. MARSCHAK, *Silberschätze des Oriens. Metallkunst des 3.–13. Jahrhunderts und ihre Kontinuität*, Leipzig 1986, p. 435; M. ROŻEK, *Wawel i Skalka. Panteony polskie*, Wrocław 1995, p. 199; M. WALCZAK *op. cit.*, p. 219–221. Detailed and recent discussion of the state of research, cf. A. LIC, *op. cit.*, p. 14–22.

¹³ B. Biedrońska-Słota, *Skrzyneczka relikwiarzowa...*, p. 675–676; cf. eadem, *Orient w sztuce polskiej*, [in:] *Orient w sztuce polskiej*, ed. EADEM, Kraków 1992, p. 23 (the box as an Arabic work); *Ormianie polscy. Odrębność i asymilacja*, ed. EADEM, Kraków 1999, p. 50 (with suggestion that the box was made in Cilicia).

¹⁴ D. KATSARELIAS, *Casket with Warriors and Dancers*, [in:] *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, ed. H.C. EVANS, W.D. WIXOM, New York 1997, p. 233.

¹⁵ I. KALAVREZOU, *Luxury Objects*, [in:] *ibidem*, s. 219.

What is more, the author of the casket could deliberately refrain from emphasizing any specific features pointing to a specific religion. Even the Arabic inscription does not prejudge this issue – Christian art objects were often decorated with stylized Arabic letters. In addition, Dorota Malarczyk, noted that the inscription contains a lot of mistakes, and therefore, it could not have been done by an Arab calligrapher¹⁶. It is worth mentioning that not only Christians – particularly the Syrians and the Copts, who lived perpetually under Muslim rule¹⁷ – applied the Islamic motifs, but also Muslims included Christian imagery. A very interesting example of this phenomenon are the scenes from the life of Christ above a polo match that are situated on a basin made (*circa* 1247–1249) for Sultan al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub¹⁸.

Caskets such as that in Cracow – and other luxurious items – were often exchanged as royal gifts¹⁹. In this context, it is worth noting the *Book of Treasures and Gifts* (*circa* 1060–1071) published in 1959 by Muhammad Hamidullah. It includes legends, but also many true stories (verified through other sources). Some of them deal with relations between Muslim and non-Muslim courts. This text is crucial, because it allows a close examination of the topic of Islamic and Byzantine court culture²⁰. A good opportunity for the exchange of gifts was a diplomatic journey. To ensure the success of the mission, presents not only had to be expensive and elaborate, but also could not offend religious feelings of a ruler. For this reason, works of art contained secular motifs belonging to the common thematic area. For instance, both Muslims and Byzantines valued pictures based on the *Alexander Romance*, the legendary story of Alexander the Great attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes²¹. A good example of these preferences is the richly illustrated manuscript (containing as many as 250 miniatures), stored in the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice

¹⁶ B. BIEDROŃSKA-SŁOTA, *Skrzyneczka relikwiarzowa...*, p. 665.

¹⁷ About the development of Christian art in the Islamic East, cf.: T.K. THOMAS, *Christians in the Islamic East*, [in:] *The Glory of Byzantium...*, p. 365–387; EADEM, *The Arts of Christian Communities in the Medieval Middle East*, [in:] *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H.C. EVANS, New York 2004, p. 415–447.

¹⁸ A. EASTMOND, *Beyond Byzantium*, [in:] *Byzantium 330–1453*, ed. R. CORMACK, M. VASSILAKI, London 2008, p. 313–314. Cf.: *Basin 1247–1249, Ayyubid period, Reign of Sultan Najmal-Din Ayyub, F1955.10*, <http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/zoomObject.cfm?ObjectId=10908> [30 I 2015].

¹⁹ E.g., cf.: A. CUTLER, *Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies*, DOP 55, 2001, p. 247–278; P. SOUCEK, *Byzantium and the Islamic East*, [in:] *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 403–433; C.C. CONNOR, *New Perspectives on Byzantine Ivory*, *Ges* 30.2, 1991, p. 100–111; M. CANARD, *Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes*, DOP 18, 1964, p. 35–56.

²⁰ O. GRABAR, *The Shared Culture of Objects*, [in:] *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. MOURIKI, Princeton 1995, p. 115–116.

²¹ E.g., cf.: S. GERO, *The Alexander Legend in Byzantium: Some Literary Gleanings*, DOP 46, 1992, p. 83–87; F. DOUFIKAR-AERTS, *Sirat al-Iskandar: an Arabic Popular Romance of Alexander*, OM 22.2 (83), 2003, p. 505–520.

(Cod. 5), dating back to the mid to late 14th century. The codex owner was probably Alexius III Comnenus (1349–1390)²², a Byzantine monarch living in the successor empire of Trebizond²³. Some details of costumes depicted – like turbans – point to Byzantine relationship with the Islamic neighbours. They also highlight multi-ethnic population of Trebizond. In 1461 the book was taken over by the Turks. Then, they provided the manuscript with the inscriptions in Turkish, because the story was also very popular in the Islamic world²⁴. Without a doubt, both cultures regarded Alexander as the ideal ruler and warrior.

After outlining one of the aspects of artistic links between Muslims and Byzantines – which, certainly, could take a different form²⁵ – I would like to focus on the motifs of a griffin and a hare because both are depicted on the Wawel casket and, what is the most important, they are common themes in Islamic and Byzantine art.

A griffin is a legendary, hybrid creature having the body, back legs, and tail of a lion, the head (with the pointed ears), wings, and talons (as its front feet) of an eagle. It is a combination of a lion, the king of beasts, and an eagle, the ruler of the air. This fantastic animal has probably an oriental origin – it could come from the Eastern to the Greek art, Roman, and after that to the Byzantine one²⁶. Islamic art exploited both the oriental and Byzantine sources.

Flavius Philostratus mentioned griffins in *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (III, 48; VI, 1):

As to the gold which the griffins dig up, there are rocks which are spotted with drops of gold as with sparks, which this creature can quarry because of the strength of its beak. “For these animals do exist in India,” he said, “and are held in veneration as being sacred to the Sun; and the Indian artists, when they represent the Sun, yoke four of them abreast to draw the imaged car; and in size and strength they resemble lions but having this advantage over them that they have wings, they will attack them, and they get the better of elephants and

²² J. BALL, *The Alexander Romance*, [in:] *Byzantium. Faith and Power...*, p. 62.

²³ M. DĄBROWSKA, *Aleksy III Komnen*, [in:] *Encyklopedia kultury bizantyńskiej*, ed. O. JUREWICZ, Warszawa 2002, p. 19.

²⁴ J. BALL, *op. cit.*, p. 62–63.

²⁵ E.g. about the artistic relationship between Islamic and Byzantine art, cf.: A. WALKER, *The Emperor and the World: Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries*, Cambridge 2012; *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition (7th–9th Century)*, ed. H.C. EVANS, New York 2012; A. WALKER, *Cross-Cultural Reception in the Absence of Texts: The Islamic Appropriation of a Middle Byzantine Rosette Casket*, *Ges* 47.2, 2008, p. 99–122; EADEM, *Meaningful Mingling: Classicizing Imagery and Islamicizing Script in a Byzantine Bowl*, *ArtB* 90, No. 1, 2008, p. 32–53; E. DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE, H. MAGUIRE, *Other Icons. Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture*, Princeton 2007, p. 29–57; D. JACOBY, *Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West*, *DOP* 58, 2004, p. 197–240; O. GRABAR, *Islamic Art and Byzantium*, *DOP* 18, 1964, p. 67–88.

²⁶ Cf.: H. BRANDENBURG, *Greif*, [in:] *RAC*, vol. XII, Stuttgart 1983, p. 951–995; A.M. BISI, *Il grifone. Storia di un motivo iconografico nell'antico Oriente mediterraneo*, Roma 1965.

of dragons. But they have no great power of flying, not more than have birds of short flight; for they are not winged as is proper with birds, but the palms of their feet are webbed with red membranes, such that they are able to revolve them, and make a flight and fight in the air; and the tiger alone is beyond their powers of attack, because in swiftness it rivals the winds²⁷. (...) And the griffins of the Indians and the ants of the Ethiopians, though they are dissimilar in form, yet, from what we hear, play similar parts; for in each country they are the guardians of gold, and devoted to the gold reefs of the two countries²⁸.

Ambiguous symbolism of a griffin makes it difficult to interpret it in the respective cases, however, Christianity accepted it as a symbol of vigilance. Moreover, its body composed of two great and powerful animals was perceived to indicate the two natures of Christ: divine and human. Griffins were also regarded as extremely righteous animals, because they were faithful to one partner in lifetime²⁹. Alexander the Great's celestial journey – carried heavenward in the chariot pulled by a pair of griffins – was associated with the Ascension of Christ³⁰. Sometimes, however – particularly during the 11th and 12th centuries – griffins were interpreted as demonic animals, very vain and harmful³¹. Still, this was not consistent, as evidenced by the works of late Byzantine art. What is more, at that time griffins appear in sculptural decoration of churches³². They often had royal as well as religious connotations³³.

In contrast, hares were considered as lunar animals and as a symbol of fertility. In early Christian art, they meant a short life of every human and also catechumens, preparing for baptism. Saint Ambrose interpreted them as a symbol of the Resurrection. These animals were regarded as quick, crafty, skittish, and watchful (according to some records, they had to sleep with open eyes)³⁴. In the Old Testament, hares are among the unclean animals: *Lepus quoque: nam et ipse ruminat, sed ungulam non dividit* (Lv 11, 6)³⁵; *De his autem, quae ruminant, et ungulam non findunt, comedere non debetis, ut camelum, leporem, choerogryllum:*

²⁷ FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, III, 48, trans. F.C. CONYBEARE, Oxford–New York 1912 (cetera: PHILOSTRATUS).

²⁸ PHILOSTRATUS, VI, 1 (trans. F.C. CONYBEARE).

²⁹ S. KOBIELUS, *Bestiarium chrześcijańskie. Zwierzęta w symbolice i interpretacji. Starożytność i średniowiecze*, Warszawa 2002, p. 109; L. RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, Paris 1955, vol. I, p. 88.

³⁰ S. KOBIELUS, *op. cit.*, p. 111. About examples in art, cf.: R.S. LOOMIS, *Alexander the Great's Celestial Journey. I – Eastern Examples*, BMag 32.181, 1918, p. 136–140.

³¹ D. FORSTNER, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej. Leksykon*, ed. et trans. W. ZAKRZEWSKA, P. PACHCIAREK, R. TURZYŃSKI, Warszawa 2001, p. 344; S. KOBIELUS, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³² S. ĆURČIĆ, *Some Uses (and Reuses) of Griffins in Late Byzantine Art*, [in:] *Byzantine East, Latin West*, p. 597–601.

³³ В.П. ДАРКЕВИЧ, *Светское искусство Византии. Произведения византийского ремесла в Восточной Европе X–XIII века*, Москва 1975, p. 158; S. ĆURČIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 599–600.

³⁴ D. FORSTNER, *op. cit.*, s. 309; S. KOBIELUS, *op. cit.*, p. 348–349.

³⁵ *Latin Vulgate (Clementine), Book Of Leviticus*, 11,6, <http://www.drbo.org/lvb/chapter/03011.htm> [30 I 2015] (cetera: *Latin Vulgate*).

haec, quia ruminant et non dividunt unguam, immunda erunt vobis (Dt 14, 7)³⁶. Their extraordinary ability to reproduce led them to being considered as lewd and lustful animals. Because of this, hares tend to be seen as an attribute of Luxury or Voluptuousness³⁷. It should not be omitted that these small animals were rich in multifarious and ambivalent symbolism.

On the other hand, hares were a common decorative motif. Hunting for them was one of the court entertainments (their meat was a highly valued delicacy) – then, courtiers could demonstrate their hunting skills and quickness³⁸. That is why hares are so popular in works of art depicting chases – of course, in the specific context these scenes could be pointed to the struggle between good and evil. Furthermore, they also served – in Islamic, as well as in Byzantine art – as a single motif, or accompanied other animals, or humans, or deities, or ornaments³⁹.

Having delineated only briefly the possible meanings of both animals, it is worthwhile to present a few examples of works of Islamic and Byzantine art. In the first place, they will be associated with secular art (or of unknown context):

A key iconographic source for such images is encountered in Sasanian art, especially in the decoration of metalwork with reference to royal power. Hunting scenes with or without human figures are incorporated into the iconography of the princely life⁴⁰.

We can point to many examples of Byzantine ivory works containing the griffin theme. They allow us a very interesting glimpse into nonreligious art of the Byzantines. It was very popular. The excellent example is the so-called Darmstadt casket from the first half of the 10th century (Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Germany). At the one of the end panels there is one of the earliest representations of Alexander the Great celestial journey. He is depicted with the insignia of a Byzantine emperor, sitting in a chariot pulled by a pair of griffins⁴¹. Another example is the casket in the Petit Palais Museum in Paris (10th–11th century). The lid is decorated with the images of griffins in various poses. They are full of refined charm⁴². The marble reliefs have also a very decorative character; for instance the splendid panel in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York

³⁶ *Latin Vulgate, Book Of Deuteronomy*, 14,7, <http://www.drbo.org/lvb/chapter/05014.htm> [30 I 2015].

³⁷ S. KOBIELUS, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

³⁸ A. KOTŁOWSKA, *Zwierzęta w kulturze literackiej Bizantyńczyków – Αναβλέψατε εις τὰ περιεῖνά...*, Poznań 2013 (Seria Historia 224), p. 42–43.

³⁹ M. MORAITOU, *Animal Motifs*, [in:] *Byzantium and Islam...*, p. 172.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ M. GEORGOPOULOS, *Side of a Casket with Mythological Scenes*, [in:] *The Glory of Byzantium...*, p. 227–228.

⁴² J. DURAND, *Coffret*, [in:] *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*; ed. M.O. GERMAIN et al., Paris 1992, p. 262–263.

(ca. 1250–1300). They show the creature contained in a medallion, with its head turned and its wings flexed⁴³.

Griffin is also present on some preserved textiles, which may be telling, as in both cultures precious fabrics⁴⁴ were of special status. One of the most noted example is the textile fragment from the reliquary of Saint Siviard (11th–12th century; Trésor de la Cathédrale de Saint-Étienne, Sens, France). The fabric is decorated with a profile image of a majestic griffin, and in the background there are stylized trees. This piece of art was made in the lampas technique (invented in the 11th century), which emphasizes the contrast between the textures and the motif⁴⁵. Less famous, but noteworthy, is the 10th century Byzantine silk from Antioch. Here the silk griffins flank the eight-pointed, central star in four corner compartments. What is fascinating, the technique used in this work was rare in Byzantium and indicates Islamic links – probably, the fabric was created in Antioch under Muslim reign⁴⁶.

Numerous Islamic textiles have also survived to our times. A good example of those group is the fabric fragment from al-Fustat (Cairo) in Egypt (mid-11th century; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) – showing, in ovoid cartouches, stepping griffins. It is an ikkat textile, and this weaving technique is characteristic for Yemen; however, it also appeared in Egypt during the Fatimid period (909–1171)⁴⁷. The New York collection contains other Muslim fabrics with stylized and sumptuous griffins, including a fine fragment from the chapel of Saint Liberata from Sigüenza cathedral (first half 12th century)⁴⁸, the Spanish fragment (13th century) depicting confronted creatures – griffins, quadrupeds, and double-headed eagles⁴⁹, the fragment from Syria (13th century) with griffins, foxes and birds situated amid plants⁵⁰.

Of the other, non-textile items, that should be also noted here, one should mention a copper bowl (mid-12th century; Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck) decorated with enamel, which is a very elaborated Muslim work of art. This object contains a central medallion showing the Ascension of Alexander the Great. Griffins not only pull the chariot, but also – in the side roundels – attack quadrupeds. But, interestingly, Thomas Steppan discerned some links with

⁴³ S.T. BROOKS, *Relief Depicting a Griffin*, [in:] *Byzantium. Faith and Power*, p. 112–113.

⁴⁴ Cf.: A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving. AD 400 to AD 1200*, Vienna 1997.

⁴⁵ A. GONOSOVÁ, *Textile Fragment from the Reliquary of Saint Siviard*, [in:] *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 226.

⁴⁶ G. UNDERHILL, *A Tenth-Century Byzantine Silk from Antioch*, BCMA 29.1, 1942, p. 6–7.

⁴⁷ *Textile Fragment, mid-11th century, Egypt, Fustat*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/448072?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=griffin&deptids=14&pos=6> [30 I 2015].

⁴⁸ *Textile Fragment from the Shrine of San Librada, Sigüenza Cathedral*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/451472?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=griffin&deptids=14&pos=12> [30 I 2015].

⁴⁹ *Fragment, 13th century, Spain*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/450535?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=griffin&deptids=14&pos=11> [30 I 2015].

⁵⁰ *Textile Fragment, 13th century, Syria*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/450741?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=griffin&deptids=14&pos=10> [30 I 2015].

Constantinople and suggested that the vessel may have been a Byzantine royal gift to Rukh al-Dawla Abu Sulayman Da'ud, an Artukid ruler. A debate over its provenance is still ongoing⁵¹. Another interesting example of Artukid art is a steel mirror (with gold inlay) showing a hunt on horseback (first half of 13th century; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul). The back of the mirror is also decorated – with the central field surrounded by fantastic creatures, including griffins⁵².

Sources indicate that the imperial robes were sometimes decorated with a griffin motif, because these animals were highlighting the splendour of the royal authority⁵³. This information is confirmed by the miniature in the 13th century Byzantine chronicle. The miniature shows the emperor wearing the attire with griffins in roundels⁵⁴.

Hares were also popular, however, their images were more frequent in the less luxurious works of art. This observation is exemplified by: the floor (or cushion) wool fragment with running hares (4th/5th century; The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)⁵⁵; the wool band (probably it was a part of a tunic) with the profile of a black hare crouching on a bed of leaves (5th/7th century; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)⁵⁶, the fragment of Coptic neck band from a tunic, which contains playing erotes, fish, hares, and lions among stylized flora⁵⁷ (5th/8th century; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Besides, there are more sumptuous pieces of art with hares, such as: the ivory comb in the Hermitage, which is decorated with carving. On one side there is an image of a jumping hare (11th century)⁵⁸, the bowl with three animals (1100–1300; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) – a panther, deer, and a hare – evoked the hunt⁵⁹. It was a very popular theme in the 12th – and 13th-century Byzantine ceramics⁶⁰. The most splendid item is a group of Byzantine silver bowls now preserved in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (12th century). These elaborated vessels are decorated with the court scenes, including the hunt.

⁵¹ P. SOUCEK, *Bowl with the Ascension of Alexander*, [in:] *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 422–423.

⁵² ЕАДЕМ, *Mirror with a Hunter on Horseback*, [in:] *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 424.

⁵³ S. ĆURČIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 599–600.

⁵⁴ В.П. ДАРКЕВИЧ, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁵⁵ *Floor or Cushion Cover Fragment with Running Hares*, <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/9328/floor-or-cushion-cover-fragment-with-running-hares/> [30 I 2015].

⁵⁶ M. MORAITOU, *op. cit.*, p. 172–173.

⁵⁷ *Neck Band from a Tunic, 5th–8th century, Egypt*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/444064?rpp=90&pg=2&ao=on&ft=hare&pos=105> [30 I 2015].

⁵⁸ A. BANK, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums*, Leningrad 1985, p. 295.

⁵⁹ *Bowl with Three Animals, 1100–1300, Byzantine*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/465952?rpp=90&pg=2&ft=hare&pos=136> [30 I 2015]. Cf.: E. DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE, *Dish with Garden Animals*, [in:] *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 268; ЕАДЕМ, *Plate with Lovers in a Garden*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 270–271.

⁶⁰ В.П. ДАРКЕВИЧ, *op. cit.*, p. 78–99; E. DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE, H. MAGUIRE, *op. cit.*, p. 49–53.

For instance, on the rim of the bowl from Beryozovo there is an image of a dog chasing a hare⁶¹.

Examples of Islamic works of art with hares – were generally regarded as a symbol of prosperity and fertility⁶² – are also noteworthy. One of those is the flask with emerald-green cameo decoration, presumably originating from Iran (9th–10th century; The British Museum, London). The stylised hare is applied to the surface of the spherical body of the long-necked bottle⁶³. In another example, the ceramic bowl from the Benaki Museum in Athens (9th–10th century), hares form a radiating design. The ornamental treatment of motifs was standard in the 9th-century Abbasid Iraq⁶⁴. Extraordinarily charming image of a hare is depicted on the bowl from Egypt (first quarter of the 11th century; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The animal is depicted running with a spray of leaves in its mouth⁶⁵. A similar freshness characterises the hare from the islamic bestiary (11th–12th century; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). It is very realistic image. The brass tray (with silver inlay) in the Hermitage (ca. 1240–1250) is also worth mentioning. This object is an Ayyubid product. The round tray is encircled with band, which comprises stylised representations of running animals – among them there are hares⁶⁶.

To conclude, the mentioned Byzantine and Islamic works of art depicting griffins and hares, visibly affirm the hypothesis that in Late Antiquity and Middle Ages a set of common aesthetic and iconographic preferences existed among the elites of Christians and Muslims, even if understanding of the motives was different in detail. The courts of both cultures prized luxurious and exquisite items, particularly those made of ivory, silk, and precious metals, because these costly objects emphasized the prestige of their owners. What is more, in those works religious issues were marginalized – themes usually originated from Antiquity, were well established in the Mediterranean culture, and, what is most significant, were associated with certain values, appreciated at the royal courts. Besides, those themes also had a decorative value. Furthermore, some themes – such as griffins and hares – were also common in less sophisticated works. In my view it is fair to conclude that the so-called Saracenic-Sicilian casket is a typical example of a high-quality piece of courtly art, which exemplifies intricate relationship between Islamic and Byzantine art.

⁶¹ E. DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE, H. MAGUIRE, *op. cit.*, p. 47–49.

⁶² M. MORAITOU, *Figurine of a Crouching Hare*, [in:] *Byzantium and Islam*, p. 174.

⁶³ EADEM, *Flask with Green Cameo Decoration*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 173.

⁶⁴ EADEM, *Luster-Painted Bowl*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 174.

⁶⁵ *Bowl Depicting a Running Hare, Egypt, Islamic*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/451769?rpp=90&pg=1&ft=hare&deptids=14&pos=2> [30 I 2015].

⁶⁶ S. CARBONI, *Tray*, [in:] *Byzantium and Islam*, p. 424–425.

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Abstract. The article examines a kind of community of aesthetic tastes that was connecting Arab and Byzantine courtly culture. This community concerned the secular and luxurious works of art. The silver casket, called a Saracenic-Sicilian, from the Wawel Cathedral Treasury in Cracow will serve as the starting point to gain a true appreciation of the complex artistic relationship between the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic world in the Middle Ages. It appears highly probable that the casket was created in the twelfth century. It was published at once after the discovery (8th March 1881) and since then, researchers argue about the place of origin of the box. Some suggest that the casket could be a product of Arabic or Persian art, while others propose either Byzantine or Sicilian workshops. What is more, even an thorough stylistic and iconographic analysis does not allow for an unambiguous resolution of the problem of provenance of the Wawel box. Lack of a resolution suggests that this piece of art was directed to a member of the cosmopolitan elite of – Arabic or Byzantine – court, which took delight in sophisticated and expensive luxury items. It is worth noting that in this case, matter of religion did not play a crucial role. For this reason, the depicted scenes and decorative details have an universal character. In order to present this specific synthesis of Arabic and Byzantine secular art, the motifs of a griffin and a hare, decorating the casket will be considered.

Keywords: griffin, hare, Islamic, Byzantine, casket

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PRISONERS OF WAR IN EARLY MEDIEVAL BULGARIA (PRELIMINARY REMARKS)

From the first steps in establishing the First Bulgarian state along the Lower Danube in the last quarter of the 7th century, to its destruction under the blows of Emperor Basil II (976–1025), the dynamics, scale, nature, guidelines and characteristics of ethnic and territorial changes, military successes and failures, reforms, building ventures, religious life and cultural processes have received considerable scientific attention and plenty of scholarly researches. In this regard, the question of whether there could be found an aspect of the turbulent life of the Early Medieval Bulgaria, which needs further consideration, seems to have a predetermined response. Yet, clues relating to the captives during the wars, look as though they provide an opportunity for inflicting additional touches. The very moment with the prisoners of war, apart from not such a large number of publications specifically concerning the problem, is usually passed by¹. The reasons are multifarious and the release of a special place to mention them in an article with limited length brings a serious danger of shifting its focus.

It is abundantly clear that the problem of prisoners of war in the Middle Ages goes beyond the lifetime of the First Bulgarian state. However, the voluntary recognition of narrower chronological and spatial boundaries is motivated by the

¹ With the exception of the last works of the author of this article, which will not be a subject to self-quoting; for publications narrowly focused on prisoners of war in Early Medieval Bulgaria, see: Б. НИКОЛОВА, *Неназован българо-византийски конфликт при хан Омуртаг*, Епо 5.1/2, 1997, p. 63–76; Р. РАШЕВ, *Византийците в България до Покръстването*, [in:] *Civitas Divino-Nitana. In honorem annorum LX Georgii Bakalov*, ed. Ц. СТЕПАНОВ, В. ВАЧКОВА, София 2004, p. 151–162; К. СТАНЕВ, *Депортираните ромеи в България 812–837 година*, [in:] *Оттука започва България. Материали от Втората национална конференция по история, археология и културен туризъм «Пътуване към България»*, Шумен, 14–16 май 2010, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Шумен 2011, p. 183–195; ИДЕМ, *Съдбата на ромейски войници, пленени при разгрома на император Никифор I*, [in:] *Кюстендилски четения 2007. Заедно или разделени. Европа на съюзите, личностите и регионите*, ed. В. СТАНЕВ, София 2012, p. 25–33. Bulgarian scientists deal with aspects of the lives of prisoners of war in Byzantium, too: Л. СИМЕОНОВА, *Разшифроване на езика на символите: „Реформите“ на Лъв VI Мъдри в дворцовия и публичния церемониал*, ИП 5/6, 1999, p. 3–20; ЕАДЕМ, *In the Depths of Tenth-Century Byzantine Ceremonial: The Treatment of Arab Prisoners of War at Imperial Banquets*, BMGS 22, 1998, p. 75–104.

peculiarities of the inter-Balkan relations, suggesting that no specifics in the relevant direction remain constant, even for the outlined period. The starting point, in an attempt to explore the issue of prisoners of war in Bulgaria is related to the state of the source basis – the origin, the level of awareness of authors, the time of writing, the volume, nature and informativeness of the preserved to our days written records. The clues are unevenly distributed in terms of information. With some exceptions, mostly for 707/708, 754/755, 763/764 and 774, the notices are concentrated around the events of 811–815/816, 837/838; 894–896, 917–30s and for a moment or two from the period of 971–1018. The vast majority of written evidence is the result of the creative efforts of the Byzantine authors. What is more, it comes to this significant diversity by type and kind of literature – longer or short chronicles, political and military manuals, hagiographic works, synaxarium notes, fragments of the epistolary heritage of Constantinople representatives of the political and intellectual elite, etc.²

The dominance of the Byzantine narratives predetermines an extremely important feature on the problem of prisoners of war in the Early Medieval Bulgaria. The reports are mainly about imperial subjects caught up in Bulgarian captivity, and to a much lesser extent about any other captives. For a number of aspects relating to the topic, some Proto-Bulgarian stone inscriptions appear to be productive³. With the development of the Old Bulgarian written tradition, after sheltering the students of Cyril and Methodius and the perception of the Slavonic Alphabet, further details are given by both the original works and the compilations based on the Byzantine texts. This is especially valid in the written law. *Законъ соудный людьмъ* (*The Court Law for the People*) deserves a special attention. Its use as a data source in the respective direction is not quite seamless, because timing and place of issuance of the early Slavonic law monument is a subject of controversy⁴. Nowadays

² In this paper the quotes are based on the English translations of the relevant works. For narratives relating to the Early Medieval Bulgarian history, published in full, in larger parts or fragments cf. *FGHB*, vol. III–VII.

³ В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи*, ²София 1992.

⁴ Cf. J. VAŠICA, *Origine Cyrilo-Methodienne du plus ancien code slave dit «Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem»*, *Bsl* 12, 1951, p. 154–174; М. АНДРЕЕВ, *Към въпроса за произхода и същността на Законъ соудный людьмъ*, ГСУ.ЮФ 49, 1957, p. 1–60; J. VAŠICA, *K lexiku Zakona sudného ljudem*, *SR* 10.1/4, 1957, p. 61–66; М. АНДРЕЕВ, *Законъ соудный людьмъ – стробългарски правен паметник*, ПМИ 1, 1958, p. 13–27; В. ГАНЕВ, *Законъ соудный людьмъ. Правно-исторически и правно-аналитични проучвания*, София 1959; С. ТРОИЦКИ, *Святой Мефодий как славянский законодатель*, [in:] *ИДЕМ, Богословские труды*, vol. II, Москва 1961, p. 83–141; J. VAŠICA, *K otázce původu Zakona sudného ljudem*, *Sla* 30, 1961, p. 1–19; М. АНДРЕЕВ, *Нови проучвания и нови теории относно произхода на Законъ соудный людьмъ*, ГСУ.ЮФ 55, 1964, p. 29–72; V. PROCHÁZKA, *Materiály a diskuse. Tři nové tarne ro kusu o bulharského a makedonského původu Zakona sudného ljudem*, *Sla* 33, 1964, p. 262–267; С. ТРОИЦКИ, *Да ли је «Закон судный людем» составио свети Методије или бугарски кнез Борис?*, *ИЧ* 14/15, 1965, p. 505–516; V. PROCHÁZKA, *Le Zakonъ sudnyjъ ljudьmъ et la Grande Moravie*, *Bsl* 28, 1967, p. 359–375; 29.1, 1968, p. 112–150; *Zakon sudnyi ljudem. (Court Law for the*

discussions are far from being as active as in the 1950s and 1960s⁵. However, it feels as if there are still a number of unresolved issues. Among the most important ones are those related to its distribution, application and the possible revisions and additions. Worries when using *Законъ съднын людьмъ*, in reviewing the situation in the Bulgarian lands in late 9th–10th century, melt away due to the fact that the translated Byzantine legal literature sets a public framework and norms at the time of the rulers Symeon (893–927) and Peter (927–969)⁶.

The mentioned predominance of Byzantine texts complemented by the influence of Greek vocabulary over Proto-Bulgarian epigraphic monuments and Slavic literature are the reason for making another very important point. The contemporary conceptions of prisoners of war and their distinction from kidnapped, deported and abused during the time of war (or after that) captives non-combatants difficultly finds a direct medieval parallel. The language of captivity gravitates around the Greek αἰχμάλωσία, Slavic *плѣнъ/плѣнѣние*; Greek αἰχμάλωτος, Slavic *плѣнникъ*, but also *плѣнѣнныи рабъ*; Greek αἰχμάλωτίζω/αἰχμάλωτεύω, Slavic *плѣнити* or Greek ἀνδραποδίζω, Slavic *плѣнникъ понмати*⁷. It refers both to the survived fighters after a battle falling into enemy hands, and to the abducted civilians, regardless of gender, age and social status. Proceeding namely from a similar

People), ed. et trans. H.W. DEWEY, A.M. KLEIMOLA, MSM 14, 1977, p. V–XV; Ф. Милкова, *Законът за съдене на хората – старобългарски паметник*, [in:] *Втори международен конгрес по българистика*, vol. VI, ed. X. ХРИСТОВ, София 1987, p. 692–708.

⁵ Сн.К. PAPAETHIS, *On the «Saint Constantine» of the Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*, Bsl 56.3, 1995, p. 557–559; C. GALLAGHER, *Church Law and Church Order in Rome and Byzantium: A Comparative Study*, Aldershot 2002 [= BBOM, 8], 106–107; К.А. МАКСИМОВИЧ, *Древнейший памятник славянского права «Закон судный людем»: композиция, переводческая техника, проблема авторства*, BB 61 (86), 2002, p. 24–37; ИДЕМ, *Законъ съднын людьмъ. Источниковедческие и лингвистические аспекты исследования славянского юридического памятника*, Москва 2004, p. 7–23; К. Илиевска, *Законъ съднын людьмъ*, Скопје 2004, p. 10–40; D. NAJĐENOVA, *Cyrillo-Methodian Juridical Heritage in Mediaeval Bulgaria*, [in:] *Poznávanie kultúrneho dedičstva sv. Cyrila a Metoda. Monografia príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie Nitra, 3 júl 2007*, ed. J. MIČHALOV et al., Nitra 2007, p. 76–93.

⁶ Р. Чолов, *Византийското право в Средновековна България*, [in:] *Втори международен конгрес по българистика*, vol. VI, ed. X. ХРИСТОВ, София 1987, p. 546–556; Д. НАЙДЕНОВА, *Преводни византийски законови текстове в средновековна България*, СБАН 121.5, 2008, p. 30–36; ЕАДЕМ, *Cyrillo-Methodian Juridical Heritage in Mediaeval Bulgaria...*, p. 81–88; ЕАДЕМ, *Правните паметници в Първото българско царство*, ИБ 9.1/2, 2005, p. 136–163 (142–144 in particular).

⁷ Б. Даничиъ, *Рјечник из књижевних старина српских*, vol. II, Л–П, Београд 1863, p. 318–319; F. MIKLOŠIČ, *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, Vindobonae 1862–1865, p. 577–578; Г. Дьяченко, *Полный церковно-славянский словарь*, Москва 1900, p. 434; И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. II, Л–П, Санкт-Петербург 1902, p. 976–977; И.Х. ДВОРЕЦКИЙ, *Древнегреческо-русский словарь*, том I, А–Л, Москва 1958, p. 58–59; Э. БЛАГОВА, Р.М. ЦЕЙТЛИН, Р. ВЕЧЕРКА, *Старославянский словарь (По рукописям X–XI веков)*, Москва 1994, p. 452; Д. ИВАНОВА-МИРЧЕВА, А. ДАВИДКОВ, Ж. ИКОНОМОВА, *Старобългарски речник*, vol. II, О–У, София 2009, p. 223–224.

feature in the texts, it has been relatively recently emphasized by the Israeli scholar Youval Rotman that during the Middle Ages in the Eastern Mediterranean with the general definition of a captive were identified not only prisoners of war – warriors of any rank, direct participants in the fighting – but also residents of the region of the military hostilities, kidnapped by enemy armies. This happens most often in ruins and raids on a foreign territory or after victorious battles⁸.

* * *

At least in theory, after even a glimpse at the military actions and the territorial range, of course taking into account its changes, the captives in Early Medieval Bulgaria in general should have come from the Balkans – imperial subjects, dwellers of the so-called and the second quarter of the 9th century onwards includes principalities of Serbs and Croats. To the abovementioned there can also be added prisoners of war from the conflicts in the North-eastern Bulgarian periphery in the steppes on the Lower Dnester (or/and Bug) River and Black Sea Coast, but also those in the Carpathian Mountains and the Middle Danube.

For the period 8th–10th century the imperial subjects fallen into captivity among the Bulgarians are mostly (not only) from the Upper Thracian Plain, Southern Black Sea Coast, the plains of eastern Thrace – between Adrianople and Constantinople, or the settlements in the foothills of the Eastern Rhodopes, Strandzha and Sakar. This specificity is maintained until the blows on Pliska and Preslav State Centre of Rus' and Byzantines in 969–972, and the creation of a new one in the western parts of the Tzardom. From the last quarter of the tenth century, Sofia area, the valley of the Struma River, Thessalonica and Thessaly are the main areas in which there are caught Byzantine prisoners of war⁹. Narratives indicate that the

⁸ Y. ROTMAN, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. J.M. TODD, Cambridge 2009, p. 25–30; IDEM, *Captif ou esclave? Entre marché d'esclaves et marché de captifs en Méditerranée médiévale*, [in:] *Les esclavages en Méditerranée. Espaces et dynamiques économiques*, ed. F.P. GUILLÉN, S. TRABELSI, Madrid 2012, p. 25–46.

⁹ One of the earliest manifestations of the mentioned feature is the Battle of Anchialus in 708. In *Chronography* it is described as follows: *As the army scattered in the fields like sheep to collect hay, the Bulgarian spies saw from the mountains the senseless disposition of the Romans. Gathering together like beasts, they suddenly attacked and inflicted great losses on the Roman flock, taking many captives, horses, and arms in addition to those they killed – The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History A.D. 284–813*, trans. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, Oxford 1997 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 525. Similar information concerning the mentioned battle: NIKEPHOROS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Short History*, ed., trans. et comm. C. MANGO, Washington 1990 (cetera: NIKEPHOROS), p. 105. The quotations are based on the stated English translations. Minor differences that do not alter the meaning of *captivity* (*captive*; *capture*) and its later manifestations: *Vita Lucae Iunioris Steiriotis*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, p. 232; *Laudatio Photii Thessalonicensis*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, p. 315; *Joannis Geometrae Carmina*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, p. 317–319; Кекавмен, *Советы и рассказы. Поучение византийского полководца XI века*, ed. et trans. Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, ²Санкт-Петербург 2003 (cetera: Кекавмен), p. 265–268; *The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*. ed. et trans. A.-M. TALBOT, D.F. SULLIVAN, Washington 2005 (cetera: LEO THE DEACON),

most numerous groups of captives throughout the existence of the First Bulgarian state are not the warriors but the abducted non-combatants¹⁰. In a recent publication, the young Bulgarian scientist Kamen Stanev notes that for now the archaeological studies do not confirm the figures set out in the written monuments¹¹. Of course, further excavations in present-day Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey can confirm as well as reverse the current perceptions of the demographic picture in the valleys of the rivers Maritsa, Tundža and Arda and Regina during the early Middle Ages. Due to the nature of the source basis, the geographical precision excluding the period of 812–814/815, is not always attainable¹². Following the intervention of Khan Omurtag (815–831) southwards, by the end of the pagan period there are reports of military actions by khans Malamir (831–836) and Presian (836–852) regarding the efforts from the early stages of the reign of Boris-Mihael the Baptizer (852–889). Unfortunately, the details are few. More information pertaining to prisoners of war and deported from shares of the Upper Thracian Plain, the Southern Black Sea or Eastern Thrace – from the foothills of Sakar, Strandzha and the lowland areas between Adrianople and Constantinople – is available in relation to the first war of Tzar Symeon (893–927) with Byzantium since 894–896. Highlighting the fact that among the captured warriors are members of the Imperial Guard – Khazars – just reminds one that there are other areas where the Ninth-Century Bulgaria is likely to have prisoners of war¹³. And while, albeit with fuzzy

p. 128–131, 152–161, 177–201; JOHN SKYLITZES, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, trans. J. WORTLEY, Cambridge 2010 (cetera: JOHN SKYLITZES), p. 265–266, 273–294, 312–315.

¹⁰ More notes about 712 Theophanes Confessor:

[...] *the Bulgarians stealthily threw themselves upon the Bosphorus by way of Philea and made great slaughter. They raided as far as the City and surprised many people who had gone across the water to celebrate opulent weddings and lavish luncheons with much silver plate and other equipment. They advanced as far as the Golden Gate and, after devastating all of Thrace, returned home unharmed with innumerable cattle* – THEOPHANES, p. 532. Notices of another Bulgarian invasion in Thrace and reaching the Long Wall, looting and leading off captives, with no counteraction are present for 754/5. *Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia*, [in:] FGHB, vol. III, p. 270; For an English translation cf. THEOPHANES, p. 593.

¹¹ К. СТАНЕВ, *Тракия през ранното средновековие*, Велико Търново 2012, p. 89–96, 106–109, 137–141, 163–166.

¹² *Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia*, p. 279–289; *Scriptoris incerti historia de Leone Armenii Bardae filio*, [in:] FGHB, vol. IV, p. 21–23; *Georgii Monachi Chronikon*, [in:] FGHB, vol. IV, p. 56; *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, [in:] FGHB, vol. V, p. 156; *Pseudo-Symeonis Chronographia*, [in:] FGHB, vol. V, p. 171–172; В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски...*, p. 116–128, 130–131, 135–151, 153–163; В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Българо-византийски диптихи*, [in:] *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia в чест на проф. В. Бешевлиев*, ed. К. ПОПКОНСТАНТИНОВ et al., София 2003, p. 23–30 (cf. E. FOLLIERI, I. DUJČEV, *Un'acolutia inedita per i martiri di Bulgaria dell' anno 813*, В 33, 1963, p. 71–106); *Продолжателъ Феофана. Жизнеописания византийских царей*, ed. Я.Н. ЛЮБАРСКИЙ, ²Санкт-Петербург 2009 (cetera: ПРОДОЛЖАТЕЛЪ ФЕОФАНА), p. 142–145.

¹³ *Leonis Choerosphactis Epistolae*, [in:] FGHB, vol. IV, p. 176sq; *Theophanis Continuati Chronographia*, [in:] FGHB, vol. V, p. 122; *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, p. 158; *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*,

geographical specifics about the fate of Byzantine citizens, civilian and military, after discharging north of Haemus Mountain, however, there are certain orientations, then there are serious deficiencies in knowledge for the prisoners of war of the Bulgarian armies against enemies in the Northern Black Sea Coast and in the Middle Danube River¹⁴.

The presence of prisoners of war and abducted population of the Western Balkans in the First Bulgarian state is also reconstructed with difficulties. Despite the interest, research initiatives are highly dependent on the nature and quantity of the preserved to our days written evidence. The peculiarities of the source base on the history of the First Bulgarian state, and even to a larger extent quite modest volume of notices about the earliest history of Serbs from their settlement on the Balkans until the beginning of 11th century, reduce the aspects that can be traced. A turning point for the middle and third quarter of the 9th – the beginning of 10th century is the treatise *De Administrando Imperio* composed by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913/945–959), and for the end of the century to the early years of the 11th century – the compilatory and not very precise chronicle (known by later copies) of an anonymous priest in the town of Bar, known in the scientific community as *The Priest of Diocleia* (or just *Duklyan*). Both works help to look at the geography of captivity to the interior of the peninsula, west of the Ibar River and the lands along the Dalmatian coast to the town of Zadar¹⁵.

[in:] *FGHB*, vol. VI, p. 139; *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, rec. S. WAHLGREN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2006, p. 275, 82 – 277, 138; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, rec. I. THURN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1973, p. 175, 75 – 177, 35.

¹⁴ V. GJUZELEV, *Bulgarisch-Fränkische Beziehungen in der ersten Hälfte des 9 Jhs.*, BBg 2, 1966, p. 15–39; I. БОВА, *The Pannonian Onogurs, Khan Krum and the Formation of the Bulgarian and Hungarian Polities*, BHR 11.1, 1983, p. 73–76; W. ПОХЛ, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk im Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.*, München 1988, p. 323–328; IDEM, *A Non-Roman Empire in the Central Europe: The Avars*, [in:] *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman world*, ed. H.W. GOETZ, Leiden–Boston 2003 [= TRW, 13], p. 571–595; T. ОЛАЈОС, *Le Lexique “Souda” a propos du khan bulgare Kroum et des Avars*, [in:] *Polihronia: Сборник в чест на проф. Иван Божилков*, ed. И. Илиев, София 2002, p. 230–235; P. SOPHOULIS, *Containing the Bulgar threat: Byzantium’s search for an ally in the former Avar territories in the Early Middle ages*, BMD 2, 2011, p. 399–407; IDEM, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–831*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= ECEEMA, 16], p. 180–183, 210–211, 261.

¹⁵ Citations are based on the English translation in the publication – CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, vol. I, ed. et trans. G. MORAVCSIK, R.J.H. JENKINS, Washington 1967 (cetera: *DAI*), p. 122–165. There are quite accessible translations into Serbian, Bulgarian and Russian: КОНСТАНТИН ПОРФИРОГЕНИТ, *Спис о народима*, [in:] *FBHPJS*, vol. II, ed. et trans. B.B. FERJANČIĆ, Beograd 1959, p. 9–74; *Constantini Porphyrogeniti De administrando imperio*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, p. 208–212; КОНСТАНТИН БАГРЯНОРОДНЫЙ, *Об Управлении Империей*, ed. et trans. Г.Г. Литаврин, А.П. Новосельцев, Москва 1991, p. 110–153. About so-called *The Priest of Diocleia* cf. Ф. ШИШИТЬ, *Летопис попа Дукљанина*, Београд–Загреб 1928, p. 82–105, 122–126, 164, 179–184, 331–342; V. МОЅИН, *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, Zagreb 1950, p. 23–36; С. МИЈУШКОВИЋ, *Летопис попа Дукљанина*, Београд 1988, p. 9–89, 125–131.

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The mapping of areas from which captives were taken in the Early Medieval Bulgaria also highlights shades around their ethno-confessional profile. With the mentioned hesitations regarding their number in 755 and 778 respectively, the Emperors Constantine V (741–775) and Leo IV (775–780) accommodate Syrians and Armenians in Thrace, and in 807 and 810, the concentration of the population of eastern origin in the European areas of the Empire increased by migrations, organized by order of Emperor Nicephorus I (802–811). Theophanes Confessor openly called the descendants of Syrians and Armenians – heretics and distributors of Paulicianism¹⁶. Some of the authors perceive the details of such a nature awkward after the triumph of iconodule from 843 onwards. No wonder that they remain pushed into the background or completely concealed in Theophanes Continuatus and in the chronicle of John Scylitzes depicting legends about the origin of the founder of the Macedonian dynasty – Basil I (867–886), the forced downtime of his family in Bulgaria and the return of part of the Byzantine captives during the rule of Khan Omurtag¹⁷.

Mentioning the famous heterodox religious diversity allows to seek influence or absence of such of religious affiliation of policies of the Bulgarian ruling elite towards the Byzantine prisoners of war in the early Ninth-Century Bulgaria. When it comes to the time before the conversion initiatives of Knyaz Boris-Michael, the Byzantine authors emphasize upon the religious antagonism *Pagans – Christians*. The first ones are portrayed as savage barbarians and the latter ones are presented as defenseless and innocent victims of faith. This distinction somehow falters due to the well-known fate of the Bulgarian prisoners of war in 763. After the Battle of Anchialos between the troops of Khan Teletz (761–764) and Emperor Constantine V, the captured on the battlefield Bulgarian soldiers were brought to Constantinople and thrown to the crowd that killed them outside the curtain walls¹⁸. Yet, descriptions of cruelties on behalf of Bulgarians against the fallen into

¹⁶ *The emperor Constantine transferred to Thrace the Syrians and Armenians whom he had brought from Theodosiopolis and Melitene and through them the heresy of the Paulicians spread about [...]; The emperor [Leo IV] [...] conveyed the Syrian heretics to Thrace and settled them there; In this year [809/810] Nicephorus, following the godless punishments [he had meted out] and intent on humiliating the army altogether, removed Christians from all the **themata** and ordered them to proceed to the Sklaviniias after selling their estates* – THEOPHANES, p. 593, 623, 667.

¹⁷ ПРОДОЛЖАТЕЛЬ ФЕОФАНА, p. 139–145; JOHN SKYLITZES, p. 117–119. The whole moment is represented with differences from Leo the Grammarian, the Continuatus of George Hamartolus, and later by John Zonaras cf. *Pseudo-Symeonis Chronographia*, p. 175; *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, p. 151, 155–157; *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, p. 135–137; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum Libri XVIII*, [in:] FGHB, vol. VII, p. 172.

¹⁸ *On 30 June of the 1st indiction, a Thursday, Teletzes came marching with multitude of nations and, battle having been joined, there was mutual slaughter for a long time. Teletzes was routed and fled. The battle lasted from the 5th hour until evening. Great numbers of Bulgarians were killed, many were captured, and others deserted. Elated by this victory, the emperor celebrated a triumph in the City, which*

their hands Byzantines professing Christianity – warriors and civilians – require a special attention, and their a priori rejection is unnecessary. Far more productive is reporting the parameters of the situation in which violence manifests over the Byzantine captives. Due to the concentration of texts about the personality of Khan Krum (c. 800–814) and his successor/successors, the connection with the military actions between 807 and 815 is inevitable. The spiral of violence was rotated back in 808–809, after the Bulgarian success in the Battle of Serres and especially taking Serdica – where the Bulgarians killed the large garrison and a huge number of civilians. In his *Chronography* Theophanes pointed out:

whyle the army of the Strymon was receiving its pay, the Bulgarians fell upon it and seized 1100 lbs., of gold. They slaughtered many men together with their **strategos** and officers. Many garrison commanders of the other **themata** were present and all of them perished there [...] Before Easter of the same year, Kroummos, the leader of the Bulgarians, drew up his forces against Serdica, which he took by a deceitful capitulation and slaughtered 6 000 Roman soldiers, not counting the multitude of civilians¹⁹.

The written monuments, however, also stressed upon the pogroms that the Byzantines caused in Pliska. Even taking into account the exaggerated scale, the actions of Emperor Nicephorus I north of Haemus Mountains caused revanchist attitudes at Krum's camp, too, and they do not imply a favorable treatment to the ones having been trapped in Bulgarian captivity²⁰. Here, however, it looks as though the religious differences with the enemy are not the main driving force and there should be given what is needed for the desire for revenge. Such a moment has its mass executions committed by order of Khan Krum after the unsuccessful, perfidious

he entered in full armour together with his army to the acclamations of the demes, dragging the Bulgarian captives in wooden fetters. The latter he ordered to be beheaded by the citizens outside the Golden Gate – THEOPHANES, p. 599; As for the Bulgarian Huns, the following events took place. Coming to an agreement among themselves, they killed their hereditary lords and appointed as their ruler one called Telessios, a haughty man who yet exhibited the rashness of youth. This man gathered a band of armed fighters and overran vigorously the Roman villages that were nearest to him. On seeing his insolent boldness, Constantine built as many as eight hundred horse-carrying ships and, after loading them with a force cavalry, sent them by way of the Euxine to the Istros. He himself came to the city of Anchialos with another army. Telessios marched out against him with a gear multitude of Sclavonian allies but was defeated in battle and fled. Many of the belligerents fell on both sides, and a considerable number of prominent men were captured. Having thus won the war, Constantine returned to Byzantium and delivered to the citizens and to the members of the so-called "colors" the captives he had brought along so that they would kill them with their own hands. Taking them outside the wall that lies on the landward side, they slew them – NIKEPHOROS, p. 149, 151.

¹⁹ THEOPHANES, p. 665.

²⁰ *Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia*, p. 282; *Narratio anonyma e codice Vaticano*, [in:] FGHB, vol. IV, p. 13.

experience with a proposal for negotiations to lure him into an ambush and kill him²¹.

The situation is different when the captured imperial subjects, be it military or civilian, have been subjected to torture or were executed away from the battlefield and after a fairly long chronological span since the date of the battle. Such actions are not an exception. According to the notices of the final parts of the so-called *Chronicle of 811*, after the cessation of military actions Bulgarians try to force the Byzantine captives to renounce their Christian faith:

Many of the surviving Romans, after the battle ended, were forced by the impious Bulgars, who had then not yet baptized (οὐπω τότε βαπτισθέντων), to renounce Christ and embrace the error of the Scythian pagans. Those who were preserved by the power of Christ endured every outrage and by various torments earned the martyr's crown²².

Similar shades are presented in a service written by Joseph the Studite; in Book V of Theophanes Continuatus (*Vita Basilii*), whose author is considered to be Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus; in the story of the Synaxarium of the Church of Constantinople and in Menologion of Emperor Basil II. There is a clear idea to give a religious color to the repression of the Byzantine captives. This is the main unifying feature in notices; along with it, however, there is a chronological discrepancy. Theophanes Continuatus is about Khan Omurtag, which corresponds with the terms of the peace treaty between Bulgaria and Byzantium since 816. The Menologion marked repressions during the reign of Khan Krum and his successor Tsok (?!) and the story in the Synaxarium raises additional issues with the mentioning of Dukum and Ditsevg, describing them as *those who took power over the Bulgarians* before Khan Omurtag (815–831)²³. The differences are at the basis of the hypothesis that the captives who are Christians undertake futile attempts to leave Bulgaria in an organized way even before 837/838 – during the time of Emperor Leo V (814–820). Within the Empire people learn about these efforts at a later stage through scattered second-hand information, and during recording and integrating these updates, a martyr-like feeling is attributed to them²⁴. In this regard, it should be noted that despite the strong anti-Bulgarian position in the Theophanes' *Chronography* passages, relating to the events of 808–813/814 or *Scriptor*

²¹ *Scriptoris incerti historia...*, p. 20–22.

²² P. STEPHENSON, "About the emperor Nicephorus and how he leaves his bones in Bulgaria": A context for the Controversial Chronicle of 811, *DOP* 60, 2006, p. 90 (cf. *Naratio anonyma e codice Vaticano*, p. 14).

²³ *Theophanis Continuati Chronographia*, p. 118–119; *Sinaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, [in:] FGHB, vol. V, p. 288.

²⁴ Cf. Б. НИКОЛОВА, *Неназован...*, p. 63–76; Ф. ФИЛИПУ, *По въпроса за гонението на християни по време на управлението на кан Омуртаг*, [in:] *Оттука започва България. Материали от Втората национална конференция по история, археология и културен туризъм «Пътуване към България»*, Шумен, 14–16 май 2010, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Шумен 2011, p. 178–182.

Incertus de Leone Armenio, an aspect of torture and executions, dictated by a religious antagonism does not stand out in the same way. It is their clues that discourage the feeling of violence due to religious hatred²⁵.

What has been mentioned is not intended to completely deny the cases of ill-treatment and executions. Quite the contrary, the crude nature of the Bulgarian-Byzantine conflict from 808 till 814 is out of the question. Furthermore, the threat to life and dignity covers a wide range of fighters and abducted civilians that are found to be in Bulgarian captivity, and the ethnic and religious differences further melt away the inhibitions. In fact, the words of Stephen Morillo about the fate of the ones fallen into enemy hands in conflicts between adjacent but different in political, ethnic and religious-cultural way societies, with some reservations about specific Bulgarian-Byzantine clashes since the middle 8th till the middle of the 9th century, are quite illustrative. He emphasized that

both sides fundamentally misunderstand each other in basic ways, failing to comprehend the goals, motivations and methods of their enemy. The opponents in intercultural warfare therefore often think themselves engaged in warfare with non-humans, variously conceived of as savage sub-human barbarians [...] Uncertainty and incomprehension also undermine conventions for the treatment of prisoners and non-combatants in intercultural war. Sometimes, the stresses of battlefield uncertainty found an outlet in excessive brutality towards non-combatants [...] Similarly brutal but far more calculated was the use of terror tactics – the slaughtering of entire urban population or villages to discourage future resistance²⁶.

Certainly a practice of execution was facilitated by the religious differences between the enemies. However, cruelty and desire to slaughter a captured rival are well witnessed even after 865 when religious diversity between subjects of the Byzantine Empire and Bulgaria disappeared. Sometimes both sides still killed prisoners of war. And that feature continued to exist to the very end of the First Bulgarian state. Examples can be found in John Scylitzes' chronicle. For one of the struggles in 1016 the mentioned author wrote:

The situation around Dyrrachion then became very disturbed and distressed because John [Tzar John Ladislav (1015–1018) – Y.M.H.] repeatedly attempted to take the city, often by sending his commanders, sometimes coming in person. This is why the emperor [Basil II

²⁵ *Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia*, p. 280–283, 287–289; *Scriptoris incerti historia...*, p. 18–19, 20–22. Also: P. STEPHENSON, "About the emperor Nikephoros...", p. 90–109; P. SOPHOULIS, "The Chronicle of 811", *the Scriptor incertus and the Byzantine-Bulgar wars in the early ninth century*, BMD 1, 2010, p. 377–384.

²⁶ S. MORILLO, *A General Typology of Transcultural Wars – The Early Middle Ages and Beyond*, [in:] *Transcultural Wars from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century*, ed. H.-H. KORTÜM, Berlin 2006, p. 34–35; Also: Ц. СТЕПАНОВ, *Периферията като вселена*, [in:] *История на българите: Потребност от нов подход. Преоценки*, vol. I, ed. ИДЕМ, София 1998, p. 107–121; ИДЕМ, *The Bulgars and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages: the Problem of the Others*, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 23–25, 77–82.

– the Bulgarslayer – Y.M.H.] wished to go there and render aid, but for a reason worth noting he was prevented from doing so. When he was leaving for Ohrid, he left behind the commander George Gonitziates and the protospatharios Orestes ‘the prisoner’ with numerous troops and orders to overrun the Pelagonian plain. But they were taken in an ambush by the Bulgars under the illustrious and experienced command of Ibatzes and all killed [...]’²⁷.

A desire for revenge in the cited situation should be borne in mind, because just two years earlier thousands of captured Bulgarian warriors were blinded by Emperor Basil II. Even though there is no desire to justify them, it should be noted that the cases of killing large groups of Byzantine prisoners of war are dictated through purely tactical considerations – in the course of military actions. This includes a significant number of specifics: the distance between the place of the victorious battle and the difficult terrain to the Bulgarian territories; inability to protect and transport the captured enemies; problems with feeding and having too many people in need of medical care; low number of the winner, the possibility of a counterattack of other enemy compounds; after winning there is the need to advance in depth or to transfer the parts into another direction and so on²⁸.

Nonmerciful attitude toward captives in Early Medieval Bulgaria was not limited to murders only. There were examples of torture, massmutilation and even sexual abuse. Among the more clearly visible notices of mass mutilations in the available sources are clues relating to the Bulgarian-Byzantine War of 894–896 – one of the early tests of Knyaz Symeon (Tzar since 913) who quite recently started sitting on the throne. The reasons for the outbreak of war and its development are well known²⁹. The conflict between Bulgaria and the Empire is due to moving the market of Bulgarian goods from Constantinople to Thessalonica. Attempts for a diplomatic solution were unsuccessful and the armed confrontation becomes inevitable. Even in the early stages of the war of 894–896, the Bulgarian troops invaded a foreign territory and defeated the army sent against them. Then they won an important battle, but the war became tightened when the Byzantine side attracted the Magyars who at that time were located between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. The turning point was when Knyaz Symeon allied with the eastern neighbors of the Magyars – Pechenegs and together they counterattacked their settlements along the Northern Black Sea Coast. The actions of the Bulgarian ruler are reflected in the Byzantine chronicles of the 10th–11th century. They note that

²⁷ JOHN SKYLITZES, p. 335

²⁸ In this regard, Christian charity and the comfortable proclaimed *philanthropy* of emperors are not obstacles before such actions by the Byzantines. Arab-Byzantine wars (far better represented by medieval writers) offered many evidences of massexecutions. Cf. ‘A.M.A. RAMADĀN, *The Treatment of Arab Prisoners of War in Byzantium, 9th–10th Centuries*, AIs 43, 2009, p. 155–194 (157–159 in particular).

²⁹ Recently: M.J. LESZKA, *The Monk versus the Philosopher: From the History of the Bulgarian-Byzantine War 894–896*, SCer 1, 2011, p. 55–70.

in the battle in 894 the victims of the Byzantine side are many, not only from the chiefs, but from the lower ranks as well. At the same time, many prisoners fall into Bulgarian hands, and faithful to the old tried and tested practices of the pagan era of the Themes of Thrace and Macedonia, the Bulgarian ruler ordered the kidnapping of civilians as well³⁰. There were slaughterous Bulgarian victories in previous decades, but in 894 a new aspect emerges in Symeon's action. With noses cut off the Khazar members of Heteria (Imperial Guard) were sent to Constantinople. Amid the ensuing battles that mutilation of prisoners of war appears to be left behind. Chroniclers agree that the act of the Bulgarian ruler is the reason Emperor Leo VI (886–912) to ally with the Magyars and continue the conflict³¹. Attempts to explain the motives of Bulgarians and Byzantines gravitate around the idea of revenge or permanently formed *anti-Khazar* moods of Bulgarians. The erosion of such an explanation comes with already offered various research solutions. They help in taking into account characteristics in public and court ceremonial in Constantinople and functioning symbols, actions and gestures that demonstrate the real attitude of the ruling circles to the metropolitan population. As a Constantinople graduate, the recently ascended to the Bulgarian throne Symeon was aware that the ostentatious return of mutilated representatives of the military unit directly connected with the imperial personage would personally humiliate Emperor Leo VI. This in turn explains the anger of the latter one, his determination to find an ally and to continue the war with the Bulgarians, and why the Byzantine authors describing the events, speak of *shame, disgrace to the Byzantines* and insult³².

Especially appreciated among Barbarian societies in Early Medieval Europe group of captives are the women and to some extent children. It is they who often remain without protection, only at the mercy of the winner after the killing of men³³. In practically devoid of moral and ethical-religious inhibitions conflicts with the Empire before the conversion of Medieval Bulgaria, women and

³⁰ Leonis Choerosphactis *Epistolae*, p. 176–180, 182.

³¹ Theophanis *Continuati Chronographia*, p. 121–123; Leonis Gramatici *Chronographia*, p. 158–159; Georgius Monachus *Continuatus*, p. 138–140; Symeonis *Magistri et Logothetae*, p. 275, 82–276, 116; Ioannis Scylitzae *Synopsis*, p. 175, 75–177, 19.

³² Л. СИМЕОНОВА, *Семиотика на унижението: Високопоставени чужденци в имперската столица през X век*, Род 4, 1996, p. 39–40; ЕАДЕМ, *Разшифроване на езика на символите...*, p. 13–18; ЕАДЕМ, *Foreigners in Tenth-Century Byzantium: A Contribution to the History of Cultural Encounter*, [in:] *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider. Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998*, ed. D.C. СМУТНЕ, Aldershot 2000 [= SPBS.P, 8], p. 229–244; П. ПАВЛОВ, *Българо-хазарски взаимоотношения и паралели*, [in:] *Българи и хазари през ранното средновековие*, ed. Ц. СТЕПАНОВ, София 2003, p. 131.

³³ C. SOUNDERS, *Sexual Violence in Wars – The Middle Ages*, [in:] *Transcultural Wars...*, 151–163; J. GILLINGHAM, *Women, Children and the Profits of War*, [in:] *Gender and Historiography. Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pailine Stafford*, ed. J.L. NELSON, S. REYNOLDS, S.M. JOHNS, London 2012, p. 61–74.

children undoubtedly fall within the scope of enemy troops. This is captured by the division of captives non-combatants by gender and partly on the ground of age³⁴. Beyond that, in narratives strokes of their fate are much more subtle. This is due to peculiarities in the narration of Byzantine authors of 9th–10th century. This largely explains why there are missing passages on the treatment of the non-combatants by Bulgarian armies such as those in Procopius of Caesarea, talking about invasions of Slavic plunderers in the imperial provinces, he noted the killing of men capable of carrying weapons and kidnapping of women and children north of the Danube by adding particularly detailed descriptions of impalement, beating, mutilation or burning prisoners alive³⁵. No less eloquent is Agathias's description on the attack of the Kutrigur ruler Zabergan in Eastern Thrace, in which the sexual abuse of young women and girls, including nuns, is accompanied by being left at the mercy of fates and infants were preys to wild animals³⁶. Exactly this kind of details look as if they were skipped in the texts providing information about what was happening with the captives by Bulgarians in 8th–10th century. In the interest of objectivity it is necessary to acknowledge that the lack (to my knowledge) of passages about the fate of the Byzantine captives among Bulgarians as harsh as those in Procopius and Agathias, including the works of Patriarch Nicephorus, Theophanes Confessor, George Hamartolus, Theophanes Continuatus, may be due to the lack of similar events by participants in Bulgarian trips abroad. However, a doubt still lurks and the reason is that *the absence of evidence is famously not evidence of absence*, as John Gillingham pointed out in an attempt to overcome the condition of some poorly documented features of captives' lives in medieval Western Europe³⁷. By conditionality and considerable caution, a key towards partially overcoming the shortage of direct information is provided by fragments of the chronicles of *Scriptor incertus*, Joseph Genesius and Theophanes Continuatus. The first of these mentions that the troops of Khan Krum move towards the European part of today's Turkey after their withdrawal from Constantinople in 813. On the Ganos Mountains [hills in Eastern Thrace, near the Sea of Marmara] the army of the Bulgarian Khan comes across

³⁴ *Scriptoris incerti historia...*, p. 21–23; *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, p. 156; *Pseudo-Symeonis Chronographia*, p. 171–172; ПРОДОЛЖАТЕЛЬ ФЕОФАНА, p. 142–143.

³⁵ PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, vol. V, ed. et trans. H.B. DEWING, London–Cambridge Mass. 1962, p. 23–27.

³⁶ AGATHIAS, *The Histories*, ed. et trans. J.D. FREND, Berlin 1975, p. 148. One should be reminded that Byzantine chroniclers described some tortures, albeit in connection with another moment – a wide-scale internal war in 821–823 known as the revolt of Thomas the Slav. For example: ПРОДОЛЖАТЕЛЬ ФЕОФАНА, p. 49–50; GENESIOS, *On the Reigns of the Emperors*, ed. et trans. A. KALDELLIS, Canberra 1998 [= BAus, 11; cetera: GENESIOS], p. 38–39.

³⁷ J. GILLINGHAM, *Christian Warriors and the Enslavement of Fellow Christians*, [in:] *Chevalerie et Christianisme aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, ed. M. AURELL, G. GIRBEA, Rennes 2011, p. 237–255.

many people and almost all animals of Thrace. They slaughtered the men, and the cattle that was a great multitude, was captured and sent to Bulgaria, along with a large number of women and children³⁸.

The same historical source points out a noticeable difference with the abducted and deported people from Arcadiopolis and its vicinity in the spring of 814. All captives – men, women and children without exception, with all their movable property and livestock, were taken to Bulgaria³⁹.

In the actions of Emperor Leo V against the Bulgarian compounds near Mesembria in 815 in chronicle of Theophanes Continuatus, and in the work of Joseph Genesius, it is said that after the victorious battle the Byzantines indulge in cruelties. Genesius even notes that this is an act of retribution for what Bulgarians cause to the imperial subjects. According to the text, the victims are of all ages, explicitly stating that among them there are children, too⁴⁰. Another brutal manifestation of the principle of *do to others what they have done to you* in the Bulgarian-Byzantine War of 807–815 is not ruled out at all. Especially if one considers that after the capture of Mesembria in 812 Bulgarian soldiers and their families are transferred in the city, and there are Slavs settled in close vicinity⁴¹. However, it should also be taken into account that when a Christian chronicler of the Late Antiquity or the Middle Ages mentions in his work *children who were dashed against the rocks*, may involve a topos, which was based on *Psalm 136*, 9⁴².

There is some indication of mistreatment and probably sexual abuse over captives in Early Medieval Bulgaria and the difficult situation in which teenagers find themselves after the killing of their parents. It must be recognized, however, that it does not provide the so coveted by researchers details. It rather indicates that actions clearly marked with Slavic displacements on the Balkans and the raids of nomadic groups in the north of the Black Sea Coast in the early Byzantine era are repeated by some members of the Bulgarian corps operating on an enemy territory at a later stage as well. Such a feeling is created by the correspondence of Patriarch Nicholas I Mysticus (901–907, 912–925). In a relatively common phrase

³⁸ *Scriptoris incerti historia...*, p. 22.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

⁴⁰ ПРОДОЛЖАТЕЛЪ ФЕОФАНА, p. 21; GENESIOS, p. 13–14.

⁴¹ К. СТАНЕВ, *Тракия...*, p. 116–120.

⁴² In fact, biblical references are exploited by the Byzantine authors in search of a justification corresponding to the Christian concepts for the cruelties and bloodshed caused by the imperial armies during the war. J. HALDON, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204*, London 1999, p. 13–33; W. TREADGOLD, *Byzantium, the Reluctant Warrior*, [in:] *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. N. CHRISTIE, M. YAZIGI, Leiden–Boston 2006, p. 209–233; J. KODER, I. STOURAITIS, *Byzantine Approaches to Warfare (6th–12th centuries). An Introduction*, [in:] *Byzantine war ideology between Roman imperial concept and Christian religion*, ed. IDEM, Vienna 2012, p. 9–15; I. STOURAITIS, 'Just War' and 'Holy War' in the Middle Ages. *Rethinking Theory through the Byzantine Case-Study*, JÖB 62, 2012, p. 227–264.

the senior Byzantine cleric accused the Bulgarian Tzar Symeon of economic ruin, orphaned children, merciless attitudes, murders and throwing away of women's corpses in connection with the new peak of Bulgarian-Byzantine opposition from the beginning of the tenth century⁴³.

* * *

Massacres, abuses, tortures and blind brutality are not the only option. Other measures are not excluded. Although it sounds modern, the most applicable term describing the efforts is integration. Furthermore, the entry in the military-political and economic structures of the Early Medieval Bulgaria can be a group one as well as an individual one. It must be noticed that most of the battle winners could hardly resist to integrated and incorporated civilian captives and defeated troops into their own society, regardless whether peacefully or by force. Such measures diminished rival's resources and increased their own economic and military power.

One of the earliest manifestations of an attempt to settle a compact group of captives in pagan Bulgaria is registered in Theophanes' *Chronography*. In connection with the efforts of Khan Telerig (768–777) in 773/774 to organize a transfer of the Berziti dwelling in area of present-day Kičevo, Prilep, Bitola and Veles, the text notes:

In the month of October of the 11th indiction the emperor [Constantine V – Y.M.H.] received a dispatch from his secret friends in Bulgaria to the effect that the lord of Bulgaria was sending an army of 12 000 and a number of boyars in order to capture Berzitia and transfer its inhabitants to Bulgaria [...] [Constantine V – Y.M.H.] gathered the soldiers of the **themata** and the **Thrakesians** and joined **Optimati** to the **tagmata** to a total of 80 000. He marched to a place called Lithosoria and, without sounding the bugles, fell upon the Bulgarians, whom he routed in a great victory. He returned with much booty and many captives and celebrated a triumph in the City, which he entered with due ceremony. He called this war a 'noble war' inasmuch as he had met with no resistance and there had been no slaughter or shedding of Christian blood⁴⁴.

Reservations to what the Byzantine chronicler says that Khan Telerig wanted to capture the Slavic group of Berziti and forcefully to deport them to Bulgaria are voiced by Bulgarian medievalists a century ago – at the beginning of the 20th century. However, some doubts remain. Even with the preliminary arrangements made between Khan Telerig and the knyazes of Berziti, there is still an inquiry why a voluntary migration in Bulgaria needs organizing a military expedition whose success strongly depends on keeping it a secret⁴⁵.

⁴³ NICHOLAS I PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Letters*, Greek text and English translation, ed., R.J.H. JENKINS, L.G. WESTERNIK, Washington 1973 (cetera: NICHOLAS I, *Letters*). Letters from Patriarch Nicholas I to Archbishop of Bulgaria and to Tzar Symeon: № 12, p. 89; N 14, p. 97. (cf. *Nicolai Constantinopolitani Archiepiscopi Epistolae*, [in:] FGHB, vol. IV, p. 227, 231).

⁴⁴ ТЕОФАНЕС, p. 617.

⁴⁵ В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българска държава през средните векове*, vol. I, pars 1, *Епоха на хуно-българското надмощие (679–852)*, София 1918, p. 302–303. Cf. ЖИВКОВИЋ, *Јужни словени*

For various reasons, the appeal of the *barbaric* way of life and conditions for development, achieving a social status or just the need for salvation is the reason for imperial subjects to integrate successfully in pagan Bulgaria. An announcement for such an outlined feature at the beginning of the 9th century is given by Theophanes Confessor right in the narrative about capturing Christijan – the leader of *Skamari* in 764 by the people of Emperor Constantine V⁴⁶. A significant part of the stored evidence for this particular group of Byzantines, even when it comes to those who were part of the Imperial Army, does not give grounds for them to be designated as prisoners of war, even in the broader context of medieval conceptions. Robert Browning qualified those persons with the milder term *immigrant* in order to avoid the *deserter* and *traitor*⁴⁷. The military, administrative and political cooperation with the pagan Bulgarian elite is clear⁴⁸. Judging by notices of John Scylitzes, there are escapes of imperial subjects and military men in Bulgaria at a much later stage, too.

It was at that time that two men were accused of being sympathetic to the Bulgars: the magister Paul Bobos, one of the leading citizens of Thessalonike, and Malakenos, distinguished by his intelligence and eloquence [reported the mentioned chronicler – Y.M.H.] Paul was transferred to the plain of the Thrakesion, Malakenos to Byzantium. Certain distinguished citizens of Adrianople who had also gained renown in military commands fled to Samuel because they were under suspicion: Vatatzes with his entire family, Basil Glabas alone [...]⁴⁹.

The example of Constantine Patzik – married to the sister of Khan Krum suggests that one of the ways for the integration of immigrants and defectors with specific skills or a high rank is through intermarriages⁵⁰. Without ignoring the romantic moment, the marriages of Miroslava and Theodora-Kosara – daughters of Tzar Samuel, respectively for Ashot Taronites and Dioclean knyaz John Vladimir is a clear indication that the practice is applied to real prisoners of war⁵¹. However, at elite level, the desire for integration through marriage in the Bulgarian society definitely has additional shades. For example, according to reports of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, however, the successfully ruling Serbian Prince

под византијском влашћу 600–1025, Београд 2007, p. 140–141; F. CURTA, *Were There any Slavs in Seventh-Century Macedonia?*, Исто 47.1, 2012, p. 61–74.

⁴⁶ Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia, p. 272.

⁴⁷ R. BROWNING, *Byzantines in Bulgaria, late 8th – early 9th Centuries*, [in:] *Studia Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia. In memoriam Ivan Dujčev*, vol. I, ed. P. DINEKOV et al., Sofia 1988, p. 32–36.

⁴⁸ П. РАШЕВ, *Византијците в България...*, p. 152, 155–158.

⁴⁹ JOHN SKYLITZES, p. 325.

⁵⁰ *Scriptoris incerti historia...*, p. 20–21.

⁵¹ *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis*, p. 341, 13–22; p. 342, 52–57; *Добавки на епископ Михаил Деволски от 1118 г. към „Исторически свод“ на Йоан Скилица (XI в.)*, [in:] *Извори за средновековната история на България (VII–XV в.) в Австрийските ръкописни сбирки и архиви*, vol. I, ed. B. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, София 1994, p. 53; *Annales anonymi presbyteri de Dioclea*, [in:] *FLHB*, vol. III, p. 174.

Petar Gojniković lives his life as a Bulgarian captive. The same fate seems to have been assigned to John Haldus the Duke of Thessalonica who spent two decades in captivity and was released only after the conquest of the First Bulgarian state by Byzantium⁵².

There are far more numerous group attempts to integrate the captured in Thrace imperial subjects in the second and third decade of the 9th century. Several Byzantine chronicles tell of their settlement on the eastern periphery of Bulgaria beyond the Danube River⁵³. Based on the clues, their preserved religious and cultural *otherness* in comparison with the rest of the pagan population of Bulgaria is not subjected to doubt. This stored identity is cited as a major reason for their integration attempt in the border structures of the Bulgarian state in 820s–830s to ultimately fail. Contacts with the imperial ruling circles, the revolt in 837, at the very beginning of the rule of Khan Presian (836–852) and obviously the well-planned and carried out evacuation with the help of the Byzantine fleet are serious grounds to support such a claim. However, perhaps there are additional considerations as their *otherness* is visible and strongly reported by the Bulgarian ruling elite during the rule of khans Omurtag and his successor Malamir. Religious and ethno-cultural differences did not undermine the loyalty of immigrants for 20 years, during which they played the role of armed frontier populations with their commanders, and in their settlements in Bulgaria beyond the Danube River the next generation was born and grew up⁵⁴.

Looking at the policies towards prisoners of war in pagan Bulgaria it is reasonable to pay attention to the preserved information in the article *Bulgari* (Βούλγαροι) of the lexicon *Souda*. The text, in connection with a description of the legislative activities of Khan Krum, generally talks about Avar captives⁵⁵. No clues suggest who knows what detailed comments and it seems logical and really likely, after the expansion against the remnants of the Khaganate during the rule of the mentioned ruler, that Avar captives might have fallen into Bulgarian hands. Significantly, in the statement drawn up in the second half of the tenth century *Souda* does not find any support in the text closer to the events in time – *Chronicle of 811*

⁵² DAI 32, 95–99; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis*, p. 357, 73–75.

⁵³ *Scriptoris incerti historia...*, p. 22–24; *Georgii Monachi Chronikon*, p. 56; *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, p. 135–137; *Leonis Gramatici Chronographia*, p. 156; *Pseudo-Symeonis Chronographia*, p. 172–173; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis*, p. 116, 5 – 118, 48.

⁵⁴ I. MLADJOV, *Trans-Danubian Bulgaria: Reality or Fiction*, ByzS 3, 1998, p. 86–87, 89–90, 95–96; К. СТАНЕВ, *Деноттираните ромеи...*, p. 185–189; Among the possible reasons is exactly the appearance of the Magyars and in their immediate neighborhood – the Petchenegs in the western periphery of the Khazar Khaganate. I. ВОЖИЛОВ, *One of Omourtag's Memorial Inscriptions*, BHR 1, 1973, p. 72–76; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Българо-хазарската граница и българо-хазарската враждебност от края на VII до средата на IX век*, [in:] *Българи и хазари през ранното средновековие*, ed. Ц. СТЕПАНОВ, София 2003 [= ББВ, 43], p. 108–110.

⁵⁵ *Suidae Lexicon*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, p. 310.

and *Scriptor incertus*. Two narratives' data present Bulgarian-Avars relation in very obscure scratches. However, it is clear that Avars took a part in the army collected by Khan Krum and were among the troops which assaulted Byzantine forces in Haemus mountains. In the *Chronicle of 811* it is specified that Avars auxiliary recruits before the battle of July 26, 811 were attracted by the payment. In addition, the author of *Scriptor incertus* also mirrored that Bulgarian ruler who prepared attack on Constantinople got military assistance of the Avars reinforcements again. Despite this fact there is no word about an execution of some submissive captives' obligations⁵⁶. In this regard, groups acknowledging the supremacy of the Bulgarian khanate after the collapse of the Avar khaganate in the first decade – a decade and a half of the 9th century – have a more federal status and in the search for stability and preservation of positions the Carpathian Basin are being in a process of an aware and relatively voluntary entry into the growing power of the Bulgarian state. For the members of Avar elite, as Panos Sophoulis pointed out, this process was facilitated by *the common lifestyle (i.e. the semi nomadic economy and the social institutions it creates), the consciousness of a shared past, true or false, and a strong politico-military leadership*, and most probably also by the Bulgarian policy toward the Mid-Danubian Slavs⁵⁷.

A larger group of captives who are not imperial subjects falls into Bulgarian hands at the beginning of the tenth century. After the failure of the imperial armies in open battles with Symeon's troops, the ruling circles in Constantinople are forced to seek allies. This diplomatic activity gives good results in the Serbian principality with a centre east of Dinaric Mountains. In fact, the choice of an anti-Bulgarian ally is not accidental. According to the notices of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in Chapter 32 of *De Administrando Imperio*, in the 9th century Serbs have the experience of two successful wars – Knyaz Vlastimir against Khan Presian and Knyazes Mutimir, Stoimir and Goynik Vlastimirovič against Knyaz Boris-Michael⁵⁸. At the end of the first quarter of the tenth century the successes of the Byzantine diplomacy in attracting Knyaz Paul – son of Bran and grandson of Knyaz Mutimir, and later Knyaz Zacharias (923–924) – son of Knyaz Pribislav, Mutimir's eldest son, lead to an outbreak of a new Bulgarian-Serbian war. Two marches were organized against the Serbian possessions. What happens to ordinary soldiers after the defeat in the first march in *DAI* was not reported,

⁵⁶ *Naratio anonyma e codice Vaticano*, p. 13; *Scriptoris incerti historia...*, p. 23.

⁵⁷ P. SOPHOULIS, *New Remarks on the History of Byzantine-Bulgar Relations in the Late Eighth and Early Ninth Centuries*, Bsl 67.1/2, 2009, p. 135–136; P. KOMATINA, *The Slavs of the Mid-Danube Basin and the Bulgarian Expansion in the First half of the 9th century*, 3PBI 47, 2010, p. 55–82; H. GRAČANIN, *Bulgari, Franci i Južna Panonija u 9. stoljeću. Reinterpretacija povijesnih izvora*, [in:] *Hrvati i Bugari kroz stoljeća. Povijest, kultura, umetnost i jezik. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Zagrebu i Đakovu, 23–24 rujna 2010*, ed. D. KARBIĆ, T. LUETIĆ, Zagreb 2013, p. 3–22.

⁵⁸ *DAI*, 32, 38–49.

but there is some clarity for the commanders. The two Bulgarian noblemen who also commanded previous initiatives in the Serbian lands – Marmais and Theodore Sigritza were killed and their heads and weapons were sent *as trophies* to Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus (920–944)⁵⁹. The cruelty shown by Knyaz Zacharias Pribislavič proves counterproductive. Tzar Symeon abandons the idea to change one protégé with another one on the Serbian throne, and proceeded with conquering the principality. Just in terms of conquest, as it is noticed, solutions are applied, which are not only related to aristocrats being prisoners of war, but they also have a mass character. The descriptions of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus are not so detailed, but the main points stand out:

Again, Symeon sent another army against Prince Zacharias, under Kninos and Himnikos and Itzboklias, and together with them he sent also Tzečslav. Then Zacharias took fright and fled to Croatia, and the Bulgarians sent a message to the 'zupans' that they should come to them and should receive Tzečslav for their prince; and having tricked them by an oath and brought them out as far as the first village, they instantly bound them, and entered Serbia and took away with them the entire folk, both old and young, and carried them into Bulgaria, though a few escaped away and entered Croatia; and the country was left deserted⁶⁰.

The manifested doubt on the claim that the Serbian principality with a centre east of the Dinaric Mountains is really being *abandoned* is at least reasonable. At the same time, it should be recognized that Tzar Symeon in his campaigns also proceeded to capture and deport large populations⁶¹. In this sense, though with undoubted and at places too serious bias in the *DAI* text, it seems logical that in 924 Knyaz Zacharias does not wait for a fighting and frightened he flees to Croatia, while the zupans are gathered and shackled, then there is a mass capture and kidnapping of people in Bulgaria in the conquest of Serbian lands. The restoration of the Serbian principality, its re-settlement and the gradual return of the population began seven years after Symeon's punitive expedition. This happens under the changed conditions in the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations in 930s and the need of a buffer against the Magyars on the Middle Danube⁶².

Sticking to the tried and tested practices against captured members of the political elite and mass deportations and integration efforts of the abducted by a foreign territory population is also present in the last years of the existence of the First Bulgarian state.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 32, 99–116.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 159.

⁶¹ *Leonis Choerosphactis Epistolae*, p. 176–182; *Nicolai Constantinopolitani Archiepiscopi Epistolae*, p. 256–257; *Romani Lacapeni Epistolae*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. IV, p. 300–313; *Theophanis Continuati Chronographia*, p. 122–123; *Leonis Gramatici Chronographia*, p. 158–159; *Pseudo-Symeonis Chronographia*, p. 176, 179; *Georgius Monachus Continuatus*, p. 139–140.

⁶² *DAI*, 32, 128–145.

Samuel became the sole ruler of all Bulgaria; he was much given to waging war and not at all possessing his soul in peace. When the Roman forces were occupied with the war against Sclerus he seized his chance and overran all the West, not only Thrace, Macedonia and the region adjacent to Thessalonica, but also Thessaly, Hellas and the Peloponnese [wrote John Scylitzes – Y.M.H.]. He also captured several fortresses of Larissa was the outstanding example. He transferred the inhabitants of Larissa, entire families of them, into further Bulgaria where he enrolled them among his own forces and used them as allies to fight against the Romans⁶³.

Details about capturing the key Thessaly fortress of Larissa and the subsequent displacement in the Bulgarian state are given in the *Strategikon* of Cecaumenus⁶⁴.

With some reservations, the next moment that is relevant to the issues outlined in the reign of Tzar Samuel (997–1014) is during his march on the Dalmatian coast. When using data from the chronicle of the anonymous author, named in scientific fields as *The Priest of Diocleia* problems should be taken into account regarding the identification, dating and reliability, as the text includes various local tales in quite a legendary type and unsaved *Life* after the glorification of the Dioclean Knyaz John Vladimir (†1016) as a saint⁶⁵. With the clear understanding of the questions about Chapters 36–37, it should be pointed out that there is stored information about the policy of Tzar Samuel towards prisoners of war. Some similarities stand out just in relation to the solutions applied in the First Bulgarian state, both for the elite group of aristocrats and senior military men and at the popular level. Fragments of the text are well-known. According to the anonymous author the young Dioclean Knyaz John Vladimir truly realized that he could not risk engaging in an open battle and withdrew with all his people on the top of Oblik Mountain in order to escape massacres. Blocked by Bulgarian forces, the young knyaz becomes the victim of a betrayal, and was sent to Bulgaria. This gives an opportunity for Tzar Samuel to regroup forces and to unfold the march in Dalmatia. Bulgarian army devastated, reduced to ashes and plundered both maritime and mountainous regions as far as Zadar. On the way back Samuel's troops passed through Bosnia and Rascia. The following passages in Chapter 36 of the *Duklyan's* chronicle, along falling in love and the marriage of Knyaz John Vladimir and Samuel's daughter Theodora-Kosara, present the situation with Diocleia and Trabounia after the Bulgarian march. After the wedding, Knyaz John Vladimir returned to his former possessions, but as a Bulgarian appointee, engaged with the policy of his father-in-law. An additional engagement of the prince in the structures of Samuel's Bulgaria can also be considered the transfer of *the whole territory of Dyrrachium* under his rule⁶⁶. If notifications are not fiction but have a historical basis, are based on

⁶³ JOHN SKYLITZES, p. 312–313.

⁶⁴ КЕКАБМЕХ, p. 265–268.

⁶⁵ *Annales anonymi presbyteri de Dioclea*, p. 173–179.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 173–175.

real events and processes, they have traces of solutions applied to prisoners of war in the First Bulgarian state. The anonymous author emphasized on the disaster which affected the Dalmatian coastline as well as the villages in the interior and the entire area was left *uninhabited*. It should not be omitted that according to the text Tzar Samuel notified the refugee Dragimir, Vladimir's uncle that he allowed him to come to the court in order to receive the land of Trabounia, where Dragimir might gather his people and settle the province⁶⁷. Even with reservations around the scales, mentioning the scattered and abducted people and the resettlement of an *uninhabited* territory whose knyazes are either expatriates or prisoners of war in Bulgaria, finds a parallel in the descriptions in Chapter 32 of *DAI* of the conquered Serbian lands of Vlastimirovič dynasty of 924 – early 930s. The tempting additional comments seem as if it is best that they are skipped. Such a decision is not due to excessive academic caution. The reason is that the clichéd excuse about the source basis, which does not allow more substantial details relative to the specific part of the text of *The Priest of Diocleia* brings a general imperative.

* * *

Along with attempts to replenish its military, economic and demographic resources through the integration of captives, there are other factors that contribute to the safety of their lives. After the victory in the gorges of the Haemus Mountains on July 26, 811 there is the inability for Khan Krum to immediately begin an offensive against the Empire. It was mainly due to the need to regroup and at least an initial aftermath of the Byzantine penetration north of the mountain⁶⁸. Along the mention of heavy losses in the Byzantine camp, there is not enough reliable indication of how trapped offside Byzantine soldiers survived and were taken into captivity. A part of the alleged prisoners of war is probably offered as a gift and compensation to Avar leaders and Slavic knyazes for their military cooperation. One group of all captives to the end of the conflict in 816, as noted, fills the need for manpower and is released only in the elderly age after years of heavy physical exercises for major construction endeavors in Pliska and the area around the capital⁶⁹. One cannot deny that because of the insignificant worries of accidents during hard labor, or conditions of shelter, quality of the food offered, combined with the age of lower ranks in the army and their health and physical condition, the prisoners of war are particularly

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 175; С. ПИРИВАТРИЊ, *Дукља, Бугарска и Византија на Јужном Јадрану крајем 10. и почетком 11. века*, [ип:] *България и Сърбия в контекста на византийската цивилизация*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, Р. СТАНКОВА, София 2005, p. 91–99.

⁶⁸ About the reasons for postponing the Bulgarian offensive in the spring of 812 – И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на България в 3 тома*, vol. I, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, София 1999, p. 130–132.

⁶⁹ К. СТАНЕВ. *Съдбата на ромейски войници...*, p. 29–31.

suitable for such an activity. Among the most important issues is the need for a strict and organized supervision to prevent escapes and riots⁷⁰.

One should not overlook the fact that there are even far more explicit data about Byzantine prisoners of war being used as a bargaining chip and means of political pressure against the Empire in order to achieve more favorable conditions for peace. This practice concerns the prisoners of war of all kinds and variety. It is quite understandable. No medieval ruler could easily accept a serious loss of military power and taxpayers. So striving for redemption of one's own captured warriors is quite understandable. Aspects and forms of exchange and mutual concessions or even implicit obedience to the enemy in order to retrieve survived warriors, military commanders, are visible in the Bulgar-Byzantine Peace treaty of 816. Some of its provisions are preserved in Khan Omurtag's stone inscription of Suleimankoi (now the village of Sečište, northeastern Bulgaria). Its content is of chrestomathical fame. The passages relevant to the issue of captives in Early Medieval Bulgaria read:

The third chapter is about the Slavs who live along the seacoast and are not ruled by the Emperor. He should send them back to their settlements. The fourth chapter is about the Christian prisoners of war and those captured [...] for the turmarchs, spatarii, and the comites. He will give [...] the rank and file will be a soul for a soul [a man for a man]. Two water buffalos will be given for those captured in a fortress, if [...] villages. If a strategos defected [...] ⁷¹.

The damaged parts are consuming, but in the current state, the epigraphic monument unequivocally shows that ordinary soldiers are exchanged on a reciprocal basis – one person for another one. Along with the arrangements for the exchange of 1:1, apparently the captured Byzantines, even from the lower ranks and chiefs, are many more compared to those in the hands of the emperor – Bulgarian soldiers and captured civilian residents. This requires a number of additional commitments on Byzantine's behalf since the option *a soul for a soul* is not enough⁷².

⁷⁰ About such an option: [...] *In the month of February two Christian refugees from Bulgaria* [...] – THEOPHANES, p. 683. Also: [...] *as some escaped captives from Bulgaria say, on Maundy Thursday before Easter, the first Bulgarian, the famous Krum, who had intended to take over the capital, ended his life* [...] – *Scriptoris incerti historia...*, p. 24.

⁷¹ К. ПЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. Records of a Bygone Culture*, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= ECEEMA, 5], p. 7–8.

⁷² В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи...*, p. 164–175. There is not much reason to doubt that commanders are exchanged via seniority and the ransom price is dependent on their rank. In conquering the strongholds, members of the higher levels in the church hierarchy fall into Bulgarian hands, too. *Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia*, p. 284, 286–289; *Sinaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, p. 287–288; *Theophanis Continuati Chronographia*, p. 119; *Menologium Basilii*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VI, p. 55. A comparison between the prices of cattle and harnessed animals to that of slaves in Byzantium, and other paid ransoms of the early Byzantine era to the first half of the 9th century is also quite revealing – C. MORRISSON, J.-C. CHEYNET, *Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World*, [in:] *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Centuries*, vol. II, ed. A. LAÏOU et al., Washington 2002, p. 839–850.

The detention of a large group of prisoners of war and civilian abductees brings positives not only as a means to achieve favorable conditions for peace and extract economic benefits but also in adverse developments of the circumstances. Such a feeling is created by the Bulgarian-Byzantine War of 894–896. After the first battle won by the Bulgarians in Thrace, peaceful inhabitants are kidnapped and taken north of Haemus and they are held in captivity. The inclusion of Magyars on Byzantine's side in the war and the deep penetration of their squadrons in the Bulgarian lands placed Symeon, who recently took over, in a difficult situation. Byzantine allies defeated the Bulgarians, the ruler himself sought safety behind the walls of Drastar and Magyars sacked unprotected villages and took captives that Emperor Leo VI redeemed and transferred to Byzantium. The detention of the abducted residents from the Themes of Thrace and Macedonia in Bulgaria enables the Bulgarian ruler to make demands for his own captive subjects. According to the reports, the Bulgarian envoys particularly arrived in Constantinople to free them. Meanwhile, Magister Leo Choerosphactes is charged with the daunting mission to negotiate the return of the abducted Byzantines⁷³.

In the first quarter of the tenth century Tzar Symeon continues to pose serious challenges to the ruling circles in Constantinople, using the Byzantine captives. Summarized they are given by the anonymous hagiographer, compiled the *Life of St. Luke of Steiris*.

Symeon, the Archon of the Scythian people we are usually accustomed to call Bulgarians violated the contract with the Romans, went over the whole land [...] [the text reads – Y.M.H.] he took captives and plundered, he deprived some of their lives, while others of freedom and they were made taxpayers⁷⁴.

An additional shade appears registered in the letters of Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus to Tzar Symeon. The Bulgarian ruler was accused that the kidnapped imperial subjects were sold *in slavery of unfaithful nations*. Grounds for concern in the ruling elite of the Empire are to a large extent understandable. While warriors and civilians are in Bulgarian hands there is a possibility for them to be redeemed, exchanged or even to escape. Selling them as slaves outside Symeon's possessions creates additional difficulties⁷⁵. The notice to engage Tzar Symeon in the slave trade makes tempting challenges. One of them relates to the disclosure of which exactly *unfaithful nations* Byzantine captives are sold. Taking other sources of the era and region into consideration the options are limited. Another aspect is related

⁷³ Leonis Choerosphactis Epistolae, p. 176sq; Theophanis Continuati Chronographia, p. 123; Pseudo-Symeonis Chronographia, p. 176; Leonis Gramatici Chronographia, p. 159; Georgius Monachus Continuatus, p. 140; Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae, p. 277, 123–130; Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis, p. 177, 20–35. Also: M.J. LESZKA, *The Monk...*, p. 62–69.

⁷⁴ *Vitae Luca Iunioris Steiriotis*, [in:] FGHB, vol. V, p. 232.

⁷⁵ *Romani Lacapeni Epistolae*, p. 300, 312.

to an attempt to give more density to this economic initiative that is only touched in the letters of Emperor Romanus. Indeed, following the established control over the Danube corridor during 9th–10th century Bulgaria is pointed out as a key participant determining the intensity and size of the slave stream in Eastern Europe and the region of the Straits⁷⁶. A significant problem facing the affirmation of this logically sounding hypothesis is that it is difficult to be defended with notifications in the narratives of the era⁷⁷. In the interest of objectivity, it should be noted that there is interesting Arab information from the tenth century – in the work *Akhbar az-Zaman*. The passage describing the Bulgarian export of foreign slaves needs further clarification⁷⁸. Given the discrepancies in the modern translation it is best to look at the Arabic original, and till then there should be taken only general information that the residents of Danubian Bulgaria know this type of trade and have information about markets nearby. More important is the question of what makes the captured imperial subjects to be enslaved and sold outside the country. Unfortunately, Emperor Romanus I does not pay attention to the reasons and one can only speculate. The assumptions vary in a wide range: from maintaining good relations with the neighbors in the vulnerable northeast direction, providing means and pursuit of economic benefits, eliminating the inconveniences of prolonged detention of a large group of people, etc. This, however, does not explain why they are not proposed as a ransom to the ruling ones in Constantinople. Perhaps among the motives of the Bulgarian ruler is the desire that they do not return to the Empire. The latter one refers to deliberate depopulation of the Byzantine possessions in order to limit their resistance possibilities.

Actually the ways to return the warriors and captured civilians without the assistance of the imperial authorities are very limited. A part of the captured ones do not fall within the frameworks of the agreements of exchange, release and redemption and remain in Bulgaria for a long time or till the end of their lives. Even the rough number of those *unreturnable* captives might never be realized. But modern day scholars are not completely helpless due to the available historical database. A substantive part of information comes from the hagiographical literature. A special case of the return of a representative of the Byzantine elite, closed with fifty other prominent captives is described in the *Life of Peter the Patrician*. Given the peculiarities of hagiographic literature, despite the coincidence of names, title and

⁷⁶ Cf. J. HENNING, *Gefangenensesseln im slawischen Siedlungsraum und der europäischen Sklavenhandel im 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Archäologisches zum Bedeutungswandel von "sklābos-sakālība-slavus"*, *Ge* 70, 1992, p. 403–426; F. CURTA, *East Central Europe*, *EME* 12.3, 2003, p. 290–291.

⁷⁷ M. McCORMICK, *Complexity, chronology and context in the early medieval economy*, *EME* 12.3, 2003, p. 313–314.

⁷⁸ А. ГАРКАВИ, *Сказания мусульманских писателей о Славянах и о Русских (с половины VII века до X века по Р.Х.)*, Санкт-Петербург 1870, p. 126, an. 6. About two recent translations, different from one another: P. ЗАИМОВА, *Арабски извори за българите*, София 2000 [= ББВ, 24], p. 36; В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Покръстване и християнизация на българите*, София 2006 [= ББВ, 63], p. 217.

managerial position, his identification with the mentioned in Theophanes' *Chronography* patrician Peter – according to the chronicler, who was killed along with other associates of Emperor Nicephorus I in the ravines of Haemus is subjected to doubt⁷⁹. The same moment with a miraculous release of prisoners of war among Bulgarians during 9th and the following 10th century, appeared in *Life of Ioannitzes* and the miraculous stories dedicated to St. George⁸⁰. This type of texts, even when relying on real time with captivity and handling with specific individuals and events are a serious challenge for researchers. It is possible to put a specious *curtain* not to recognize awkward for placarding contacts with the enemy or payment of large sums of money, but one cannot help but recognize that they reproduce the moment with releasing Apostle Peter from the dungeon of Herod the King, described in the *Acts of Apostles* 12, 3–11.

Under the whole conditionality, the clues about the stay in Bulgarian captivity after the Battle of Achelous (August, 20 917) in one of the miraculous stories about St. George, interesting information about the fate of prisoners of war is present. The inability to purchase or exchange them is generally due to falling into private hands. According to descriptions of the hagiographer, in dividing the captives, the young Byzantine George goes to a Bulgarian aristocrat who owns a large household with many servants and slaves⁸¹. Although it is about unfolding a hagiographic topos, it may be noted that the flow of captives, distributed as part of the booty, does not necessarily flow only in the lands of representatives of the higher social strata in the First Bulgarian state. In the Old Bulgarian hagiographic cycle *The Tale of the Iron Cross* it is mentioned that there are subjects even in properties that do not belong to aristocrats and can hardly be defined as lordly mansions. The text does not indicate explicitly that it comes to prisoners of war, but there are details that give rise to such a hypothesis. More important in this case is that in the smaller properties in the provinces the forced labor of the prisoner of war is not inapplicable, despite the limited resources of conventional warriors – peasants and craftsmen in their peaceful life⁸².

One should consider what the status of these *non-returnees* is from the surroundings of the ones caught up in Bulgarian captivity. The first explanation that comes to mind is that they are enslaved and the short notices engaging Bulgarians in slave trade does not exclude such a possibility. Without the least denying that

⁷⁹ *Vita Petri Patricii*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. IV, p. 119. Compare with: THEOPHANES, p. LX; 655; 658, an. 4; 673.

⁸⁰ *Vita Ioannicii*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. IV, p. 134, 140; *Miraculum S. Georgii*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, p. 62–63.

⁸¹ Although it is about a criminal act and slave-hunting, not a prisoner of war, the *Life of St. Blaise of Amorion* also points to the farms and homes of Bulgarian boyars after the Conversion – *Vita Blasii Amoriensis*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, p. 14–17; В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Средновековна България в светлината на нови извори*, София 1981, p. 51–60.

⁸² А. А. ТУРИЛОВ, „Не где князь живет, но вне” (Болгарское общество конца IX века в „Сказании о железном кресте”), *Слав* 2, 2005, p. 24; Я. ХРИСТОВ, *Щрихи към „Сказание за железния кръст”*, Благоевград 2012, p. 115–118.

Early Medieval Bulgaria was also a slave-owning society, it should be acknowledged that the stored information is an evidence for two essential features. The first one is that a part of the slavery is export-oriented, i.e. the enslaved by Bulgarians are directed outside the First Bulgarian state. The second point is the very slavery situation. Chrestomatically famous is the statement of *Strategikon* related to the personality of Emperor Maurice (582–602) that the captives among Slavic groups north of the Danube River in the 6th century are only temporarily kept in slavery and have the opportunity to be redeemed and return to their homes or remain wholly free in their new abodes. To what extent this practice, known from the time of the barbarian invasions on the Balkans is also used in the First Bulgarian state in 8th and first half of 9th century is difficult to answer. The time after 865 looks more different, when part of the Byzantine legal experience becomes available to the converted Bulgarian society⁸³. Among the texts, regardless of the discussions, the **ЗАКОНЪ СЪДНИИ ЛЮДЬМЪ** naturally stands out. In Chapter 19 there it is particularly noted that enemy captives were enslaved and sold. However, the pronounced opportunity for the person deprived of their freedom to recover an amount of money in order to be released from the position of a slave and return home, should not be left out. It has long been noted that in spite of the discrepancies in the price fixed for redemption, this is a relatively accurate recreation of the meaning of the provisions in item VIII, 6 of the *Eclogue*⁸⁴. The very point of enslavement and redemption of prisoners of war should not be considered in isolation and without attention on the Byzantine primary source⁸⁵. The relation, however, is not absolute. In **ЗАКОНЪ СЪДНИИ ЛЮДЬМЪ** two groups of titles are noticed. One covers those that are translations without changing the meaning and (or) the content of borrowed texts. The second one covers the titles with a free attitude towards the original. It is the latter ones that are particularly important because of crimes for which the mentioned Byzantine law monument enacts a penalty of mutilation, enslavement is provided in the early translatory and compilatory Slavonic law code⁸⁶.

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The mentioned various aspects of the fate of prisoners of war in Early Medieval Bulgaria are devoid of the ambition to include the whole complex and diverse mixture of policies of the dominant elite and practices of the popular level in the specific area. At this stage the preliminary remarks rather allow highlighting

⁸³ Р. Чолов, *Византийското право...*, р. 546–556; Д. НАЙДЕНОВА, *Правните паметници...*, р. 136–163; ЕАДЕМ, *Преводни византийски законови текстове...*, р. 30–36.

⁸⁴ С. ТРОИЦКИЙ, *Святой Мефодий...*, р. 90; М. АНДРЕЕВ, *Към въпроса за произхода и същността...*, р. 11–12.

⁸⁵ Y. ROTMAN, *Byzantine Slavery...*, р. 33.

⁸⁶ К. ИЛИЕВСКА, *ЗАКОНЪ СЪДНИИ ЛЮДЬМЪ...*, р. 76, 86–90, 103–107, 163, 176–186, 200–212; К. МАКСИМОВИЧ, *Древнейший памятник...*, р. 26–33, 37–52.

of contours, a significant Bulgarian experience and traditions to take captives and take advantage of military and tactical, political and economic benefits out of them, even in an adverse development of military actions with the enemy. In the Early Middle Ages prisoners of war (in the broadest medieval sense) are an integral part of the efforts to achieve the political objectives of the Bulgarian rulers. Response mechanisms against prisoners of war are highly dependent on the course of the conflict and their attitude towards their own warriors and subjects caught up in enemy hands. They include a wide range of solutions. They are grouped into three main areas: the first one refers to killing (and/or mutilation) of prisoners of war. The terms of clashes in medieval societies do not contribute much to a merciful attitude towards the one fallen into enemy captivity. However, it is worth mentioning the striving after winning a battle to reduce fast and permanently the military potential of the enemy, while not wasting time and resources, and a tactical advantage for the ultimate success in the war is used. Besides the need for a rapid deployment of the victorious army, in order to achieve the strategic goals of the Bulgarian command, the purely psychological aspect of mass executions should not be underestimated either. They demoralize the enemy and lead to failure of new risks in open battles; the second main line is connected with preserving the lives of the captives, with the aim of a possibly quicker retrieval of a direct profit by offering them as a ransom or sale; the third group of measures is due to the fact that an immediate effect is not always haunted. It involves mostly long-term solutions – closing captives for an indefinite period of time until achieving the desired peace and exchange of tribesmen found in the hands of the enemy, as well as an attempted integration of captured and kidnapped people in the economic and military-political structures of the Bulgarian state.

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Abstract. The work is concentrated on the problem of war prisoners in the chronological period of the existence of the so-called First Bulgarian state. The analysis is based predominantly on various Byzantine and selected Latin and Bulgarian sources from the epoch. With some exceptions, mostly for 707/708, 754/755, 763/764 and 774, the notices are concentrated around the events of 811–815/816, 837/838; 894–896, 917–30s and for a moment or two from the period of 971–1018. In his preliminary remarks the author comes to the conclusion that in the Early Middle Ages prisoners of war (in the broadest medieval sense) were an integral part of the efforts to achieve the political objectives of the Bulgarian rulers. Response mechanisms against prisoners of war were highly dependent on the course of the conflict and their attitude towards their own warriors and subjects caught up in enemy hands. They included a wide range of solutions, which could be grouped into three main areas: the first one refers to killing (and/or mutilation) of war prisoners; the second main line was connected with preserving the lives of the captives; the third group of measures was due to the fact that an immediate effect is not always haunted.

Keywords: prisoners of war, captives, peace/war studies, the First Bulgarian state, Byzantine-Bulgarian relationships, early medieval history

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Словник *Исторической Палеи* по списку Синодального собрания № 591 второй половины XV века – глоттометрическая характеристика

В своем исследовании лексики древнеболгарских рукописей X–XI вв. Р.М. Цейтлин обращает специальное внимание на количественную характеристику их словарного состава. Она подчеркивает, что так как большая часть болгарских рукописей и остальных письменных источников X–XI вв. погибла, оставшиеся источники болгарского языка этого времени требуют исчерпывающего исследования. К числу содержательных имманентных источников сведений о лексике древнеболгарского языка ученая относит и различные количественные данные о словарном составе древнеболгарских рукописей, которые до того времени не были предметом специального изучения. В своей работе количественным показателям она уделяла большое внимание. По ее убеждению, постоянный учет количественных данных на фоне других сведений способствует объяснению некоторых неясных или недостаточно подтвержденных фактами явлений древнеболгарского языка, в частности, в области лексики. Эти данные, дополняет исследовательница, представляют определенный интерес и для сравнительной лексикологии славянских языков начальной эпохи письменности¹.

В ходе нашей собственной лексикографической работы мы тоже убедились, что добиться стабильных выводов можно только на прочной статистической основе. Исследования ряда ученых в России, США, Англии, Германии, Франции, Чехии и других странах показали эффективность статистических методов в лексикологических работах². Труды Л.В. Вялкиной и Г.Н. Лукиной доказали успешность применения этих методов к изучению древнерусской лексики³. Близость древнерусских текстов к древнеболгарским дала

¹ Р.М. Цейтлин, *Лексика древнеболгарских рукописей X–XI вв.*, София 1986, p. 34–35.

² Больше об этом методе см.: G.I. YULE, *The statistical study of literary vocabulary*. Cambridge, 1944, p. 78; Р.М. Фрумкина, *Статистические методы изучения лексики*, Москва 1964, p. 42–43; А. Давидов, *Използване на статистическите методи в лексиколожките изследвания*, [in:] *Старобългарска лексикология*. Велико Търново 1996, p. 28–30.

³ Л.В. Вялкина, Г.Н. Лукина, *Материалы к частотному словарю древнерусских текстов*. [in:] *Лексикология и словообразование древнерусского языка*, Москва 1966, p. 263–292.

основание болгарским ученым А. Давидову и И. Христовой применить использованную методику и при анализе преславских и охридских литературных памятников, сохранившихся в поздних рукописях. Но все-таки исследований в этом направлении в палеославистике еще довольно мало.

Предметом настоящей статьи являются некоторые статистические наблюдения над лексическим составом Исторической Палеи (далее ИП). Это популярное в средние века сочинение, в котором сжато излагается ветхозаветная история от сотворения мира до царствования царя Давида с апокрифическими вставками. Как видно из данных, опубликованных в посвященном лексике этого памятника монографическом исследовании Ростислава Станкова⁴, ИП является достаточно крупным по объему текстом, материал которого может служить базой для обобщающих выводов. Тщательное глоттометрическое исследование словарного состава ИП важно как в связи с развитием древнеболгарской, так и в связи с развитием русской исторической лексикологии и лексикографии.

Наблюдения проведены на основе составленного Ростиславом Станковым словаря-индекса ИП⁵ по списку Синодального собрания № 591 второй половины XV века, положенному в основу издания А.Н. Попова⁶. На материале словаря, в котором в каждой статье к отдельным сигнатурам указано количество словоупотреблений заголовочного слова, я суммировала данные и составила частотный список⁷. В него включены все слова ИП, в т. ч. имена собственные (включая географические названия). Слова расположены в порядке нарастания их частотности, при этом частота в списке является абсолютной величиной. Список начинается группой из 1122 слов, употребленных по одному разу и заканчивается самым частотным словом, которое встречается 2270 раз. В словаре есть группы слов с одинаковой частотностью – в таком случае они располагаются в алфавитном порядке. Через знак ‘/’ даны графические варианты. Нормализация следует принципам, принятым в исходном словаре Р. Станкова. Омонимы сопровождаются для ясности грамматическими пометами: n_1 союз и n_2 мест.

Результаты сопоставляются с данными других древнеболгарских и древнерусских текстов, которые были подвергнуты такому же анализу: «Беседа против богомилов» Козьмы Пресвитера (далее ПрК)⁸, Слова Климент Охридского (далее СловаКлОхр)⁹, «Повесть временных лет» (далее

⁴ Р. Станков, *Лексика исторической Палеи*, Велико Търново 1994, р. 310.

⁵ Р. Станков, *Лексика исторической Палеи...*, р. 235–310.

⁶ А.Н. Попов, *Книга бытия небеси и земли /Палея Историческая/ с приложением Сокращенной Палеи русской редакции*, ЧИОИДР, Москва 1881, кн. 1.

⁷ См. Приложение № 1.

⁸ А. Давидов, *Статистические наблюдения над «Беседой» Козьмы Пресвитера*, [in:] *Вопросы словообразования и лексикологии древнерусского языка*, Москва 1974, р. 285–304.

⁹ И. Христова, *Речник на словата на Климент Охридски*, София 1994, р. 7–40.

ПовВрЛ)¹⁰, Книга пророка Иезекииля по списку F.I.461 (далее ЕзF.I.461)¹¹, «Богословие» Иоанна Дамаскина в переводе Иоанна Экзарха (далее ИоЭБ)¹², Слова Петра Черноризца (далее ПЧрз)¹³, трактат **О писмиенѣхъ** Черноризца Храбра (далее ЧрзХр)¹⁴, гимнографические произведения Климента Охридского (далее ГимнКлОхр)¹⁵. Сделанные нами наблюдения могут дать сравнительный материал и для будущих подобных исследований.

Словник ИП насчитывает 2576 лексем (11,08% многообразия)¹⁶ и 23 229 словоупотреблений. По данным Р. Станкова, на долю существительных приходится 1068 слов, что составляет 41,27% словника. Из них 203, т.е. приблизительно одна пятая часть, – антропонимы, топонимы, гидронимы и этнонимы. Число глаголов доходит до 869, что составляет 33,56%. Число прилагательных достигает 377, что составляет 14,88%¹⁷. На остальные 10,27% приходится 14 числительных (0,54%), 145 наречий (5,62%), 50 местоимений (1,94%), 56 служебных слов (2,1%)¹⁸.

Основное ядро словника составляют высокочастотные слова – 40 и больше употреблений. К ним относятся:

а) слова специального предназначения в языке – предлоги (вѣ, къ, на, о, отъ, по, ради, съ), союзы (и₁ союз, а, аще, бо, же, нѣ, оубо, яко), частицы (да, же, ли, не, ни, се), местоимения (азъ, въсь, и₂ мест., иже, мы, онъ, себе, свои, съ, тѣ, ты);

б) наименования основных действий и состояний (быти, видѣти, възати, вѣннати, възстати, глаголати, дати, изити, инѣти, обрѣсти (сѧ), прити, прияти, рещи, родити (сѧ), слышати (сѧ), сътворити, хотѣти, ясти);

¹⁰ О. Творогов, *Материалы к частотному словарю среднеболгарского перевода «Хроники Константина Манасиш»*, Рбг 7.1, 1983, р. 75–81.

¹¹ Т. Илиева, *Словник Книги пророка Иезекииля по списку F.I.461: Глоттометрическая характеристика*, [in:] *Славянское и балканское языкознание. Палеославистика: Слово и текст*, Москва 2012, р. 9–42.

¹² ЕАДЕМ, *Лексиката в Йоан–Екзарховия превод на Богословието – количествени показатели*, Рбг 35.2, 2011, р. 14–37.

¹³ ЕАДЕМ, *Лексиката в творчеството на Петър Черноризец – глоттометричен профил*, [in:] *Старобългарската книжнина и руската ръкописна традиция. Четения, посветени на 80-годишнината на проф. д-р Румяна Павлова*, София 2013 (= ЕЛ 1/2, 2013), р. 72–86.

¹⁴ ЕАДЕМ, *Словникът на Храбровото Сказание за буквите – статистическа характеристика*, [in:] *In honorem 2. Филология и текстология. Юбилеен сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на проф. Уйлям Федер*, Шумен 2014, р. 199–222.

¹⁵ ЕАДЕМ, *Лексиката в химнографското творчество на Климент Охридски – глоттометричен профил*, Кир 7, 2013, р. 59–77.

¹⁶ Для сравнения: многообразие лексем в ЧрзХр – 24,5%, в ПЧрз – 19,41%, в СловахКлОхр – 14,5%, в ГимнКлОхр – 14,83%, в ПрК – 13,5%, в ИоЭБ – 13,17%, в ПовВрЛ – 10%, в ЕзF.I.461 – 9,09%. Многообразие словоформ в СловахКлОхр – 40%, в ЕзF.I.461 – 39,7%, в ЧрзХр – 37,6%, в ИоЭБ – 30,86%.

¹⁷ Учитываются и субстантивированные формы.

¹⁸ Р. Станков, *Лексика исторической Палеи...*, р. 39.

в) конкретная лексика – названия понятий человеческого общества (цѣсарь, градъ, людинѣ, чловѣкъ, мжжъ, жена, языкъ), семейного круга (домъ, отъць, сынъ), понятий природных объектов (вода, гора, днь, земля), частей тела (ржка);

г) абстрактная лексика – фундаментальные понятия мировоззрения (богъ, божи, господъ, господьнъ, ангелъ);

д) ключевые (опорные) слова, большая употребительность которых в данном тексте обусловлена его тематикой (авраамъ, давидъ, израилъ, моисии, саулъ).

Дальше в таблицах и диаграммах попробуем представить глоттометрический профиль лексикографированного материала.

Таблица № 1 представляет в кратком виде статистическую структуру словаря ИП. В первом столбце указывается частота употребления слов, расположенных в порядке нарастания частотности, а во втором – количество слов с данной частотностью в ИП (например, с частотой 8 имеется 35 слов)¹⁹. Данные показывают, что с нарастанием частоты употребления уменьшается количество слов в группах с данной частотностью.

Таблица № 1

Частота	Количество слов	Частота	Количество слов	Частота	Количество слов	Частота	Количество слов
1	1122	26	7	58	1	146	1
2	441	27	8	59	1	147	1
3	219	28	5	60	2	152	1
4	146	29	4	61	1	154	1
5	93	30	4	63	1	155	1
6	70	31	4	64	2	158	1
7	70	32	3	71	1	163	1
8	35	33	1	72	1	169	1
9	35	34	5	75	1	177	1
10	36	35	5	76	1	187	1
11	31	36	1	77	1	188	1
12	18	37	4	84	4	196	1

¹⁹ См. подобную таблицу «Мерила праведного» в статье Л.В. Вялкиной и Г.Н. Лукиной *Материалы к частотному словарю...*, р. 265, а также и «Беседы» Козьмы Пресвитера в статье А. Давидова, *Исползване на статистическите методи в лексиколожките изследвания...*, р. 28–43.

Таблица № 1 (продолжение)

Частота	Количество слов	Частота	Количество слов	Частота	Количество слов	Частота	Количество слов
13	13	38	1	85	1	201	1
14	9	41	3	87	1	208	1
15	9	43	2	88	1	229	1
16	14	44	3	89	1	232	1
17	9	45	1	91	1	240	1
18	12	47	2	92	2	356	1
19	7	48	1	96	1	370	1
20	11	49	1	100	1	430	1
21	11	50	1	111	1	548	1
22	7	51	2	113	1	628	1
23	11	52	6	127	1	658	1
24	5	53	1	132	1	709	1
25	7	55	1	137	1	2270	1
		56	1	141	2	Итого	2576

Таблица № 2 отражает статистическую структуру словника и текста, т. е. отношение между количеством лексем в тексте ИП и количеством всех словоупотреблений. Прямым подсчетом можем установить, какая часть текста, а также какая часть словника соответствует отдельным группам слов, расположенным в порядке убывания частоты употребления. Эти части даны в процентах. Количество слов, встречаемых в тексте – 23229, а величина словника – 2576 единиц.

В первой графе указывается объем группы слов в порядке убывания частотности; они даются в увеличивающихся группах: наиболее частотное слово – первая группа; первые 5 наиболее частотных слов, среди которых находится и наиболее частотное слово – вторая группа, первые 10 наиболее частотных слов – третья группа и т. д. до конца, где указано 2576 единиц, то есть общее количество лексем в ИП. Во второй графе указывается общее количество словоупотреблений в данной группе, т. е. сумма частот слов, указанных в первой графе. В третьей графе указывается процент текста, покрываемый данным количеством словоупотреблений, а в четвертой – какой процент словника покрывает группа с определенной частотностью. В пятой графе указана минимальная частота слов, входящих в состав одной

группы. Например, в пятом ряду рассматривается группа первых 20 самых частотных слов, встречающихся 8317 раз; слово с порядковым номером 20 (наименее употребляемое слово в группе) встречается в тексте 158 раз.

Таблица № 2

Объем группы наиболее частых слов	Сумма словоупотреблений в группе	Объем текста, %	Объем словаря, %	Минимальная частота в группе
1	2270	9,77	0,03	2270
5	4813	20,71	0,19	548
10	6441	27,72	0,38	232
15	7463	32,12	0,58	188
20	8317	35,8	0,77	158
31	9862	42,45	1,2	113
45	11129	47,9	1,74	85
57	11931	51,36	2,21	59
74	12808	55,13	2,87	47
100	13794	59,38	3,88	33
158	15336	66,02	6,1	23
260	17097	73,6	10,09	13
415	18609	80,11	16,1	8
555	19519	84,02	21,5	6
648	19984	86,03	25,15	5
794	20568	88,54	30,82	4
1013	21225	91,37	39,32	3
1454	22107	95,16	56,44	2
2576	23229	100	100	1

Анализируя данные таблицы, устанавливаем, что приблизительно одному проценту лексем словаря (31 слову в 9862 употреблении) соответствует 42,45% текста, а только одно самое частотное слово (употребляемое 2270 раз) покрывает почти 10% текста. 6% словаря (158 слов) покрывают две трети текста – 66,02%. 95,16% текста покрывается употреблением 1454 слов, составляющих 56,44% словаря, т. е. больше половины. На остальные

1122 слова (43,56% словника) приходится только 4,84% текста²⁰. Это слова, употребляемые один раз, что является лишним свидетельством лексического богатства текста²¹. Для сравнения: число лексем с частотой употребления

²⁰ По данным Р. Станкова, это число 1130: Р. Станков, *Лексика исторической Палеи...*, р. 39.

²¹ Для сравнения здесь приводим результаты глоттометрических исследований некоторых других текстов:

- ПрК – приблизительно одному проценту лексем словника (23 словам, встречаемым 6365 раз) соответствует 36% текста, т. е. 1% словника покрывает больше чем треть текста, а только одно самое частое слово (употребляемое 1148 раз) покрывает 6,6% текста. 5% словника (115 слов) покрывают приблизительно две трети текста – 62%. 89% текста покрывается употреблением 820 слов, составляющих 35% словника. На остальные 1540 слов (65% словника), употребляемых 1 (1105 слов) или 2 раза (876 слов), приходится только 11% текста. Данные цитируются по А. Давидову (А. Давидов, *Статистические...*, р. 291–292);
- ИоЭБ – приблизительно одному проценту лексем словника (30 словам, встречаемым 9240 раз) соответствует 36,59% текста, т. е. 1% словника покрывает больше чем треть текста, а только одно самое частое слово (употребляемое 1271 раз) покрывает 5,03% текста. 6,01% словника (200 слов) покрывают почти две трети текста – 65,38%. 89,29% текста покрывается употреблением 1156 слов, составляющих 34,75%, т. е. около трети словника. На остальные 2170 слов (65,25%, т. е. почти две трети словника), употребляемых 1 (1638 слов) или 2 раза (532 слова), приходится только 10,71% текста. Исчисления сделаны Т. Илиевой (Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в Йоан–Екзархovia...*, р. 17);
- ЧрзХр – приблизительно одному проценту лексем словника (5 словам, встречаемым 317 раз) соответствует 16,8% текста, т. е. 1% словника покрывает около одной шестой текста, а только одно самое частое слово (употребляемое 126 раз) покрывает 6,67% текста. Приблизительно 10% словника (44 слова) составляют немногим более половины текста – 54,5%. Около 80% текст покрывается употреблением 151 слова, соответствующего 32,61%, т. е. около трети словника. На остальные 243 слова (67,39% словника), употребляемые 1 (220 слов) или 2 раза (91 слов), приходится только 11,66% текста. Исчисления сделаны Т. Илиевой (Т. Илиева, *Словникът на Храбровото Сказание за буквите – статистическа характеристика /в печати/*);
- ГимнКлОхр – приблизительно одному проценту лексем словника (18 словам, встречаемым 3083 раза) соответствует 25,2% текста, т. е. 1% словника покрывает около четверти текста, а только одно самое частое слово (употребляемое 575 раз) покрывает 4,7% текста. Приблизительно 5% словника (99 слов) покрывают около половины текста – 52,68%. 89% текста покрывается употреблением 732 слов, составляющих 40,37% словника. На остальные 1152 слова (59,63% словника), употребляемые 1 (806 слов) или 2 раза (275 слов), приходится только 11% текста. Исчисления сделаны Т. Илиевой (Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в хиннографското...*, р. 63.);
- ПЧрз – приблизительно одному проценту лексем словника (20 словам, встречаемым 2420 раз) соответствует 32,6% текста, т. е. немного больше чем 1% словника покрывает около трети текста, а только одно самое частое слово (употребляемое 550 раз) покрывает 7,4% текста. 4,16% словника (60 слов) покрывают около половины текста – 50,56%. Приблизительно три четверти текста (74,8%) покрывается употреблением 263 слов, составляющих 18,3% словника. На остальные слова (81,7% словника), употребляемые менее 5 раз (1 раз – 737 единиц, 2 раза – 237 единиц, 3 раза – 136 единиц, 4 раза – 69 единиц, или суммарно

1 в ПЧрз – 51,2%²², в ИоЭБ – 49,24%²³, в ЧрзХр – 47,5%²⁴, в ПрК – 6,8%²⁵, в ПовВрЛ – 46,5%²⁶, в ГимнКлОхр – 44,45%²⁷, в СловахКлОхр – 43,7%²⁸, а в ЕзФ.І.461 – 38,61%²⁹.

Таблица № 3

Группы слов по частоте	Знаменательные части речи							Служебные слова			
	глаголы	сущ.	прилаг.	наречия	числ.	количество слов	% словника в группе	неизменяемые	местоимения	количество слов	% словника в группе
1–56	14	13	0	1	1	29	51.7%	17	10	27	48.3%
57–100	10	16	3	3	0	32	74.4%	6	5	11	25.6%
101–159	14	33	5	2	0	54	93.1%	3	1	4	6.9%
160–261	39	41	5	2	2	89	91.8%	6	2	8	8.2%
262–415	60	71	15	7	2	155	97.4%	2	2	4	2.6%
416–648	74	106	31	3	2	216	95.1%	4	7	11	4.9%
649–1013	125	148	56	20	4	353	96.7%	6	6	12	3.3%

1179 слов), приходится только 25,2% (одна четверть) текста. Исчисления сделаны Т. Илиевой (Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в творчеството...*, р. 75);

- ЕзФ.І. 461 – приблизительно одному проценту лексем словника (30 словам, встречаемым 11845 раз) соответствует 33,11% текста, т. е. 1% словника покрывает около трети текста, а только одно самое частое слово (употребляемое 1078 раз) покрывает 3% текста. Почти 5% словника (154 слова) покрывают приблизительно две трети текста – 60,93%. 93,6% текста покрывается употреблением 1490 слов, составляющих 45,66% словника. На остальные 1773 слова (54,34% словника) приходится только 6,4% текста. Это слова, употребляемые 1 (1260 слов = 38,61%) или 2 раза (513 слов = 15,72%). Исчисления сделаны Т. Илиевой (Т. Илиева, *Словник Книги пророка Иезекииля...*, р. 16).

²² Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в творчеството...*, р.75.

²³ ЕАДЕМ, *Лексиката в Йоан-Екзарховия превод...*, р. 15.

²⁴ Исчисления сделаны Т. Илиевой (Т. Илиева *Словникът на Храбровото Сказание за буквите – статистическа характеристика. /в печати/*).

²⁵ А. Давидов *Използване...*, р. 39.

²⁶ О. Творогов, *Лексический состав «Повести временных лет» (Словоуказатели и частотный словник)*, Киев 1984, р. 11.

²⁷ Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в химнографското творчество на Климент Охридски – глотометричен профил*, Кир 7, 2013, р. 60.

²⁸ И. Христова, *Речник на словата на Климент Охридски*, София 1994, р. 12.

²⁹ Т. Илиева, *Словник Книги пророка Иезекииля...*, р. 16.

Таблица № 3 (продолжение)

Группы слов по частоте	Знаменательные части речи							Служебные слова			
	глаголы	сущ.	прилаг.	наречия	числ.	количество слов	% словника в группе	неизменяемые	местоимения	количество слов	% словника в группе
1014–2576	532	639	261	100	3	1535	98.2%	12	16	28	1.8%
с нарастанием											
1–56	14	13	0	1	1	29	51.7%	17	10	27	48.3%
1–100	24	29	3	4	1	61	61.6%	23	15	38	38.4%
1–159	38	62	8	6	1	115	73.24%	26	16	42	26.76%
1–261	77	103	13	13	3	205	80.4%	32	18	50	19.6%
1–415	137	174	28	16	5	360	87%	34	20	54	13%
1–648	211	280	59	25	7	576	89.8%	38	27	65	10.2%
1–1013	336	428	115	45	11	930	93.4%	44	33	77	6.6%
1–2576	868	1067	376	145	14	2470	95.2%	56	49	105	4.8%

Таблица № 3 отражает отношения между группами слов с определенной частотностью в тексте ИП (по отношению к объему словника).

Из данных в таблице видно, что с уменьшением частотности слов закономерно уменьшается и количество служебных слов, а количество глаголов, существительных и прилагательных нарастает.

Группа 100 наиболее частотных слов в ИП включает в себя слова с наибольшей употребительностью вообще в древнеболгарском языке периода X–XIV вв. Нужно отметить при этом, что самые частотные слова в исследованном тексте нейтральны в стилистическом отношении и многозначны. Это обуславливает и их большую валентную способность.

Распределение слов по частям речи в отдельных интервалах частоты (по отношению к величине словника) видно из таблицы № 4. В первой графе указывается частота слов, во второй – количество глаголов с данной частотой, в третьей – количество прилагательных, в четвертой – количество существительных и в пятой – количество остальных слов (предлоги, союзы, местоимения, наречия и т. п.).

Таблица № 4

Частота	Глаголы	Прилагательные	Существительные	Другие	Сумма
1	389 (34,67%)	194 (17,29%)	449 (40,01%)	90 (8,02%)	1122 (43,5%)
2	143 (32,42%)	68 (15,41%)	189 (42,85%)	41 (9,3%)	441 (17,1%)
3	78 (35,61%)	33 (15,06%)	89 (40,63%)	19 (8,67%)	219 (9%)
4	47 (32,19%)	23 (15,75%)	59 (40,41%)	17 (11,64%)	146 (5,66%)
5	28 (30,1%)	13 (13,97%)	44 (47,31%)	8 (8,6%)	93 (3,61%)
6	22 (31,42%)	11 (15,71%)	30 (42,85%)	7 (10%)	70 (2,71%)
7	24 (34,28%)	7 (10%)	32 (45,71%)	7 (10%)	70 (2,71%)
8	17 (48,57%)	5 (14,28%)	11 (31,42%)	2 (5,71%)	35 (1,35%)
9	15 (42,8%)	4 (11,4%)	16 (45,71%)	0 (0%)	35 (1,35%)
10	13 (36%)	3 (8,3%)	18 (50%)	2 (5,5%)	36 (1,4%)
> 10	92 (29,7%)	16 (5,17%)	130 (42,07%)	71 (22,9%)	309 (12%)
Итого	868 (33,7%)	377 (14,63%)	1067 (41,42%)*	264 (10,24%)	2576 (100%)

* + 203 – это число антропонимов, топонимов, гидронимов и этнонимов

Из таблицы видно, что соотношение между частями речи в каждом интервале сохраняется.

Таблица № 5 представляет сопоставление процентных соотношений между частями речи (по отношению к величине словника) в ИП, в словаре Садник–Айцетмюллера (далее СА)³⁰ и в некоторых других текстах³¹.

³⁰ L. SADNIK, R. AITZETMÜLLER, *Handwörterbuch zu den altkirchenslavischen Texten*. Heidelberg 1955. См. еще данные у Р.М. Цейтлин, *Лексика древнеболгарских рукописей X–XI вв.*, София 1986, р. 39; А. Достал, *Вопросы изучения словарного состава старославянского языка*, ВЯ 6, 1960, р. 3–16.

³¹ А. Давидов, *Статистические...*, р. 295; О. Творогов, *Лексический состав «Повести временных лет» (Словоуказатели и частотный словарь)*, Киев 1984, р. 13; Р. Станков, *Лексика исторической Палеи...*, р. 39; И. Христова, *Речник на словата...*, р. 13 sq; Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в Йоан–Екзархovia превод...*, р. 21.

Таблица № 5

Части речи	ИП	ПрК	Слова КлОхр	ЕзФ.І.461	ИоЭБ	Пов ВрЛ	ЧрзХр	ПЧрз	Гимн КлОхр	СА
Существительные	41,27	35,44	38,2	41,5	35,95	45,8	42,33	37,15	37	42,76
Глаголы	33,56	37,26	33,8	34	28,6	32,6	16,8	35,06	32	31,06
Прилагательные	14,88	14,33	18,4	16	21,19	13,2	11,23	14,65	22	18,15
Другие	10,27	12,97	7,9	8,42	13,54	8,4	29,56	13,125	10	8,03

Данные показывают приблизительно одинаковые процентные соотношения между частями речи в ИП, СА, СловахКлОхр ЕзФ.І.461, ЧрзХр и ПовВрЛ. В ПрК наблюдается преимущество глаголов. Это объясняется прежде всего жанром произведения, его публицистическо-риторическим стилем. Перевес прилагательных в ИоЭБ объясняется, вероятно, особенностью авторского стиля, а в ГимнКлОхр – и спецификой литературного жанра.

Таблица № 6 иллюстрирует разницу процентных соотношений между частями речи в ИП по отношению к объему текста и величине словника.

Таблица № 6

Части речи	Покрытие текста (в т. ч. в %)	Покрытие словника (в т. ч. в %)
Существительные	6452 (27,77%)	1067 (41,42%)
Глаголы	5829 (25,09%)	868 (33,7%)
Прилагательные	1174 (5,05%)	377 (14,63%)
Другие	9774 (42,07%)	264 (10,24%)

Существенный элемент статистической характеристики текста – это так называемый индекс повторяемости. Он определялся делением общего количества словоупотреблений на количество лексем в словнике. Для ИП получится $23229/2576 = 9,01$. Известно, что в ЕзФ.І.461 этот показатель равен 11³²,

³² Т. Илиева, *Словник Книги пророка Иезекииля...*, р. 23.

в ПовВрЛ – 10³³, в ИоЭБ – 7,59³⁴, в ПрК – 7,48³⁵, в МерПрав – 7,25³⁶, в СловахКлОхр – 7,07³⁷, в ГимнКлОхр – 6,94³⁸, в ПЧрз – 5,15 и в ЧХр – 4,07³⁹. Чем меньше индекс повторяемости, тем богаче словарь произведения. Интересно сопоставить индекс повторяемости в средневековых текстах с соответствующим в современных языках. Согласно данным чешского частотного словаря индекс наименьший в поэзии – 3, а наибольший – в научной литературе – 6,3⁴⁰. Для произведений средневековой литературы (древнеболгарской и древнерусской) характерен сравнительно большой индекс повторяемости ввиду более значительного употребления служебных слов и сравнительно ограниченного арсенала абстрактных наименований фундаментальных понятий мировоззрения⁴¹.

Диаграмма № 1 иллюстрирует процентное соотношение между собственно славянской и древнеболгарской лексикой и заимствованными словами в ИП⁴² по сравнению с другими древнеболгарскими текстами⁴³. На ней видно, что в преславских памятниках процент лексических заимствований составляет около 10% и менее. В КСП этот показатель вдвое выше (18,5%). 123 из заимствованных слов в ИП – антропонимы, 48 – географические наименования (гидронимы и топонимы), остальные – конкретная лексика. 75 – прилагательные, произведенные славянскими формантами от чужих основ (все они *adjectiva relativa* к антропонимам, топонимам или этнонимам). Другие 28 – этнонимы, дериваты от чужих основ со славянским формантом – *jan*.

³³ Исчисления сделаны Т. Илиевой по данным О. Творогова (О. Творогов, *Лексический состав...*, р. 11).

³⁴ Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в Йоан-Екзарховия превод...*, р. 19.

³⁵ А. Давидов, *Статистические наблюдения...*, р. 296.

³⁶ Л.В. Вялкина, Г.Н. Лукина, *Материалы к частотному словарю древнерусских текстов, [in:] Лексикология и словообразование древнерусского языка*, Москва 1966, р. 263.

³⁷ И. Христова, *Речник на словата...*, р. 9. Цифры указаны в процентах.

³⁸ Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в химнографското творчество...*, р. 63.

³⁹ Исчисления сделаны Т. Илиевой (Т. Илиева, *Словникът на Храбровото Сказание за буквите – статистическа характеристика – cf. an. 14*).

⁴⁰ J. JELÍNEK, J. V. VEŠKA, M. TEŠITCLOVÁ, *Frekvence slov, slovníků druhů a tvarů v českém jazyce*, Praha 1961, р. 30.

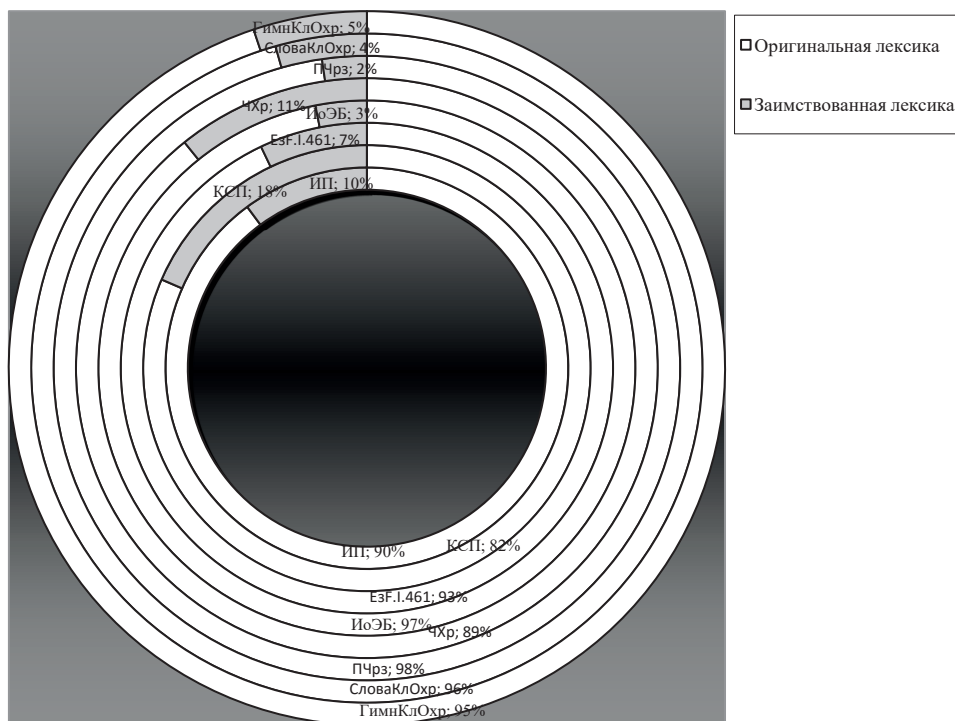
⁴¹ Ср. также выводы А. Давидова, сделанные по отношению к «Беседе» Козьмы Пресвитера: А. Давидов, *Исползване на статистическите методи...*, р. 38.

⁴² По данным Р. Станкова, количество греческих слов в общей лексической массе ИП в процентном соотношении составляет 1,7%. При этом не учитываются антропонимы, топонимы, гидронимы и этнонимы, многие из которых вошли в славянские языки через посредство греческого языка (Р. Станков, *Лексика исторической Палеи...*, р. 51).

⁴³ Р.М. Цейтлин, *Лексика...*, р. 36; И. Христова, *Речник на словата...*, р. 17; Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в Йоан-Екзарховия превод...*, р. 23; Т. Илиева, *Словник Книги пророка Иезекииля...*, р. 24; Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в творчеството...*, р. 79; Т. Илиева, *Лексиката в химнографското творчество...*, р. 67–68; Т. Илиева, *Словникът на Храбровото Сказание за буквите – статистическа характеристика* (В печати).

Чужая лексика частоты 1 в ИП насчитывает 93 единицы (8,28%)⁴⁴; частоты 2 – 51 слово (11,56%)⁴⁵; частоты 3 – 17 слов (7,76%)⁴⁶. Из заимствованных слов в ИП чаще всего встречаются: *мюси* (146 словоупотреблений), *авраамъ* (111 словоупотреблений), *цѣсарь* (100 словоупотреблений), *давидъ* (64 словоупотреблений) и *исраилевъ* (49 словоупотреблений). Все они являются ключевыми словами.

Диаграмма № 1



Сопоставление ИП с классическими древнеболгарскими памятниками и некоторыми произведениями Преславской книжной школы в отношении словообразования:

Процентные соотношения в лексико-семантической группе качественных прилагательных:

⁴⁴ При этом не учитываются 45 производных славянскими формантами от чужих основ, вместе с которыми показатель составляет 12,7%.

⁴⁵ Вместе с 24 произведенными славянскими формантами от чужих основ словами показатель составляет 17%.

⁴⁶ Вместе с 9 произведенными славянскими формантами от чужих основ словами процент становится 11,87%.

-**нѣ**: ИП – 80,23%; КСП – 82,26%; ИоЭБ – 84,5%; ЕзF.I.461 – 79,13%; ИоЭШ – 81,9%; ЕфрСир – 79,4%; ПЧрз – 81,9%; ПрезвК – 72,6%; ГимнКлОхр – 90,25%; Изб1073г. – 82,9%; Сб1076г. – 74,5%; Слова КлОхр – 88,5%. Средний показатель 82,15%.

-**нѣѣ**: ИП – 5,8%; КСП – 8%; ИоЭБ – 6,43%; ЕзF.I.461 – 6,7%; ИоЭШ – 8,4%; ЕфрСир – 9,9%; ПЧрз – 7,75%; ПрезвК – 16%; ГимнКлОхр – 0,8; Изб1073г. – 7,09; Сб1076г. – 11%; СловаКлОхр – 5,72%. Средний показатель 7,75%.

Процентные соотношения в лексико-семантической группе относительных прилагательных:

-**скѣ**: ИП – 44,2%; КСП – 57,3%; ИоЭБ – 53,7%; ЕзF.I.461 – 35%; ИоЭШ – 66,4%; ЕфрСир – 51%; ПЧрз – 61,5%; ПрезвК – 58%; ГимнКлОхр – 45,45%; Изб1073г. – 43,6%; Сб1076г. – 62,5%; СловаКлОхр – 63,8%. Средний показатель 54,8%.

Процентные соотношения в лексико-семантической группе адъективированных причастий:

ИП – 6,95%; КСП – 9,03%; ИоЭБ – 11%; ЕзF.I.461 – 5,15%; ИоЭШ – 5,7%; ЕфрСир – 10,87%; ПЧрз – 7,24%; ПрезвК – 10,9%; ГимнКлОхр – 14,09%; Изб1073г. – 14,17%; Сб1076г. – 5,94%; СловаКлОхр – 10,7%. Средний показатель 9,81%.

Данные показывают, что словообразование прилагательных в ИП соответствует тенденциям, характеризующим вообще болгарский язык этого периода.

Таблицы №№ 7а, 7б, 7в иллюстрирует процентные соотношения в лексико-семантических группах существительных.

Таблица № 7а

Процессу- альные	-нѣ	-Ѡѣ	-тнѣ	-ѣкѣ	-ѣба	-знѣ	-тѣа
ИП	112 (64%)	43 (24%)	12 (7%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (3%)
КСП	739 (80%)	107 (12%)	31 (3%)	13 (1)	16 (2%)	9 (1%)	11 (1%)
ИоЭБ	289 (63%)	127 (28%)	20 (5%)	5 (1)	6 (1%)	5 (1%)	4 (1%)
ИоЭШ	495 (75%)	124(19%)	19 (3%)	6 (1)	4 (0.6%)	6 (1%)	7 (1%)
ЕзF.I.461	304 (73%)	73 (18%)	18 (4%)	9 (2)	5 (1%)	4 (1%)	4 (1%)
ЕфрСир	474 (77%)	94 (15%)	16 (2%)	10 (2)	8 (1%)	10 (2%)	5 (1%)
ПЧрз	83 (66%)	30(24%)	5 (4%)	0 (0%)	4 (3%)	2 (1%)	2 (2%)

Таблица № 7а (продолжение)

Процессу- альные	-ниѐ	-ѐкъ	-тнѐ	-ъкъ	-ьба	-знѐ	-тѐа
ПрК	112 (62%)	47 (26%)	8 (4%)	3 (2%)	3 (2%)	4 (2%)	4 (2%)
Слова- КлОхр	133 (70%)	36 (19%)	7 (4%)	3 (2%)	1 (0.5%)	6 (3%)	4 (2%)
ГимнКлОхр	106 (59%)	54 (30%)	7 (4%)	1 (1%)	4 (2%)	3 (2%)	3 (2%)

Таблица № 7б

Абстракт- ные	-ьство	-ьствнѐ	-нѐ	-остѐ	-ота	-ьда	-нна	-зна	-ьни
ИП	20 (27%)	3 (4%)	12 (17%)	16 (22%)	9 (12%)	5 (7%)	8 (11%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
КСП	130 (32%)	39 (10%)	110 (27%)	51 (13%)	29 (7%)	3 (1%)	27 (7%)	3 (1%)	9 (2%)
ИоЭБ	108 (52%)	15 (7%)	21 (10%)	33 (16%)	12 (6%)	2 (1%)	12 (6%)	1 (0.04%)	4 (2%)
ИоЭШ	92 (36%)	14 (5%)	50 (20%)	40 (16%)	20 (8%)	3 (1%)	27 (11%)	0 (0%)	9 (3%)
ЕзФ. I.461	31 (28%)	7 (6%)	26 (24%)	17 (15%)	14 (13%)	3 (3%)	8 (7%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)
Ефр Сир	75 (28%)	28 (10%)	88 (33%)	33 (12%)	17 (6%)	3 (1%)	18 (7%)	2 (1%)	5 (2%)
ПЧрз	18 (25%)	3 (4%)	14 (20%)	18 (25%)	10 (14%)	2 (3%)	4 (6%)	0 (0%)	2 (3%)
ПрК	31 (30%)	8 (8%)	23 (22%)	16 (15%)	11 (11%)	2 (2%)	8 (8%)	0 (0%)	4 (4%)
Слова КлОхр	22 (23%)	7 (8%)	35 (37%)	10 (11%)	7 (7%)	2 (2%)	8 (9%)	0 (0%)	3 (3%)
Гимн КлОхр	27 (32%)	5 (6%)	13 (16%)	13 (16%)	10 (12%)	8 (10%)	7 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Таблица № 7в

наиме- нования лиц	-(ьн) икъ	-ьць	-тѐль	-аръ	-чин	-ян-	-инъ	-ьца	-тали	-ьни	-(ьн) ица
ИП	24 (30%)	10 (12%)	8 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	20 (25%)	3 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	14 (18%)
КСП	165 (39%)	95 (23%)	72 (17%)	8 (2%)	7 (2%)	0 (0%)	23 (5%)	11 (3%)	5 (1%)	6 (1%)	29 (7%)
ИоЭБ	39 (36%)	30 (28%)	23 (21%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	5 (5%)	0 (0%)	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	7 (6%)

Таблица № 7в (продолжение)

наименования лиц	-(ЪН) никъ	-ЪЦЪ	-ТѢЛЬ	-АРЪ	-ЧНИ	-ЯН-	-ИНЪ	-ЪЦА	-ТАИ	-ЫНИ	-(ЪН) ница
ИоЭШ	61 (33%)	44 (24%)	23 (13%)	4 (2%)	1 (1%)	8 (4%)	19 (10%)	3 (2%)	4 (2%)	1 (1%)	15 (8%)
ЕзФ. I.461	42 (41%)	17 (16%)	12 (12%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	12 (12%)	6 (6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	10 (10%)
Ефр Сир	111 (35%)	72 (23%)	71 (22%)	7 (2%)	7 (2%)	6 (2%)	13 (4%)	6 (2%)	3 (1%)	2 (1%)	18 (6%)
ПЧрз	14 (37%)	8 (21%)	7 (18%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)
ПрК	37 (38%)	18 (19%)	15 (16%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	7 (7%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	15 (15%)
Слова КлОхр	41 (43%)	20 (21%)	19 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11 (11%)
Гимн КлОхр	27 (31%)	17 (20%)	26 (30%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	12 (14%)

Из таблицы № 8 видно, что в ИП встречаются дериваты 19 префиксов. Наиболее продуктивны префиксы *по-*, *оу-* и *съ-*, а наименее *низъ-*, *подъ-* и *до-*. Сопоставление с другими текстами этого времени показывает, что ИП следует тенденциям, характерным для префиксального словообразования в древнеболгарском языке.

На основании анализа можно сделать следующие выводы:

- Группа наиболее частотной лексики в ИП включает в себя слова с наибольшей употребительностью вообще в древнеболгарском языке периода X–XIV вв.
- Большое количество однократно употребленных слов раскрывает лексическое богатство болгарского языка.
- Сопоставление разнородных в стилистическом и жанровом отношении текстов показывает, что распределение по частям речи является исключительно стабильной характеристикой текста, и ее можно определить как закономерность⁴⁷.
- Сопоставление глоттометрических показателей ИП с другими текстами того же времени и современными литературными произведениями

⁴⁷ Ср. выводы И. Христовой о распределении по частям речи в СловахКлОхр: И. Христова, *Речник на словата...*, р. 15–16.

показывает специфическую особенность средневековой книжности – относительно высокий индекс повторяемости слов.

- Сопоставление ИП с классическими древнеболгарскими памятниками и некоторыми произведениями Преславской книжной школы в отношении словообразования показывает, что словообразование различных категорий имен в ИП соответствует тенденциям, характеризующим вообще болгарский язык этого периода.

Дальнейшее исследование достаточного количества текстов с помощью метода статистического анализа позволит как проверить устойчивость упомянутых закономерностей, так и вероятно открыть новые, а также даст возможность сделать более четкие выводы.

Таблица № 8

префиксы памятники	вЪ-	вЪз-	вЫ-	дѸ-	зА-	из-	нА-	нАдЪ-	низЪ-	Ѹ-
ИП	47	63	0	11	28	78	32	0	2	57
%	5.3	7.1	0	1.24	3.1	8.8	3.6	0	0.2	6.4
КСП	138	258	5	48	123	255	107	1	11	152
%	4.4	8.2	0.1	1.5	3.9	8.1	3.4	0.03	0.35	4.85
ИоЭб	65	76	1	16	19	96	45	1	0	71
%	5.56	6.51	0.08	1.37	1.62	8.22	3.85	0.08	0	6.08
ИоЭш	93	156	2	38	81	170	93	4	0	96
%	4.42	7.4	0.09	1.8	3.84	8.07	4.42	0.19	0	4.56
ЕзЕІ.461	59	108	0	9	35	88	83	0	0	75
%	4.8	8.8	0	0.7	2.8	7.2	6.8	0	0	5.5
ЕфрСир	83	152	1	20	63	155	87	4	0	124
%	4.1	7.5	0.04	1	3.1	7.7	4.3	0.1	0	6.1
Сб1076г.	56	98	2	22	34	101	67	1	0	81
%	5.1	9.07	0.1	2.03	3.1	9.35	6.2	0.09	0	7.5
КирИер	41	114	0	14	21	88	45	0	3	64
%	3.8	10.6	0	1.3	2	8.2	4.2	0	0.3	5.9
Изб1073г.	101	152	0	36	20	150	91	6	0	171
%	4.5	6.8	0	1.6	0.9	6.76	4.1	0.2	0	7.7
ПрК	42	67	0	8	32	55	46	0	0	48
%	4.8	7.78	0	0.9	3.7	6.38	5.34	0	0	5.57
ПЧрз	17	37	2	6	18	33	26	0	0	33
%	3.6	7.8	0.42	1.26	3.8	6.9	5.5	0	0	6.97
СловаКлОхр	49	97	0	12	42	85	57	0	0	62
%	4.5	8.9	0	1.1	3.8	7.8	5.2	0	0	5.7
ГимнКлОхр	24	68	0	9	16	55	34	0	0	38
%	3.34	9.4	0	1.25	2.2	7.6	4.7	0	0	5.2
Средний %	4.47	8.13	0.14	1.31	2.9	7.7	4.73	0.05	0.14	6

об-	отъ-	по-	подъ-	при-	про-	прѣ-	прѣд-	раз-	сѣ ₁ - сѣ ₂ -	оу-	общее число лем с префиги- рованными основами
39	27	128	5	36	39	49	19	40	103	81	884
4.4	3.23	14.4	0.6	4.07	4.4	5.5	2.14	4.5	11.6	9.1	100%
125	136	430	23	204	143	229	29	149	>300	300	3131
4	4.34	13.73	0.73	6.51	4.56	7.31	0.9	4.75	9.58	9.58	100%
48	56	177	9	93	49	66	6	60	135	76	1167
4.11	4.79	15.16	0.77	7.96	4.19	5.65	0.51	5.14	11.5	6.51	100%
97	109	282	19	129	89	142	6	109	227	162	2104
4.6	5.8	13.4	0.9	6.1	4.23	6.7	0.3	5.2	10.7	7.7	100%
51	51	192	5	72	60	65	7	67	155	98	1222
4.17	4.1	15.7	0.4	5.9	4.9	5.3	0.5	5.4	12.6	8	100%
93	89	334	10	114	80	112	0	93	215	184	2013
4.6	4.42	16.6	0.5	5.6	4	5.5	0	4.6	10.6	9.1	100%
55	73	164	9	80	47	65	5	64	142	120	1080
5.09	6.75	15.2	0.83	7.4	4.35	6.01	0.46	5.9	13.1	11.1	100%
45	46	162	6	61	42	63	10	0	109	135	1069
4.2	4.3	15.15	0.56	5.7	3.9	5.9	0.9	0	10.1	12.6	100%
101	121	337	20	127	94	131	18	101	247	193	2217
4.5	5.45	15.2	0.9	5.7	4.23	5.9	0.8	4.5	11.1	8.7	100%
37	37	138	3	50	39	50	3	37	96	73	861
4.3	4.3	16.02	0.34	5.8	4.5	5.8	0.3	4.3	11.1	8.47	100%
18	21	87	1	19	17	25	1	21	41	52	473
3.8	4.43	18.4	0.21	4.01	3.6	5.3	0.21	4.43	8.6	11	100%
49	44	180	5	62	65	69	12	37	92	68	1087
4.5	4.04	16.5	0.45	5.7	5.9	6.3	1.1	3.4	8.4	6.25	100%
27	15	94	1	38	49	76	7	32	75	60	718
3.7	2.08	13.09	0.1	5.3	6.8	10.5	0.9	4.4	10.4	8.3	100%
4,3	4.46	15.27	0.56	5.8	4.58	6.28	0.69	4.34	10.7	8.95	100%

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Abstract. Towards a glottometric analysis of the vocabulary of the Historical Palaea. The present study is an attempt to apply statistical methods in investigating the vocabulary of Old Bulgarian on the basis of lexical material from the Historical Palaea. Tables and charts are used to present a glottometric characterization of the lexical material under study. A comparison is made with data from other Old Bulgarian written monuments that have already been the object of similar studies.

Ключевые слова: Историческая Палея, глоттометрический анализ, статистический анализ в лингвистике, древнеболгарская лексика, Преславская книжная школа, древнеболгарский язык и литература

Keywords: Historical Palaea, glottometric analysis, statistical analysis of language data, Old Bulgarian vocabulary, Preslav Literary School, Old Bulgarian language and literature

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Приложение № 1

ИП – ЧАСТОТНОСТЬ

1 авиронъ, авра, авраамилъ, авситида, агныць, ако, акын, амаликовъ, аманиѣне / аманияне, аминивъ, мининъ, миня, амоевскын, аморѣне / аморяне, анънинъ, аравитъскъ, аравия / аравоуя, аронъ, архирери, асинета, асировъ, асирѣне / асияне, афратокералида, афамъ, баба, бавсини, баня, безаконно, безгрѣшнѣ, бездоушнын, бездѣна, безначальнѣ, безобразнѣ, безоржжнѣ, бесточдѣнын, бещаднѣ, благо, благовластнын, благоверѣниенъ, благоверѣствовати, благоверѣстникъ, благодѣтнѣ, благословяти, благооугодити, благооудилане, благоуханнѣ, благоухати, бла҃тнын, блюсти, блждѣнъ, богатын, бооголюбивъ, богословъ, боготвореннын, боготѣканнын, богоявление, боли, боль, болѣ, борыць, братаничъ, бродити, брѣжда, боурунъ, бѣдѣти, бѣда, бѣла, бѣсѣ, вавилонскын, балаковъ, балаамовъ, вареникъ, вева, вельми, велелждрствовати, велѣти, верига, веселіе, вечера, виолиенъ, власти, властѣ, влѣхувальнын, влѣшастѣбнын, водоносѣ, водаць, воля, воя, вражда, вратити сѧ, врачеваніе, врѣстѣница, врѣти, вѣбыше, вѣдати, вѣдворити сѧ, вѣжделѣти, вѣжеши, вѣжадати сѧ, вѣзераняти, вѣзеражденіе, вѣзераченіе, вѣзвысити сѧ, вѣзглагалати, вѣзглашати, вѣздати, вѣздотити, вѣздържаніе, вѣздържати, вѣздоухъ, вѣздуханіе, вѣзискати, вѣзляяти, вѣзжжати, вѣзенавидѣти, вѣзѣрѣниіе, вѣкратѣць, вѣкоусити, вѣлѣсти, вѣметати, вѣнилати, вѣнисти, вѣносити, вѣноушати, вѣноуѣа, вѣнъ, вѣнѣ, вѣнѣшнын, вѣобразити сѧ, вѣоржжити сѧ, вѣпадати, вѣплѣтити сѧ, вѣпровадити, вѣпросѣ, вѣразоумѣти сѧ, вѣселеніе, вѣселяти, вѣскипѣти, вѣскорѣ, вѣскочити, вѣскръмити, вѣсперѣланы, вѣспитати, вѣспранжти, вѣспѣти, вѣспать, вѣстѣши, вѣстѣжити, вѣсходити, вѣсылати, вѣсѣсти, вѣторотѣсжшнын, вѣхожденіе, высота, всегда, всесилнѣ, всесѣжеженіе, всеждоу, вѣнѣць, вѣчно, вѣщавати, вѣщаніе, вѣщии, гаваонъ, гаданіе, гадъскин, газиръ, гдоуя, генисаретъ, герсамъ, гигантъ, глѣдати, гнити, гнон, гнѣвати, го, говѣти, година, годинозѣрѣниіе, голадавѣ, голжеица, гоморосодомиѣне / гоморосодомяне, гоморьскын, гонитѣль, горестъ, горько, господжа, готовати сѧ, градъ, григоріе, грипъ, гробъ, гросѧ, грознын, громъ, грѣдѣти, грѣлица, грѣличищъ, грызеніе, грѣшнын, грѣяти, гънати, гжска, гжѣница, дабьникъ, даждѣ, даждѣ, далечъ, дамати, данъ, дарованіе, дафановъ, дафанъ, дворъ, десѣтѣкъ, дивьно, дидрагла, динарин, дланъ, длъготръпѣти, до, добордѣтель, довро-ненавистнѣникъ, донкъ, доилица, донти, доколи, доколѣ, долъ, долѣ, досѣде, досѣсати, дрѣжава, дрѣжалие, дрѣзно, дрѣзнобеніе, дрѣзо, дрѣконосѣ, доуховнын, дѣванадѣсѣтъ, дѣвашьди, дѣвоіе, дѣвоіекровьнын, дѣвоіенын, дѣволичьно / дѣволичьна, дѣжднын, дѣнѣчнын, дѣва, дѣдъ, дѣнствіе, дѣлатѣль, дѣлати, дѣльма, дѣтельнѣ, дѣти, дѣга, евангѣліе, единокровнѣ, единоокъ, едомьскын, едомиѣне / едомяне, елазаръ, елен, елень, елеонъ, елини, елон, ельма, ельфегоръ, елѣ, ендоръ, еньдинскын, ерарьскын, ерихоньскын, естѣство, ефремъ, енопия, жава, жаловати, жалоствно, жегало, желѣзнын, жестосръднѣ, жеши, живоноснын, животворити, жидъ, жизнодатѣль, жалъчь, жюпѣль, заблѣдити, забыти, завадити, завистѣ, задѣти, заклннати, законевати, законодавѣць, законьно, законьнын, западъ, запазоуха, запрѣтитѣль, запрѣшати, запати, заходъ, заходити, зачинати, зачало, звѣздоблоститѣль, звѣздосияніе, звѣздословеснѣ, звѣздословеснын, звѣздочѣстнѣ, звѣздочѣствованіе, зевя, зелие, зелька, зельфа, зивѣ, золотоустын, злачьнын, злѣн, злѣя, знаменати, зняти, зръцало, зъловити, зълодѣн, зълодѣлатѣль, зълодѣяннѣ, зълородѣнъ, зать, наилинъ, идолослуженіе, идолотворыць, идоуменинъ, иренство, ироусалимѣне / ироусалимляне, извѣжжати, извеселити сѧ, извлѣши, изводити, извѣноу, извѣстити, извѣствѣ, изгонити, изляяти, изложити, измаилѣне / измаиланяне, изметжжти, изморѣти, измыти сѧ, измѣненіе, измѣновати, изринобеніе, изръвати, израдѣно, израдѣнын, изъоустѣ, именованіе, инако, индинскын, индия, иновидѣниіе, иноѣзычнѣ, инъждѣ, иоаннъ, иосафѣ, иорданьскын, норъ, искоренити, испити, исповѣданіе, исполнѣскын, исправленіе, испоушати, иسرائити, истиньно, источити, истрѣзвѣти, исоушити, исцѣдити, исцѣлавати сѧ, исцѣленіе, исцѣлити, исцѣляти, ищезнжжти, иудѣнъ, иудѣя,

1 кадельница, казывати, каковъ, калина, каменосръдны, камень, каменныи, канонъ, капище, карпатнариагъ, квасъ, кипарисъ, киръ, кистъ, ковати, козани, колебати сѧ, колникъ, корабль, кореніе, кость, кран, краниевъ, кротость, кръвомъсьць, кръстити сѧ, кръстьныи, кръпость, коупити, коура, кънжжънъ, лаконъство, легнжти, ливанъскыи, лиди, лининъ, листине, лишати, лишение, ло, лобызати, лобъць, лоно, лоукъ, лоучезрачьныи, лъбъ, лъгати, лъжъ, льстивыи, льстъчин, любити, любѣвьныи, людинъ, людъ, людъскыи, люто, лѣстивца, лѣтати, ажкавѣно, ажкавѣновати, ажкъ, магнидъ, мазати, манъверии, манасія, мание, маноевъ, мариналъ, маслица, мгалгъ, медеѣдъ, медовѣныи, междоу, междоуѣчине, мечька, андѣне / андьяне, милосръдие, миро, мирсина, младенъчишь, мльчати, млько, моавитѣнина / моавитянина, моавъ, мольбѣникъ, мравии, мраморъ, мраморъныи, мръзъгъ, моуха, мъногоболѣзьныи, мъногородъныи, мъногосънѣдъныи, мысль, мышца, мышъца, мьдлоаъзычьнъ, мѣдънъ, мѣра, мѣрило, мѣръныи, мѣсити, масти, мждрость, мжжеоульныи, мжжъство, мжка, мжчити, навановыи, наводити, надежъ, надѣяти сѧ, назарѣнинъ / назарянинъ, нанити, нанести, написаныи, напитки сѧ, направити, нарочитъ, наслѣдие, наставити, наставяти, насытити, насыщати, начинати, начести, начало, начальникъ, невротовъ, невѣрьнъ, невѣста, негодovati, негъли, недаалеце, недовольтъ, недооуѣкти, недѣля, неже, нежеи, неизмѣннъ, неизреченьныи, неистлѣннъ, нелѣпъ, ненавистъ, ненавыкъшини, ненаписаныи, непоѣдианъ, непокоривыи, непользынъ, непорочнъ, непостыдъныи, непостжпънъ, непотрѣбно, неправдѣно, неприкасаемыи, неприязньникъ, непрѣстанно, неработаніе, нерѣшимъ, несвѣтънъ, неслышавъшини, нести, неоудръжанъ, неоуѣшшыи, нечистота, нечьстивъ, нива, никако, никогда, николиже, никътоже, нищета, новопеченьныи, ноуждънъ / нжждънъ, нѣкакыи, нѣмъ, обити, облачьнъ, обличати сѧ, обнаженіе, обнемошьнѣти, обновити, обновляти, образовати, обратити, обрѣзание, обржчение, обржчити, обржчьникъ, обоути, обоуша, обѣвѣсити сѧ, обѣсѣсти, обѣходити, обѣшь, обѣдати, обѣдовати, обѣщание, обилоевъ, огосподити, одолѣние, одѣяти, ожесточевати, ожидати, озълобляти, окаменити сѧ, оклеветати, около, окольныи, окръсть, окъно, окъньце, олокарпосъныи, олочити, омраченыи, омиръзнжти, омыти сѧ, опалити сѧ, опашъ, опити сѧ, опона, оправѣдати, опрошати, орати, орнеъ, осватити сѧ, осквернити, оскждѣвати, ослѣпивати, оставление, останъкъ, ось, осѣняти, осажимыи, осждити сѧ, отан, отрочишь, отъбѣжати, отъбѣщавати, отъгадание, отъгоняти, отъдалече, отъдъхновение, отължчити сѧ, отънеи, отъречение, отърицати, отъоуѣити, отъходити, отъчь, отъскыи, отагоѣти, очистити, очичати, очищение, падати, пакость, палежнини, палестина, паства, патъка, певгъ, пенъдефрей, пепелъ, пернатыи, перси, персида, перѣне, персяне, пиръгосъ, письмо, питание, питие, пламыкъ, плесъныи, плетение, плодовицыи, плоча, плънъ, плѣва, повѣдъникъ, повисънжти, повѣдати, погревение, погржзити, подати, подензати, подовие, подроуѣа, подъдръжжати, подълещи, подъстрищи, подъщати сѧ, подати, пожегало, пождати, позъвати, покаяти сѧ, покليسоръ, поклонение, поклонъ, поколебати сѧ, покрывало, полизати, пользование, помазаникъ, помалоу, пометати, помилovati, помогати, помошьникъ, помраченыи, помышляти, понести, поносити, поношение, поплаѣнити, попрыще, порадовати, порода, порокъ, поржгание, поржгати сѧ, посагатель, посадити, послѣдовати, пособъство, поспѣшити, поставление, постояти, пострищи, постъ, посъланъникъ, посъпати, посѣщение, посагати, потещи, потрѣба, потрѣвити сѧ, потрѣбовати, потръти, потъкнжти, похвала, похоудити, почрѣти, почеть, пощада, праздниъ, прашати, праща, презвутъръ, привлащи, привождати, призывати, приключити сѧ, прилѣжати, припадати, приселити сѧ, притещи, притѣнжти, притѣжение, приходити, прилѣтънъ, пробости, пробоудити сѧ, проварити, провидѣти, провѣщати, прогнѣвание, прогонити, прогоръчати, прозвение, проказити сѧ, прокланати, пролитие, проляти сѧ, проповѣдати, проражение, прореши, прорицати, пророчъство, пророчъствовати, просвѣтити сѧ, прославляти, просльзити сѧ, простирати, прстити, пространство, противъ, прочисти, прощение, проявляти, пръгнѣнъ, пръшь, прѣвъзмощи, прѣвъзати сѧ, прѣвѣчьныи, прѣгждъница, прѣдавати, прѣдълагати, прѣдълежати, прѣдъложение, прѣдъложити, прѣдъходити, прѣждеродъныи, прѣизрадънъ, прѣкыи, прѣлоуныи, прѣльстныи, прѣльщеныи, прѣлюбодѣи, прѣлюбодѣиць,

- 1 прѣлюбодѣяніе, прѣмльгчати, прѣлю, прѣмльногыи, прѣнвѣсъходити, прѣобразити сѧ, прѣписовати, прѣпоясати, прѣсвѣатыи, прѣславьныи, прѣсладѣкъ, прѣмыкати, прѣставленіе, прѣстарѣ, прѣстолѣ, прѣтворити сѧ, прѣтъкание, прѣтъкнжти, прѣходити, прѣхуаврыи, поустота, пѣтеньцѣ, пытати, пѣсии, пѣстрѣ, пѣсѣ, пѣшеница, пѣшни, пѣтъ, пѣтъникѣ, пжчина, рабынорожденѣ, радити, радовати сѧ, радостьнѣ, развратити, развращеніе, разгорѣти сѧ, раздроушити, раздрѣшеніе, раздрѣшити, раздѣляти, разлжчати, размыслити, размѣнити, размѣрити, разоумѣвати, разыти сѧ, рамеса, рано, раскаяти сѧ, раслабленѣ, раслаалѣти, распро- странити сѧ, распрострѣкти, растесати, растагнжти, расхитити, расыпати, расѣсти сѧ, расѣщи, расждити, расжждати, рачителѣ, раширити сѧ, ривѣти, ровѣ, рогозина, рыба, рѣяти сѧ, ржгание, ржгати сѧ, ржчка, савао, саднище, садоковѣ, салмонѣ, самовольнѣ, санѣ, сарефта, сарѣринѣ, сварити сѧ, свивилевѣ, свиньи, свобода, свободити, свободьныи, свѣтилище, свѣщеньныи, сельныи, сенарѣ, сефора, сикинити, сикилиѣне / сикимаые, сикиль, сиковѣ, синан, синѣ, сирѣ, сицевѣ, скверъныи, скотѣскыи, скрѣвѣти, славно, слана, сланѣ, сластолюбие, слоужьбьныи, слоухѣ, слоушати, слънцѣобразьныи, слышание, слъза, слндаалѣ, слода, соль, сохувѣ, спѣти, спѣхѣ, срѣна, срѣди, срѣдѣ, старѣцѣ, стража, страньныи, строупѣ, стрѣляти, стоуденыи, сто- удитѣ, стьдѣти сѧ, стьбьлѣ, стьблждити, стьблѣщи, стьврѣстьница, стьврѣшати, стьврѣшенѣ, стьвѣстати, стьвыше, стьвѣдѣти, стьвѣщевати, стьвжжѣ, стьгрѣшати, стьдрѣжжати, стьдоумати, стьдѣвати, стьдѣтель, стьзданіе, стькоренити, стькроушати, стькроушеніе, стьлити, стьлитіе, стьляити сѧ, стьлилити сѧ, стьмирение, стьмирнѣ, стьмотрити, стьмыслѣ, стьнести, стьньище, стьнѣдомыи, стьнати, стьпасати сѧ, стьпасѣ, стьпати, стьписьникѣ, стьпротивьникѣ, стьразоумѣти, стьсати, стьсѣтжжжти, стьсѣдѣ, стьсжщѣствьнѣ, стьтлѣщи, стьтракти, стьтжжание, стьоумрѣти, стьхранение, стьверѣ, стьдалище, стьдыи, стьцати, стьщи, сѧгнжти, сѧботьныи, сѧпостатѣ, сѧщѣствьныи, таи, таино, таинѣ, такыи, тамария, творение, тельчѣ, теплѣ, течение, тирѣ, тиховати, толикыи, трети, трикровьна? / трикровья?, трикро- вьныи, трислънъчьныи, трисатѣ, троудѣ, трѣжище, трѣзвѣ, тржсѣ, тоуждевати, тоукѣ, тоуѣ, тьтѣ, тжжчина, твлпанѣ, оубогѣ, оубѣлти, оубрачевати, оубѣщати, оубазнжти, оугадание, оугадати, оугодити, оугодьно, оудавление, оударение, оудивити сѧ, оудобѣ, оудѣ, оудѣлѣвати, оуденяти, оужаснжти, оужатити, оукрашение, оукѣснѣти, оулоучьно, оумалити сѧ, оумилосерѣдити сѧ, оумрѣтвие, оумножение, оумыслити, оумѣти, оумждрити, оуныи, оупити сѧ, оупитѣти, оупразднити, оупѣвание, оуранити₂, оуриния, оусилити сѧ, оускорение, оустадѣ, оустрѣбити сѧ, оустжптити, оусѣшити, оусѣкнжти, оутоление, оутрини, оутрина, оутрянчьныи, оутѣшати, оухитрити, оухѣ, оучити сѧ, оучастити сѧ, оуязвити, фарегѣ, филис- тинѣ, финеесовѣ, хаваалѣ, ханѣ, ханаанѣ, хананея, хапати, хартия, хваленыи, хвалити, хевро- ньскыи, хитрити, хлави, хѣ, хѣривьскыи, хѣврѣстѣ, хѣврыи, хѣврѣство, хромѣ, хоульныи, цвѣтѣ, цвѣтъцѣ, црѣкъвѣ, челоуѣкъ, челааѣ, чесновитѣ, четврѣтыи, члоуѣчество, чрѣвеныи, чрѣпати, чрѣтоуѣ, чрѣватѣ, чрѣволюбие, чрѣсла, чьстѣ, чьстѣныи, чьстѣи, шестѣстѣ, шоуѣ, шюмѣ, южина, язва, яковѣ, ярѣстѣ, ярьнѣ, ярьмьныи, ѧзычьныи, ѧзычьскыи, ждоуѣ, жжѣ, фара, фѣдорѣ, финиянѣ,
- 2 авириновѣ, агарѣне / агаряне, аггельскѣ, адѣда, анафѣма, анѣна, апостолѣ, арѣдѣ, асирѣ, ахарѣ, ахия, безаконьныи, безводьнѣ, безгласнѣ, бесѣдовати, благоволити, благовольно, благодѣтѣ, благопопрѣбьнѣ, благороднѣ, благочѣстивѣ, благочѣстие, благожѣание, волити, власти, больши, брада, братаницѣ, былие, вѣгати, вѣдовати, вавилонѣ, вала, вараакѣ, велѣние, вещь, вѣоилѣ, вилѣ, виньныи, висѣти, влѣхувати, водити, водьныи, вон, вранѣ, врѣтище, вѣдворяти (сѧ), вѣздвигение, вѣздѣхнжти, вѣздѣти, вѣзнимати, вѣнегда, вѣнжтрънни, вѣнжтрѣждоуѣ, вѣпрѣкы, вѣпращи, вѣсдвнникѣ / вѣсдвнникѣ, вѣскран, вѣслѣдѣ, вѣспоминание, вѣста- вити, вѣстокѣ, вѣсточьныи, вѣходѣ, вѣше, вѣшьнни, вѣра, вѣстѣ, гадѣ₂, гандарѣ, ганнѣне / ганняне, гарары, гарарѣне / гараряне, гѣдеонѣ, главаяна / главная, глладѣ, говадо, голорѣ, гражданѣ, грѣсти, далечѣ, дановѣ, данѣ, даровати, двигнжти, двисати, двѣрь, десьныи, десѣтѣ, дльгота, дльжина, добро, довольно, долоуѣ, достоннѣ, достѣтжжжти, древле, дроужина, дрѣзати,

- 2 дрѣвѣнъ, дышати, едемъ, единънадесять, езеро, еликъ, ендия, епистолия, еше, жалость, жегъль, желѣзо, женъскыи, жестоковыи, жестоерьдъ, жерьць, жатва, завидѣти, завлонъ, завѣщати, законотворение / законънотворение, запалити (сѧ), запрѣщение, заръ, заоутра, здравъ, зинжти, златъ, златъникъ, зълоба, зъльѣ, зъдати, зърѣние, наковль, идолъ, иереяи, иероусалимъскыи, иеѣовъ, избавление, извити, избытъкъ, избѣранъ, избѣгнжти, изгоубити, издалеча, издѣхнжти, изоутти, изѣсти, ииѣние, ирикъ, исавовъ, исахаръ, искоусъ, испещи, испръва, испытати, истещи, исхождение, исъхнжти, кадило, кадити, каинанъ, кивотъ, кланяти сѧ, колико, комаръ, копие, кротъкыи, кръстаобразно, коузыць, лабановъ, ламеховъ, левги, лишити (сѧ), ловити, ловъ, лоза, лъстити (сѧ), лъсть, лъкаво, лъжъ, маслина, мастропъ, мафоусалъ / матоусалъ, мелхиседековъ, меръра, металька, метати, миханяль, маадъ, мысанти, мыти сѧ, мыскъ, мыщение, мѣхъ, мѣдрѣствовати, навести, надъ, назорѣи / назорей, наказаніе, наказовати, нафанъ / натанъ, невѣталиъ, невѣздрѣжанъно, невѣходъноіе, неисписаненъ, неисчътенънъ, неправда, низъложити, низъхождати, ныкыи, нилъ, ниць, новыи, ножъ, нравъ, ноуждати / нжждати, ноуждати (сѧ) / нжждати (сѧ), обаче, областъ, обржченныи, одръжжати, одѣждити, одѣние, оковати, олѣтаръ, олѣчити (сѧ), опонити (сѧ), орль, оскерънавити, ослѣпѣти, остриши, осжждение, отиати, отроковца, отъевити, отъевратити, отъерици (сѧ), отътолѣ, охавити сѧ, павелъ, пагоуба, падение, пазоуха, палестинъскыи, памиаль, пасха, патриархъ, печи, пиянъ, пѣнъ, повелѣвати, повѣсити, погыбати, подовати, подовити сѧ, подѣ, поздѣ, покаяние, поношати, поравотати, поражати, посадъница, посевие, пособѣствовати, посылати, поочити (сѧ), похотъ, правъноукъ, прагъ, привѣзати, прикати сѧ, приложити (сѧ), приношение, приобреѣсти, припасти, присазати, пришьствие, проваждати, продаати, противляти сѧ, противникъ, прочитати, прошение, прѣвораждаемая, прѣвородъныи, прѣвнство, прѣвѣіе, прѣдѣстояти, прѣдѣль, прѣзърѣти, прѣклонити сѧ, прѣложити (сѧ), прѣльщати (сѧ), прѣлжжавъ, прѣлнинжти, прѣстлпнити, пѣснописиць, пѣтын, рабынинъ, разворѣши, размѣсити, разоряти (сѧ), рама, рано, рана, ранити (сѧ), растити, растрѣсати, расѣяти сѧ, ратити, ратьныи, рахианнъ / рахининнъ, риза, рогъ, рождѣство, роувиновъ, роувинъ, рѣвновати, салинъ / салина, салинъскыи, салъ, саманяль, самановъ, саръра, саоулевъ, саоуловъ, свѣща, свѣтити, свѣщенникъ, седницѣ, седнишьди, седмыи, селъла, сигоръ, сикыи, симионъ / семенонъ, сиръскыи, сифовъ / ситовъ, скотина, славити, славынъ, словеснъ, слѣпъ, слоку, смръдѣти, смѣхъ, смѣгъ, сочиво, срѣда, стадо, стражъ, странънолюбие, стрѣкъ, стрѣщи, соухъ, съблѣдати, съблостити, съвѣдѣтель, съвѣщати, съгарати, съгрѣшити, съдѣлати, съдѣяти, съконъчаніе, съложити (сѧ), съмирятити сѧ, съмрътъныи, съмасти, сънъмъ, сънѣдъ, съсѧдити, съто, сътрѣти, сътрѣти, сътазати (сѧ), съжъ / съжъ, сытость, сѣверъскыи, таити (сѧ), таниръскыи, твръдъ, теши, трепетъ, триверъхыи, трилѣтънъ, трилѣсачъныи, трисѣта, тронца, троуждати сѧ, трѣстие, трѣсти сѧ, трѣба, трѣвити, тьмнъ, тѣсьнота, тѣжко, оубница, оублажити сѧ, оугнѣздити сѧ, оуготовити (сѧ), оуириати, оумрътвнити, оупивати сѧ, оуранити, оусклавити сѧ, оусъмрътити, оусънжти, оусъпити, оутверъдити (сѧ), оутверъждати (сѧ), оутрѣ, оутрѣшити сѧ, оученикъ, оучитель, финикъ, ханаанитѣ, хараанъ, хевронъ, хизъ, хлѣнъ, хологоморъ, хрѣбръствие, хоусневъ, царица, цѣломждръныи, цѣна, чаша, четверъногыи, четыре, чисти, шесть, ширина, широта, шѣствовати, югъ, юница, явѣствено, ядовитыи, жъ,
- 3 авелевъ, агница, адиянъ, америн, амѣврин, амрин, аннин, армафенъ, архаггелъ, ахнтофелевъ, безматеренъ, безотъчънъ, безродънъ, безъ, благословение, блждити, блждъ, богатство, божство, бѣчела / пѣчела, вѣчериати, виноградъ, влѣхъовананыи, вѣверѣши, вѣдржзити, вѣзлюбелныи, вѣзноши, вѣзъпити, вѣлѣнити сѧ, вѣнѣсти, вѣноукъ, вѣнѣждоу, вѣпасти, вѣпль, вѣсхитити, вѣдѣние, гаваонити, гадъка, ганнъ, галилея, гонити, готово, гроздъ, грѣшьникъ, давати, далечныи, даяти, десѣтковати (сѧ), днвин, добръ, довьлѣти, дръзнжти, дѣвица, дѣтель, елиаъ, ендѣіе / ендѣяне, жизнь, жрѣвин, жъль, зѣвати, зъло, играти, извоити, изгънати (сѧ), изнести, изринжти (сѧ), иногда, иноплеменьныи, иосифовъ, испѣсти, испѣнити (сѧ), испѣнати (сѧ), исповѣдѣти, исправити, испоустити, истина, иѣщи, каменіе,

- 3 каино, клатва, клатвѣнни, ковъчежъць, козла, красота, кръсть, коупно, левгитъ / левитъ₁, ложе, лъжа, любви / любѣвь, лѣтаемая, лжкавънъ, мадианскъ, малъ, мамъвринскыи, манъна, меахоло / меахела, милостивъ, милость, минжти, моавитѣне / моавитяне, молитва, мрътвѣць, мьзда, мѣсаць, напасти, напаяти, наоучати, невротъ, неджгъ, неправъдънъ, непроходънныи, низъ, ногътъ, ноужда / нжжда, нѣкъто, овио, обржченица, обычи, овѣтъ, овѣшати (са), овати (са), овилъ, овощъ, овъча, одѣяние, ожестити, олокарпость, оседикъ, оскверняти са, остънъ, осьлин, отъврашати (са), отъгънати, отъпоустити, отъринжти (са), отъстояти, отъчество, печаловати (са), пиво, письмо, пиянство, повити, повѣгнжти, повинънъ, погънати, подвигнжти са, пожещи (са), половина, послѣдъ / послѣди, послѣдънни, постенати, похвалити са, почести / почитити, поести, правъ, при, приближати (са), прискръбънъ, присагнжти, прозавенжти, пронзити (са), противънныи, пръсть, прѣбыти, прѣвѣзити, прѣди, прѣдивънныи, прѣдѣставити, прѣставити (са), пржгъ, разлжчити са, раина, распъря, растаяти са, рои, рѣвность, садъ, салимъ₂, селение, сирѣчь, сифъ / ситъ, скверънныи, скоро, сладость, сланъ₂, солищънныи, солонотъ, събирати, съвръшити, съвѣтовати, съвѣщание, създи, сънирити (са), съмѣшати (са), съмжшати, съпастн, състарити са, съсѣсти, сътажжавати, сѣчь, тришъди, тоу, тъждѣ / тъиждѣ, оувидѣти, оугодънныи, оудолѣти, оукраситн₁ (са), оукраситн₂, оурѣзати, оурѣни, хлановъ, цѣсарница, челюсть, чрѣво, чюти (са), часть, явление, ждолъ,
- 4 благодарити (са), блаженныи, брати, вениаминъ / веньаминъ, ветъхын, владыка, воинство, волъ, вртъпъ, възглавница, възрадовати са, възъвати, въноушити, вѣсияти, вѣстрепетати, вѣторын, вѣчера, вѣшати, гласити (са), давидовъ, десатын, диаволъ, добръ, домородънъ, еносъ, животъ, запрѣтити, зельнныи, знои, избѣрати, избѣрѣщи, нсаковъ, искрънни, искоушати, искоушение, кановъ, кедръ, коснжти, кронъ / кроунъ, крѣпкъ, къждо, кжпина, леши, лия, малелилъ, медовина, младеньць, мръзость, мъногашди / мъногашн / мъногашды, мъногоцѣкънъ, мъншши, наставникъ, немоцънъ, неплоды, нечистын, никъто, ноудити (са) / нждити (са), обладати, облакъ, овъ, одѣсьнжъ, одръ, озанъ, оръ, оскждѣти, оскдлати, отърада, отътждоу, ошоуъ, пламы, плинфъ / плинтъ, плодъ, пльтъскыи, повиновати са, погыбель, показати, покрыти, поле, помыслити, попалити, поравошати, послужити, послѣдъствовати, посѣтити, прикоснжти са, присно, причастити са, провидѣние, прѣлюбоудѣнство, прѣписати, прѣстаяти, прѣкати, поустъ, поущати (са), пѣсѣкъ, работа, равновожие, радость, развѣ, раздѣление, разоумъ, ратовати (са), рахиль, ревека, родитель, рождѣние, самъ, сапогъ, силовъ, силъ, сквозѣ, скрижалъ, сладъкъ, слоужити, старость, страсть, стрѣланти, стоуденьць, соуша, съказание, сънѣдение, сънѣдънъ, съставити, сърево, сѣно, трепгати, трѣбование, трѣбовати, оуѣжжати, оугодъникъ, оудръжати (са), оузырѣти, оумъ, оумжжити са, оуподобити са, оуслышати, халдъ / халдѣни, хететевовъ, хитрость, хорневъ, хранити (са), черъмънныи, шестын, юнъ, явѣ, жтроба,
- 5 авиатаръ, авимелехъ, блждъница, божествонъ, бритва, бытиѣ, вина, възнести (са), възрасти, вѣровати, вѣчънъ, гаваонитѣне / гаваонитяне, гадъ, гонидъ, горькъ, горѣ, горѣти, готфовъ, гжсли, даида, дръва, дръзость, дъждъ, джбъ, еврей / еврейнъ, еврейскыи, ефронъ, житиѣ, жажда, ианла, именовати (са), истинныи, исходити, камыкъ, лотовъ, медъ, моляба, напоити, ненавидѣти, ничто, обличение, обынъ, огънныи, оправдѣти (са), оржжие, осьлъ, отъкждоу, отъсѣщи, отъсждоу, питати (са), погreti, погуляти, помышление, поржжити, потому, почивати, правъда, правъдъникъ, прихождати, провести, работати, свѣтълъ, сѣдль, село, синаискыи, скрѣвь, содомскыи, старъ, стенати, стрѣла, соухо, съкрыти са, сънъ, сърѣтение, сѣсѣщи, съходъникъ, съчетати (са), сѣдѣти, таковъ, такожде, трапеза, тьсть, оувивати (са), оувинство, оуловити, оулучити (са), оустрашити (са), оутро, царъ, цѣсаревъ, чинъ, юньць, яти,
- 6 ещадънъ / есчадънъ, близънни, вашъ, водъць, воєвода, врѣщи, възвеселити са, възлюбити, възкоупѣ, възсприяти, възходити, голжбъ, готфъ, достояние, дроугъ, дъньсь, ева / ева, еда, животънныи, звѣръ, злато, злия, знамение, исполнъ, исчисти, клати (са), кровъ, къдѣ, кънига, левъ, моавъскыи, мрътвѣ, мясо, написати, ничтоже, нищъ, овѣдръжжати (са),

- 6 овьца, опечалити (сѧ), печальнѣ, плѣть, плѣнити, плѣновати, побѣжати (сѧ), подобьнѣ, покои, помози, помыслѣ, поманжти, послоушати, постити (сѧ), потопѣ, приближити (сѧ), пришьльць, протити, противити сѧ, прьворожденѣ, псаломьскыи, пѣтица, сестра, слѣдѣ, съборѣ, съпасеніе, сърѣсти, съходити, съде, сжщество, тѣма, часѣ, юноша,
- 7 архистратигѣ, благѣ, бывати, вельбѣдѣ, вельможѧ, веселити сѧ, войска, врѣхѣ, въпрашати, высокѣ, вѣдати, вѣкѣ, дивити сѧ, дѣтѧ, енохѣ, етерѣ, животное, жити, завѣтѣ, закласти (сѧ), зачати, зѣлыи, неси, или, иеранльтѣне / иеранлтяне, иудейскѣ / иудейскѣ, коньць, кыи, кыждѣ, левитѣ₂, лежати, метнѣти, мило, моавитѣскыи, нагѣ, оба, обличити, образѣ, обрѣзати, обрѣтати, оправданіе, оставяти, пица, познати (сѧ), поработити (сѧ), поразити, приимовати, прьсидискыи / персидискыи / прьсидьскыи / персидьскыи / прьскыи, прѣбывати, псаломѣ, рагоуилѣ, рани, ратникѣ, раевѣ, рѣпѣтаніе, рыданіе, седекѣ, содомѣ, страхѣ, съжечи (сѧ), създати (сѧ), сънѣти, сжеота, трѣпѣти, оу, оурия, оустьна, оутолити (сѧ), финеесѣ, ханани,
- 8 агарѣ, вести, влѣхование, вѣзьрѣти, вѣнжтрѣ, вѣпити, вы, ерихонѣ, зьрѣти, извести, изрещи, искоушити (сѧ), критѣскыи, лоуна, навгинѣ, наказати (сѧ), облѣщи (сѧ), обѣтованьныи, пожрѣти, полѣ, помазати (сѧ), прѣстати, рабыни, раждати (сѧ), скиния, слава, страшнѣ, стѣна, сънѣсити (сѧ), сънѣдати (сѧ), съпасти₂ (сѧ), сжди / сждия, тоуждѣ, тѣло, оудостити,
- 9 аендорѣ, безаконіе, бѣжати, вениаминовѣ / веньяминовѣ, власѣ, врата, въздвижѣти (сѧ), възложити (сѧ), възхотѣти, глаголѣ, дивьнѣ, ерихонѣне / ерихоняне, еофан / еофанѣ, затворити (сѧ), знати, изманил, изати (сѧ), илии / илия, красьнѣ, лабанѣ, мѣножьство, мьнѣти, око, пасти₂ (сѧ), простити, прострѣти, рѣтити, пѣти, рѣка, свѣтыи, сждити, сждѣба, оударити, хранина, число,
- 10 авель, артасирѣ, балаакѣ, врагѣ, вѣвести, живѣ, иероусалимѣ, избавити (сѧ), иноплемьнникѣ, исавѣ, исасара, искати, колесьница, кыи / крѣвь, лакѣтѣ, мжжскѣ, наоучити (сѧ), нѣсиль, одѣжда, отрокѣ, плѣкѣ, помолити (сѧ), приносити, прославити (сѧ), прѣвыи, рѣчь, свѣтѣ, съказати (сѧ), сънити, сътѣжати (сѧ), тысаща, оумножити (сѧ), халдискыи, хотѣніе, храмѣ, цѣсарѣствовати,
- 11 амаликѣ, андрѣя / андрѣя, близѣ, велии, вечерѣ, видѣніе, дарѣ, заповѣдѣти, знии, идѣже / идеже, источникѣ, конѣ, маное, нашѣ, остати, печаль, побѣдити (сѧ), повелѣніе, погыенжти, полата, призѣвати, разорити (сѧ), рыдати, слоугѧ, слѣнъце, срѣдѣце, събьрати (сѧ), творьць, оувѣдѣти (сѧ), оуста, хоусин,
- 12 глестн, девора, иоавѣ, норданѣ, носифѣ, иераниль, мирѣ, невесьныи, писаніе, посрѣди / посрѣдѣ / посрѣдѣ, почити, полати, разгнѣвати (сѧ), стлѣпѣ, съкроушити (сѧ), тѣль, чистѣ, являти сѧ,
- 13 адамѣ, архитофель, бити, бояти сѧ, възити, възложити, ламехѣ, носити, пасти₁, побѣда, прѣдати, оубояти сѧ, хететей,
- 14 вѣселити сѧ, монсиовѣ / монсиовѣ / монсеовѣ / монсеовѣ, нога, поставити (сѧ), правьдѣнѣ, прочии, стояти, съвѣтѣ, христосѣ,
- 15 въпросити, меухин, ношѣ, нѣкыи, огнь, примати, проклѣти (сѧ), прѣлестити (сѧ), чюдо,
- 16 влѣхѣ, вѣнезапѣ, дрѣжати, заповѣдѣ, иудей / иудейне / иудей / иудейне, нарицати (сѧ), осьла, плачь, прогнѣвати (сѧ), пророкѣ, равѣ, съвѣдѣтельствовати, съконьчати (сѧ), съхранити (сѧ),
- 17 гласѣ, исакѣ, мечѣ, прѣдѣ, прѣжде, сила, стати, страна, фараоновѣ,
- 18 доуша, егуптѣне / егуптяне / египтѣне / египтяне / егуптѣннинѣ / егуптяннинѣ / египтѣннинѣ / египтяннинѣ, елико, сѣло, кѣто, отъврѣсти (сѧ), плакати (сѧ), побѣдѣти, раздѣлѣти (сѧ), сильнѣ, смьрѣть, якоже,

- 19 в'ѣдѣти, звѣзда, отити, повелѣти, почьто, тельць, чадѡ,
 20 брань, възвѣстити, въспоминати, дроугъ, небо, мати, понеже, постълати (сѧ), сънѣсти (сѧ),
 тогда / т'ыгда, три / трине,
 21 гнѣвъ, доньдеже, дѣва, мелхиседекъ, нынѣ, палица, положити (сѧ), привести (сѧ), поустыни,
 разоуѣти, тамо,
 22 камы / камень, молити (сѧ), моши, рать, скотъ, ходити, цѣсарство,
 23 врѣмя, грѣхъ, доухъ, законъ, лѣто, лжкавъ, нареци (сѧ), поустити, пѣснь, родъ, хлѣбъ,
 24 аронъ / ааронъ, господинъ, жрѣти, самсонъ, сѣсти,
 25 инъ, к'нѧзь, м'гногъ, мждръ, писати, поклонити сѧ, т'к'к'мо,
 26 егуптъ / египтъ, зане, исоусъ, начати (сѧ), отроча, паче, оудрѣти,
 27 авесаломъ, глава, егуптъскъ / египтъскъ, каннъ, небо, но / нон, пити, понти,
 28 братъ, великъ, дѣщи, море, явити (сѧ),
 29 възвратити (сѧ), иери, колѣно, слово,
 30 вино, до, саломилъ / салоуилъ, сѣмя,
 31 валаамъ, лотъ, погоуѣти (сѧ), пжтъ,
 32 за, мѣсто, отъвѣщати,
 33 егда,
 34 благословити (сѧ), дрѣво, лице, оставити, принести,
 35 жрѣтва, наковъ, паки, оуѣти (сѧ), чьто,
 36 фараонъ,
 37 дѣло, како, ковъчегъ, творити,
 38 имя,
 41 приѣти, се, ясти,
 43 въсѣкъ, то,
 44 ли, мы, тако,
 45 а,
 47 дѣнь, саоудъ,
 48 аггелъ,
 49 израилевъ,
 50 чловѣкъ,
 51 божин, вода,
 52 господьнъ, долъ, ради, родити (сѧ), себе, ѡзыкъ,
 53 слышати (сѧ),
 55 вѣстати,
 56 гора,
 58 онъ,
 59 мжжъ,
 60 аще, по,
 61 изити,
 63 ржка,
 64 давыдъ, единъ,

- 71 оврѣсти (сѧ),
72 вѣннити,
75 градѣ,₁
76 нѣ,
77 дати (сѧ),
84 жена, имѣти, мои, твои,
85 сице,
87 ни,
88 хотѣти,
89 ити,
91 оубо,
92 възвати (сѧ), людие / люди,
96 отъць,
100 цѣсарь,
111 авраамѣ / аврамѣ,
113 видѣти,
127 бо,
132 глаголати (сѧ),
137 тѣ та то / тѣи тая тою,
141 о, сынѣ,
146 монси / монси / монси / монси,
147 сътворити (сѧ),
152 земля,
154 съ,
155 иже,
158 къ,
163 принти,
169 азѣ,
177 въсь,
187 да,
188 ты,
196 господѣ,
201 на,
208 съ си се / син сия сию,
229 богѣ,
232 яко,
240 свои,
356 отѣ,
370 не,
430 рещи,
548 вѣ,
628 же,
658 быти (+ юсми / сыи),
709 и₂,
2270 и₁,

Приложение № 2

ИП – ИНДЕКС А TERGO

45 ^A	20	Т ^О Г ^Д Д	2	В ^А Л
1	6	Е ^Д Д	1	П ^О Х ^В АЛ
1	10	О ^Д Е ^Ж Д	1	М ^Е Л ^Х ЕЛ ¹
7	1	Г ^О СП ^О Ж ^Д Д	3	Б ^Ъ Ч ^Е Л
2	3	Н ^О У ^Ж Д	5	И ^А Н ^А
4	1	Б ^Р Ъ ^Ж Д	17	С ^И Л
2	5	Ж ^А Ж ^Д Д	1	С ^А О ^Л
1	3	А ^Н Ъ ^Д Д	3	М ^Е Л ^Х О ^Л
9	19	З ^В Ъ ^З Д	1	Ч ^О Ъ ^С Л
5	5	Д ^А Л ^И Д	2	С ^Е Л ^Ъ Л
1	1	А ^Ф Р ^А Т ^О К ^Е Р ^А Л ^И Д	5	С ^Т Р ^Ъ Л
2	1	П ^Е Р ^С И ^Д Д	2	Р ^А М
1	1	А ^В С ^И Т ^И Д	1	А ^Н Д ^Р А ^Г М
27	1	С ^В О ^Б О ^Д Д	2	А ^Н А ^Ф Е ^М
8	51	В ^О Д	2	С ^А Л ^И М ^А ²
6	6	В ^О Ю ^В О ^Д Д	1	Е ^Л М
1	1	П ^О Р ^О Д	1	Д ^Ъ Б ^Ъ Л ^М
1	2	Д ^Д Ъ ^Д Д	6	Т ^Ъ М
1	5	П ^Р А ^В Ъ ^Д Д	201	Н
3	2	Н ^Е П ^Р А ^В Ъ ^Д Д	1	С ^А Н
5	1	В ^Р А ^Ж Ъ ^Д Д	2	Р
1	1	Б ^Ъ Д	17	С ^Т Р
35	13	П ^О Б ^Ъ Д	84	Ж
2	2	С ^Р Ъ ^Д Д	5	В
3	1	С ^Т Р	4	М
21	3	Л ^Ъ Ж	3	П
5	1	Г ^О С	1	Г
2	32	З	2	А
1	5	Т ^Р А ^П Е ^З	2	Д
1	2	Р	1	Ю
6	2	Л	1	Р
1	1	С	1	К
14	4	Р	2	М
11	7	В	9	Х
1	1	Г	1	М
1	3	Г	1	М
187 ^A	1	П	4	К
2	4	В	2	Ш
4	2	М	1	О
1	1	З	1	М
33	1	М	2	С
2	1	Р	1	П
1	9	О		
1	1	М		
3	63	Р		

¹ См. мелхоло.

² См. салниъ₁.

3 истина	1 зельфа	т'ъиждѣ ⁴
1 т'ажьчина	2 пасѣха	5 такожде
1 пжчина	2 пазоуѣха	1 ин'ъждѣ
3 раина	1 запазоуѣха	3 т'ъждѣ
1 опона	1 моуѣха	17 пр'ѣждѣ
8 лоуѣна	1 праща	6 к'ъдѣ
1 безд'ъна	7 пища	6 с'ъдѣ
2 ан'ъна	1 овоуѣха	1 до с'ъдѣ
3 ман'ъна	2 св'ѣща	нвдѣе ⁵
1 ср'ъна	10 т'ысаща	628 жѣ
1 трикров'ъна	1 голжбница	1 дажѣ
7 оуѣст'ъна	2 отроканица	идѣжѣ ⁶
д'ъволич'ъна ³ ?	1 л'ѣстеница	21 дон'ъдѣжѣ
8 ст'ѣна	3 д'ѣбница	1 нежѣ
2 ц'ѣна	2 оуѣбница	20 понежѣ
2 мастропа	21 паница	155 ижѣ
10 исисара	1 доилица	1 николижѣ
1 фара	1 маслица	18 якожѣ
1 авра	1 гр'ълица	3 ложѣ
4 в'ъчера	3 агница	1 ник'ътожѣ
12 дѣвора	3 обр'ъченица	6 нич'ътожѣ
56 гора	1 пшеница	11 ид'ѣжѣ
1 сѣфора	4 в'ъзглав'ъница	1 жжѣ
6 сестра	2 посад'ъница	нюдене / нвд'не ⁷
2 заоуѣтра	1 пр'ѣг'ъд'ъница	1 мание
2 сар'ъра	5 бл'ъд'ъница	1 григорие
2 мер'ъра	1 кадельница	2 дребле
2 в'ѣра	10 колес'ъница	4 поле
1 м'ѣра	1 в'ър'ъст'ъница	370 не
1 раиеса	1 с'ъвр'ъст'ъница	26 зане
11 полата	1 г'ъс'ѣница	2 г'ъждане
9 врата	2 юница	1 тоуѣне
1 синета	2 троница	1 инд'ѣне
1 ницета	3 ц'ѣсарница	3 ен'ъди'ѣне
4 работа	2 царица	1 нероусалимл'ѣне
7 сжвота	6 п'ътица	1 сикимл'ѣне
2 д'ъг'ъота	1 лышица	1 едомл'ѣне
2 т'ѣснота	6 ов'ъца	1 гоморосо домл'ѣне
широта	1 лыш'ъца	2 гаинл'ѣне
3 красота	2 издалеча	9 ерихонл'ѣне
1 высота	1 плоча	2 агарл'ѣне
1 нечистота	2 чаша	2 г'ърарл'ѣне
1 поуѣстота	6 юноша	1 асирл'ѣне
11 оуста	18 доуша	1 аморл'ѣне
1 нев'ѣста	4 соуша	
1 сарѣфта	52 сѣбе	
2 трис'ъта	1 даждѣ	

³ См. д'ъволично.⁴ См. т'ъждѣ.⁵ См. нюден.⁶ См. ид'ѣжѣ.⁷ См. нюден.

¹ персѣне	¹ хлѣви	³ дмечънии
³ моавитѣне	³ сѣзади	² вышьнии
¹ аманитѣне	³² радди	¹ вѣнѣшьнии
⁵ гавдонитѣне	¹ лиди	¹ динарни
¹ изаналтѣне	¹ дѣвашѣди	³ дмеврини
⁷ исраильтѣне	⁴ дѣногашѣди	³ дмѣврини
¹⁸ египѣтѣне /	² сѣдмишьди	¹ дмдѣврини ¹³
егѣпѣтѣне	³ тришьди	дмрини ¹³
-яне ⁸	послѣди ⁹	¹ оѣтрини
²⁷ ноѣ	³ прѣди	²⁰⁸ сини (сѣ)
¹¹ манѣ	¹ срѣди	¹⁴⁶ моисии
²⁸ моѣ	¹² посрѣди	¹¹ хоусии
² четыре	¹⁰ людди	¹ пѣсини
⁴¹ сѣ	⁹ еѣфди	¹⁵ мѣлѣхини
² ханаанитѣ	⁴ хлѣди	¹ вѣщии
⁶⁰ дѣ	¹⁶ нодѣ	¹⁴ прочии
² ещѣ	⁷ ханаанѣ	¹ лѣстьчии
¹ трѣжице	¹ дѣ	¹ неслышавѣшии
¹ сѣдалице	⁵ евреи	¹ ненавикѣшии
¹ сдалице	²⁹ невеи	⁴ дѣньшии
¹ свѣтилице	¹ арѣневеи	¹ пѣшии
¹ сѣньмице	назорѣи ¹¹	⁴⁴ ли
¹ капице	¹ пенѣдѣфреи	¹ нежели
¹ попырице	⁷ несѣ	¹ отѣнѣли
² врѣтице	моисѣи ¹²	⁷ ли
³⁴ лицѣ	¹³ хѣтѣтеи	¹ боли
⁸⁵ сице	³ жрѣбѣни	¹ доколи
¹¹ срѣдѣ	¹ мрабѣни	⁵ гѣсли
¹ окѣньце	³ днѣни	¹ негѣли
¹¹ слѣньце	² дѣвѣни	¹ вѣльми
² обачѣ	⁸ сѣди	⁸⁷ ни
²⁶ пачѣ	⁵¹ божи	¹ дѣнии
² далѣче	¹ гдѣскии	¹ бавсини
¹ недалѣче	¹¹ вѣли	⁸ рабыни
¹ отѣдалѣче	¹ козали	²¹ поустѣни
² выше	⁹ лини	³ обѣ
¹ вѣвыше	³ осѣли	² вѣ
¹ сѣвыше	¹¹ змии	свои
²²⁷⁰ и ¹	³ днѣни	²⁴⁰ тѣвѣ
⁷⁰⁹ и ²	³ послѣдѣни	⁸⁴ дѣли
¹ синни	¹ палѣжѣни	¹ покон
⁷ рди	⁶ ближѣни	⁸⁴ мои
¹ крдѣ	⁴ искрѣни	нои ¹⁴
² вѣскрди	² вѣнѣтрѣни	¹ гнои
¹ тди		⁴ знои
¹ отди		³ рои
³ обычѣ		

⁸ См. – ѣне.⁹ См. послѣдѣ.¹⁰ См. люднѣ¹¹ См. назорѣи.¹² См. моисии.¹³ См. дмѣврини.¹⁴ См. ноѣ.

³при
²⁰три
 монси¹⁵
¹перси
 монси¹⁶
¹сѧ колебати
¹сѧ поколебати
²подобати
²погыбати
³давати
¹прѣдавати
³сѣтражавати
¹вѣщавати
¹отѣвѣщавати
¹тѡуждѣвати
¹сѧ исцѣлявати
¹сѣвѣщавати
¹оуврачевати
¹ожесточевати
⁵(сѧ) оубивати
¹ослѣпивати
²сѧ оупивати
⁵почивати
⁴тѡрѣбовати
¹потѡрѣбовати
²посовѣствовати
⁴послѣдствовати
¹⁶сѣвѣдѣтельствовати
¹⁰цѣсарствовати
²мждрьствовати
¹велемждрьствовати
¹благовѣрьствовати
¹пророчествовати
²шьствовати
²вѣлѣхувати
¹сѧ рѣдovati
⁴сѧ вѣзрадовати
¹порядovati
¹негодovati
²вѣдovati
¹обвѣдovati
¹послѣдovati
²вѣсѣдovati
²наказovati
¹оеразовати
¹ковати

¹⁵ См. монси.¹⁶ См. монси.

²оковати
³(сѧ) десѣтковати
¹жаловати
³(сѧ) печаловати
¹помилovati
⁷принимovati
⁵(сѧ) именovati
⁴сѧ повинovati
¹законovati
¹лжкавьновати
²рѣвьновати
⁶плѣновати
¹измѣновати
²дарovati
⁵вѣрovati
¹прѣписovati
⁴(сѧ) рѣтовати
¹сѧ готовати
³сѣвѣтовати
¹тиховати
³зѣвати
¹¹призѣвати
¹позѣвати
⁴вѣзѣвати
¹изрѣвати
⁷бывати
⁷прѣбывати
¹казывати
¹призывати
¹сѣдѣвати
¹оскждѣвати
²повелѣвати
¹оудѣлѣвати
¹разоудѣвати
¹гнѣвати
¹²(сѧ) разгнѣвати
¹⁶(сѧ) прогнѣвати
¹прѣдѣлагати
¹помогати
¹лѣгати
²вѣггати
¹посагати
¹сѧ ржгати
¹сѧ поржгати
⁷⁷(сѧ) дати
¹оугддати
⁴обладдати
¹паддати
¹припаддати

¹вѣпадати
²пробаждати
⁸(сѧ) раждати
¹привождати
⁵прихождати
²низѣхождати
²ноуждати
²(сѧ) ноуждати
²сѧ тѡуждати
²(сѧ) оутѡуждати
¹⁷нжждати
¹⁸(сѧ) нжждати
¹расжждати
¹вѣздати
¹ожидати
¹поддати
²проддати
¹вѣддати
¹¹рьддати
¹оправддати
¹пожждати
²зѣдати
⁷(сѧ) сѣзѣдати
¹обвѣдати
⁷вѣддати
¹повѣдати
¹проповѣдати
³исповѣдати
⁸(сѧ) сѣнѣдати
¹³прѣдати
²сѣблюдати
¹сѧ вѣжждати
¹гладдати
²поражжати
⁷лежжати
¹прѣдѣлежжати
³(сѧ) приближжати
¹⁶дрѡжжати
¹вѣздрѡжжати
²одрѡжжати
⁴(сѧ) оудрѡжжати
⁶(сѧ) обвѡдрѡжжати
¹подѡдрѡжжати
¹сѣдрѡжжати
⁹вѣжжати
¹извѣжжати

¹⁷ См. ноуждати.¹⁸ См. (сѧ) ноуждати.

- 6(сА) побѣжати
4 оубѣжати
1 отъбѣжати
1 прилѣжати
10(сА) сътажжати
1 възмѣжжати
2 деисати
2 растрѣсати
1 аосасати
8(сА) наказати
4 покказати
10(сА) съкказати
1 мазати
8(сА) помазати
1 подвизати
1 полнзати
2 дръзати
1 лобызати
7 обръзати
3 оърѣзати
2 привѣзати
2 присазати
2(сА) сътазати
18(сА) плакати
10 нскати
1 възискати
1 прѣмыкати
4 оскдлати
7(сА) заклати
132(сА) глаголати
1 възглаголати
20(сА) посълати
2 посылати
1 въсылати
1 аѣлати
2 съаѣлати
20 мати
1 амати
2 възимати
15 приимати
1 вънимати
2 отимати
1 съдоумати
1 знаменати
5 стенати
3 постенати
9 знати
7(сА) познати
1 закланнати
- 1 прокланнати
20 въспоминати
1 зачиннати
1 начиннати
1 рѣннати
3(сА) изгннати
3 погннати
3 отъгннати
1 апати
1 съпати
1 посъпати
1 расыпати
1 чръпати
2 съгарати
4 брати
3 играти
3 събирати
2 оумирати
1 простирати
1 орати
4 избѣрати
11(сА) събѣрати
2 сА прикасати
1 сА съпасати
1 расгесати
25 писати
6 написати
4 прѣписати
1 съсати
1 прѣпоясати
1 оклеветати
2 метати
1 пометати
1 въметати
4 трепетати
4 въстрепетати
5(сА) съчетати
5(сА) питати
1 въспитати
2 прочитати
5 работати
2 поработати
17 стати
11 остати
55 въстати
1 съвъстати
8 прѣстати
1 пытати
2 испытати
- 1 аѣтати
7 обрѣтати
1 благоухати
3(сА) отъвращати
1 очнщати
4 поравощати
4(сА) поушати
1 испоушати
1 сА подъшати
1 насыщати
2(сА) прѣльшати
3(сА) обѣшати
4 вѣшати
2 завѣшати
1 провѣшати
1 оубѣшати
2 съвѣшати
32 отъвѣшати
1 запрѣшати
3 съмѣшати
16(сА) нарицати
1 проорицати
1 отърицати
1 сѣцати
1 сА обличати
3 наоучати
1 млъчати
1 прѣмлъчати
16(сА) съконъчати
1 прогоръчати
1 разлжчати
1 възглашати
1 прашати
7 въпрашати
1 лишати
2 поношати
1 опрошати
4 искоушати
1 слоушати
6 послоушати
1 въноушати
1 съкроушати
1 съвръшати
2 ашати
53(сА) слышати
4 оуслышати
3(сА) съмѣшати
1 съгрѣшати
1 оутѣшати

3 погрети	1 въпродати	9 (сѧ) възложити
1 трети	2 кадити	21 (сѧ) положити
89 ити	1 радити	13 въложити
1 нанити	1 посадити	1 прѣдъложити
2 (сѧ) танити	2 съсидити	2 низъложити
13 бити	2 одъждити	2 (сѧ) съложити
2 сѧ оүсклавити	2 сѧ оүгнѣздити	2 (сѧ) прѣложити
2 сѧ охавити	1 свободити	10 (сѧ) оүлиножити
2 извѣити	2 водити	4 слоужити
1 овѣити	1 наводити	4 послоужити
2 сѧ подовѣити	1 изводити	4 сѧ оүиужити
4 сѧ оүподовѣити	1 оүгодити	1 сѧ въоружити
1 зъловѣити	1 благооүгодити	1 въстѣжити
3 повѣити	1 огосподити	2 досѣтѣжити
35 (сѧ) оүвѣити	52 (сѧ) родити	1 съсѣтѣжити
2 изгоүвѣити	1 вродити	3 въдржзити
31 (сѧ) погоүвѣити	22 ходити	1 сѧ проказити
1 отъоүвѣити	1 заходити	1 сѧ въобразити
2 отъвѣити	1 приходити	1 сѧ прѣобразити
1 сѧ потрѣвѣити	5 исходити	7 поразити
1 сѧ оүстрѣвѣити	1 въсходити	61 изити
1 лювѣити	1 прѣневъсходити	3 (сѧ) пронзити
6 възлювѣити	1 объходити	13 въззити
2 тржвѣити	6 въходити	3 прѣвъззити
10 (сѧ) избавити	1 прѣдъходити	1 сѧ просльзити
2 славити	6 съходити	1 погржзити
10 (сѧ) прославити	1 отъходити	163 принити
2 окверънавѣити	1 прѣходити	1 хвалити
1 направити	1 сѧ провоудити	3 сѧ похвалити
3 исправити	4 (сѧ) ноудити	1 сѧ оүмалити
1 наставити	2 (сѧ) оүтверждити	2 (сѧ) запалити
34 оставити	1 сѧ оүмилиосръдити	1 сѧ опалити
14 (сѧ) поставити	5 (сѧ) оправѣдити	4 попалити
2 въставити	11 (сѧ) побѣдити	6 (сѧ) опечалити
3 прѣдъставити	1 исцѣдити	7 сѧ веселити
4 съставити	3 блждити	1 сѧ извеселити
3 (сѧ) прѣставити	1 заблждити	6 (сѧ) възвеселити
1 оүязвѣити	1 съблждити	1 сѧ приселити
7 сѧ дивити	1 (сѧ) нждити ¹⁹	1 сѧ въселиити
1 сѧ оүдивити	9 сждити	14 сѧ въселиити
6 сѧ противѣити	1 расждити	1 израилити
2 ловѣити	1 сѧ осждити	1 сѧ съианити
34 (сѧ) благословити	7 жити	1 сѧ оүсианити
5 оүловѣити	2 сѧ оүблажити	2 волити
1 овновѣити	6 (сѧ) приближити	3 изволити
2 (сѧ) оүготовѣити	2 (сѧ) приложити	2 благоволити
2 оүмрътвѣити	1 изложити	22 (сѧ) молити
28 (сѧ) явѣити		10 (сѧ) помолити
1 забвдѣити		7 (сѧ) оүтѣлити
		2 мыслити

¹⁹ См. (сѧ) ноудити.

1 размыслити	3 възъпити	7(сА) поравотити
4 помислити	2 оүсѣпити	2 растити
1 оүмыслити	1 оүстѣпити	3 ожестити
1 похолодити	2 прѣстѣпити	1 очистити
1 сълити	1 проварити	6(сА) постити
1 оүбѣлити	1 сА сварити	9 простити
18(сА) раздѣлити	4(сА) благодарити	23 поүстити
4 стрѣлити	9 оүдарити	3 испоүстити
1 исцѣлити	3 сА състарити	3 отѣпоүстити
1 сиклиити	1 оүмждрити	2(сА) льстити
1 възскрълити	3(сА) съмирити	15(сА) прѣльстити
2(сА) ранити	1 сА раширити	1 сА кръстити
1 сА распространити	1 сА въздворити	1 извѣстити
1 оүранити ²	37 творити	20 възвѣстити
4(сА) хранити	9(сА) затворити	4 сА причастити
16(сА) съхранити	1 животворити	1 сА оүчастити
1 гнитити	147(сА) сътворити	1 сА просвѣтити
1 сА окаменити	1 сА прѣтворити	1 сА възплътити
1 искоренити	11(сА) разорити	2 оүсѣмирѣтити
1 съкоренити	1 оүскорити	1 насытити
3 гвадонити	1 хитрити	почѣтити ²⁰
3 гонити	1 оүхитрити	2 свѣтити
1 изгонити	1 сѣлотрити	1 сА освѣтити
1 прогонити	1 размиѣрити	1 оүзѣтити
25 сА поклонити	4(сА) гласити	4 запрѣтити
2 сА прѣклонити	3 оүкрасити ²	4 посѣтити
72 възнити	3(сА) оүкрасити ¹	7 обличити
3(сА) исплънити	13 носити	1 възскочити
1 оскврѣнити	10 приносити	1 омочити
10 сѣнити	1 поносити	12 почити
1 оүпраздѣнити	1 възносити	1 источити
6 плѣнити	15 възпросити	1 сА оүчити
1 поплѣнити	8(сА) искоүсити	10(сА) наоүчити
1 размиѣнити	1 възкоүсити	5(сА) оүлоүчити
3 сА възмиѣнити	1 сА възвысити	2(сА) пооүчити
1 донити	2 повѣсити	2(сА) оплѣчити
1 възддонити	1 сА обвѣвѣсити	1 сА прикљочити
27 понити	1 миѣсити	3 сА разлжчити
5 напонити	2 размиѣсити	1 сА отѣлжчити
2(сА) опонити	8(сА) сѣмиѣсити	1 мжчити
6 пронити	2 ратити	1 обржчити
8 оүдостонити	1 обратити	5 поржчити
27 пити	1 сА вратити	5(сА) оүстрашити
1 сА напити	1 развратити	2(сА) лишити
1 сА опити	29(сА) възвратити	4 възноүшити
1 испити	2 отѣвратити	1 раздроүшити
1 сА оүпити	1 расхитити	12(сА) съкроүшити
1 коүпити	3 възсхитити	
8 възпити	19 отити	

²⁰ См. почѣсти.

¹ исоушнѣти	¹ обвѣсѣти	⁴ оскждѣти
³ сѣвръшнѣти	¹ вѣсѣти	¹ раслааѣти
¹ оуѣсѣшнѣти	³ сѣсѣти	¹ вѣлѣти
¹ раздрѣшнѣти	¹ блѹсти	¹⁹ повѣлѣти
¹ поспѣшнѣти	² сѣблѹсти	¹ вѣждѣлѣти
² сѣлгрѣшнѣти	³ поѣсти	³ оудѣлѣти
² сѣл оутѣшнѣти	² блѣсти	³ авѣлѣти
⁹ прѣшнѣти	¹ мѣсти	⁸⁴ илѣти
¹ блѣсти	² сѣмѣсти	¹ оумѣти
¹³ пастн ₁	¹² грѣсти	²¹ разоумѣти
⁹ (сѣл) пастн ₂	² сѣл трѣсти	¹ сѣл вѣразоумѣти
³ напастнѣти	¹ сѣл трѣсти	¹ сѣл разоумѣти
² припастнѣти	⁴¹ ѣсти	¹ недооумѣти
³ испастнѣти	¹ обоути	² сѣмѣти
³ вѣпастнѣти	² изоути	¹ оукѣснѣти
³ сѣпастн ₁	² сѣтрѣти	⁹ мьнѣти
⁸ (сѣл) сѣпастн ₂	⁶⁵⁸ быти	¹ овнемоуцьнѣти
⁵ вѣзрасти	¹ забыти	⁹ пѣти
⁸ бѣсти	³ прѣбыти	¹ вѣскипѣти
² навѣсти	¹ сѣл разыти	¹ спѣти
⁸ извѣсти	² сѣл мыти	¹ вѣспѣти
²¹ (сѣл) привѣсти	¹ сѣл измыти	⁷ трѣпѣти
⁵ проевѣсти	¹ сѣл омыти	¹ длѣготрѣпѣти
¹⁰ вѣвѣсти	⁴ покрыти	² олаѣпѣти
¹ нѣсти	⁵ сѣл сѣкрыти	¹ врѣти
¹ нанѣсти	¹ потрѣти	²⁴ жрѣти
³ изнѣсти	¹ скрѣбѣти	⁸ пожрѣти
⁵ (сѣл) вѣзнѣсти	¹ рѣвѣти	¹ измрѣти
³⁴ принѣсти	¹ нстрѣзвѣти	²⁶ оумрѣти
¹ понѣсти	¹ говѣти	¹ сѣлоумрѣти
³ вѣнѣсти	¹ дѣти	⁵ горѣти
¹ сѣнѣсти	¹ здѣти	¹ сѣл разгорѣти
² грѣсти	² вѣздѣти	⁹ прострѣти
¹ вѣнѣсти	¹¹³ вндѣти	¹ распрострѣти
² чѣсти	² завндѣти	² сѣтрѣти
¹ прочѣсти	⁵ ненавндѣти	⁸ зѣрѣти
⁶ исчѣсти	¹ вѣзненавндѣти	⁴ оузѣрѣти
¹ проевѣсти	¹ провндѣти	⁸ вѣзѣрѣти
¹⁸ (сѣл) отѣвѣрѣсти	³ оувндѣти	² прѣзѣрѣти
¹ начѣсти	¹ бѣдѣти	¹ почрѣти
³ почѣсти	¹ грѣдѣти	² вѣсѣти
² изѣсти	² мрѣдѣти	¹ оупитѣти
¹ вѣлѣсти	¹ сѣл стѣдѣти	¹ отѣготѣти
²⁰ (сѣл) сѣмѣсти	¹⁹ вѣдѣти	⁸⁸ хотѣти
⁷¹ (сѣл) обрѣсти	¹⁸ повѣдѣти	⁹ вѣсхотѣти
² пробрѣсти	¹¹ заповѣдѣти	³ (сѣл) чюти
⁶ сѣрѣсти	¹¹ (сѣл) оувѣдѣти	³ дѣяти
¹ сѣл расѣсти	¹ сѣвѣдѣти	¹ сѣл покаяти
²⁴ сѣсти	⁵ сѣдѣти	¹ сѣл раскаяти

3	напаяти	9	(сА) изати	4	пр'къати
3	сА растаяти	92	(сА) възати	1	шоуи
4	пр'къстаяти	1	сА пр'къвъзати	15	мъногаци ²¹
1	зняти	6	(сА) клати	1	жеци
1	изляти	15	(сА) проклати	3	(сА) пожеци
1	възляти	1	сънати	1	въжеци
1	сА проляти	1	запати	7	(сА) съжеци
1	сА съляти	7	зачати	4	леци
4	въсняти	26	(сА) начати	1	привлеци
1	озълобяти	11	погыбнжти	1	подълеци
5	погоубяти	3	прозавнжти	2	пещи
1	прославяти	1	легнжти	2	испещи
1	наставяти	2	двигнжти	23	(сА) ⁴³⁰ реци
7	оставяти	9	(сА) въздвигнжти	8	(сА) нареци
2	сА противляти	3	сА подвигнжти	1	изреци
1	благословяти	2	изв'гнжти	1	прореци
1	обновляти	3	пов'гнжти	2	(сА) отъреци
12	сА явяти	1	сАгнжти	2	теци
1	провяляти	3	присАгнжти	1	притеци
1	въселяти	1	притАгнжти	1	пощеци
1	помышляти	1	растАгнжти	2	истеци
1	разд'къляти	1	ищезнжти	1	въстеци
1	стр'къляти	3	дръзнжти	2	острици
1	исц'къляти	1	онр'възнжти	1	пострици
2	сА кланяти	1	оубавнжти	1	подъстрици
1	възвраняти	2	зинжти	22	моци
1	оуб'диняти	3	иннжти	3	възмоци
1	отъгоняти	2	пр'къиннжти	1	пр'къвъзмоци
3	(сА) исплъняти	3	(сА) изринжти	6	помощи
3	сА осквр'няти	3	(сА) отъринжти	28	лъци
1	ос'къняти	1	потъкнжти	8	(сА) облъци
13	сА бояти	1	пр'кът'къкнжти	1	извл'къци
13	сА оубояти	1	оус'къкнжти	1	съвл'къци
14	стояти	1	оужаснжти	1	с'тъл'къци
1	постояти	4	коснжти	6	вр'къци
2	пр'къдъстояти	4	сА прикоснжти	2	развр'къци
3	отъстояти	7	метнжти	4	извр'къци
3	вечеряти	1	изметнжти	3	въвр'къци
2	сА съмиряти	2	изд'лъхнжти	2	стр'къци
2	(сА) възворасти	2	възд'лъхнжти	1	с'къци
2	(сА) разоряти	2	исъхнжти	1	рас'къци
1	сА над'къяти	2	оус'сънжти	3	ис'къци
1	од'къяти	1	повисънжти	5	с'съ'къци
2	съд'къяти	6	поланжти	5	отъс'къци
1	сА р'къяти	1	въспранжти	2	въпр'къци
1	гр'къяти	5	лъти	2	волъши
2	сА рас'къяти	41	принати		
3	(сА) облати	6	въсприлати		
1	подлати	12	полати		

²¹ См. мъногашъди.

т ²²	1	ерихоньскыи	1	д ¹ ъждьныи
1 плесньныи	1	1 ерарьскыи	1	свободьныи
1 непокоривыи	2	2 с ² ъверьскыи	2	в ² одьныи
1 льстивыи	2	2 тамирьскыи	3	о ³ г ³ одьныи
2 новыи	2	2 сирьскыи	1	пр ¹ ѣждеродьныи
1 навановыи	1	1 гоморьскыи	2	пр ² ѣвородьныи
10 пръвыи	1	пръскыи ²⁴	1	м ¹ тьногородьныи
1 пр ¹ ѣм ¹ ъногыи	7	7 моавитьскыи	3	непр ³ оходьныи
2 четв ² ръногыи	8	8 критьскыи	1	бест ¹ оудьныи
1 каменоср ¹ ьдыи	1	1 скотьскыи	1	непостыдьныи
1 с ¹ ьдыи	4	4 пл ⁴ тьскыи	1	м ¹ тьногос ¹ ьн ¹ ьдыи
7 кыи	1	1 ѡзычьскыи	1	изр ¹ адьныи
1 акыи	1	1 отьчьскыи	1	сл ¹ тьн ¹ цеобразьныи
1 н ¹ ѣкакыи	2	2 крот ² ькыи	1	грозьныи
1 такыи	15	15 н ¹⁵ ѣкыи	1	жел ¹ ѣзьныи
1 толикии	1	1 пр ¹ ѣкыи	1	м ¹ тьногобол ¹ ѣзьныи
2 никыи	7	7 з ⁷ ьлыи	1	вл ¹ тьх ¹ вовальныи
2 сикыи	1	1 неприкаслемыи	1	сел ¹ ьныи
2 жестокыи	1	1 в ¹ ьспер ¹ ѣемыи	1	окол ¹ ьныи
5 синайскыи	1	1 осажимыи	1	хоу ¹ льныи
7 персидскыи /	1	1 неоут ¹ ьшилыи	4	зем ⁴ ьныи
пръсидскыи	2	2 с ² ьдыи	1	м ¹ жжеоумьныи
10 халдискыи	1	1 с ¹ ьн ¹ ѣдомыи	4	черьмьныи
5 еврейскыи	1	1 чр ¹ ъвеныи	1	яр ¹ ьмьныи
1 индийскыи	1	1 ст ¹ оуденыи	8	об ⁸ ѣтованьныи
1 ен ¹ дискыи	4	4 блаженныи	3	вл ³ тьх ³ вованьныи
3 ам ³ тьеринскыи	1	1 хваленыи	1	бог ¹ от ¹ ьканьныи
6 моавьскыи	3	3 в ³ ьзлюбленыи	1	стр ¹ аньныи
1 моавьскыи	1	1 пр ¹ ѣльщеныи	1	написаньныи
1 хоривьскыи	1	1 оираченыи	1	ненаписаньныи
персидьскыи /	1	1 поираченыи	5	ог ⁵ ньныи
пръсидьскыи ²³	2	2 обр ² ъженыи	1	камен ¹ ьныи
1 людьскыи	1	1 свинныи	3	иноплем ³ еньныи
2 салимьскыи	3	3 сквр ³ ьныи	1	бог ¹ от ¹ вореньныи
2 нероу ² салимьскыи	1	1 слоужьбьныи	1	св ¹ ащеньныи
1 едомьскыи	1	1 пр ¹ ѣславьныи	1	новопеченьныи
5 содомьскыи	3	3 пр ³ ѣдивьныи	1	неизреченьныи
6 псаломьскыи	3	3 пр ³ отивьныи	2	вин ² ьныи
1 анваньскыи	1	1 м ¹ едовьныи	5	истин ⁵ ьныи
1 иорданьскыи	1	1 трикровьныи	1	закон ¹ ьныи
2 женьскыи	1	1 д ¹ ъвонокровьныи	2	безакон ² ьныи
1 исполиньскыи	1	1 доуховьныи	1	пр ¹ ѣлоу ¹ ньныи
2 палестиньскыи	1	1 сж ¹ ц ¹ ствьныи	1	сквр ¹ ьныи
1 вавилоньскыи	1	1 вл ¹ тьш ¹ ствьныи	2	ц ² ѣлом ² ждорьныи
1 хевроньскыи	3	3 кл ³ атвьныи	1	м ¹ ранорьныи
	1	1 люб ¹ ѣвьныи	1	м ¹ ѣрьныи
			12	неб ¹² есьныи
			1	зв ¹ ѣздословесьныи
			2	д ² ѣсьныи

²² См. т²².²³ См. персидскыи / пръсидскыи.²⁴ См. персидскыи / пръсидскыи.

1 живоносънни	2 назоръки	37 како
1 олокарпосънни	3 оутръки	1 никако
1 блаатънни	141 ^о	1 инако
2 ратънни	1 савао	44 тако
1 сжботънни	127 ^{бо}	18 елико
6 животънни	27 ^{небо}	2 колико
1 благоеластънни	20 ^{небо}	9 око
1 прѣластънни	91 оубо	2 тѣжъко
1 крѣстънни	2 ажкаво	1 горъко
1 чьстънни	3 пнево	1 лиѣко
2 сѣмрѣтънни	2 сочнево	232 ^{яко}
3 солищънни	29 ^{слово}	1 ло
1 въторотысѣщънни	3 ^{готово}	1 покрывало
1 злачънни	1 иерейство	1 жегало
1 лоучезрачънни	5 оубиство	1 пожегало
1 оутрѣничънни	4 прѣлюбодѣиство	1 зръцало
2 въсточънни	1 пособъство	5 село
1 ѣзычънни	2 рождѣство	2 кадило
1 трислаънъчънни	3 вожъство	1 мѣрило
1 дньчънни	9 мѣножъство	1 около
1 прѣвѣчънни	1 мжжъство	2 масло
2 тримѣсѣчънни	1 лакомяство	9 число
1 бездоушьнни	1 пространъство	3 зѣло
1 грѣшьнни	4 воинъство	1 дѣло
1 дѣвоенынни	2 прѣвьньство	37 ^{дѣло}
1 храбрынни	3 пиянъство	18 ^{сѣло}
1 прѣхрабрынни	22 ^{цѣсаръство}	8 ^{тѣло}
4 въторынни	1 храбрьство	1 зачало
1 богатынни	3 богатъство	1 начало
1 пернатънни	1 естъство	3 камо
1 плодовитынни	6 сжщъство	2 радио
2 ядовитынни	1 пророчъство	21 ^{тамо}
4 шестынни	3 отъчъство	7 ^{нимо}
4 нечистынни	1 чловѣчъство	25 ^{тъкъмо}
1 златооустынни	34 ^{дрѣво}	1 письмо
1 четвъртънни	3 ^{чрѣво}	1 прѣмо
9 свѣттынни	1 ^{го}	4 сѣмо
1 прѣсвѣттынни	1 благо	1 ^{рано}
2 платынни	30 ^{до} 1	1 дръзно
4 дѣсѣттынни	1 ^{до} 2	1 таино
1 частынни	2 етѣдо	30 ^{вино}
2 триневрѣхынни	4 кѣжъдо	1 ^{лоно}
4 ветѣхынни	7 кыжъдо	4 ^{присно}
1 хаддѣи ²⁵	15 ^{чюдо}	1 окъно
1 прѣлюбодѣи	2 ^{говадо}	1 непотрѣбно
1 зѣлодѣи	19 ^{чадо}	1 ажкавно
1 змѣи	1 ^{дрѣво}	1 славно
	2 ^{желѣво}	1 дивно
	1 ^{ако}	2 ^{явьство}
		1 ^{оугодьно}

²⁵ См. хаддѣи.

¹ неправдѣно	² долоу	³⁵ наковѣ
¹ израдѣно	¹ извѣноу	¹ какковѣ
² крѣстобразѣно	¹⁶ равѣ	⁴ исакковѣ
¹ благородиильно	¹ гровѣ	⁵ такковѣ
² благовольно	¹ лѣвѣ	² мелхиседекковѣ
² довольно	²³ лѣвѣ	¹ амаликовѣ
² невѣздръжаньно	⁵ лѣвѣ	¹ сикковѣ
¹ непрѣстаньно	⁵⁴⁸ вѣ	¹ сидокковѣ
¹ истиньно	¹ ноавѣ	¹ яковѣ
¹ законьно	¹² ноавѣ	² ловѣ
¹ безаконьно	²³ лжкавѣ	¹ овилловѣ
³ коупьно	² прѣлжкавѣ	¹ богословѣ
¹ жалостьно	² нравѣ	¹ сладовѣ
¹ оулоучьно	³ правѣ	¹ валаамовѣ
¹ вѣчьно	¹⁰ исавѣ	³ хамовѣ
²⁹ колѣно	¹ краниевѣ	² роувилловѣ
⁶⁰ по	¹ аминиевѣ	⁴ симовѣ
⁴ съревро	² хоусиевѣ	² лавановѣ
² доброр	³ авелевѣ	² дановѣ
² езерор	³ ахитофелевѣ	¹ адфановѣ
¹ миро	⁴⁹ исраилевѣ	⁴ каиновѣ
³ скоро	² сдоулевѣ	⁹ веннаминивѣ /
⁵ оутро	¹ маноевѣ	веннаминиевѣ
⁶ массо	⁵ цѣсаревѣ	¹⁷ фарановѣ
⁴³ то	¹ сицевѣ	² авирановѣ
⁶ злато	¹ трѣзевѣ	² самсоновѣ
³² лѣсто	¹ боголюбивѣ	¹ ровѣ
¹⁸ кѣто	¹⁰ живѣ	¹ асировѣ
⁴ никѣто	¹ живѣ	⁶ коровѣ
³ нѣкѣто	¹ свиеливѣ	¹ финеесовѣ
² сѣто	¹ оривѣ	² сифовѣ / ситовѣ
³⁵ чьто	⁴ хоривѣ	⁵ лотовѣ
⁵ ничьто	³ нилоствивѣ	¹ невротовѣ
¹⁹ почьто	¹ нечьствивѣ	³ носифовѣ
²³ лѣто	² благочьствивѣ	⁵ готфовѣ
¹ люто	¹ нечьтивѣ	² амнеховѣ
¹ хо	⁴ овѣ	¹ соховѣ
¹ оухо	² исавовѣ	¹ соховѣ
⁵ соухо	¹ голиадовѣ	⁶ муртьевѣ
⁷ оу	⁴ давыдовѣ	¹⁶ елъхевѣ
¹ междоу	² исеевѣ	⁶ лѣвѣ
¹ ждоу	¹ монсеевѣ /	²¹ гнѣвѣ
⁵ отъкждоу	¹ моусеевѣ ²⁶	⁷ оаяевѣ
⁵ отъсждоу	⁴ хеттеевѣ	⁷ благгѣ
¹ всждоу	¹⁴ монсеевѣ /	⁷ наггѣ
⁴ отътждоу	¹ моусеевѣ	¹⁰ враггѣ
² вѣнжтрѣждоу	¹ валаакковѣ	² праггѣ
³ вѣнѣждоу		¹ пеггѣ
¹ подалоу		¹ фареггѣ
		³⁷ ковѣчеггѣ

²⁶ См. монсеевѣ / моусеевѣ.

7архистратигъ	169азъ	1Аоникъ
229богъ	7образъ	2Ирикъ
1оубогъ	3безъ	1Единоокъ
25нъногъ	11елизъ	1порокъ
4сапогъ	3низъ	16пророкъ
2рогъ	2хизъ	10отрокъ
1чрътогъ	2жъ	7высокъ
6Ароуѣгъ ¹	2сѣжъ / сѣвжъ	2въстокъ
20Ароуѣгъ ²	158къ	7нюденскъ / нвденскъ
2снѣгъ	10валаакъ	10мжжскъ
2югъ	2вараакъ	2аггелскъ
3недѣгъ	4облакъ	2мьскъ
3прожгъ	17исакъ	3мадиамьскъ
5гддъ ¹	7сѣдѣкъ	1аравитъскъ
2гддъ ²	21мелхисѣдѣкъ	27егуптъскъ /
5голиддъ	3осѣдѣкъ	египтъскъ
2гладдъ	11амаликъ	1лоукъ
2младдъ	2еликъ	3вѣноукъ
2наддъ	28великъ	2правѣноукъ
1западдъ	1коликъ	1тоукъ
1граддъ ¹	1помазаникъ	4сладъкъ
75граддъ ¹	1вареникъ	1прѣсладъкъ
3винограддъ	2оученикъ	1мръзъкъ
3сддъ	2финикъ	10плъкъ
1оустандъ	1мольбьникъ	1останъкъ
5меддъ	1давьникъ	4крѣпъкъ
2ареддъ	4наставьникъ	2стръкъ
3грозддъ	2противьникъ	4пѣскъ
1жиддъ	1сѣпротивьникъ	2извыгъкъ
1магнитдъ	2вѣсддъникъ / вѣсддъникъ	1десалтъкъ
4поддъ	4оугодъникъ	52языкъ
2поддъ	5сѣходъникъ	5камыкъ
23роддъ	5правѣдъникъ	1пلامыкъ
1заходдъ	1повѣдъникъ	5горъкъ
2вѣходдъ	1начальникъ	7вѣкъ
1оуддъ	1посѣланыкъ	1человѣкъ /
1троуддъ	1иноплеменьникъ	50чловѣкъ
2тврѣддъ	2свщеньникъ	43вѣсѣкъ
2жестосрддъ	1неприяньникъ	1лжкъ
64давддъ	1сѣписьникъ	1хабалъ
1дѣддъ	2златъникъ	1синдалъ
6слѣддъ	7ратъникъ	3малъ
2вѣслѣддъ	1доброненавистъникъ	2сддъ
17прѣддъ	1благовѣстъникъ	2мафосалъ /
1срѣддъ	1пжтъникъ	матосалъ
1сѣсѣддъ	1помощьникъ	2павелъ
1юддъ	1источъникъ	48аггелъ
7вельбжддъ	1обржчьникъ	3архаггелъ
3блжддъ	3грѣшьникъ	1пепелъ

3 ² къзалъ	3 ³ адилъ	3 ³ безматеренъ
3 ³ овилъ	1 ¹ неповѣданиъ	1 ¹ сльниренъ
2 ² саманлъ	1 ¹ сикниъ	1 ¹ сльвръшенъ
2 ² аниханлъ	3 ³ салинъ ²	25 ²⁵ иннъ
2 ² вилъ	10 ¹⁰ нероусалинъ	3 ³ гаиннъ
4 ⁴ малеенилъ	2 ² невталиинъ	27 ²⁷ каиннъ
2 ² нилъ	3 ³ елинъ	8 ⁸ наегиннъ
30 ³⁰ самонилъ	1 ¹ карпатнариинъ	64 ⁶⁴ еллинъ
7 ⁷ рагоуилъ	4 ⁴ синъ	24 ²⁴ господиннъ
самоуилъ ²⁷	1 ¹ финистниинъ	1 ¹ людиннъ
2 ² вешилъ	1 ¹ нерѣшилъ	1 ¹ ивдѣиннъ
4 ⁴ волъ	52 ⁵² долъ	евреиннъ ³⁰
4 ⁴ наволъ	7 ⁷ содолъ	1 ¹ линнъ
9 ⁹ глаголъ	27 ²⁷ авесаломъ	1 ¹ налиннъ
1 ¹ долъ	7 ⁷ псаломъ	2 ² рахининнъ
2 ² идолъ	1 ¹ громъ	6 ⁶ исполиннъ
3 ³ ждолъ	1 ¹ хромъ	1 ¹ диннъ
8 ⁸ полъ	4 ⁴ оуинъ	1 ¹ идоуинединнъ
2 ² апостолаъ	4 ⁴ разоуинъ	4 ⁴ веннаминнъ /
1 ¹ прѣстолаъ	2 ² хлѣмъ	вешьдиннъ
1 ¹ теплаъ	2 ² сльньмъ	рахининнъ ³¹
6 ⁶ помыслаъ	1 ¹ ярмъ	1 ¹ анъниннъ
1 ¹ сльмыслаъ	1 ¹ нѣмъ	2 ² рабыниннъ
47 ⁴⁷ сдоуилъ	1 ¹ шюинъ	1 ¹ назарѣкиннъ /
2 ² жегълъ	76 ⁷⁶ нъ	назарянниннъ
2 ² орьлъ	1 ¹ ханаанъ	египѣтѣниннъ / египѣтяниннъ /
5 ⁵ осьлъ	2 ² хараанъ	египѣтѣниннъ / египѣтяниннъ ³²
5 ⁵ свѣтълъ	9 ⁹ лаванъ	2 ² достонинъ
1 ¹ сѣлъ	2 ² данъ ¹	1 ¹ саръриннъ
2 ² прѣдѣлъ	1 ¹ данъ ²	1 ¹ синнъ
31 ³¹ валадинъ	12 ¹² иорданъ	5 ⁵ чиннъ
111 ¹¹¹ аврадинъ	1 ¹ неоудръжанъ	1 ¹ ноаннъ
1 ¹ ингадинъ	4 ⁴ озанъ	58 ⁵⁸ онъ
13 ¹³ адаинъ	1 ¹ сланъ ¹	1 ¹ гаваонъ
1 ¹ наридинъ	3 ³ сланъ ²	36 ³⁶ фараонъ
авранъ ²⁸	2 ² каинанъ	2 ² гѣдѣонъ
10 ¹⁰ хромъ	1 ¹ тупипанъ	1 ¹ елеонъ
4 ⁴ саминъ	2 ² вранъ	2 ² семенонъ / синионъ
1 ¹ герсаминъ	2 ² извъранъ	23 ²³ законъ
1 ¹ хаминъ	1 ¹ санъ	2 ² вавилонъ
1 ¹ афанъ	еффанъ ²⁹	1 ¹ поклонъ
2 ² дѣинъ	1 ¹ афанъ	1 ¹ салмонъ
1 ¹ виолиенинъ	2 ² нафанъ / натанъ	3 ³ соломонъ
1 ¹ ефреинъ	6 ⁶ прѣворожденъ	1 ¹ канонъ
3 ³ армафеинъ	1 ¹ рабынорожденъ	24 ²⁴ аронъ / даронъ
2 ² роувилъ	1 ¹ раславленъ	
	1 ¹ каменъ	

²⁷ См. самонилъ.²⁸ См. аврадинъ.²⁹ См. еффанъ.³⁰ См. евренъ.³¹ См. рахининнъ.³² См. египѣтѣне / египѣтяне.

² Хевронъ	¹ Синоволянъ	¹ Прѣстартъ
¹ Авиронъ	¹ Безначалънъ	² Олтартъ
⁴ Кронъ	² Тъмьнъ	² Исахаръ
⁵ Ффронъ	¹ Благоуханьнъ	⁴ Добертъ
²⁴ Самсонъ	¹ Благоверьменьнъ	⁴ Кедортъ
⁸ Ерихонъ	² Нисчтьенънъ	⁴ Одортъ
Кроуиъ ³³	³ Повиньнъ	²⁵ Иждортъ
¹ Вънъ	¹ Нестлѣньнъ	¹ Сѣвертъ
¹ Плътнъ	¹ Неизмѣньнъ	⁷ Етертъ
⁵ Сънъ	⁴ Мъногоцѣньнъ	¹ Презвутертъ
¹⁴¹ Сынъ	¹ Непостъпънъ	¹¹ Вечертъ
⁶ Подобьнъ	¹ Боруьнъ	¹ Газиртъ
³ Прискръбьнъ	¹ Невърьнъ	¹ Киртъ
² Благопотръбьнъ	² Безгласънъ	¹² Миртъ
³ Ажкавьнъ	⁹ Красънъ	¹ Сиртъ
² Славьнъ	² Словесънъ	² Асиртъ
⁹ Дивьнъ	³ Остънъ	¹⁰ Дртасиртъ
⁵ Обьнъ	¹ Радостънъ	¹ Тиртъ
¹ Единоковьнъ	² Трилѣтънъ	⁴ Ортъ
⁵ Божьствьнъ	¹ Неселѣтънъ	⁶ Сѣбортъ
¹ Сѣсѣщьствьнъ	¹ Прилѣтънъ	¹ Двортъ
² Арѣвьнъ	¹ Благодѣтънъ	¹ Елѣфегортъ
¹ Ножждьнъ /	⁴ Немощънъ	² Сигортъ
нжждьнъ	¹ Облачьнъ	¹ Ендортъ
¹ Праздънъ	¹ Непорочънъ	¹ Ендортъ
² Безводънъ	³ Безотъчьнъ	¹ Фесдортъ
⁵² Господънъ	¹ Мьдлоязьчьнъ	¹ Иортъ
³ Безродънъ	¹ Иноязьчьнъ	¹ Ирамортъ
² Благородаънъ	⁵ Вѣчьнъ	² Гомортъ
¹ Зълородаънъ	⁸ Страшьнъ	² Хологомортъ
⁴ Домородаънъ	² Плѣнъ	¹ Поклисортъ
¹⁴ Правдаънъ	¹ Пръгнѣнъ	¹ Пьстортъ
³ Неправдаънъ	¹ Финиянъ	¹⁵⁴ Сѣ
¹ Мѣдънъ	² Пиянъ	¹ Квасѣ
⁴ Сънѣдънъ	⁴ Юнъ	⁹ Власѣ
прѣнизрдаънъ	¹ Грипъ	¹⁷ Гласѣ
⁶ Бещадънъ /	⁶ Потопъ	¹ Сѣпасѣ
бесчадънъ	¹ Строупъ	⁶ Часѣ
¹ Блждънъ	¹² Стлѣпъ	⁷ Финееѣ
¹ Кънижьнъ	⁴ Врътъпъ	¹ Кисѣ
¹ Безоржьнъ	¹ Нелѣпъ	¹ Кипарисѣ
¹ Безобразънъ	² Слѣпъ	¹ Пиртъгостѣ
¹ Непользьнъ	¹¹ Дартъ	⁴ Еносѣ
⁶ Печальнъ	² Гайдартъ	¹ Водоносѣ
¹ Дѣтельнъ	² Зартъ	³ Олокарпосѣ
¹⁸ Сильнъ	¹ Елеазартъ	¹ Вѣпросѣ
¹ Вьсесильнъ	² Комартъ	¹⁴ Христосѣ
¹ Недоловьнъ	¹ Сенартъ	² Искоусѣ
	⁵ Стартъ	²⁶ Исоусѣ

³³ См. кронъ.

¹пѣсѣ
¹бѣсѣ
¹трѣсѣ
¹³⁷тѣ
¹чрѣватѣ
²златѣ
²⁸братѣ
¹тристатѣ
¹сжпостатѣ
²трепетѣ
⁷левитѣ²
³левитѣ¹ / левитѣ²
¹чесновитѣ
¹стоудитѣ
¹ситѣ³⁴
¹нарочитѣ
¹гигантѣ
¹плинтѣ³⁵
³⁵⁶отѣ
⁴животѣ
²кивотѣ
²²скотѣ
³¹лотѣ
³невротѣ
¹²чистѣ
¹постѣ
⁴поустѣ
³крѣстѣ
¹шестьсѣтъ
¹тѣтъ
²⁶египѣтъ / египѣтъ
³обѣтъ
⁷завѣтъ
¹⁰свѣтъ
¹цвѣтъ
¹⁴сѣвѣтъ
¹носафѣ
¹²носафѣ
⁶готфѣ
⁷страхѣ
⁵авимелехѣ
¹³ламехѣ
⁷енохѣ
²патриархѣ
²³доухѣ
¹вѣздоухѣ

¹слоухѣ
²соухѣ
²врѣхѣ
²лихѣ
²слихѣ
¹спѣхѣ
²³грѣхѣ
³сиоѣ
⁴плиноѣ
³любы
⁸бы
¹мъногашди³⁶
⁴неплады
³⁵паки
²сноки
²вѣпрѣки
⁴⁴ны
²²камы
⁴пламы
²гарары
¹⁰кры
¹⁸⁸ты
¹оудовѣ
⁵скрѣвь
⁶голубѣ
²здравѣ
¹любѣвь³⁷
¹црѣкѣвь
¹крѣвь³⁸
⁸тоужды
⁵дѣжды
¹⁹⁶господѣ
¹недѣды
¹⁶заповѣды
²сѣнды
³послѣды
¹челѣды³⁹
¹стражѣ
¹надежѣ
²ножѣ
¹лѣжѣ
¹сѣвалжѣ
⁵⁹мжжѣ

²⁵кѣназѣ
⁴скрижалѣ
¹¹печалѣ
¹кораблѣ
²наковлѣ
⁴погыбелѣ
¹⁰авелѣ
¹жюпелѣ
¹посагатель
¹жизнодатель
¹дѣлатель
¹зѣлодѣлатель
⁴орудитель
¹гонитель
¹звѣздооблюстителѣ
¹запрѣтителѣ
¹рачителѣ
²оучителѣ
³дѣтелѣ
¹добродѣтелѣ
¹сѣдѣтелѣ
²сѣвѣдѣтелѣ
¹³архитрофелѣ
⁹изманилѣ
¹²исранилѣ
⁴рахиѣ
¹авраамилѣ
¹болѣ
³вѣпль
¹мысль
¹сѣбѣль
⁵сѣдиль
⁵потоиль
¹⁰нѣсиль
¹²тѣиль
¹дланѣ
²⁰бранѣ
¹⁵огнь
¹елень
¹камень⁴⁰
²неисписанень
³жизнь
¹¹конь
²завлонь
¹оронь
²³пѣснь
⁴⁷дѣнь

³⁴ См. сиоѣ.

³⁵ См. плинѣ.

³⁶ См. мѣногашди.

³⁷ См. любви.

³⁸ См. кры.

³⁹ См. послѣди.

⁴⁰ См. камы.

8 агарь	3 чдсть	3 м'ксациь
100 ц'ксарь	2 похоть	1 кр'въомаксць
авиатарь	3 ног'ть	1 цв'к'тьць
2 ахарь	10 лак'ть	16 плачь
5 царь	6 пл'ть	1 д'лечь
8 в'гнж'ть	18 с'гир'ть	17 м'ечь
2 в'брь	2 благод'ть	1 британичь
6 зв'брь	1 зать	1 жл'чь
208 сь (син)	2 пана'ть	1 т'ельчь
1 ось	1 па'ть	1 от'чь
177 вьсь	1 в'тспать	10 р'чь
1 др'квонось	2 д'сать	3 сир'чь
6 д'ньсь	1 д'т'ванад'сать	3 с'чь
22 рать	2 д'ин'г'над'сать	2 лжчь
1 г'енисареть	31 ж'ть	6 вась
2 область	2 в'шь	11 нашь
1 влать	6 ниць	1 опашь
4 страсть	1 гр'личиць	4 разв'к
1 горесть	1 отрочиць	4 яв'к
2 шесть	1 млад'енн'чиць	2 позд'к
1 зависть	3 овоць	поср'кд'к ⁴¹
1 ненависть	15 ноць	4 сквоз'к
3 сладость	1 об'шь	1 ел'к
4 радость	1 пр'шь	1 бо'к
5 др'г'зость	2 ниць	1 до'к
4 ир'г'зость	2 британиць	1 докол'к
1 кость	2 п'ксенописиць	1 в'тскор'к
1 пакость	1 пр'к'любод'к'иць	2 от'г'тол'к
2 жалость	1 законод'в'ць	2 з'л'к
3 милость	1 лобвьць	1 т'ин'к
3 р'к'вность	3 ир'г'тв'вьць	1 в'гн'к
1 кр'кпость	1 вод'ць	21 нын'к
4 старость	3 ков'т'ч'ж'ць	1 безгр'к'ш'н'к
1 храбрость	19 т'ельць	6 в'тк'оуп'к
1 мждрость	6 пришьльць	3 довр'к
4 хитрость	1 агниць	5 гор'к
1 ярость	4 млад'енць	1 в'тскор'к
1 кротость	4 ст'оуд'енць	2 оуп'к
2 сытость	1 п'т'енць	1 в'ткрат'г'ць
1 из'гоусть	2 коуп'зньць	2 пр'г'вор'ждаемая
3 пр'г'сть	7 коньць	3 л'к'таемая
5 т'сть	1 в'к'ньць	2 г'лавная
2 льсть	5 юньць	1 зевея
1 окр'сть	1 стар'ць	1 иудея
1 чьсть	1 бор'ць	3 г'алилея
1 поч'сть	1 т'вор'ць	1 хананея
2 в'к'сть	11 идолот'вор'ць	1 андр'ея
1 изв'к'сть	2 жьрьць	
3 челоуть	96 от'чь	

41 См. поср'кди.

¹ аравия	¹ наслабѣдїе	¹ дръзновеенїе
¹ индїя	⁹³ людїе	¹ изрїновеенїе
² енѣдїя	¹ вещѣдїе	¹ отъдѣхновеенїе
сждїя ⁴²	⁴ равьновеожїе	² падѣнїе
⁴ лїя	⁵ оржжїе	¹ възвраздѣнїе
илїя ⁴³	¹ дръжкалие	⁴ рождѣнїе
² епистолия	¹ евангѣліе	² исхождѣнїе
¹ лїня	¹ зелїе	¹ въхождѣнїе
² неренїя	¹ весеїе	² осжждѣнїе
⁶ злїя	² былїе	⁴ сѣнѣдѣнїе
⁸ скїнїя	¹ врачеванїе	¹ обнаженїе
¹ оурїнїя	⁴ тубованїе	¹ прораженїе
¹ еопїя	¹ вѣздѣошествованїе	¹ въсестъжеженїе
¹ тамарїя	⁸ вльхвованїе	² въздвїженїе
⁷ оурїя	¹ пользованїе	¹ прѣдъложѣнїе
¹ манасїя	¹ именованїе	¹ оумъноженїе
¹ хартїя	¹ дрованїе	¹ идолослужѣнїе
² дхїя	¹ оупъванїе	¹ прїтѣженїе
¹⁵² земля	¹ прогнѣванїе	¹ грызенїе
¹ воля	¹ ржганїе	² избавленїе
¹ недѣля	¹ поржганїе	¹ оупдавленїе
¹ баня	¹ гаданїе	¹ исправленїе
главнїя ⁴⁴	¹ оупгаданїе	¹ оставленїе
¹ воня	¹ отъгаданїе	¹ поставленїе
¹ гдоурїя	⁷ рыданїе	¹ прѣставленїе
трикоровнїя ⁴⁵	⁷ оправѣданїе	³ явленїе
¹ вечеря	¹ сѣзѣданїе	¹ богоявленїе
³ распѣря	¹ исповѣданїе	³ селенїе
аравоуря ⁴⁶	¹ въздръжканїе	¹ въселенїе
¹ злѣя	¹ сѣтѣжканїе	¹ оуптоленїе
аньдрѣя ⁴⁷	² наказанїе	⁵ помышленїе
¹ подобїе	⁴ сѣказанїе	⁴ раздѣленїе
² пособїе	¹ обрѣзанїе	¹ исцѣленїе
¹ чрѣволюбїе	¹ прѣтѣканїе	³ каменїе
² страньнолюбїе	² въспомянанїе	⁶ знаменїе
¹ сластолюбїе	¹² писанїе	¹ сѣхраненїе
¹ дѣкїствїе	¹ питанїе	¹ поклоненїе
² храбрѣствїе	¹ неработанїе	¹ изамѣненїе
² пришьствїе	⁷ оръпѣтанїе	¹ оупдаренїе
¹ оумрътвїе	¹ въздыханїе	¹ сѣмиренїе
¹ милосрѣдїе	² благожданїе	¹ творенїе
¹ жестосрѣдїе	¹ обѣщанїе	² закон / ѡн / отворенїе
	¹ вѣщанїе	¹ коренїе
	³ сѣвѣщанїе	⁶ сѣпасенїе
	² сѣконѣчанїе	¹ плетенїе
	¹ слышанїе	⁵ сѣрѣтенїе
	¹ погревенїе	¹ възвращенїе
	¹ прозвѣненїе	¹ развращенїе
	³ благословенїе	¹ очищенїе

42 См. сждїи.

43 См. илїи.

44 См. главанїя.

45 См. трикоровнїя.

46 См. аравїя.

47 См. аньдрѣя.

1 прощение	1 о долѣние	5 бытие
2 мѣщение	2 имѣние	1 междоуѣчїе
2 за прѣщение	2 зѣрѣние	1 дѣвое
1 посѣщение	1 годино зѣрѣние	7 животное
1 отъречение	1 вѣ зѣрѣние	2 невѣху дѣноу
1 тчение	10 хотѣние	2 прѣвѣіе
5 обличение	2 покаяние	7 вѣльможа
1 обрѣчение	1 звѣздосіяние	3 козла
1 оукрашение	6 достояние	16 осьла
1 лишение	3 о дѣяние	38 ила
2 приношение	1 прѣлюбо дѣяние	3 письма
1 поношение	1 зѣло дѣяние	3 вѣрѣла
2 прошение	2 копие	23 сѣла
4 искоушение	трие ⁴⁸	30 коура
1 съкроушение	1 звѣздословесие	1 коура
1 раздрѣшение	1 пролитие	7 дѣта
9 безаконіе	1 сѣлитие	26 отроча
1 оуныние	1 питие	1 вѣноуча
11 видѣние	1 листие	3 овьча
1 новидѣние	2 трѣстие	1 противѣ
4 провидѣние	2 благочѣстие	16 вѣнезапѣ
2 о дѣние	1 звѣдочѣстие	2 сѣднице
3 вѣ дѣние	5 житие	4 ошоу
2 вѣлѣние		4 о дѣсьнѣ
11 повѣлѣние		

⁴⁸ См. три.

Andrzej Kompa (Łódź)

GNESIOI FILOI: THE SEARCH FOR GEORGE SYNCELLUS' AND THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR'S OWN WORDS, AND THE AUTHORSHIP OF THEIR OEUVRE*

1. Introduction

The most distinctive trait of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes is the unique bond that connects it with *Ekloge chronographias* of George Syncellus which is paralleled by the close ties between the two authors. As a result, the two works form the grandest and the most comprehensive universal chronography in Byzantium. This factor makes the undertaking different from all of the Byzantine historical prose, which is through the centuries interwoven in a characteristic chain of narrative continuity – either fragile and disrupted or strong and polyphonic, but mostly consisting of completely independent works. The nature of the connection between the two works and two authors is, however, opaque. This raises the notorious problem of the authorship of the *Chronographia*. I will attempt to offer a new solution to this issue below.

Theophanes' role and the relevance of the term 'authorship' for the *Chronographia* has been discussed for a few decades¹, and it seems unnecessary to

* This is an unabridged, revised and updated version of the article *In search of Syncellus' and Theophanes' own words: the authorship of the Chronographia revisited*, TM 19, 2015 (= *Studies in Theophanes*, ed. M. JANKOWIAK, F. MONTINARO, Paris 2015), p. 73–92, with data valid for June 2013 (here updated to October 2015). The brevity of that text made it impossible to present the method which may be a paradigm for similar analyses in detail; this is supplemented here. The new data (i.a. three important updates in TLG) strengthen the charted line of argument.

¹ C. MANGO, *Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?*, ЗРВИ 18, 1978, p. 9–17; И.С. ЧИЧУРОВ, *Феофан Исповедник – публикатор, редактор, автор? (В связи со статьей К. Манго)*, ВВ 42, 1981, p. 78–87; P. СПЕСК, *Das geteilte Dossier. Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaiser Herakleios und seine Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Bonn 1988, p. 499–519; I. ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes. Quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813*, Berlin 1991, p. 40 sq; P. СПЕСК, *Der 'zweite' Theophanes. Eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes*, [in:] *Poikila Byzantina*, vol. 13, *Varia V*, Bonn 1994, p. 431–483; I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800*, DOP 46, 1992, p. 287–289; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, trans. with introd. and comm. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, with assist. of G. GREATREX, Oxford 1997 (cetera: *The Chronicle of Theophanes*), p. xliii–lxiii (esp. liii–lxiii); *Thesaurus Theophanis Confessoris*, ed. B. COULIE,

recapitulate the debate. The consensus now seems even more distant than before, as almost every element has been questioned. One tendency is to minimise or deny the contribution of Theophanes, or to consider the author of the *Chronicle* to be distinct from the Confessor known from several *vitae*, to question the existence of the man himself, relocate him in the past etc. The other extreme is the wholesale acceptance of the authorship of Theophanes, popular among those historians who survey certain problems of Byzantine or medieval history and only occasionally make use of the chronicle, as they often seem to shrug their shoulders at the debate, and often draw on the source as if it had been written by Theophanes only, as an independent and wholly original author.

Many (often contradictory) thoughts and opinions have been drawn in the recent years from the scanty biographical data lurking in the sources, and purely biographical approach to the problem is insufficient. There seems to be room for a different methodology. Juxtaposing and comparing the texts of George and Theophanes, namely their style, content, and narrative techniques, offers a promising avenue of research. A final, irrefutable solution will not be given here, but some conclusions presented below may bring us closer to it. A comparison between the *Ekloge chronographias* and the *Chronographia* is methodologically sound only insofar as it can be conducted on the basis of authorial comments, rather than passages copied from their sources, many of which have been identified; thus the research on the literary techniques of reworking source material was possible and has been conducted for more than the last *pentakontaetia*².

P. YANNOPOULOS, Turnhout 1998, p. xxvii–lxi; A. KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine literature (650–850)*, Athens 1999, p. 215–224; P. YANNOPOULOS, *Les vicissitudes historiques de la Chronique the Théophane*, B 70, 2000, p. 527–553 (esp. 527–531); L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (c. 680–850): The Sources – an Annotated Survey*, Aldershot 2001, p. 168–170; A. KARPOZĒLOS, *Byzantinoi historikoi kai chronographoi*, vol. 2, 8os–10os ai., Athens 2002, p. 117–153; P. YANNOPOULOS, „Comme le dit Georges le Syncelle ou, je pense, Théophane”, B 74, 2004, p. 139–146; J.D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century*, Oxford 2010, p. 272–274; P. YANNOPOULOS, *Théophane de Sigriani le Confesseur (759–818). Un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Bruxelles 2013, p. 237–282 (esp. 269–273).

² Bibliography on the identified sources used by Theophanes, his literary techniques and methods of reworking the source material is abundant. Below is just a selection of the texts that influenced my own attitude towards the issue: N. PIGULEVSKAJA, *Theophanes' Chronographia and the Syrian Chronicles*, JÖBG 16, 1967, p. 55–60; И.С. ЧИЧУРОВ, *Феофан – компилятор Феофилакты Симокатты*, АДСВ 10, 1973, p. 203–206; A.S. PROUDFOOT, *The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty*, B 44, 1974, p. 367–439; И.С. ЧИЧУРОВ, *Феофан Исповедник – компилятор Прокопия*, ВВ 37, 1976, p. 62–73; H. HUNGER, *Die Hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 1, München 1978, p. 337; J. FERBER, *Theophanes' Account of the Reign of Heraclius*, [in:] *Byzantine Papers: Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference, Canberra, 17–19 May 1978*, ed. E. JEFFREYS, M. JEFFREYS, A. MOFFATT, Canberra 1981, p. 32–42; L.M. WHITBY, *The Great Chronographer and Theophanes*, ВМГС 8, 1982/1983, p. 1–20; I. ROSCHOW, *Malalas bei Theophanes*, K 65, 1983, p. 459–474 (esp. 472–474); L.M. WHITBY, *Theophanes' Chronicle Source for the Reigns of Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice (A.D. 565–602)*, B 53, 1983, p. 312–345 (esp. 314–316 and 319–337);

The idiosyncratic style of George Syncellus is easily identifiable in his chronicle³, in particular in his polemical commentaries on the sources, such as chronological works of his predecessors. His linguistic habits, his opinions and his own additions to the sources can, therefore, be straightforwardly defined: the abundance of text samples is obvious⁴. But how to find the true words of Theophanes, much of a 'scissors and paste' historian⁵, even if the label is an oversimplification? There is a certain type of phrases and parenthetical clauses necessitated by a work of such size, whenever the author tried to link parts of his narrative by a system of cross-references, such as 'as I have already mentioned', 'as has been said', 'as will be related in the proper place', 'as we have already demonstrated', etc. They occur inevitably both in chronicles and histories *sensu stricto*, and prove to be used even by the laziest of the ancient and Byzantine historians. Theophanes' chronicle is not deprived of expressions of this kind, and they constitute a rewarding object of comparison. The examples selected below are chosen as the most representative and telling, yet some of them may also be seen as potentially irrelevant – these are aimed to expose the limitations of the method.

For the reader's convenience, the below tables set forth quotations from Theophanes⁶, accompanied by citations from George and passages of Anastasius the Bibliothecarius' Latin equivalent⁷, when relevant, and by the source of the chronicler or parallel source(s) (the text translated by Anastasius is crucial in many fragments, as it proves that the fragments were present in the copies of the *Chronography* relatively close to the *floruit* of the author himself). Passages from the 1997 English translation⁸, which has fostered and encouraged the research on Theophanes in the

Я.Н. ЛЮБАРСКИЙ, Феофан Исповедник и источники его «Хронографии»: (К вопросу о методах их освоения), ВВ 45, 1984, p. 72–86; I. ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert*, p. 44–51; D. OLSTER, *Syriac Sources, Greek Sources, and Theophanes Lost Year*, BF 19, 1993, p. 218–228; J. LJUBARSKIJ, *Concerning the Literary Technique of Theophanes the Confessor*, Bsl 61, 1995, p. 317–322; R. SCOTT, *Writing the Reign of Justinian: Malalas versus Theophanes*, [in:] *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning*, ed. P. ALLEN, E. JEFFREYS, Brisbane 1996, p. 21–34; *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, p. lxxiv–xcv (esp. xci–xcv); R. SCOTT, *From Propaganda to History to Literature: the Byzantine Stories of Theodosius' Apple and Marcian's Eagles*, [in:] *History as Literature in Byzantium*, ed. R. MACRIDES, Aldershot 2010, p. 122–127; J.D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *op. cit.*, p. 272–313.

³ *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation*, trans. with introd. and notes W. ADLER, P. TUFFIN, Oxford 2002 (cetera: *The Chronography of George Synkellos*), p. lx, lxxvii sq. See also I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Search for the Past...*, p. 281, 287, 293; A. KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine literature (650–850)*..., p. 206–208, 218.

⁴ Problems arise only occasionally, because of the ambivalent attitude of George to his Alexandrian sources – *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, p. lix.

⁵ C. MANGO, *The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750–850*, [in:] *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, ed. C. MANGO, I. ŠEVČENKO, Washington 1975, p. 36; remark cited by I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Search for the Past...*, p. 287 and often repeated later by byzantinists.

⁶ *Theophanis Chronographia*, rec. C.G. DE BOOR, vol. 1, Lipsiae 1883.

⁷ *Ibidem*, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1885.

⁸ *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (cited an. 1).

recent years so greatly follow later; George's *Ekloge chronographias* (A.A. Mosshammer's edition⁹) is accompanied by the W. Adler and P. Tuffin translation in the passages used¹⁰. The precise position of the passage from the *Chronographia* is always marked by four figures just below the *annus mundi* date (the last number shows the overall number of verses of the cited A.M. in de Boor's *editio ultima*; the second and the third, both bolded, are the first and the last verse in which the citation occurs). As the examples show, the position of the passage at the beginning, in the middle or in the end of the A.M. is not irrelevant in some instances.

2. Forms of πρόφημι as an indicator of the authorship of the *Chronography*

The first example, potentially the most promising one, is the following set of expressions: **ὡς προέφην** / **καθὼς καὶ προέφην** / **ὡς προέφημεν** / **καθὼς προέφημεν**:

Table I

Theophanes, ed. C. DE BOOR, 1883, tr. C. MANGO / R. SCOTT 1997	Anastasius, ed. C. DE BOOR, 1885	Theophanes' source or parallel source
ὡς προέφην		
<p>AM 5796, p. 11, 19–22 (1) – 39 – 42 – (42) τούτων οὖν ἐκ μέσου γενομένων, καὶ τοῦ χριστιανόφρονος Κωνσταντίου τελευτήσαντος, τὴν βασιλείαν, ὡς προέφην, κατέσχον Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλλέριος. AD 303/304, p. 17 <i>So with them out of the way and with the death of the pro-Christian Constantius, the Empire, as I have said, fell to Constantine Augustus and Maximianus Galerius.</i></p>	<p>p. 78, 26–28 <i>Hic ergo de medio factis et quae christianitatis sunt sententiae Constantio defuncto, imperium, ut praedixi, optinuerunt Constantinus Augustus et Maximianus Galerius.</i></p>	–
<p>AM 5963, p. 117, 11–14 (1) – 10 – 13 – (13) ὑποπτος γάρ, ὡς προέφην, γενόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ Ἄσπαρ καὶ πολλὴν περικείμενος δύναμιν δόλω παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως φονεύεται μετὰ βραχὺ σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν,</p>	<p>p. 112 – (years between AM 5950 and 5964 omitted in translation)</p>	<p>PRISCUS PANITES, restored from Theoph. (fr. 53, 5 & 61); cf. EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, II, 16, p. 66, 13–18 (eds. J. BIDEZ, L. PARMENTIER): Ἄπερ ἀκριβέστατα Πρίσκω τῷ ῥήτορι πεπόνηται· ὅπως τε δόλω περιελθὼν ὁ Λέων μισθὸν</p>

⁹ *Georgii Syncelli Eclogae chronographica*, ed. A.A. MOSSHAMMER, Leipzig 1984.

¹⁰ Cf. an. 3.

<p>Ἄρδαβουρίῳ καὶ Πατρικίῳ, ὃν καίσαρα ὁ βασιλεὺς πεποίηκε πρότερον, ἵνα τὴν Ἄσπαρος εὐνοίαν ἔχη.</p> <p>AD 470/471, p. 182–183</p> <p><i>For Aspar, being suspected by the emperor, as I have mentioned, and being invested with great power, was treacherously murdered by the emperor shortly afterwards, along with his sons, Ardaburios and Patricius, whom the emperor had earlier appointed Caesar in order to keep Aspar's goodwill.</i></p>		<p>ὡσπερ ἀποδιδούς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν προαγωγῆς ἀναρεῖ Ἄσπαρα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιθέντα, παῖδάς τε αὐτοῦ Ἀρταβούριον τε καὶ Πατρικίον, ὃν Καίσαρα πεποίητο πρότερον ἵνα τὴν Ἄσπαρος εὐνοίαν κτήσῃται.</p>
<p>AM 6026, p. 192, 3–8 (1) – 166 – 171 – (861)</p> <p>ὁ δὲ Γελίμερ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Κιβαμοῦνδον ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα δισχιλίῳν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἰέναι, ὅπως Ἀματᾶς μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνας, Γελίμερ δὲ ὄπισθεν, Κιβαμοῦνδος δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερᾶ χωρίων εἰς ταῦτὸ τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσονται. Βελισάριος δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάννην, ὡς προέφη, προάγειν ἐκέλευσεν, Μασσαγέτας δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἰέναι.</p> <p>AD 533/534, p. 290</p> <p><i>Gelimer ordered his nephew Kibamoundos to advance with 2000 men on the left side, so that with Amatas coming from Carthage, Gelimer from the rear, and Kibamoundos from the country on the left, they would encircle the enemy in one place. Belisarius for his part ordered John, as I have already mentioned, to go ahead and the Massagetai to advance on the left of the enemy.</i></p>	<p>p. 135</p> <p>– (fragment p. 191, 7 – 193, 25 is not included in Anastasius' translation)</p>	<p>PROCOPIUS, <i>De bellis</i>, III, 18, 1–3 (ed. H.B. DEWING, II, p. 154):</p> <p>Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ <u>Γελίμερ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Πιβαμοῦνδον ἐκέλευεν ἅμα</u> Βανδίλων <u>δισχιλίους</u> φθάνοντα τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον <u>μέρος ἰέναι, ὅπως Ἀμμάτας μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνας, Γελίμερ δὲ αὐτὸς ὄπισθεν, Πιβαμοῦνδος δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾶ χωρίων ἐς ταῦτὸ</u> ξυνιόντες ῥᾶον δὴ καὶ ἀπονώτερον <u>τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσονται.</u> ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι, ὅπως ὁ μὲν θεὸς, πόρρωθεν ὁρῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα, ὑπογράφει ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα δοκεῖ ἀποβήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἢ σφαλλόμενοι ἢ τὰ δέοντα βουλευόμενοι οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι ἔπταισάν τι, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ ὀρθῶς ἔδρασαν, ἵνα γένηται τῇ τύχῃ τρίβος, φέρουσα πάντως ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερον δεδογμένα. εἰ μὴ γὰρ <u>Βελισάριος</u> οὕτω διωκῆσατο τὴν παράταξιν, <u>τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προτερῆσαι κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας ἐν ἀριστερᾶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἰέναι,</u> οὐκ ἂν ποτε διαφυγεῖν τοὺς Βανδίλους ἰσχύσαμεν.</p>

Table I (cont.)

<p>AM 6124, p. 336, 14–16 (1) – 1 – 3 – (11)</p> <p>Τούτω τῷ ἔτει ἐπεμψεν Ἀβου- βάχαρος στρατηγούς τέσσαρας, οἱ καὶ ὁδηγηθέντες, ὡς προ- έφην, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων ἦλθον καὶ ἔλαβον τὴν Ἡραν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν Γάζης.</p> <p>AD 631/632, p. 467</p> <p><i>In this year Aboubacharos sent four generals who were conduct- ed, as I said earlier, by the Arabs and so came and took Hera and the whole territory of Gaza.</i></p>	<p>p. 210, 29–32</p> <p><i>Mundi anno VIcxxxiii, divinae incarnationis anno dcxxxiii, anno imperii Heraclii vicesimo tertio cum misisset Abuba- charus praetores quattuor, qui ducti fuerant, ut praetuli, ab Arabibus, venerunt atque cepe- runt Ran et totam regionem Gazae.</i></p>	<p>cf. AGAPIUS, trans. R.G. HOY- LAND, 2011, p. 92</p> <p><i>He (Abu Bakr) sent the troops to the horizons with four men: one to the land of Persians and the other to Aleppo and Damascus.</i></p> <p><i>[Abu Bakr sent four generals with the armies, one to Pales- tine, another to Egypt, a third to the Persians, and a fourth to the Christian Arabs.</i></p> <p>cf. MICHAEL THE SYRIAN (XI, 4, éd. J.-B. CHABOT, vol. II, p. 413)</p> <p><i>Quand Muhammad fut mort, Abou Bekr lui succéda, et envoya quatre généraux: un en Palestine, un autre en Égypte, le troisième en Perse et le quatrième contre les Taiyaye chrétiens. Et tous revinrent victorieux.</i></p> <p>tr. R.G. HOYLAND, 2011, p. 92</p> <p><i>After Muhammad died, Abu Bakr succeeded him and he dis- patched four generals: one to Pal- estine, another to Egypt, the third to Persia and the fourth against the Christian Arabs; all returned victorious.</i></p> <p>cf. <i>Chronicle 1234</i>, tr. R.G. HOY- LAND, 2011, p. 92</p> <p><i>After Muhammad died, Abu Bakr became king and in the first year of his reign he dispatched troops of Arabs to the land of Syr- ia, to conquer it, some 30 000 soldiers. He appointed over them four generals (...)</i></p> <p><i>Of the four generals sent out by Abu Bakr one came, as we have said, to the land of Moab en route for Palestine, the second headed for Egypt and Alexandria, the third went to the Persians and the last to the Christian Arabs who were subject to the Romans.</i></p>
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<p>AM 6239, p. 424, 9–10 (1) – 1 – 2 – (2)</p> <p>Τούτω τῷ ἔτει κτείνεται Γρηγόριος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρουριτῶν, καὶ ἐξενίκησε Μαρουάμ, ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγός, ὡς προέφην.</p> <p>AD 746/747, p. 586</p> <p><i>In this year Gregory was killed by the Arourites [sc. Kharidjites] and Marouam, the Arab leader, was victorious as I have already said.</i></p>	<p>p. 277, 25–27</p> <p><i>Mundi anno VIccxxviii, divinae incarnationis anno dccxxviii, anno vero imperii Constantini septimo occiditur Gregorius ab Arirutensibus, et evicit Maruham, ut praetuli.</i></p>	<p>cf. AGAPIUS, trans. R.G. HOYLAND, 2011, p. 265</p> <p><i>The Harurites reassembled and handed over their command to a man called Shayban. He rallied an army and travelled to Nineveh. Marwan marched towards him and encamped near him. War was launched between them, proceeding slowly and lasting for two months. Then Marwan's men made an assault against the Harurites and defeated them, pursuing them as far as Azerbaijan. Marwan dispatched 'Amir ibn Dubara with many troops to hunt down the Harurites while he returned to Harran, seeking refuge and respite, and stayed there.</i></p> <p>(similar yet more informative passage in the <i>Chronicle</i> 1234, cf. ut supra)</p> <p>cf. MICHAEL THE SYRIAN, trans. R.G. HOYLAND, 2011, p. 265</p> <p><i>Marwan went down to Assyria, to the place called Niniveh.</i></p> <p>cf. p. 265, note 790:</p> <p>(...) <i>After this notice Theophanes diverges substantially from TC, both omitting material found in TC and adducing material not found in TC; Theophanes either has access to an additional source or is using a continuation of TC (or of the 'eastern source' ...) that adduces additional material.</i></p>
<p>καθὼς καὶ προέφην</p>		
<p>AM 6221, p. 409, 11–18 (1) – 64 – 71 – (74)</p> <p>τῇ δὲ κβ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς χειροτονοῦσιν Ἀναστάσιον τὸν ψευδώνυμον μαθητὴν καὶ σύγκελλον τοῦ αὐτοῦ μακαρίου Γερμανοῦ συνθέμενον τῇ Λέοντος δυσσεβείᾳ, διὰ φιλαρχίαν κοσμικὴν προχειρισθεὶς Κων-</p>	<p>p. 265, 12–19</p> <p><i>Porro undecimo kalendas Februariarum creant falsi nominis Anastasium, discipulum et syncellum eiusdem beati Germani, consentientem Leonis impietati propter amorem principatus mundani, hunc in pseudepiscopum Constantinopoleos provehentes. sane</i></p>	<p>cf. NICEPHORUS, <i>Historia syntomos</i>, 62, 8–12 (ed. C. MANGO, p. 130):</p> <p>μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ προχειρίζονται ἀρχιερεᾶ Ἀναστάσιον κληρικὸν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τυγχάνοντα. ἐξ ἐκείνου τοίνυν πολλοὶ τῶν εὐσεβούντων, ὅσοι τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐ συνετίθεντο</p>

Table I (cont.)

<p>σταντινουπόλεως ψευδεπίσκοπος. Γρηγόριος δέ, ὁ ἱερός πρόεδρος Ῥώμης, καθὼς καὶ προέφην, Ἀναστάσιον ἅμα τοῖς λιβέλλοις ἀπεκήρυξεν ἐλέγξας τὸν Λέοντα δι' ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησεν.</p> <p>AD 728/729, p. 565</p> <p><i>On the 22nd of the same month of January Anastasius, the spurious pupil and synkellos of the blessed Germanus, who had adopted Leo's impiety, was ordained and appointed false bishop of Constantinople on account of his worldly ambition. Gregory, however, the holy bishop of Rome, as I have said, repudiated Anastasios along with his libelli and reproved Leo by means of letters for the latter's impiety. He also severed Rome and all of Italy from Leo's dominion.</i></p>	<p><i>Gregorius, sacratissimus praesul Romanus, quemadmodum praedixi, Anastasium una cum libellis abiecit Leonem per epistolas tamquam impie agentem redarguens, et Romam cum tota Italia ab illius imperio recedere faciens.</i></p>	<p>δόγματι, τιμωρίας πλείστας καὶ αἰκισμοὺς ὑπέμενον.</p>
<p>ὡς προέφημεν</p>		
<p>AM 5942, p. 102, 13–18 (1) – 19 – 24 – (48)</p> <p>Τοῦ δὲ στόλου, ὡς προέφημεν, ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐκδεχομένου τὴν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν Γιζεριχοῦ ἄφιξιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κέλευσιν, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀττίλας, ὁ Μουνδίου παῖς, Σκυθῆς, γενόμενος ἀνδρείος καὶ ὑπερήφανος, ἀποβαλὼν Βδελλάν, τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφόν, καὶ μόνος ἄρχων τὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖον, οὓς καὶ Οὔννους καλοῦσιν, κατατρέχει τὴν Θράκη.</p> <p>AD 449/450, p. 159</p> <p><i>While the fleet was waiting in Sicily, as we have mentioned, for the arrival of Gizerich's ambassadors and the emperor's commands, Attila, in the meantime, overrun Thrace. He was the son of Moundios, a Scythian, a brave</i></p>	<p>phrase omitted – p. 107, 24–28 <i>interea Attilas Scythia, vir fortis atque superbus, deposito Bdella seniori fratre solus Scytharum, quos et Hunnos vocant, principatus regno per Thracem discurrit et omnem civitatem et castra in servitutum redegit praeter Hadrianopolim et Heracliam, quae quondam Perinthu vocabatur.</i></p>	<p>PRISCUS PANITES, restored from Theoph. (fr. 9, 4); without relevant passage in Evagrius Scholasticus</p>

<p>and arrogant man who, after getting rid of his elder brother Bdellos, became sole ruler of the empire of the Scythians whom they call Huns.</p>		
<p>AM 5943, p. 105, 1–4 (1) – 39 – 42 – (57) καὶ οὕτως ἀβλαβῆς ἀπολυθεὶς ὁ Μαρκιανὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον. χρόνου δὲ ὀλίγου διελθόντος, καὶ Θεοδοσίου τελευτήσαντος, βασιλεὺς ἀνεδείχθη, ὡς προέφημεν. ἐγένετο δὲ χρηστὸς περὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπηκόους. AD 450/451, p. 161 <i>And so Marcian was set free unharmed and came to Byzantium. A little while later, on the death of Theodosius, he was proclaimed emperor, as we have already mentioned. His was a kind man to all his subjects.</i></p>	<p>p. 108 – (fragment p. 103, 30 – 105, 13 is not included in Anastasius' translation)</p>	<p>cf. PROCOPIUS, <i>De bellis</i>, III, 4, 10–11 (ed. H.B. DEWING, II, p. 136): οὕτω δὴ Μαρκιανὸς ἀφειμένως ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφίκετο καὶ Θεοδοσίου χρόνῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος ἐδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ξύμπαντα βασιλεὺς ἐγεγόνει ἀγαθὸς, τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ Λιβύην ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐποίησατο λόγῳ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο.</p>
<p>AM 6232, p. 412, 24 – 413, 4 (1) – 23 – 32 – (68) ἐβασίλευσεν οὖν Λέων ἀπὸ κε' τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς τῆς ιε' ἰνδικτιῶνος ἕως μηνὸς Ἰουνίου ιη' τῆς θ' ἰνδικτιῶνος, βασιλεύσας ἔτη κδ', μῆνας β', ἡμέρας κε'. ὁμοίως καὶ Κωνσταντίνος, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλείας διάδοχος, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ιη' τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς τῆς θ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ἕως τῆς ιδ' τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τῆς ιδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος, βασιλεύσας καὶ αὐτός, παραχωρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔτη λδ', μῆνας γ', ἡμέρας β'. οὕτως οὖν, ὡς προέφημεν, τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τῆς θ' ἰνδικτιῶνος μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιη' τέθηκε Λέων σὺν τῷ ψυχικῷ καὶ τὸν σωματικὸν θάνατον, καὶ αὐτοκράτορεϊ Κωνσταντίνος, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>p. 267, 30 – 268, 7 <i>regnavit ergo Leo ab octavo kalendarum Apriliarum quintae decimae indictionis usque ad quarto decimo kalendas Iulias nonae indictionis, cum regnasset annis viginti quattuor, mensibus duobus, diebus viginti quinque. similiter et Constantinus, filius eius, imperii et impietatis ipsius successor, ab eodem quarto decimo kalendas Iulias nonae indictionis usque ad octavo decimo kalendas Octobrias quartae decimae indictionis, cum regnasset et ipse annis triginta quattuor, mensibus tribus, diebus duobus.</i> <i>Taliter ergo, ut praediximus, eodem anno nonae indictionis mortuus est Leo una cum animae simul et corporis morte, et imperat Constantinus, filius eius.</i></p>	<p>– this fragment and the following passage, summarising the reign of Leo III and introducing a new tyrant, “his most impious and altogether wretched son”, have no equivalent in <i>Breviarium</i> of Nicephorus (previous section of the AM, a description of the earthquake of 26 October has a parallel passage in Niceph. 63, with some of the details identical, e.g. statue of Arcadius in Xerolophus) cf. NICEPHORUS, <i>Historia syntomos</i>, 64, 1–4 (ed. C. MANGO, p. 132): Λέων δὲ <μετά> τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τῆς βασιλείας μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον ὑδέρῳ χαλεπῷ περιπεσών, διάδοχον δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντίνον καταλιμπάνει. Ἀρτάβαζος δέ, ὃς γαμβρὸς Κωνσταντίνου...</p>

Table I (cont.)

<p>AD 739/740, p. 572–573</p> <p><i>Leo reigned from 25 March of the 15th indiction until 18 June of the 9th indiction, a reign of 24 years, 2 months, 25 days. So also his son Constantine, who succeeded to his impiety and his kingdom, reigned from the same 18 June of the 9th indiction until 14 September of the 14th indiction. He reigned, by God's dispensation, 34 years, 3 months, 2 days. So then, as we have said, in that same year of the 9th indiction, on 18 June, Leo died the death not only of his soul, but also of his body and his son Constantine became emperor.</i></p>		
<p>AM 6278, p. 461, 12–18 (1) – 4 – 10 – (24)</p> <p>Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ἀποστείλαντες οἱ βασιλεῖς προσεκαλέσαντο πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπους, καταλαβόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάπα Ἀδριανοῦ γραμμάτων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς προέφημεν, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας. καὶ τῇ ζ' τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς τῆς θ' ἰνδικτιῶνος προκαθίσαντες ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει ἤρξαντο τὰς ἁγίας γραφὰς ὑπαναγινώσκειν...</p> <p>AD 785/786, p. 635</p> <p><i>In the same year the emperors sent invitations to all the bishops subject to them, the letters and men who had been sent from Rome by pope Adrian having arrived, as we have said, as well as those of the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. On 7 August of the 9th indiction they took their seats in the church of the Holy Apostles in the Imperial City and began reading out Holy Scriptures...</i></p>	<p>p. 306, 24–30</p> <p><i>Anno imperii sui sexto mittentes imperatores convocaverunt omnes, qui sub eorum erant potestate, antistites, pervenientibus quoque a Roma transmissis ab Hadriano papa litteris et hominibus, ut praediximus, et ab Antiochia et Alexandria. et septimo idus Augustas nonae indictionis praesidentes in templo sanctorum apostolorum apud regiam urbem coeperunt sanctas scripturas relegere...</i></p>	<p>–</p>

καθώς προέφημεν		
<p>prooimion, p. 3, 23 – 4, 2 (1) – 15 – 20 – (42)</p> <p>ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου τοῦτον κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκοπὸν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ, καθὼς προέφημεν, μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ συγγραψάμενος τὸν τῆδε βίον κατέλιπε καὶ πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν ἐν ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει, ἡμῖν, ὡς γνησίοις φίλοις, τήν τε βίβλον ἦν συνέταξε καταλέλοιπε καὶ ἀφορμάς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι.</p> <p>preface, p. 1</p> <p><i>Since, however, he was overtaken by the end of his life and was unable to bring his plan to completion, but, as I have said, had carried his composition down to Diocletian when he left his earthly life and migrated unto the Lord (being in the Orthodox faith), he both bequeathed to me, who was his close friend, the book he had written and provided materials with a view to completing what was missing.</i></p>	–	–

The above-mentioned expressions occur in the *Chronographia* in four slightly different forms, both singular and plural, eleven passages in total: prooimion^{pl}, AM 5796 (303/304)^s, AM 5942 (449/450)^{pl}, AM 5943 (450/451)^{pl}, AM 5963 (470/471)^s, AM 6026 (533/534)^s, AM 6124 (631/632)^s, AM 6221 (728/729)^s, AM 6232 (739/740)^{pl}, AM 6239 (746/747)^s, AM 6278 (785/786)^{pl}. As may easily be noted, both grammatical numbers alternate throughout the chronicle, and the phrases are to be found both in the Roman-Byzantine and the Oriental parts (AM 6124, 6239).

Moreover, apart from the proemium, the first instance can be found at the very beginning of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (AM 5796) and the last one in its final part, the remaining eight cases being evenly distributed in between. The words *καθὼς προέφημεν* in the proemium are especially important, as even the most critical historians have never denied that it was authored by Theophanes. Anas-tasius translates six of these instances (AM 5796, 6124, 6221, 6232, 6239, 6278), translated homogeneously as *ut/quemadmodum praedixi, ut praediximus*, and *ut praetuli*. This proves that these phrases were not added in a later redaction of the

text and, consequently, that they were present in the early manuscripts of the *Chronographia*. Concerning the five fragments where the adverbial clause has not been translated by Anastasius, they occur in passages summarised or altogether omitted by him (proemium, AM 5943, 5963, 6026)¹¹, with the exception of AM 5942 where Anastasius deleted a repetition in Theophanes' entry. Two further remarks can be added. First, these clauses do not occur in sources used or paralleled by Theophanes; the apparent similarity between AM 6124 and the *Chronicle 1234* may be merely a coincidence or convergence – Theophanes comes back to the matter touched upon in the previous entry, and the Syriac chronicle seems to build its own narrative link independently. Second, the phrase occurs in the points of the narrative that suggest interventions of the author/compiler and not quotations copied verbatim from his sources, such as the opening or final parts of the *anni mundi*, passages in longer entries where a certain number of repetitions was unavoidable, places where the continuity of the narrative is broken by the chronistic structure of AM, recapitulations of facts or actions described several AM earlier and then mentioned again in the entries that do not follow the one-year rule in the internal structure, and résumés. These situations were likely to prompt some more activity of the author/editor than just rewriting the accounts he used. It is important to stress that, as may be easily found, all of the cross-references address matters or facts ideed described or mentioned by the chronicler¹².

In the light of all this, it is of special significance that none of the four forms of πρόφημι can be found in the *Ekloge chronographias*, where cross-references are expressed in other ways¹³. In order to assess the full meaning of this divergence and to confirm or dismiss the thought that suggests itself immediately – namely, that the words discussed above come from Theophanes himself, which has consequences for the authorship of the *Chronicle* – one must take a broader perspective. This will elucidate whether the variation between the singular and the plural can be indicative of double authorship, with one author inclined to use the former and

¹¹ The last example (AM 6026) is especially interesting – the long entry of Theophanes' *Chronographia* is deliberately shortened by Anastasius in a few places and there is nothing extraordinary in the omission of the fragment of p. 191, 7 – 193, 25 (pages of de Boor's edition) in the translation. The methods of abbreviating may, however, be grasped here a bit more precisely. In the first sentence omitted (pp. 191, 9–10: Βελισάριος δὲ διακοσμῆσας τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐβάδιζεν), and the first then translated (pp. 193, 25–26: ἀπονητὶ δὲ Βελισάριος τῆς Καρχηδόνας κρατήσας παρήνει τοῖς στρατιώταις λέγων...) some striking similarities are noticeable at first glance. Did they furnish convenient points at which the text could be cut in order to make the narrative denser? Or did the translator or the scribe who prepared the manuscript possessed by Anastasius just skip this part for a different reason?

¹² Reference in AM 6239, the only apparently dubious case, is logically bound with victories of Marwan and with AM 6236–6237.

¹³ On the other hand, apart from much more sophisticated expressions, George used ὡς φησιν (twice – p. 197, 21; 458, 11), and καθὼς φησιν (once p. 34, 14); nevertheless, such usage should be considered rare, and stemming from the frequently applied structure 'ὡς φησιν + source'; cf. below.

the other the latter. But in the first place the frequency of such expressions among other writers should be determined in order to evaluate to what extent προέφην / προέφημεν is an idiosyncratic feature in the context of the Byzantine literary language.

The first step is, therefore, the search for ὡς προέφην / καθὼς καὶ προέφην / ὡς προέφημεν / καθὼς προέφημεν and similar clauses of the same stylistic function in the preserved corpus of classical and Byzantine Greek literature. I have taken advantage of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG¹⁴) as the most appropriate tool for this task, in spite of all the difficulties and drawbacks that this method may bring. It is, one may judiciously observe, a comparison of what is incomparable – the legacy of some *literati* counting hundreds of pages of the standardised Teubner/Loeb/CFHB/SC editions is juxtaposed with the poor dozens of pages that survived from some others' output or were the only pages written by them throughout their whole lives; some works are of disputed authorship; completely different genres with their different wording and style are treated equally – no matter if 'high' or 'vernacular' – without further distinctions, and somewhat mechanically; TLG has not yet covered all of the existent texts; the interface has some limitations. All these reservations are quite justified, yet no better method can be currently proposed. Besides, four or five years ago I would not have said that TLG might be treated as representative for this kind of survey – now, even despite the drawbacks or incompleteness, the bulk of the most important Byzantine writings is included, the database is being constantly – and impressively – enhanced, and the question may be evaluated positively.

I have spared no effort to make the results as plausible and accurate as possible. Wherever it was feasible (more than 75% of the works cited) I have verified the TLG citations with the printed originals and where newer editions were accessible to me, this has been acknowledged in the respective note. In a few instances, more precise references were provided instead of inappropriate or renumbered addresses in TLG. A few works not included in the base were consulted in their printed or on-line editions to supplement the table and minimise the risk of omission¹⁵.

¹⁴ *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*, University of California (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu>). Full list of the ancient and Byzantine authors and works available throughout TLG: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/tlgauthors/cd.authors.php> and http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/tlgauthors/post_tlg_e.php (or in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, ed. L. BERKOWITZ and K.A. SQUITIER, Oxford 1990 with its updated on-line version, edited by Maria PANTELIA).

¹⁵ The exceptionally helpful Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database made it possible to browse many vitae (e.g. *Vita Georgii Amastriotae*, *Vita Eliae spelaiotae*, *Vita Andreae in krisei*, *Vita Germani Cosinitense*, *Nicetas' Vita Ignatii*, Saba's and Peter's *Vitae Ioannicii*, *Vita Ioannis Gothense*, *Vita Ioannis Psychaitae*, *Theophanes' Vita Iosephi Hymnographae*, *Vita Lucae Steiritae*, *Vita Macarii higumeni Pellectensis*, *Vita Methodii*, *Theophanes' Vita Michaeli Maleinae*, *Vita Naumi Ohridense*, *Vita Nicephori Sebazense*, *Theosterictus' Vita Nicetae medic.*, *Vita Nicolai Studitae*, *Vita Niconis Metanoetes*, *Vita Pauli Caiumaei*, *Eustathius' Vita Philothei*, Theodore the Studite's oration on Plato of Saccidium,

Table II

Arius Didymus	1 s	<i>Liber de philosophorum sectis (epitome ap. Stobaeum)</i> , [in:] <i>Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum</i> , rec. F.W.A. MULLACH, vol. II, Parisiis 1867, p. 97, 6–7r	(ὡς προσέφην)
Nicomachus	1 pl	<i>Introductio arithmetica</i> , rec. R. HOCHÉ, Leipzig 1866, II, 2, 5	(ὡς προσέφαιεν)
<i>Corp. Hermeticum</i>	+1 pl	<i>Harmonicum enchiridion</i> , 12, [in:] <i>Musici scriptores graeci</i> , rec. K. VON JAN, Leipzig 1895, p. 262, 11–12 fr. 26, 25; ed. A.-J. FESTUGÈRE & A.D. NOCK, vol. III, Paris 1954	(περὶ οὐ κατ' προσέφαιεν)
Galen	1 s	<i>De compositione medicamentorum per genera</i> , I, 17, [in:] <i>Claudii Galeni opera omnia</i> , rec. C.G. Kühn, vol. XIII, Lipsiae 1827, p. 442	(ὡς προσέφην ἔμπροσθεν)
Justin Martyr	13 s	<i>Apologia secunda</i> , 8(3), 6, [in:] <i>Apologie pour les chrétiens</i> , ed. Ch. MUNIER, SC 507, Paris 2006	(ὡς προσέφην)
	+1 s	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i> , 19, 2; 21, 1; 41, 2; 51, 2; 53, 4; 56, 10; 63, 2; 88, 8; 92, 3; 92, 6; 94, 2; 102, 2; ed. Ph. BOVICHON, Fribourg 2003	(ὡς προσέφην πωλλάκις)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 113, 1	(ὡς προσέφην ἐν πολλοῖς)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 130, 3	(ὡς προσέφην γάρ)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 134, 2	(<ὡς> προσέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 138, 2	(ὡς προσέφαιεν)
	15 pl	<i>Apologia</i> , 12, 5; 21, 6; 22, 2; 32, 11; 45, 6; 54, 5; 54, 7; 56, 2; 58, 1; 63, 4; 67, 5 ed. ut supra	
		<i>Apologia secunda</i> , 5(6), 5; 7(8), 1; 9, 1	
		<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i> , 83, 4	
Irenaeus of Lyons	3 pl	<i>Adversus haereses</i> , I, 1, 5 (= MASSUET & SC 264, ed. A. RUSSEAU, L. DOUTRELEAU, Paris 1979, I, 3, 1); I, 3 (= I, 10, 2); V, 17, 4 (cf. ed. L. DOUTRELEAU, B.C. MERCIER, A. RUSSEAU, SC 153, Paris 1969: V.1. cit. and fr. gr. 16), ed. W. WIGAN HARVEY, Cambridge 1857, vol. I–II	(ὡς προσέφαιεν)
	+3 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , I, 4 (= I, 10, 3); I, 12 (= I, 19, 1); III, 19, 6 (= III, 18, 7; cf. SC 211, ed. L. DOUTRELEAU, A. RUSSEAU, Paris 1974, I. cit. + fr. gr. 26)	(καθὼς προσέφαιεν)
	[+1 pl]	<i>ibidem</i> , V, 24, 3 [and fr. gr. 17], ed. ut supra, SC 153	(ὡς προσέφαιεν)]
<i>Clementina</i>	1 s	<i>Die Pseudoklementinen II. Rekognitionen</i> , IX, 25, ed. F. PASCHKE & B. REHM, Berlin 1965	(ὡς προσέφην)
<i>Hist. Alexandri (ε)</i>	2 s	<i>Anonymi Byzantini vita Alexandri regis Macedoniae</i> , 34, 2; 40, 2, ed. J. TRUMPF, Stuttgart 1974	(ὡς προσέφην)
Basil of Caesarea	1 pl	<i>Recensio byzantina poetica</i> , [in:] <i>Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht nach dem codex Marcianus 408</i> , ed. S. REICHMANN, p. 645, 7	(ὡς προσέφαιεν)
	1 s	<i>Constitutiones asceticae [sp.]</i> , I, 3, [in:] PG 31, col. 1332	(καθὼς προσέφην)
Ps.-Ephrem of Chers.	3 pl	<i>De miraculo Clementis Romani</i> , 6; 15; 18, [in:] PG 2, col. 637; 641; 645	(ὡς προσέφαιεν)

Gregory of Nyssa	1 s	<i>Ad Ablabium quod non sint tres dei</i> , [in:] <i>Gregorii Nysseni opera</i> , vol. III.1, ed. F. MUELLER, Leiden 1958, p. 38, 19	(καθὰ προέφρην)
	+1 s	<i>Contra Eunomium</i> , 27, 396, ed. W. JAEGER, trans. R. WINLING, SC 524, Paris 2010	(καθὼς προέφρην)
	1 pl	<i>Adversus Arium et Sabellium de patre et filio</i> , [in:] <i>Gregorii Nysseni Opera</i> , vol. III.1, ed. F. MUELLER, Leiden 1958, p. 79, 18	(ὡς προέφρημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 73, 28	(ὡς προέφρημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 84, 2	(καθάρτερ προέφρημεν)
Evagrius Ponticus	1 pl	<i>De oratione (sub nomine Nili Ancyrami)</i> , [in:] PG 79, col. 1184	(καθὼς προέφραμεν)
Ps.-Athanasius	1 pl	<i>Die pseudoathanasianische IVte Rede gegen die Arianer</i> , 19, 6, ed. A. STEGMANN, Rottenburg 1917	(ὡς προέφρημεν)
John Chrysostom	2 s	<i>Fragmenta in Jeremiam (in catenis)</i> , 45, [in:] PG 64, col. 1017	(ὡς προέφρην)
		<i>In psalmum 118</i> , I, 1, [in:] PG 55, col. 676	
John Chrysostom, sp.	1 pl	<i>Visio Danielis</i> , [in:] <i>Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina</i> , rec. A. VASSILIEV, pars I, Mosquae 1893, p. 35, 9	(ὡς γὰρ πρεπόντως προέφρημε(ν))
Ps.-Macarius	2 pl	<i>Sermones (collectio B)</i> , hom. 2, 3, 7; hom. 59, 2, 5, [in:] <i>Makariorum/Symeon Reden und Briefe</i> , ed. H. BERTHOLD, vol. I-II, Berlin 1973	(ὡς προέφρημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , hom. 40, 1, 10	(ὡς γὰρ προέφρημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Homiliae spirituales</i> , XXI, 4, 46, [in:] <i>Die 50 geistl. Homilien des Makarios</i> , ed. H. DÖRRIES, E. KLOSTERMANN, M. KROEGER, Berlin 1964	(ὡς προέφρημεν)
John Stobaeus	1 s	<i>Ioannis Stobaei anthologium</i> , II, 7, 22, rec. C. WACHSMUTH, vol. II, Berolini 1884, p. 143	(ὡς προέφρην)
	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , I, 49, 69, vol. I, p. 471	(ὡς προέφραμεν)
Palladius	1 s	<i>Palladii Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi</i> , XX, 615, ed. A.-M. MAILINGREY, Ph. LECLERCQ, SC 341, Paris 1988	(ὡς προέφρην)
Philostorgius	1 s	<i>Kirchengeschichte</i> , III, 2a (= <i>Artemii passio</i> , 17), ed. J. BIDEZ, F. WINKELMANN, Berlin 1981	(ὡς προέφρην)
	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , VII, 8a (p. 86 in notes)	(ὡς προέφρημεν)
Eutyches	1 s	letter to the emperors, read during the council of Chalcedon, 834, [in:] <i>ACO II</i> , 1, 1, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berolini-Lipsiae 1933, p. 177, 36	(ὡς προέφρην)
<i>Vita Alexandri</i>	1 pl	53, ed. E. DE STOOP, PO 6, Turnhout 1911 [repr. 1981], p. 700, 17	(ὅπερ προέφρημεν)
Diadochus of Photice	1 s	<i>Sermo de ascensione</i> , [in:] <i>Diadoche de Photice. Oeuvres spirituelles</i> , ed. É. DES PLACES, SC 5bis, Paris 1955, p. 167, 4	(ὡς προέφρην)

Table II (cont.)

Gennadius I	1 s	<i>Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos (in catenis)</i> , [in:] <i>Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen</i> , vol. XV, <i>Pauluskommmentare aus der griechischen Kirche</i> , ed. K. STAAB, Münster 1933, p. 369, 11 – repeated in <i>catenae (Catena in epistulam ad Romanos (typ Vat.) (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E.2.20 [= Misc. 48])</i> , ed. J.A. CRAMER, vol. I, Oxford 1840, p. 80)	(καθὼς ἦδη προέφην)
Proclus	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 384, 29 (repeated in <i>catenae</i> as above, p. 152)	(ὡς προέφραμεν)
anon. papyr. mag.	1 s	<i>Tomus ad Armentos</i> , 9, [in:] ACO IV, 2, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berolimi-Lipsiae 1914, p. 189, 5	(καθὰ προέφην)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 21, p. 192, 13	(καθὰ προέφραμεν)
	1 s	16, [in:] <i>Papyri Graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , vol. II, ed. K. PREISENDANZ & A. HENRICHs, Stuttgartiae 1974, p. 225	(ὡς προέφην)
[Pseudo-Gelasius	1 s	<i>Anonyme Kirchengeschichte (Gelasius Cyzicenus, CPG 6034)</i> , III, 13, 8, ed. G.Ch. HANSEN, Berlin-New York 2002 (in editor's view <i>Zusatz des Compilators zum Text seiner Vorlage</i>)	(ὡς ἦδη προέφην)]
Ps.-Caesarius	2 s	<i>Die Erotapokriseis</i> , 108, 108; 179, 5, ed. R. RÜEDINGER, Berlin 1989	(ὡς προέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 121, 9	(καὶ γὰρ ἦδη προέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 146, 72	(καθὼς προέφην)
John the Lydian	4 pl	<i>De magistratibus populi Romani</i> , II, 13, 4; II, 24, 3; III, 53, 2, ed. J. SCHAMP, vol. II, Paris 2006	(ὡς προέφραμεν)
John Scholasticus	2 pl	<i>Prologus et scholia in Dionysii Areopagitae librum De divinis nominibus</i> , 4, 2305b; 11, 2396b ed. B.R. SUCHLA, Berlin 2011	(ὡς προέφραμεν)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , proem. 216c	(καθὰ προέφην)
	+3 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 1, 2193b; 5, 2317c; 5, 2324a	(καθὰ προέφραμεν)
Abraham of Ephesus	1 pl	<i>Homilia de annuntiatione</i> , [in:] <i>Homélies mariales byzantines</i> , ed. M. JUGIE, Turnhout 1922, p. 446 [= PO 16]	(μὴδ' ὡς προέφραμεν)
Fl. Phoebammon	1 s	<i>Testamentum Flavii Phoebammonis</i> [Nov. 15, 570], http://webu2.upmf-grenoble.fr/Haiti/Cours/Ak/Negotia/Cair32_DDBDFgr.html	(ὡς προέφην)
<i>Chron. paschale</i>	1 s	rec. L. DINDORF, Bonnae 1832, p. 435, 4	(ὡς οὖν προέφην)
John Climacus	1 pl	<i>Scala paradisi</i> , 8, 10, [in:] PG 88, col. 832	(ὡς προέφραμεν)
Maximus Conf.	2 s	<i>Quaestiones ad Thalassium</i> , proem., 303; 65, 809, ed. C. LAGA & C. STEEL, vol. I–II, CC.SC 7 & 22, Turnhout 1980–1990	(ὡς προέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 63, 377	(καθὼς προέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 50, 205	(Προέφην γὰρ...)
<i>Vita Alypii Stylitae</i> ₁	1 pl	<i>Vita prior</i> , 4, [in:] H. DELEHAYE, <i>Les saints stylites</i> , Bruxelles-Paris 1923, p. 150, 11	(ὡς καὶ προέφραμεν)

Pamphilus of Jerusalem	1 pl	<i>Encomium sancti Soteridis</i> , [in:] <i>Diversorum postchalcidonensium auctorum collectanea I</i> , ed. J.H. DECLERCK, P. ALLEN, CC-SG 19, Turnhout 1989, p. 292, 32	(ὄν ὡς προσέφημεν)
Tarasius I	1 s	words noted 787 below the letter of Germanus I to Constantine of Nacoleia (ep. 3, 44) [in:] <i>PG</i> 98, col. 164	(ὡς καὶ προσέφην)
George Syncellus	0	Ταράσιος ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης ἔπεν· ὡς καὶ προσέφην, τίμισι ἀδελφοί, ἡ εἰσαγωγή τῆς ἐπιστάκτου καινοτομίας ταύτης γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ προεπιρημένου ἀνδρός ἐπισκόπου Νακωλείας, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος διάκονος καὶ νοτάριος ἀνέγνω.	
Theophanes	6 s 5 pl		
George Choeroboscus	1 pl	<i>Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones</i> , [in:] <i>Grammatici Graeci</i> , ed. A. HILGARD, vol. IV.2, Lipsiae 1894, p. 38	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Michael Syncellus	1 pl	cf. <i>Epimerismi Homericī</i> , 52f	(καθὼς προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Peri tes tou logou syntaxeos</i> , 56, [in:] <i>Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle</i> , ed. D. DONNET, Bruxelles 1982	(καθ'άτερ προσέφημεν)
<i>Vita Nicephori med.</i>	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 115	(καθὰ προσέφημεν)
Methodius I	1 pl	9, 1, [in:] E. HALKIN, <i>La Vie de s. Nicéphore, fondateur de Médiokion en Bithynie (d. 813)</i> , AB 78, 1960, p. 412	(ὡς ἀνωτέρω προσέφημεν)
<i>Vita Andreae in trib.</i>	1 s	<i>Vita Euthymii Sardiani</i> , 15, 301, ed. J. GOUILLARD, TM 10, 1987: (ὁ ἀδελφός καὶ συναρχιερέυς τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ...)	(...ὄν προσέφημεν)
	1 s	<i>Martyrium sancti et gloriosis... Andreae</i> , 5, [in:] <i>Acta Sanctorum Octobris</i> , vol. VIII, (Oct. 27–30), Parisii-Romae 1866, p. 137	(ὡς προσέφην)
Saba	1 s	<i>Vita Ioannicii</i> , 6, 22(c), [in:] <i>Acta Sanctorum Novembris</i> , vol. II.1, (Nov. 3–4), Bruxellis 1894, p. 353	(ὡς προσέφην)
Saba	1 s	<i>Vita Petri Atroatae / La Vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa</i> , 67, ed. V. LAURENT, Bruxelles 1956	(ὡς προσέφην)
<i>Vita Athanasiae</i>	1 pl	L. CARRAS, <i>The Life of St Athanasia of Aegina: A Critical Edition with Introduction</i> , 21, 38, [in:] <i>Maistor. Classical, Byzantine nad Renaissance Studies</i> for Robert Browning, ed. A. MOFFATT, Canberra 1984	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
George the Monk	1 pl	<i>Chronicon</i> , X, rec. C. DE BOOR, vol. II, Stuegardiae 1904, p. 416, 20	(καθὼς προσέφημεν)
?Paul of Nicaea	1 s	<i>Manuale medico</i> , 92, 19, ed. A.M. IERACI Bro, Napoli 1996	(ὡς προσέφην)
Photius I	1 pl	<i>Bibliotheca</i> , cod. 192a, p. 154b–155a; ed. R. HENRY, vol. III, Paris 1962	(Ἄλλ' ὁ καὶ προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Contra Manichaeos / Récit de la réapparition des manichéens</i> , 54, ed. W. WOLSKA-CONUS, TM 4, 1970, p. 139, 13–14	(ὡς καὶ προσέφημεν)

Table II (cont.)

Nicholas Mysticus	+1 pl	<i>Fragmenta in epistulam II ad Corinthios (in catenis)</i> , [in:] <i>Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen</i> , vol. XV, <i>Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche</i> , ed. K. STAAB, Münster 1933, p. 587, 16	(καθώς και προσέφημεν)
	1 s	[in:] <i>Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters</i> , ed. R.J.H. JENKINS & L.G. WESTERINK, Washington 1973	(τούτο δι' ὃ προσέφην)
	+1 pl	ep. 2, 14	(ὃ προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	ep. 6, 74	(ὡς οὖν προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	ep. 135, 21–22	(...ὡς προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	ep. 101a, 10	(ἐν οἷς προσέφημεν)
Basil	1 pl	<i>Vita Euthymii iunioris</i> , 36, ed. L. PETIT, ROC 8, 1903, p. 202, 8	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Constantine VII	2 pl	<i>De administrando imperio</i> , 29, 84–85, ed. G. MORAVCSIK & R.J.H. JENKINS, ² Washington 1967	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Pseudo-Heron	1 pl	<i>De cerimonis aulae Byzantinae</i> , I, 10, ed. A. VOGT, vol. I, Paris 1935, p. 71, 6–7	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Nicephorus	2 pl	<i>Vita sancti Andreae Sali</i> , 21; 36, ed. L. RYDÉN, Uppsala 1995	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
<i>Vita Pauli iun.</i>	1 pl	37, ed. H. DELEHAYE, [in:] <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen</i> , ed. Th. WIEGAND, vol. III.1, Berlin 1913, p. 127	(ἦ προσέφημεν)
<i>De velitatione bell.</i>	1 pl	4, 4, [in:] <i>Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas</i> , ed. G. DAGRON, H. MIHAESCU, Paris 1986, p. 45	(καθάρτερ προσέφημεν)
<i>Digenis Acritas</i>	1 s	IV, 583, ed. E. JEFFREYS, Cambridge 1998, p. 100	(καθώστερ και προσέφην σου)
John of Sicily	1 s	<i>Commentarius in Hermogenis librum Peri ideon</i> , IV, 47, [in:] <i>Rhetores Graeci</i> , vol 6, rec. C. WÄLZ, Stuttgartiae et al. 1834, p. 184, 29–30	(ὡς προσέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , IV, 42, p. 181, 10	(ώσπερ προσέφην)
Michael I Cerularius, sp.	1 pl	<i>Panoplia</i> , IIIa, c. 19, [in:] A. MICHEL, <i>Humbert und Kerullarios: Quellen und Studien zum Schisma des XI Jh.</i> , Paderborn 1930, p. 234	(καθώς προσέφημεν άνωθεν)
Michael Attaleiates	2 pl	<i>Historia</i> , ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1853, p. 84, 8, 99, 2–3	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
<i>Vita Cosmae & Joannis</i>	+1 pl?	<i>Ponema nomikon etoi synopsis pragmatike</i> , 4, 3, [in:] <i>Jus graecoromanum</i> , ed. J. ZEPOS, Athenae 1931	(οἷς προσέφημεν)
		<i>Vita Cosmae Melodi et Joannis Damasceni</i> , 15, [in:] <i>Analekta Ierosolymitikes stachylogias</i> , ed. A. PAPAΔOΠOY-ΛOΣ-KEPAMEYOS, vol. IV, Petroupolei 1897, p. 283, 2–3	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
<i>Vita Niconis</i>	2 pl	12; 57; ed. D. SULLIVAN, Brookline Mass. 1987	(ὡς ἔφθημεν εἰπόντες)

Christodulus	4 pl	<i>Testamentum et codicillus Christoduli (a. 1093)</i> , in test.: p. 82, [28]; p. 82, [31]; p. 82, [20]; in cod.: p. 89, [12]; ex <i>Acta monasterii Patmi</i> , [in:] <i>Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi sacra et profana</i> , ed. F. MIKLOSICH & J. MÜLLER, vol. VI, Vindobonae 1890	(ώς προσέφημεν)
<i>Vita Phantini iun.</i>	1 s	<i>La vita di san Fantino il Giovane</i> , 32, 2, ed. E. FOLLIERI, Bruxelles 1993	(καὶ ἦν προσέφην)
<i>Translatio Nicolai</i>	1 pl	20, [in:] <i>Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen</i> , ed. G. ANRICH, vol. I, Leipzig-Berlin 1913	(ώς προσέφημεν)
John Tzetzes	2 s	<i>Exegesis in Homeri Illiadem</i> , v. 226, sch. 41; v. 459, sch. 3, [in:] <i>Der unbekannte Teil der Ilias-Exegesis des Ioannes Tzetzes (A 97-609)</i> , ed. A.C. LOLOS, Königstein 1981	(προέφην)
	+ 1 s	<i>Chiliades</i> , II, 48, 710, [in:] <i>Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae</i> , ed. P.L.M. LEONE, Napoli 1968	(ώς ἦδη σοι προσέφην)
	1 pl	<i>Exegesis in Homeri Illiadem</i> , v. 423, sch. 81	(ώς καὶ προσέφημεν)
	+ 1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , v. 413, sch. 66	(δὲ ἄπὲρ προσέφημεν)
	+ 1 pl	ep. 28, 9-10, rec. P.A.M. LEONE, Leipzig 1972, p. 44	([ἄσπερ προσέφημεν])
Eustathius of Thess.	1 pl	<i>Commentarii ad Homeri Illiadem</i> , ed. M. VAN DER VALK, vol. I, Leiden 1971, p. 265	(ώς καὶ προσέφημεν)
Neophytus the Recluse	5 s	<i>Deka logoi peri tou Christou entolon</i> , hom. 4, 17, ed. I.E. STEPHANES, [in:] <i>Hagiou Neophytou tou Egkleistou Syggrammata</i> , ed. I. KARABIDOPOULOS, C. OIKONOMOU, D.G. TSAMES, N. ZACHAROPOULOS, vol. I, Paphos 1996	(ώς προσέφην)
		<i>Testamentum sive Typike dithēke</i> , 24, ed. I.E. STEPHANES, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. II, Paphos 1998	
		<i>Biblos ton katecheseon</i> , ed. P. SOTIROUDIS, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. 2	
		<i>Panegyrike A'</i> , 8, 207; 21, 438, ed. Th. GIAGKOU & N. PAPATRIANTAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. III, Paphos 1999	(προέφην σοι ὄτι)
	+ 1 s	<i>Liber quinquaginta capitulorum</i> , 39, 13, ed. P. SOTIROUDIS, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. I	(ώς προσέφημεν)
	8 pl	<i>Deka logoi peri tou Christou entolon</i> , hom. 4, 4; hom. 4, 12	
		<i>Biblos ton katecheseon</i> , II, 37; II, 49	
		<i>Panegyrike A'</i> , 8, 346; 19, 415; 26, 33	
		<i>To asma asmaton</i> , 3, 113-114, ed. B.S. PSEUTOGKAS, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. II	
	+ 1 pl	<i>Panegyrike A'</i> , 29, 265-266	(καθ' ὄν προσέφημεν τρόπον)
Nicholas of Otranto	1 s	<i>Disputatio contra Iudaeos</i> , [in:] <i>Nektariou, hegoumenou mones Kasoulou, Nikolaou, hegoumenou mones Hrodrountinou Dialexis kata Ioudaion</i> , ed. M. CHRONZ, Athens 2009, p. 77, 14	(ώς προσέφην)
	+ 1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 114, 3	(...σοὶ καὶ προσέφην ὄτι...)
	+ 1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 125, 8	(ώς καὶ προσέφην)
	6 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 20, 19; 86, 6; 128, 10; 180, 3; 210, 20; 227, 12	(ώς προσέφημεν)

Table II (cont.)

	+4 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 18, 21; 80, 20; 113, 17; 223, 1	(ὡς και προσέφημεν)
Manuel Holobolus	1 s	<i>Oratio 3 in imp. Michaelēm Palaeologum</i> , [in:] <i>Manuelis Holoboli orationes</i> , ed. M. TREU, pars 2, Potsdam 1907, p. 87, 2	(ὡς προσέφην)
Andrew Libadenus	1 s	<i>Descriptio itineris</i> , [in:] <i>Andreu Libadenou bios kai erga</i> , vol. I, ed. O. LAMPSIDES, Athenais 1975, p. 40, 14	(ὡς προσέφην)
George Acropolites	1 s	<i>Laudatio Petri et Pauli</i> , 16, [in:] <i>Georgii Acropolitae opera</i> , vol. II, rec. A. HEISENBERG, Studgardiae 1978, p. 96, 34	(εἰ γὰρ και προσέφην)
	1 pl	<i>Annales</i> , 80, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. I, p. 165, 14	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Const. Meliteniotes	2 s	<i>Orationes antirrhethicae adversus tomum Gregorii II Cyprii</i> , ed. M. ORPHANOS, Athēna 1986, p. 187, 277.	(ὡς προσέφην)
Maximus Planudes	1 pl	<i>Macrobiūm Commentariorum in Somnium Scipionis</i> , II, 10, 10, ed. A. MEGAS, Thessaloniki 1995.	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
George Metochites	1 s	<i>Historia dogmatica</i> , I, 5 [in:] <i>Nova Patrum Bibliotheca</i> , rec. J. Cozza, vol. VIII.2, Roma 1871, p. 6	(ὡς προσέφην)
	2 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , I, 96, p. 133; III, 9, [in:] <i>NPB</i> , rec. J. Cozza-Luzi, vol. X.1, Roma 1905	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
<i>Actum Isaaci protii</i>	1 pl	(a. 1316), [in:] <i>Actes d'Esphigmenou</i> , éd. J. LEFORT, Paris 1973, p. 91, 80–81 = <i>Diploma Isaaci protii de cambitate agrorum</i> (a. 1316), 80–81, [in:] <i>Actes de Vatopédi I, Des origines à 1329</i> , ed. J. BOMPAIRE, C. GIROS, V. KRAVARI & J. LEFORT, Paris 2001, p. 271	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Gregory Palamas	1 s	<i>Contra Nicephorum Gregoram</i> , or. II, 67, [in:] <i>Grēgoriou tou Palama syggrammata</i> , ed. P.K. CHRESTOU, vol. 4, Thessalonike 1988	(καθ'ἄτερ και προσέφην)
	1 pl	<i>De processione Spiritus Sancti</i> , or. II, 78, 11, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. I, Thessalonike 1962	(καθὰ προσέφημεν)
Gregory Acindynus	1 pl	<i>Antirrheticus maior</i> , IV, 6, 35, [in:] <i>Gregorii Acindyni Refutationes duae...</i> , ed. J. NADAL CANELLAS, CC.SG 31, Turnhout 1995	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
David Dishypatus	3 pl	<i>Logos kata Barlaam kai Akindynou pros Nikolaon Kabasilan</i> , p. 53, 1; 64, 2; 74, 17; ed. D.G. TSAMES, Thessalonike 1976	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
<i>Prochiron Auctum</i>	1 pl	XXVII, 284, rec. P. ZEPOS (post C.E. ZACHARIÄ VON LINGENTHAL), Athenae 1931	(οἶων προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , XXXI, 39 (citation from Attaleiates' <i>Ponerna nomikon</i> , cf. above)	(οἷς προσέφημεν)
<i>Exegesis in Hesiodi</i>	1 pl	ad 270, <i>Glossen und Scholien zur hesiodischen Theogonie</i> , ed. H. FLACH, Leipzig 1876, p. 389, 9	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
<i>Schol. coll. Marc.</i>	1 pl	<i>Peri prosodion</i> , [in:] <i>Scholta [Commentaria] in Dionysii Thracis Artis grammaticam</i> , rec. A. HILGARD, Lipsiae 1901, p. 293, 11	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Peri technes</i> , [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , p. 298, 17	(καθὰ προσέφημεν)
Thomas Magister	2 pl	<i>Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli monachi Ecloga vocum Atticarum</i> , ed. F. RITSCHL, Halis Saxonum 1832, p. 352, 14–15 and 371, 6	(ὡς προσέφημεν)

Nicephorus Gregoras	1 s	<i>Explicatio in librum Synesii De insomniis</i> , 138c, 157, 16, ed. P. PIETROSANTI, Bari 1999.	(ὡς προσέφη)
	1 pl	<i>Liber dogmaticus</i> V, 15 (<i>Historiae byzantinae libri postremi</i> , XXXIV, 56), rec. I. BEKKER (<i>Nic. Greg.</i> vol. III), Bonnæ 1855, p. 469, 17–18	(ὡς ἀνωτέρω προσέφημεν)
Philotheus Coccinus	1 s	<i>Laudatio Sancti Demetrii</i> , 17, 13, [in:] <i>Philotheou K-poleos tou Kokkiniou hagiologika erga</i> , vol. II, ed. D.G. TSAMES, Thessalonike 1985	(ὡς προσέφη)
John Cyparissiotēs, sp.	1 pl	<i>Theologica varia inedita saeculi XIV</i> , ed. J. POLEMIS, Turnhout 2012, p. 266, 35	(καθὼς προσέφημεν)
Theod. Meliteniotes	5 pl	<i>De astronomia libri III</i> , I, 3, 14; I, 18, 7; II, 4, 38–39; II, 5, 317; II, 8, 9, ed. R. LEURQUIN, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1990, vol. II, Amsterdam 1993	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
	+ 1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , II, 22, 103	(ἄς προσέφημεν)
Callistus Angelicudes	1 pl	<i>Refutatio Thomae Aquinæ</i> , 396, ed. S.G. PAPADOPOULOS, Athens 1970	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
editor of Pachymeres	+ 1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 186	(Προέφημεν γάρ...)
	1 pl	<i>Historia brevis</i> , VI, 24, [in:] <i>Le version brève des Relations Historiques de Georges Pachymérés</i> , ed. A. FAILLER, vol. I, Paris 2001	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Symeon of Thess.	2 s	<i>Apologia de abitu ad Constantinopolim</i> , 5, 24–25, [in:] <i>Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)</i> , ed. D. BALFOUR, Wien 1979, p. 72	(ὡς προσέφη)
		ep. 5, 357, [in:] <i>Hagiou Symeon Thessalonikes 1416/1417–1429, erga theologika</i> , ed. D. BALFOUR, Thessalonike 1981	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Manuel II	2 pl	ep. 2, 571; 6, 220	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
	1 s	<i>Dialogi cum mahometano</i> , 8 [in:] <i>Manuel II. Palaiologos. Dialoge mit einem "Perser"</i> , ed. E. TRAPP, Wien 1966, p. 100, 30	(ὡς δὴ προσέφη)
John Cananus	1 pl	<i>De Constantinopoli oppugnata</i> , v. 53, / <i>L'assedio di Costantinopoli</i> , ed. E. PINTO, Messina 1977	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Ducas	2 pl	<i>Historia Turco-Byzantina</i> , 22, 11; 44, 3 [in:] ed. V. GRECU, București 1958	(καθὼς προσέφημεν)
<i>Actum Bessarionis</i>	1 pl	(a. 1500), 25 [in:] <i>Actes d'Iviron</i> , vol. IV, <i>De 1328 au début du XVI^e siècle</i> , ed. J. LEFORT et al., Paris 1995, p. 180	(ὄν ἀνωθεν προσέφημεν)
<i>Actum Joachim I</i>	1 pl	(a. 1501), 23, [in:] <i>Actes de Kattiumus</i> , ed. P. LEMERLE, Paris 1988, p. 163	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
<i>Ekthesis chronica</i>	1 pl	48, 1, [in:] <i>Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513. An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century</i> , ed. M. PHILIPPIDES, Brookline Mass. 1990	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Macarius Melissenus	1 s	<i>Chronicon sive maius</i> , IV, 13 [in:] GEORGIOS SPHRANTZES, <i>Memorii, 1401–1477</i> , ed. V. GRECU, București 1966, p. 324, 18–19	(ὡς προσέφημεν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις βιβλίοις)

Table II (cont.)

	2 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , I, 5; I, 11; ed. ut supra, p. 172, 5; 188, 21	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
anon.	1 pl	<i>Actum falsum Isaaci et concilii Caryanum</i> , 24, [in:] <i>Actes de Docheiariou</i> , ed. N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Paris 1984, p. 336 (cf. <i>ibidem</i> , 17)	(ὡς προσέφημεν[εῖν])
in total	88 s		
	158 pl		

Some of the passages from Irenaeus were repeated in catenae (f.ex. *Catena in epistulam Petri I / catena Andreae*, [in:] *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. VIII, rec. J.A. CRAMER, Oxford 1840, p. 56, 9), by EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS in his *Panarion* (ed. K. HOLL, vol. I, Leipzig 1915, p. 406, 432, 434; vol. II, Leipzig 1922, p. 32) and by Theodoret of Cyrillus (*Erasmios*). There may have been 4 other plural instances of ὡς/καθὼς/προσέφημεν in *Adversus haereses* of IRENAEUS – the relevant parts survived, alas, only in a Latin translation (III, 12, 9; IV, 12, 1; IV, 34, 2; IV, 58, 5, ed. W. WIGAN HARVEY, vol. II, Cambridge 1857). In one of the sources cited by Epiphanius in *Panarion* the forms ὡς προσέφημεν and ὡς προσέφημεν occur divided by a few verses only (EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, ed. K. HOLL, vol. III, Leipzig 1933, p. 270, 17 and 20).

JOHN OF DAMASCUS used the above-listed forms only twice, citing Philostorgius' *Historia ecclesiastica* in his *Passio magni martyris Artemii* – once in the singular (17, ὡς προσέφημεν), and once in the plural form (51, ὡς προσέφημεν) – ed. P.B. KOTTER, vol. V, Berlin–New York 1988 (cf. P. BATTIFOL, RQChA 3, 1889, p. 268, 274 – in this oldest reconstruction ὡς προσέφημεν is omitted on p. 268). It is interesting that no other source – witness of Philostorgius *HE* shows any quotations in which both forms would be attested; moreover, the above-mentioned two instances, differing in number, do not occur in any other work by John. One may well presume here the activity of a copyist or an editor of *Passio Artemii*. GEORGE CEDRENUUS used ὡς προσέφημεν (rec. I. BEKKER, vol. I, Bonnæ 1838, p. 604, 6), but in a quotation from Theophanes (AM 5943, p. 105, 3–4) and καθὼς προσέφημεν (p. 409, 2) in a quotation from George the Monk (*ut supra*).

* * *

Cf. THEMISTUS, *In Aristotelis physica paraphrasis*, rec. H. SCHENKL, Berlin 1900, p. 140, 18–20; *Catena in Matthaeum* (e cod. Paris. Coislin. gr. 23), [in:] *Catena...*, vol. I, rec. J.A. CRAMER, Oxford 1840, p. 171 with καθὼς/προσέφημεν omitted in one of the MS (*ibidem*, p. 489, 16) || JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In Matthaeum*, hom. 68 [in:] PG 58, col. 634, 4–7; IDEM, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, [in:] PG 55, col. 190, 25; THEOCTISTUS THE STUDITE, *Canones in Athanasium*, II, 5; 3, 8, ed. E. APENTIOULIDOU-LEITGEB, Vienna 2008; THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Commentaria in Isaiam*, 8, 185, ed. J.-N. GUINOT; THEODORE THE STUDITE, poem 7 (ed. J.B. PITRA, Paris 1876); SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN, hymn 30, 283 (ed. A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin–New York 1976); EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Commentarii ad Homeri Illiadem* (ed. M. VAN DER VALK, vol. I, Leiden 1971, p. 633, 6), *Comm. ad Homeri Odysseam* (rec. G. STALLBAUM, vol. II, Lipsiae 1826, p. 253, 36), *Oratio* 4, 174 (ed. S. SCHÖNAUER, Frankfurt am Main 2006); GENNADIUS II, *Epitome primae partis Summae theologiae Thomae Aquinae*, III, 44, 20, eds. M. JÜGIE, L. PETIT & X.A. SIDERIDES, vol. V, Paris 1931; THEODORE AGALLIANUS, *Sermones duo apologetici*, 261; 1213, [in:] Ch.G. PATRINELES, *O Theodoros Agallianos...* Athenai 1966; JOHN MAUROPOUS, 4, 9, *Canones in s. Nicolaum*, [in:] A.D. PANAGIOTOU, *Ho Ioannēs Mauropous hymnografos tou Hagiou Nikolaou*, Athēna 2008; IDEM, *Canones paraclētics*, 1, 1, [in:] *Giovanni Mauropode, metropolita di Eucaita. Otto canoni paraclētics*, a cura di E. FOLLIERI, Roma 1967; BESSARION, *In calumniatorem Platonis*, I, 5; 2; IV, 2, 6, ed. L. MOHLER, vol. II, Paderborn 1927.

A few isolated instances have been omitted, e.g. 1 pl *Scholia recentiora in Aeschylum*, v. 225; 1 pl *Commentarium in librum Peri heurescos*, [in:] WALZ, *Rhet. gr.*, vol. VII, p. 839; 1 pl *Anonymous questions and answers on the interval signs*, VII, 298, ed. B. SCHARTAR, Vienna 1998, or *Epimerismi Homeric*, pars prior, 52f, ed. A.R. DYCK, Berlin 1983.

Pages are added in the bibliographical notes mainly if there is no other more precise identification of the loci, if the division of the source does not provide a quick reference to the passage, or if the identification in TLG is imprecise.

(valid for 18 October 2015, with 2420 authors included in TLG)

Thus the results, even if not entirely definitive, should not therefore change substantially in the future, and may serve as a basis for some valid conclusions. The extensive selection of the writings analysed below is meant to eliminate the danger of too narrow a sampling, which would make the figures in the *Chronographia* seem inflated. The authors have been arranged in a roughly chronological order, with different forms of clauses counted separately (first the singular, then the plural); the most notable examples are bolded. Note that the plural variant προέφημεν is also included.

* * *

The forms that interest us here are attested in the works of ca. 100 authors from the classical (Hellenist) era up to the 16th cent., and although this number is in every respect relative (particularly because of the fragmentary state of preservation of the ancient and medieval Greek literature), observations relying on this list are not misleading. The phrase is present in every language register, from theological writings and hagiography through scientific treatises and historical narratives to magical spells (as exemplified by the curious Christian incantation from the 4th cent., written in scribbled cursive with Copticisms, devised in hope that God would stop supporting a certain Theodosius, ὅτι τηρανηκὸν ἔχει τὸν τρόπον Θεοδόσις)¹⁶. Whether used in a more metaphysical meaning or solely to refer to things mentioned earlier in the text, altogether it was not employed often – ca. 245 occurrences and, as above, ca. 100 authors out of ca. 2420 consulted. The plural and singular forms occur in the style of writers who originated from various parts of the Greek-speaking world and flourished in Constantinople, Egypt, Asia Minor or Italy.

Thus, the expressions with πρόφημι should be treated as rare, linked to the linguistic preferences of the respective authors (although they do not characterise the style itself in most cases, as only single occurrences may be found). However, since their first appearance at the turn of the eras, προέφην and προέφημεν remained intelligible in this function throughout the Byzantine times; even the plural form seemed much more natural than some archaising phrases with identical meaning. Thus e.g. the phrase ἦν ὃς δὴ καὶ πάλαι in the history of George Pachymeres¹⁷ was changed to ὡς προέφημεν in a later, shorter and more comprehensible redaction

Vita Stephani Sugdaitae, Leontius of Damascus' *Vita Stephani Sabaitae*, Gregory's *Vita Theodorae Thess.*, *Vita Theodorae Theophili imp. uxoris*, Pseudo-Basil's *Vita Theodori Edessense*, *Vitae Theodori Studitae*, *Vita Theophanae*), but the survey included also some papyri available online, as well as the acts of *Concilium Quinisextum* (ed. H. OHME, Turnhout 2006), and writings of ANDREW OF CRETE (PG 97, col. 789–1444) etc.

¹⁶ N° 16, in *Papyri Graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, vol. 2, ed. K. PREISENDANZ & A. HENRICH, ²Stuttgart 1974, p. 225.

¹⁷ GEORGES PACHYMERES, *Relations Historiques*, VI, 24, ed. A. FAILLER, trans. V. LAURENT, vol. 1, Paris 1984, p. 613, 17.

of his account¹⁸. Despite its vernacular status, both in the early and in the late Byzantine period the plural form outnumbers the singular one.

It goes without saying that the vast majority of the Byzantine *literati* did not have *ὡς προέφην / προέφημεν* etc. in their active written vocabulary. One does not find a single occurrence in Neilus of Ancyra, Julian, Gregory Nazianzen, Procopius, Arethas, John Zonaras, Gemistus Pletho and many others, in all of John Chrysostom's works there are only two occurrences, and one more in *spuria*; two instances are to be found in Palamas, three in Photius. Among the authorities listed above, there are only very few historians, even in the broadest sense of the word (including authors who only occasionally wrote historical/semihistorical works throughout their lives or who shared historical interests): Palladius (1 s), John the Lydian (4 pl), the unknown author of the *Chronicon paschale* (1 s), George the Monk (1 pl), Photius (3 pl), Constantine VII (2 pl), Michael Attaleiates (3 pl), John Tzetzes (3 s, 3 pl), George Acropolites (1 s, 1 pl), Nicephorus Gregoras (1 s, 1 pl), the editor of Pachymeres (1 pl), John Cananus (1 pl), Ducas (2 pl), Macarius Melissenus (1 s, 2 pl), and the author of the *Ekthesis chronica* (1 pl). But four of them lived earlier than Theophanes, and none used the expression more frequently; indeed, single instances are predominant.

In the extant corpus of the ancient and medieval Greek literature there is a total of three notable exceptions that outnumber the 11 instances in the *Chronographia*: Justin Martyr (32 inst. – 17 s and 15 pl) – the early Christian apologist from the 2nd cent.; Neophytus the Recluse or Encleistus (15 inst. – 6 s and 9 pl) – the monastic authority from 12th/13th cent. Cyprus (died after 1214); and Nicholas of Otranto (13 inst. – 3 s and 10 pl) – Neophytus' contemporary and an abbot, under the name of Nectarius, of St Nicholas in Casole, Italy (died 1235). The frequency of occurrences in the works of the runners-up – Irenaeus (7 pl), John Scholasticus (1 s, 5 pl), John Tzetzes (as above), Theodore Meliteniotes (6 pl) – is substantially smaller. The distance in space and time between Justin, Theophanes, Neophytus and Nicholas needs no further stressing, and *προέφην / προέφημεν* stand out as characteristic of the style of the *Chronographia*; the relatively considerable frequency of the expressions (almost 4,5% of all occurrences in TLG) is an important argument for seeing an individual feature here. One may assume that if it was not for the character of the chronicle and the methods of its composition, the number of occurrences would be even higher.

Although it may sound tempting to investigate the stylistic inspirations of Theophanes, especially with regard to Justin, I shall refrain from such digressions here – let us make do with the assumption that they were probably rooted more in religious/theological literature than in historiography. However, the

¹⁸ *Le version brève des Relations Historiques de Georges Pachymérés*, VI, 24, ed. A. FAILLER, vol. 1, Paris 2001.

cases of *Dialogus cum Tryphone* and both apologies¹⁹ as well as the other above-mentioned works are helpful in highlighting another aspect of the specificity in Theophanes' usage of the phrases, namely the high degree of syntactic variety (different adverb, καί as a separator between the adverb and the verb), enriched by the variation between singular and plural. In the above list, some authors opened phrases of this kind with both ὡς and καθὼς, or with yet other adverbs/conjunctions (Irenaeus, Gregory of Nyssa, Pseudo-Caesarius, Maximus Confessor, Photius, Nicholas Mysticus, John of Sicily, Tzetzes, Neophytus the Recluse, cf. also Pseudo-Macarius); there are also some who in all probability were accustomed to both singular and plural forms (Justin, Gregory of Nyssa, Proclus, John Scholasticus, Nicholas Mysticus, Tzetzes, Neophytus, Nicholas of Otranto, George Acropolitae, George Metochites, Symeon of Thessalonica). If we combine both criteria, diversity is to be seen among all authors, even in the choice between the two most popular, basic phrases (ὡς προέφην and ὡς προέφημεν / -αμεν – many ancient and Byzantine *literati* chose but one of these), but Theophanes is the only writer who used the four combinations (ὡς προέφην, καθὼς καὶ προέφην, ὡς προέφημεν, καθὼς προέφημεν).

The history of the clauses and of the verb πρόφημι, the frequency of the phrases throughout the centuries, or the phraseological and syntactical connections are not to be analysed here. However, one cannot forget that the phrases surveyed here were at all times rare variants of much more abundant ones, built directly on the verb φημί. The reference to the clauses as ὡς ἔφην and ὡς ἔφημεν / -αμεν is of much more importance in the context of Theophanes' writings than, say, the genealogy of πρόφημι and the potential links with the noun προφήτης. It should be stressed, first of all, that although such clauses were highly frequent and relevant²⁰, neither George Syncellus nor Theophanes used the forms ὡς ἔφην, ὡς ἔφημεν / -αμεν; they did not fit the eloquence of the former and the style of the latter (in the *Chronographia* προέφην and προέφημεν appear even in the recollections of the facts described relatively close in the scheme of *anni mundi*).

The absence of ὡς ἔφην and ὡς ἔφημεν / -αμεν gains more meaning when compared to the universality of their usage in ancient and Byzantine Greek. This is shown in the simplest form of presentation in the table below. It is meant only as a background for a more precise enumeration of ὡς προέφην, ὡς προέφημεν, etc., and it is less reliable; occurrences in TLG have been counted more mechanically and thoroughly cross-checked only in a few cases (Theon of Alexandria with

¹⁹ JUSTIN is notable for the exceptional density of the parenthetical clauses that interest us here; sometimes they are found close to one another in the same passage or sentence (cf. ὡς προέφημεν and ὡς προεμηνύσαμεν in *Apology*, I, 54, 5).

²⁰ The close proximity of the forms is proved by their occasional exchange at the hands of the copyists of the MSS, sometimes in the early stage of the stemma (cf. *Passio magni martyris Artemii*, 51, [in:] *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5, ed. P.B. KOTTER, Berlin–New York 1988, with swap from ὡς προέφημεν to ὡσπερ ἔφημεν, p. 231 in app.).

regard to Ptolemy, Scylitzes and Cedrenus, Andronicus Callistus and Michael Apostolius, or Cyril of Alexandria's abundant usage, etc.). Hence, there may be some doublet quotations. Phrases are included if they bear a parenthetical function, but there may also occur examples in which they are separate subordinate clauses, adverbial ones, conjunction phrases, discourse markers etc. On the other hand, only the most suitable variants have been selected, using more rigorous criteria; some forms similar to those that marginally occur in table II, as e.g. $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \xi\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ / -\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ ²¹, are omitted in order not to hinder the proper estimates.

Thus, while the previous table lists all the occurrences of $\pi\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\phi\eta\nu$ and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ / -\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ in that type of clauses, the table below presents only $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta\nu$ (2663 occurrences) and $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ / -\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ (1389: $\xi\phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\ \times\ 818$ and $\xi\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ \times\ 571$), $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta\nu$ (only 37) and $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ / -\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ (42: $\xi\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ \times\ 22$ and $\xi\phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\ \times\ 20$), and, as only one example of a much broader group of related expressions, $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\ \xi\phi\eta\nu$ (237) and $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\ \xi\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ / -\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ (132: $\xi\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ \times\ 87$ and $\xi\phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\ \times\ 45$); direct speech and verbatim quotations are included. From the total number of 4500 instances²², ca. 95 singular instances and 200 plural ones are omitted: these are catenae, centons, anonymous scholiae, some identified cross-checked quotations and small fragments of spurious authorship. Occurrences are aggregated for the respective authors in the parentheses next to their names. The personages present in table II (so those who used also $\pi\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\phi\eta\nu\ / \pi\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\phi\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$) are underlined, and cases of special interest, i.e. mainly with numerous or idiosyncratic instances, are bolded. A dozen examples, mainly from the 9th–10th cent. and therefore the closest to the lifespan of George and Theophanes, are listed in detail below the table. To provide a transparent way of comparison, the results from tables II and III are juxtaposed in table IV, which summarises all results for the authors listed in table II.

Table III

(a / b)	($\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta\nu$ with $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta\nu\ / \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta(\alpha)\mu\epsilon\nu$ with $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta(\alpha)\mu\epsilon\nu$)
(a+b / c+d)	($\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta\nu$ with $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta\nu\ + \acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\ \xi\phi\eta\nu\ / \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta(\alpha)\mu\epsilon\nu$ with $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \xi\phi\eta(\alpha)\mu\epsilon\nu\ + \acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\ \xi\phi\eta(\alpha)\mu\epsilon\nu$)
~ 5 th – 1 st BC	
Empedocles of Acragas (1 / 0), Antiphron (0 / 1), Hippocrates + corp. (3 / 0), Plato (0 / 8), Aristotle + corp. (1 / 4+3), Diocles (4 / 0), Asclepiades (1 / 1), Heraclides Ponticus (1 / 0), Theophrastus (2 / 1), Euclid (0 / 2), Philochorus of Athens (0 / 1), Erasistratus (1 / 0), Archimedes (0 / 1), Chryseippus (8 / 0), Aristophanes of Byzantium (0 / 0+1), Attalus of Rhodes (1 / 0), Hipparchus of Nicaea (1 / 1), Agatharchides of Cnidus (0 / 1), Artemidorus (1 / 0), Posidonius of Apamea (2+1 / 0+2), <i>Peri homoion kai diaphoron lexeon</i> (1 / 0), Philodemus (1 / 0), Nicholas of Damascus (1 / 0), Diodorus Siculus (0 / 0+1), Dionysius of Halicarnas (<u>2+45 / 2</u>), Strabo (<u>8+1 / 3+3</u>), Anubion (0+1 / 0)	
total: (40+48 / 26+10) 88 s / 36 pl	

²¹ And, consistently, more elaborate versions like e.g. $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\ \xi\phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ ANDREW OF CRETE'S *In exaltationem venerandae crucis* [= or. XI], PG 97, col. 1037a.

²² Mainly from TLG, supplemented with works mentioned in n. 14.

~ 1st – 3rd AD

Philo of Alexandria (44+4 / 0), Demetrius Rhetor (1 / 0), Rufus of Ephesus (0 / 2), Aelius Theon (0 / 2), Nicomachus of Gerasa (1 / 1), Cornutus (1 / 0), *Vita Adam et Evae* (1 / 0), Soranus (2 / 0), Flavius Joseph (13+2 / 7), Sextus Empiricus (14 / 0), Theon of Smyrna (0 / 3), Plutarch (5+3 / 0), Gaius Suetonius (0 / 1), Dio Chrysostom (8 / 0), Aspasia (1 / 4+1), Elius Aristides (8+12 / 0), Archigenes (0 / 1), Justin the Martyr (2 / 1), Ps.-Justin (2+1 / 0), Phlegon of Tralles (0 / 0+1), Rufus of Perinthus (0 / 0+1), Claudius Ptolemy (3 / 58), Albinus of Smyrna (0 / 1), Antigonus of Nicaea (1 / 0), Athenagoras of Athens (1 / 0), *Epistula ad Diognetum* (1 / 0), *Epistulae Themistoclis* (0+2 / 0), Hierocles (2 / 0), Achilles Tatius (4 / 0), Oenomaus (1 / 0), Papias (1 / 0), Apolonius Dyscolus (3 / 36), *Phalaridis epistulae* (1 / 0), Timaeus the Sophist (0 / 1), Lucian (12+6 / 0), Irenaeus of Lyons (0 / 1), Galen (ca. 370+10 / 15), Pseudo-Galen (7+2 / 3), Aelius Herodianus (0 / 3), Marcus Aurelius (1 / 0), Hermogenes of Tarsus (9+4 / 6), Clement of Alexandria (1+1 / 3), Ps.-Longinus (9 / 0), Athenaeus (4 / 0), Cassius Dio (4 / 2), Origen (2 / 1), Alexander of Aphrodisias (12 / 23), Sextus Empiricus (14 / 1), Philostratus (6 / 0), Heliodorus (1 / 0), Gaius the Roman (1 / 0), Porphyrius of Tyre (2 / 10+1), Gregory the Wonderworker (2 / 0), Clementina (25 / 2), *Corpus Hermeticum* (3 / 0), Aristides Quintilianus (7 / 0), *Martyrium Carpi, Papyli et Agathonicae* (1 / 0), Hippolytus of Rome (12 / 0), Achilles Tatius (1 / 0), Herodianus (2 / 0), Eutecnius (0+1 / 1), Dionysius Cassius Longinus (1 / 0), Diophantus (0 / 1), Plotinus (0 / 1), Methodius of Olympos (16 / 0), Cassius the Iatrosophist (0 / 10)

total: (646+48 / 201+4) | 694 s / 205 pl

4th – 6th AD

Ulpian of Antioch (2 / 0), Menander the Rhetor (1+1 / 4+1), Jamblichus (0 / 4), Sopater (4 / 4), Eustathius of Antioch (2 / 0), Julian Arianus (2 / 0), Historia Alexandri (ε) – rec. byz. poetica (2+1 / 0), Eusebius of Caesarea (44+4 / 2), Libanius (7 / 0), Julian the Apostate (4 / 0), Basil of Ancyra (0+2 / 0), Themistius (4+15 / 5+2), Athanasius of Alexandria (8 / 0), Basil of Caesarea (6+1 / 4+2), Ephrem the Syrian (6 / 0), Gregory of Nyssa (1 / 7), Gregory Nazianzen (3+1 / 0+1), Severian of Gabala (2 / 0), Oribasius (12+1 / 1), Nemesius of Emesa (0 / 3), Marcellus of Ancyra (4 / 1), Eutropius (1 / 0), Hephaestion of Thebes (7 / 2), Ammon (1 / 0), Cyril of Jerusalem (2 / 0), Diodorus of Tarsus (0 / 1), Didymus the Blind (1 / 7), Pappus of Alexandria (1 / 2), Theon of Alexandria (2 / 188), Epiphanius of Salamis (90 / 7), John Chrysostom (19+12 / 0), Eunapius of Sardis (0 / 1+1), Macarius Magnes (3 / 0), John Stobaeus (2+1 / 2), Theodore of Mopsuestia (10 / 0), Syrianus (0 / 15), Pseudo-Martyrius (0+1 / 0), Theodosius of Alexandria (0 / 1+1), Isidorus of Pelusium (2 / 0), Concilium Ephesenum (112+2 / 10), Cyril of Alexandria (652[662]+7 / 9), Socrates Scholasticus (26+1 / 2+1), Basil of Seleucia (3 / 0), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (47 / 2), Concilium Chalcedonense (6 / 4), Vita Alexandri hegumeni (1 / 0), Lachares (0 / 1), Hierocles (1 / 3), Diadochus of Photice (12 / 0), Genadius I (1 / 0), Proclus of Athens (15+9 / 7+3), Marinus (3+1 / 0), Ammonius (0 / 3), John of Caesarea (3 / 0), Damascius (0 / 1), Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (6 / 0), Aetius of Amida (3 / 0), Sergius' *Vita Marciani Oeconomi* (0 / 1), Olympiodorus the Deacon (6 / 5+1), Procopius of Gaza (0 / 2), Pseudo-Gelasius (0 / 0+1), Pseudo-Caesarius (1 / 0), Anthemius of Tralles (1 / 0), Choricus of Gaza (1+1 / 0), Cosmas Indicopleustes (1 / 0), Leontius of Jerusalem (1 / 0), John Scholasticus (5 / 6), John the Lydian (19+1 / 3), *Vita Marcelli Acoemetae* (0 / 1), Evagrius Scholasticus (1+2 / 2), Simplicius (2 / 8), *Justinian I (6 / 0), Olympiodorus of Alexandria (2 / 2), David the Philosopher (0 / 4), John Philoponus (3 / 10), Pamphilus the Theologian (perhaps identical with Pamphilus of Jerusalem, cf. above, 1 / 0), Alexander of Tralles (0 / 1), Eustratius (1 / 0), John Moschus (2 / 0), Pseudo-Hermippus (0 / 7), *Vita Symeonis Stylitae iun.* (0 / 1)

total: (1199+64 / 356+14) | 1263 s / 370 pl

Table III (cont.)

7th – 11th AD

Stephen of Alexandria (3+1 / 1+1), Antiochus Pandectes (0 / 1), Paul of Aegina (5 / 2), John I of Thessalonica (3 / 0), Sophronius of Jerusalem (5 / 6), *Concilium 649* (3 / 1), *Chronicon paschale* (3 / 1), Theodore of Raithou (0 / 2+1), Maximus the Confessor (45 / 1), Trichas (0 / 17), *Concilium Constantinopolitanum III* (1 / 1+1), *Doctrina Patrum* (6 / 0), *Vitae Alypii Stylitae* (0 / 2+1), *Miracula sancti Demetrii* (0 / 3), *Miracula sancti Artemii* (0 / 1), Gregory of Acragas (0 / 1), Pseudo-David / Pseudo-Elias (0 / 1), ?Leontius Mechanicus (0 / 3), Germanus I (0 / 1+2), Andrew of Crete (2+1 / 3), John of Damascus (15 / 9), Theophilus of Edessa [*De rebus praesertim bellicis*] (0 / 1), Stephen the Deacon (1 / 1), Nicephorus I (2 / 1), George Choeroboscus (0 / 1 [in quotation]), Theognostus (0 / 1), Leontius of Damascus (1 / 0+1), Theodore the Studite (1 / 0), Ignace the Deacon (2 / 0), Michael Syncellus (0 / 1), Methodius of Constantinople (5 / 9+5), Euodius (1 / 0), John of Sardis (3 / 2), *Hippiatrica* (1 / 2), *Vita Theophylacti Nicomediensis* (1 / 0), Saba, *Vita Ioannicii* (5 / 0), Saba, *Vita Petri Atroatae* (3 / 1), *Vita et miracula Petri Atroatae* (3 / 1), *Theophanes Continuatus* (0 / 2), *Passio sancti Georgii* (*Ath.* 343, *Vat. Pal.* 205) (1 / 0), *Vita Athanasiae Aeginetae* (0 / 1), *Vita Michaelis Syncelli* (0 / 2), Michael The Monk, *Vita Theodori Studitae* (1 / 0), *Vita Eliae spelaioatae* (1 / 0), *Vita Theodoraе imperatricis* (0 / 1), Sophronius I of Alexandria (1 / 3), George the Monk (15 / 0), ?Paul of Nicaea (0 / 1), Photius (18+3 / 34+18), Peter of Sicily (1 / 0), John Syncellus / *De sacris imaginibus contra Constantinum Cabalinum* (1 / 0), *Scripta anonyma adversus judaeos* (4 / 13), Nicetas the Teacher (2 / 3+1), Nicetas David Paphlagon (0 / 3), Peter of Argos (1 / 0), *Basilica & Ecloga Basilicarum* + scholia (3 / 5), Leo VI the Wise (3 [Nov. 94 + 2x in hom.] + 8 [Nov. 5, 23, 25, 40, 60, 97 + 2x in hom.] / 2 [Nov. 29, 33] + 3 [Nov. 19, 93, 95]), Leo Choerosphactes (1 / 0), Nicholas I Mysticus (1+2 / 2+3), Euthymius I of Constantinople (2 / 6), Arethas of Caesarea (0 / 5+1), Theodore Daphnopates (1 / 3), John Cameniates (1 / 1), Theodore of Nicaea (1 / 0), Professor Anonymus (0 / 1), Constantine VII (2 / 7+2), Leo of the *Vita Theodori Cytherii* (0 / 2), *Vita Pauli iunioris* (0 / 0+3) *Sylloge tacticorum* (9 / 21+2), Symeon Eulabes or the Studite (0 / 1), *De velitatione bellica* (2 / 9), Symeon Metaphrastes (0+1 / 1+2), Leo the Deacon (2 / 0), *Digenis Acritas* (2 / 0), *Martyrium Sebastianae* (1 / 0), *Vita Lazari* (1+1 / 0), *Passio anonyma XLII martyrum Amoriensum* (2+1 / 0+2), *Laudatio seu passio s. Jacobi Zebedaei* (0 / 0+1), John of Sicily (10+1 / 1), Philetus of Tarsus (1 / 0), John Doxopatres (0 / 3 [at least 2 in quot.]), Symeon the New Theologian (3 / 8), Michael Psellus (4 / 3), Nicetas Stethatus (1 / 1), John Scylitzes + *Scyl. Cont.* (0 / 5), Christopher of Mytilene (1 / 1), Michael Cerularius, sp. (0 / 2), Symeon Seth (0 / 2), Michael of Ephesus (0 / 3), John Mauropous (0 / 1), Michael Attaleiates (0 / 1)

total: (221+19 / 241+50) | 240 s / 291 pl

12th – 16th AD

Isaac Comnenus (1 / 1), Eustratius of Nicaea (0 / 2), Theophylact of Ohrid (3 / 1), Anna Comnena (4 / 3+1), Nicephorus Bryennius (1 / 0), Theodore Prodromus (3 / 3), Nicetas Seides (4 / 1), John Cedrenus (8 / 3 – mostly rewritten from his sources), Michael Glycas (0 / 22), Nicetas of Maroneia (0 / 4), Theorianus (3 / 0), Philagathus Cerameus (3 / 0), *Timarion* (1 / 0), Anacharsis/Ananias (0 / 1), Gregory Pardus (1 / 1), John Zonaras (0 / 1), Nicetas Eugenianus (1 / 0), Nicholas of Methone (0 / 1), John Tzetzes (45+3 / 14+6), Isaac Tzetzes (5 / 0), John Cinnamus (0+7 / 1), Eustathius of Thessalonica (0 / 11), Theodora Raulaina (3 / 0), Euthymius Malaces (1 / 0), Neophytus the Recluse (1 / 8+1), Nicephorus Chrysoberges (0 / 2), Nicholas of Otranto (3 / 9), Michael Choniates (4 / 0), Nicetas Choniates (6 / 2), Theodosius Gudeles (1 / 1), Neilus of Thamasia (0 / 1), Nicephorus Blemmydes (2 / 2+2), Demetrius Chomatenus (0 / 1), Germanus II (0 / 1), Manuel Gabalas (1+1 / 0), *Vita Naumi Ohridense* (0 / 1), *Vita Bartholomei Simeritae* (0 / 2), Andreas Libadenus (0+1 / 0), Theodore II Ducas Lascaris (2 / 4), Joel the Chronographer (0 / 1), George Acropolis (11 / 9+1), Constantine Meliteniotes (3 / 0), Maximus Planudes (11 / 18), George Metochites (1 / 4), John XI Beccus (5+1 / 8),

Gregory II of Cyprus (0 / 1+1), George Moschamper (2 / 8), Athanasius I of Constantinople (**14 / 0**), George Pachymeres (0 / 4), John Pediasimus (0 / 2), Manuel Bryennius (0 / 3), Constantine Acropolitae (6 / 0), Nicephorus Chumnus (2 / 1), Irene Chumnaena (1 / 0), John Actuarius (1 / 0), Theodore Metochites (**42 / 7**), Joseph Rhacendythes (0 / 3), Constantine Lucites (0 / 0+1), Matthew Blastares (0 / 1), Nicephorus Callistes Xanthopulus (5+1 / 6+2), Gregory Sinaites (1 / 0), Ephrem of Ainus (**34 / 2**), Issac Argyrus (1 / 0), Theoctistus the Studite (2 / 6), Theodore Dexius (**1 / 15+3**), Gregory Acindynus (**16 / 1**), Gregory Palamas (8 / 6+1), David Dishypatus (3 / 1), Schol. coll. Marc. in Dionysii Thracis (0 / 1), Joseph Calothetus (3+1 / 1), Michael Gabras (**13 / 0**), Thomas Magister (0 / 7), Nicephorus Gregoras (**8 / 23**), Registrum Patr. Const. (0 / 5), John VI Cantacuzenus (**3+6 / 7+19**), Constantine Harmenopulus (0 / 1), Nicholas Artabasdas Rhabdas (0 / 2), Isidore Glabas (0 / 5), Nilus Cabasilas (0 / 1), Demetrius Cydones (2 / 3), Prochorus Cydones (1 / 0), Callistus I (4 / 7+1), Philotheus Coccinus (**32+1 / 6+2**), John Cyparissiotis (+sp.) (1+1 / 1), Theodore Meliteniotes (**0 / 26+3**), Nicetas Myrsiniotes (0 / 1), George of Pelagonia (1 / 1), Theophanes III of Nicaea (5 / 0), Callistus Angelicudes (2 / 3+1), editor of Pachymeres (**0 / 20+1**), Manuel Chrysoloras (1 / 1), Symeon of Thessalonica (0 / 7), Vita Athanasii Methooritae (2 / 3), Vita Oppiani Anazarbensis (0 / 1), De planetae (0 / 5), Manuel Calecas (8+1 / 0), Manuel II (2+1 / 0), John Anagnostes (1 / 1), John Eugenicus (4 / 0), Joasaph of Ephesus (0+1 / 1), John Doceianus (1 / 0), John Chortasmenus (0+1 / 0), Concilium Florentinum (0 / 7), Mark Eugenicus (0 / 2), Constantine XI (0 / 2), Thomas Palaeologus (0 / 2), Andreas Chrysoberges (0 / 1), Silvester Syropulus (1+1 / 1), George Gemistus Pletho (0+1 / 3), Laonicus Chalcocondyles (1 / 0), Gennadius II Scholarius (3+1 / 1+2), Theodore Agallianus (2 / 1), Michael Critobulus (2 / 0), Bessarion (1 / 0), George of Trebizond (0 / 2), Theodore Gazes (2 / 1), John Argyropulus (2 / 1), Michael Apostolius (5+1 / 1), Ducas (0 / 2), Pseudo-Sphrantzes (0 / 3)

total: (507+31 / 381+48) | 538 s / 429 pl

documents from Athonite monasteries (8+2 / 24), typica (8 / 10)

total above: (2629+212 / 1239+126) | 2841 s / 1365 pl

valid for 18 October 2015, with 2420 authors included in TLG

<i>Vita Alypii Stylitae</i> ₂	2 pl	<i>Vita altera</i> , 13; 24, [in:] H. DELEHAYE, <i>Les saints stylites</i> , Bruxelles 1923	(ὡς ἔφημεν)
<i>Laudatio Alypii Styl.</i>	1 pl	11, [in:] ut supra	(ὥσπερ ἔφημεν)
Stephen the Deacon	1 s	<i>Vita Stephani iun.</i> , 2, ed. M.-F. AUZÉRY, <i>La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre</i> , Aldershot–Brookfield 1997	(ὡς ἔφηγν)
Nicephorus I	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 7	(ὡς ἔφαμεν)
Theognostus	2 s	<i>Eusebii Caesariensis confutatio</i> , 66, 151 & 172, [in:] J.B. PRTRA, S. Nicephori Antirrheticus lib. IV, <i>Spicilegium Solesmense</i> 1, Paris 1852	(ὡς ἔφηγν)
Leontius of Damascus	1 pl	<i>Pseudo-Epiphani sive Epiphaniidis confutatio</i> , 14, ed. ut supra	(ὡς ἔφημεν)
Theodore the Studite	1 pl	<i>De orthographia</i> , 4, [in:] <i>Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptoris bibliothecarum Oxoniensium</i> , ed. J.A. CRAMER, vol. II, Oxford 1835	(ὡς ἔφαμεν)
Michael Syncellus	1 s	<i>Vita Stephani sabaitae</i> , 40, [in:] A.ASS Jul. III (1867)	(ὡς ἔφηγν)
Methodius	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 12	(ὥσπερ ἔφαμεν)
	1 s	ep. 383, 52, rec. G. FAROUROS, vol. II, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1992	(ὡς ἔφηγν)
	1 pl	<i>Peri tes tou logou syntaxeos</i> , 15, [in:] <i>Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle</i> , ed. D. DONNET, Bruxelles 1982	(ὡς ἔφαμεν)
	5 s	<i>Vita Euthymii Sardiani</i> , 2, 21; 13, 258	(ὡς ἔφηγν)
	1 pl	<i>Encomium in sanctam Agatham</i> , 1; 5, 16; ed. ut supra	(ὡς ἔφημεν)
	+6 pl	<i>Vita Theophanis Confessoris</i> , 21, [in:] <i>Mefodija patriarcha K-poljskogo Žitije prep. Feofana Isprovednika</i> , wyd. V.V. LATYŠEV, St-Peterburg 1918	(ὡς ἀνωθεν ἔφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 57	(ὡς ἔφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Vita Euthymii Sardiani</i> , 26, 531; 33, 679; 46, 941, ed. ut supra	(ὡς ἔφαμεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Encomium in sanctam Agatham</i> , 32, ed. E. MIONI, AB 68, 1950	(καθὼς ἔφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Vita Theophanis Confessoris</i> , 18	(ὥσπερ ἔφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Vita Euthymii Sardiani</i> , 35, 745	(ὥσπερ ἔφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Vita Euthymii Sardiani</i> , 24, 485	(ὥσπερ ἔφαμεν)
	+4 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 25, 514–515	
		<i>Vita Theophanis Confessoris</i> , 5; 45; 51	

Ignace the Deacon	3 s	<i>Vita Nicephori</i> , 69, [in:] <i>Nicephori patriarchae C-politani opuscula historica</i> , rec. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1880 <i>Vita Tarasii</i> , 22; 35, ed. I.A. HEIKEL, Helsingfors 1891	(ὡς ἔφη)ν
Euodius	1 s	<i>Vita martyrum quadraginta duo Amoriensium</i> , 35, wyd. V. VASILJEVSKIJ & P. NIKITIN, Sankt-Peterburg 1905	(ὡς ἔφη)ν :oratio recta)
Saba	5 s	<i>Vita Ioannicii</i> , 22, AASS, Nov. 2.1, 3, 9, 24, 45, 48	(ὡς ἔφη)ν
	3 s	<i>Vita Petri Alroatae</i> , / <i>La Vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Alroa</i> , 4, 22; 82, 2; 82, 9, ed. V. LAURENT, Bruxelles 1956	(ὡς ἔφη)ν
	+1 pl	52, 37	(ὡς ἔφη)μεν)
<i>Miracula Petri Atr.</i>	3 s	94, 106, 110, ed. V. LAURENT, <i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 31, 1958	(ὡς ἔφη)ν
	+1 pl	96, 3	(ὡς ἔφη)μεν)
<i>Vita Theophylacti</i>	1 s	7, [in:] BHG 2452	(ὡς ἔφη)ν
<i>Vita Athanasiae</i>	1 pl	L. CARRAS, <i>The Life of St Athanasia of Aegina: A Critical Edition with Introduction</i> , 18, 3, [in:] <i>Maistor...</i> , cf. ut supra	(ὡς ἔφη)μεν)
<i>Vita Michaelis Sync.</i>	1 pl	2, M. CUNNINGHAM, <i>The life of Michael the Synkellos</i> , Belfast 1991, p. 46	(καθὼς ἔφη)μεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 24, p. 98	(καθὼς ἔφα)μεν)
Michael the Monk	1 s	<i>Vita Theodori Studitae</i> , 56, [in:] PG 99, p. 313	(ὡς ἔφη)ν
<i>Vita Theodorae imp.</i>	1 pl	10, ed. A. MARKOPOULOS, <i>Symmeikta</i> 5, 1983, p. 267	(ὡς ἔφη)μεν)
<i>Vita Eliae spelaiotae</i>	1 s	76, [in:] AASS Sept. III	(ὡς ἔφη)ν
<i>Vita Pauli iun.</i>	3 pl	18; 19; 23, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Berlin 1913	(ὡ)στε)ρ ἔφη)μεν)
Leo	2 pl	<i>Vita Theodori Cytherii</i> , 2; 4, ed. N. OIKONOMIDES, <i>Praktika tritou panioniou synedriou</i> , Athenai 1967	(ὡς ἔφη)μεν)
Pseudo-Basil	1 s	<i>Žitie iže vo sv. otca našego Feodora archiepiskopa Edesskogo</i> , 96, ed. I. POMIALOVSKIJ, Sankt-Peterburg 1892	(ὡς ἔφη)ν :oratio recta)
Nicetas the Teacher	2 s	<i>Confutatio falsi libri, quem scripsit Mohamedes Arabs</i> , 21, 7, 165 & 171, [in:] K. FÖRSTEL, <i>Schriften zum Islam</i> , Würzburg 2000	(ὡς ἔφη)ν

Table IV

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προ- έφηγ and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφηγ + ὡσπερ ἔφηγ	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὡσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
Arius Didymus	1	–	–	–
Nicomachus	–	1	2	1
Justin Martyr	17	2	15	1
Irenaeus of Lyons	–	–	6 or 7	1
Galen	1	ca. 370 + 10	–	15
<i>Clementina</i>	1	25	–	2
<i>Hist. Alexandri</i> (ε)	2	2 + 1	1	–
Basil of Caesarea	1	6 + 1	–	4 + 2
Ps.-Ephrem of Chersonesus	–	–	3	–
Gregory of Nyssa	2	1	3	7
Evagrius Ponticus	–	–	1	–
Ps.-Athanasius	–	–	1	–
Epiphanius of Salamis	–	90	2 (in quot.)	7
John Chrysostom	2	19 + 12	–	–
Ps.-Macarius	–	–	4	–
John Stobaeus	1	2 + 1	1	2
Palladius	1	–	–	–
Philostorgius	1	–	1	–
Eutyches	1	–	–	–
<i>Vita Alexandri hegumeni</i>	–	1	1	–
Diadochus of Photice	1	12	–	–
Gennadius I	1	1	1	–
Proclus of Athens	1	15 + 9	1	7 + 3
anon. papyr. mag.	1	–	–	–
Procopius of Gaza	–	–	–	2
Pseudo-Gelasius	1	–	–	0 + 1
Ps.-Caesarius	4	1	–	–
John Scholasticus	1	5	5	6
John the Lydian	–	19 + 1	4	3
Abraham of Ephesus	–	–	1	–
Fl. Phoebammon	1	–	–	–
<i>Chronicon paschale</i>	1	3	–	1

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προ- έφηγν and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς έφηγν + ὡσπερ έφηγν	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς έφη(α)μεν + ὡσπερ έφη(α)μεν
John Climacus	–	–	1	–
Maximus Confessor	4	45	–	1
<i>Vita Alypii Stylitae</i> ₁	–	–	1	2 + 1
Pamphilus of Jerusalem	(1?)	(1?)	1	–
Tarasius I	1	–	–	–
George Syncellus	–	–	–	–
Theophanes	6	–	5	–
George Choeroboscus	–	–	1	1 (in quot.)
Michael Syncellus	–	–	2	1
<i>Vita Nicephori Medicii</i>	–	–	1	–
Methodius I	–	5	1	9 + 5
<i>Vita Andreae in trib.</i>	1	–	–	–
Saba (<i>Vita Ioannicii</i>)	1	5	–	–
Saba (<i>Vita Petri Atroatae</i>)	1	3	–	1
<i>Vita Athanasiae</i>	–	–	1	1
George the Monk	–	15	1	–
?Paul of Nicaea	1	–	–	1
Photius I	–	18 + 3	3	34 + 18
Nicholas Mysticus	1	1 + 2	4	2 + 3
Basil	–	–	1	–
Constantine VII	–	2	2	7 + 2
Pseudo-Heron	–	–	1	–
Nicephorus (<i>Vita s. Andreae</i>)	2	–	–	–
<i>Vita Pauli iun.</i>	–	–	1	0 + 3
<i>De velitatione bellica</i>	–	2	1	9
<i>Digenis Acritas</i>	1	2	–	–
John of Sicily	2	10 + 1	–	1
Michael Cerularius	–	–	1	2
Michael Attaleiates	–	–	3	1
<i>Vita Niconis</i>	–	–	2	–
Christodulos	–	–	4	–
<i>Vita Phantini iun.</i>	1	–	–	–
<i>Translatio Nicolai</i>	–	–	1	–

Table IV (cont.)

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προ- έφηγν and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς έφηγν + ὡσπερ έφηγν	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς έφη(α)μεν + ὡσπερ έφη(α)μεν
John Tzetzes	3	45 + 3	3	14 + 6
Eustathius of Thessalonica	–	–	1	11
Neophytus the Recluse	6	1	9	8 + 1
Nicholas of Otranto	3	3	10	9
Manuel Holobolus	1	–	–	–
Andrew Libadenus	1	0 + 1	–	–
George Acropolites	1	11	1	9 + 1
Constantine Meliteniotes	2	3	–	–
Maximus Planudes	–	11	1	18
George Metochites	1	1	2	4
Gregory Acindynus	–	16	1	1
Gregory Palamas	1	8	1	6+1
David Dishypatus	–	3	3	1
<i>Schol. coll. Marciana</i>	–	–	2	1
Thomas Magister	–	–	2	7
Nicephorus Gregoras	1	8	1	23
Philotheus Coccinus	1	32 + 1	–	6 + 2
John Cyparissiotis, (+sp.)	–	1	1	1 + 1
Theodore Meliteniotes	–	–	6	26 + 3
Callistus Angelicudes	–	2	2	3 + 1
editor of Pachymeres	–	–	1	20 + 1
Symeon of Thessalonica	2	–	2	7
Manuel II	1	2 + 1	–	–
John Cananus	–	–	1	–
Ducas	–	–	2	2
Sphrantzes/Melissenus	1	–	2	3
<i>Ekthesis chronica</i>	–	–	1	–

Once again, the historical development and popularity of the phrases throughout the respective periods, as well as their presence in formal, archaising and vernacular language will not be treated here at length, and no sine wave of their frequency will be drawn below, even though such a presentation would bring forth some interesting data (tendencies in the singular/plural etc.). Overall, one may notice the rarity of the phrases with καθώς (79 in total, cf. 17 + προέφη-ην / προέφημεν / -αμεν), but generally ὡς ἔφη and ὡς ἔφημεν / -αμεν are undeniably frequent: despite the elimination of some potentially suitable examples, a total of 4500 occurrences with the second aorist of φημί is almost nineteen times as many as the alternative expressions with the second aorist of πρόφημι (total 246).

The earlier observations now become more expressive and distinctive. Firstly, the phrases pervade different literary styles, genres and fields of writing; secondly, they reveal individual characteristics, due to the frequency noticeable here on a large scale. There was a group of authors who applied diverse phrases in all or almost all of their variants in their texts (Flavius Joseph, Galen, Themistius, Socrates Scholasticus, Proclus of Athens, Photius, John Tzetzes, John VI Cantacuzenus, Philotheus Coccinus). Some others used only the basic, most standard versions, yet they did it often, and either the singular or the plural forms prevail (Dionysius of Halicarnas, Strabo, Claudius Ptolemy, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Eusebius of Caesarea, Theon of Alexandria, Epiphanius of Salamis, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, John the Lydian, John of Sicily, George Acropolites, Theodore Metochites, Nicephorus Gregoras, Ephrem of Ainus, Theodore Dexius, Gregory Acindynus). Others, in spite of employing the clauses frequently, used consistently only one grammatical number (Philo of Alexandria, Methodius of Olympus, John Chrysostom, Diadochus of Photice, Syrianus, Maximus the Confessor, Trichas, George the Monk, Michael Glycas, patriarch Athanasius I, Michael Gabras, Theodore Meliteniotes). These are just the cases that particularly rivet our attention in terms of numbers, but the majority of the authors from table III could be said to fall into this pattern. A few writers are unrivalled as regards the frequency of the phrase, as e.g. Cyril of Alexandria (662 occurrences in TLG including only 10 repeated verbatim more than once, and 652 original, often preceded by γάρ) or another Alexandrian, Theon (188 unrepeated plural instances).

Obviously, many ancient and Byzantine *literati* who did not employ ὡς προέφη-ην, ὡς προέφημεν, etc. in their works knew and repeatedly wrote structures like ὡς ἔφη and ὡς ἔφημεν / -αμεν, exactly the contrary to what the author of the *Chronographia* did (e.g. Plato, Aristotle, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Philo, Plutarch, Eusebius of Caesarea, Libanius, Julian, Gregory Nazianzen, Themistius, Theon of Alexandria, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Evagrius Scholasticus, Stephen of Alexandria, Paul of Egina, Trichas, Theodore the Studite, Ignace the Deacon, patriarch Euthymius I, Arethas of Caesarea, Symeon the New Theologian, Anna Comnena, Michael Glycas, Athanasius I of Constantinople, John XI Beccus, John Cantacuzenus, Ephrem of Ainus and dozens of others). The view is slightly less transparent because the general statistics and proportions between

phrases with φημί and πρόφημι are not reflected in the individual cases. Nevertheless, one glance at table IV is enough to see that the expressions ὡς ἔφην and ὡς ἔφημεν / -αμεν are not always predominant in the respective cases, or that the numbers are closer or present a more balanced proportion in the case of ὡς προέφην, ὡς προέφημεν / -αμεν, as e.g. in Justin, Gregory of Nyssa, Nicholas Mysticus, Neophytus, or George Metochites.

The examples from the 7th–11th cent., attest to the diversity during the period in which Theophanes was active. They reveal that the literature of that time, including hagiography, did not follow one established way of expression, either plural or singular. They also provide some important cases of ecclesiastic authorities who flourished roughly or exactly in the years when the *Chronographia* was finished, and who also used various forms (Methodius, Saba, Nicephorus).

Finally, table IV encapsulates the tendencies of diversity and individualism with regard to all the discussed phrases – even if columns 1+3 and 2+4 cannot be compared automatically (with only ὡς..., καθὼς..., ὡςπερ... in the latter), and even if some aspects of the variety remain unreflected (neither of the tables distinguishes the first person endings in the plural). To sum up, it is unnecessary to presume different hands or collective authorship where both plural and singular forms intertwine – the table shows nearly 45 examples of this kind, many of which include no or almost no quotations or passages copied from elsewhere and thus belonging to a different style. The use of a few various forms, both such built on φημί and πρόφημι, with an identical or similar function in the sentence was not isolated and had all the hallmarks of originality and individualism (cf. above all Galen, Justin, Basil of Caesarea, John the Lydian, Maximus Confessor, John of Damascus, Methodius I, Photius, Nicholas Mysticus, John Tzetzes, Neophytus the Recluse, Nicholas of Otranto, Philotheus Coccinus). Both situations might sometimes apply to the original fragments of a single work or, alternatively, to a group of works by the same author whose authorship is undisputed or strongly established from the modern perspective²³. The use of προέφην, προέφημεν / -αμεν proves an uncom-

²³ Just to give a few striking examples from the ones summarised in table III:

- Eusebius of Caesarea – ὡς ἔφαμεν: IV, 11, 9; καθὼς ἔφαμεν: V, 7, 4;
- Socrates of Constantinople – ὡς ἔφην: 26 occurrences throughout the *Historia ecclesiastica*, and also ὡςπερ ἔφην: V, 22, 109; ὡς ἔφημεν: IV, 1, 2; ὡς ἔφαμεν: III, 7, 21; ὡςπερ ἔφημεν: VI, 8, 1;
- Evagrius Scholasticus – ὡς ἔφαμεν: III, 14, p. 112, 25 (in quot. from Zeno's *Henoticon*) and ὡς ἔφημεν: II, 8, p. 58, 8 (in quot. from the petition of the Egyptian clergy to Leo I; ed. J. BIDEZ, L. PARMENTIER, London 1898); Evagrius himself preferred ὡς εἰρηται;
- Andrew of Crete – in *Homilia in exaltatione s. crucis* (ed. M. DE GROOTE, HTR 100, 2007, p. 443–487) ὡς ἔφην: 5, 358 and 8, 510; ὡςπερ ἔφην: 6, 450; in *In s. Patapium* (= or. XIX, PG 97, col. 1206–1221[1254]) ὡς ἔφημεν: col. 1209d; ὡς ἔφαμεν: col. 1216a and 1217c (cf. also ὡς μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν in *In exaltationem ven. crucis* [= or. XI, *ibidem*], col. 1037a); interestingly enough, neither of the other Andrew's texts present in PG 97 or TLG preserves the abovementioned phrases; authorship of both *Homilia in exaltatione s. crucis* and *In s. Patapium* is not doubted (cf. M. DE GROOTE, p. 443–444 and e.g. A. KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine literature (650–850)*, p. 52–54);

mon feature, with only three authors surpassing Theophanes in frequency. At the same time, the lack of phrases such as *ὡς ἔφην* and *ὡς ἔφημεν* / *-αμεν* emphasises the specificity of the *Chronographia*, as does the use of the clauses with *καθὼς*.

Greek offers a larger group of phrases, unmentioned here, useful for expressing the same meaning. They are also marked stylistically only to a limited extent, and therefore more or less neutral and subject to symmetrical interrelationships (e.g. *ὡς εἶρηται* – 7153 in TLG and *ὡς προεἶρηται* – 1264 in TLG; both nearly absent from the *Chronographia*)²⁴. In that context, the predilection of the author of the chronicle for *ὡς προέφην*, *ὡς προέφημεν* / *-αμεν* manifests itself distinctively. It differentiates his language from all those authors who applied the much more popular forms like *ὡς ἔφην* and *ὡς ἔφημεν* / *-αμεν*, and from George Syncellus, who did not use any of these expressions a single time.

All the above facts suggest strongly that the actual words of a single author – Theophanes – are present in the passages from the *anni mundi* discussed here. In spite of the circumstantial character, the evidence points strongly to Theophanes' fingerprint, identifies him as the author, distinguishes his own words both from George and from the other Constantinopolitan writers. The attestation of these phrases in the opening parts of the chronicle, in the middle of the text, close to the ending, as well as in the proemium points towards one more conclusion, especially if one realises that there is in the *Chronographia* no other similar narrative-organizing expression that is present within such a space: the standardising redaction of this kind was undertaken only once, and was not repeated later for the whole narrative from Diocletian to the 9th cent. This does not mean that the separate fragments or *anni mundi* did not undergo further deliberate modifications before

- Anna Comnena – *ὡς ἔφην*: I, 12, 2; XIII, 5, 4; XIII, 3, 4; *καθὼς ἔφην*: IX, 9, 6; *ὡς ἔφημεν*: III, 8, 5; *ὡς ἔφαμεν*: X, 2, 4 and X, 5, 8; *ὡςπερ ἔφημεν*: XIII, 3, 1; *καθάπερ ἔφημεν*: I, 7, 2; XIII, 2, 2; XIII, 3, 4 [the example is especially striking, even if one bears in mind the doubts concerning the authorship, expressed by J.D. Howard-Johnston and a few other scholars];
- Nicephorus Gregoras – in *Historia Romana* (ed. I. BEKKER, L. SCHOPEN, vol. 1, Bonnae 1829; vol. 2, 1830; vol. 3, 1855) *ὡς ἔφημεν* x 12: VII, 12, p. 273, 22; VIII, 2, p. 292, 5; VIII, 3, p. 294, 8; VIII, 13, p. 371, 3; VIII, 14, p. 373, 11; IX, 1, p. 395, 5; XII, 6, p. 591, 21; XIII, 8, p. 660, 21–22; XVII, 1, p. 845, 23; XVIII, 2, p. 878, 2; XXVIII, 23, p. 190, 19; XXXI, 21, p. 362, 8 and *ὡς ἔφαμεν* x 9: VII, 6, p. 248, 5 and 248, 15–16; VII, 7, p. 249, 6; X, 8, p. 512, 8, and also in ep. 44 and 54 (ed. P.L.M. LEONE 1982–1983), and 2 further occurrences in *Astrolabica A* (3 and Sch. 1; ed. A. DELATTE, Liège–Paris 1939);
- Ephrem of Ainus – 34 occurrences in singular and 2 in plural (*ὡς ἔφημεν*, v. 7981 and *ὡς ἔφαμεν*, v. 9316 [O. LAMPSIDES, *Ephraem Aenii Historia chronica*, Athens 1990]);
- cf. also John the Lydian, who used *ὡς ἔφαμεν* in *De magistratibus* and *De ostentis*, and *ὡς ἔφημεν* in *De mensibus*; Theodore Metochites, in whose works 5 occurrences of *ὡς ἔφημεν* and 2 of *ὡς ἔφαμεν* may be found; or Theodore II Ducas Lascaris (*ὡς ἔφαμεν* x 3 in *Epistulae* and *Sermones de theologia christiana* + *ὡς ἔφημεν* in *Oratio in laudem urbis Niceae*).

²⁴ Due to the popularity of both structures and the synonymous meaning, they were used very often in the same context; thus, the scope of the comparison is even broader, cf. e.g. the frequent *ὡς εἶρηται* in Peter's *Vita Ioannicii*, and *ὡς ἔφην* in Saba's life of the same saint. TLG statistics valid for 18 October 2015.

the split of the manuscripts tradition, but any comprehensive edition seems highly improbable – particularly after Anastasius the Bibliothecarius' translation, but also earlier than that²⁵. The arrangement of the narrative with the use of προέφην, προέφημεν / -αμεν was therefore of a primary and authorial character. It should not be linked to any author of this era and milieu different than Theophanes himself – even to those who did use the phrases built on φημί and πρόφημι. There is at present no reason to think of anybody else but Theophanes himself.

3. Other expressions referring to the past and their various origin

3.1. Forms of ἐπιμνήσκομαι, μιμνήσκω or μνημονεύω

A few similar expressions in the *Chronographia* and the *Ekloge chronographias* shall now be discussed in brief, as they seem to share an analogical function within the narrative. They display various originality, and the assessment of their usefulness for our purposes cannot be uniform, as only a part of them are sufficiently frequent or stylistically distinctive to indicate the authorship. On the other hand, although showing the limitations of the method, they indicate further differences between the two works and may contribute to the verification of some theories previously accepted without a deeper analysis. There are some *loci* where the links with the previous or the next parts of the text are built with ἐπιμνήσκομαι, μιμνήσκω or μνημονεύω.

a. ἐπιμνησθήσομαι

AM 5855 (AD 362/363), p. 52, 19–25: Ἰουλιανὸς πολλοὺς ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τε μαντείας καὶ χρηστήρια, ὅπως ἂν δόξη μετ' ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπὶ Πέρσας πόλεμον ἐγχειρεῖν. καὶ πολλῶν ἐκ διαφόρων κομισθέντων αὐτῷ χρησμῶν, ἐνὸς ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· νῦν πάντες ὠρμήθημεν θεοὶ νίκης τρόπαια κομίσασθαι παρὰ θηρὶ ποταμῷ, τῶν δὲ ἐγὼ ἡγεμονεύω θούρος πολεμόκλονος Ἄρης.

AD 362/363, p. 82: *Julian dispatched numerous emissaries to oracles that gave prophecies in different places so as to appear to be undertaking his war against Persia under the protection of demons. Of the numerous oracles that were brought to him from various places, I shall mention just one. It was as follows: 'All the gods have set out to bring trophies of victory to the wild beast river. I am their leader, impetuous Ares, raising the din of war.'*

location in the entry: (1) – 53 – 59 – (78), **parallel sources:** THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, III, 21, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. L. PARMENTIER, F. SCHEIDWEILER, Berlin 1954 (πέμψας δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ Δῆλον καὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρηστήρια, εἰ χρηὴ στρατεῦειν ἐπηρώτα τοὺς μάντις. οἱ δὲ καὶ στρατεῦειν ἐκέλευον καὶ ὑπισχνούντο τὴν νίκην. ἕνα δὲ τῶν χρησμῶν εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦ ψεύδους ἐνθήσω τῇ συγγραφῇ. ἔστι δὲ οὕτως· «νῦν πάντες ὠρμήθημεν θεοὶ νίκης τρόπαια κομίσασθαι παρὰ Θηρὶ ποταμῷ· τῶν δ' ἐγὼ ἡγεμονεύσω θούρος πολεμόκλονος Ἄρης»); THEODORE ANAGNOSTES, 146, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 (Μαντείας καὶ θυσίας καὶ δαιμόνων ἀπάταις φραζάμενος κατὰ Περσῶν ἐστράτευσεν· ὅτε καὶ χρησμὸν λέγεται λαβεῖν ἔχοντα οὕτως· «νῦν δὲ πάντες ὠρμήθημεν

²⁵ This opinion is not incompatible with the issue of the deterioration of the manuscripts, noted by C. MANGO and R. SCOTT in the introduction to their translatoroion, p. xcvi–xcviii.

θεοὶ νίκης τρόπαια κομίσασθαι παρὰ Θηρί ποταμῶ· τῶν δ' ἐγὼ ἡγεμονεύσω θουῶρος πολεμόκλονος Ἄρης»).

Anastasius: – (cf. p. 90, fragment p. 46, 21 – 53, 24 [AM 5853–5855, i.e. Julian's reign] is not included in Anastasius' translation)

b. ὁ δὲ ἀνωτέρω μνημονευθεὶς

AM 5940 (AD 362/363), p. 99, 28–31: ὁ δὲ ἀνωτέρω μνημονευθεὶς Εὐσέβιος ὁ σχολαστικός, ὁ πρῶτος Νεστορίου λαβόμενος, προαχθεὶς εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν τοῦ Δορυλαίου καὶ πρὸς Εὐτύχην τὸν ἀρχιμανδρίτην περὶ πίστεως διαλεγόμενος εὗρεν οὐκ ὀρθὰ φρονοῦντα αὐτόν.

AD 362/363, p. 82: *Eusebios the scholasticus, who was mentioned earlier as the first person to tackle Nestorios, after being promoted to the bishopric of Dorylaion, happened to be conversing about the faith with the archimandrite Eutyches, and discovered that his views were not correct.*

location in the entry: (1) – 53 – 56 – (70), **parallel sources:** EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, I, 9, ed. J. BIDEZ, L. PARMENTIER, London 1898, p. 17 (Υφ' οὗ τὰ κατὰ Εὐτυχή τὸν δυσσεβῆ κινεῖται, μερικῆς κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀλισθείσης συνόδου, λιβέλλου τε αὐτῆς ἐπιδεδωκότος Εὐσεβίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τοῦ Δορυλαίου διέποντος, ὃς καὶ ῥήτωρ ἔτι τυγχάνων πρῶτος τὴν Νεστορίου βλαφημίαν διήλεγξεν).

Anastasius: p. 106, 1–3 (*porro Eusebius scholasticus, qui primus Nestorium reprehendit, ad episcopatum Dorylaei promotus et de fide cum Eutychi archimandrita disputans invenit eum non recta sapientem*).

c. οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη / οὗ καὶ πρῶν ἐμνήσθη / οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν

AM 5964 (AD 471/472), p. 118, 2–4: ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δὲ Ῥεκίμερ ὁ στρατηγός, οὗ καὶ πρῶν ἐμνήσθη, γαμβρὸς δὲ Ἀνθεμίου, τοῦ εὐσεβῶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ βασιλεύσαντος, ἐπανίσταται τῷ ἰδίῳ κηδεστῇ.

AD 471/472, p. 183–184: *In Italy the general Recimer, whom I have mentioned previously, the brother-in-law of Anthemius who had ruled Rome piously, rose up against his own relative.*

location in the entry: (1) – 12 – 14 – (39), **parallel sources:** PRISCUS PANITES, restored from Theoph. (fr. 64, 2); no relevant passage either in Evagrius Scholasticus, or in PROCOPIUS III, 7, 1.

Anastasius: – (cf. p. 112, fragment p. 115, 18 – 118, 19 [AM 5961–5964] is not included in Anastasius' translation)

AM 5997 (AD 504/505), p. 145, 16–18: Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει στέλλεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀναστασίου στρατιὰ Γότθων τε καὶ Βέσσων καὶ ἐτέρων Θρακίων ἐθνῶν, στρατηγούντος τῆς ἔω καὶ ἐξαρχούντος αὐτῆς Ἀρεοβίνδου, τοῦ Δαγαλαΐφου παιδός, ὑπάτου γεγονότος ὀρδινάρου, (τούτου πρὸς πατρός ἐγένετο πάππος Ἀρεοβίνδος, ὁ κατὰ τὸν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου χρόνον εὐδοκιμήσας κατὰ Περσῶν· ἐτέχθη δὲ Ἀρεοβίνδος τῷ Δαγαλαΐφῳ ἀπὸ Γοδισθεάς, τῆς Ἀρδαβουρίου θυγατρὸς τοῦ παιδὸς Ἄσπαρος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν) ἐπὶ δυναστεία μεγάλη, συναπεστάλησαν δὲ τῷ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ καὶ ἕτεροι πλείστοι στρατηγοί, ὧν οἱ περιφανέστατοι Πατρίκιος ἦν καὶ Ὑπάτιος, ὁ Σεκουνδίνου καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱός, καὶ Φαρισμάνης, ὁ Ζουνᾶ πατήρ, τὸ γένος Λαζός, καὶ Ῥωμανός ὁ προειρημένος ἐξ Εὐφρατησίας συναφθεὶς τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ βασιλεύσας μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ Ζήμαρχος καὶ ἕτεροί τινες,

AD 504/505, p. 225: *In this year the army of Goths, Bessi, and other Thracian races was sent out by the emperor Anastasios under the command of Areobindos, son of Dagalaiphos, who was magister militum per Orientem and exarch of it and had been consul ordinarius. His grandfather on his father's side*

had been the Areobindos who had served with distinction against the Persians in the time of Theodosios the younger, and he was born to Dagalaiphos by Godisthea, the daughter of Ardabourios, son of Aspar, **whom we have previously mentioned**. Many other generals were sent with Areobindos of whom the most distinguished were Patricius, Hypatios (whose parents were Secundinus and the sister of the emperor Anastasius), Pharasmanes the father of Zounas, a Laz by race, **the aforesaid** Romanus, who linked up with the army from Euphratesia, Justin, who later become emperor, Zemarchos, and several others.

location in the entry: (1) – 1 – 14 – (53), **parallel sources:** no relevant passage either in Evagrius Scholasticus, or in PROCOPIUS I, 8, 1–3.

Anastasius: – (cf. p. 120, fragment p. 144, 21 – 149, 25 [AM 5996–5998] is not included in Anastasius' translation)

AM 6026 (AD 533/534), p. 189, 9–13 (cf. above): Βελισάριος δὲ παρέλαβε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν στόλον καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, Σολόμωνά τε τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Δωρόθεον, τὸν τῆς Ἀρμενίας, καὶ Κυπριανὸν καὶ Βαλεριανὸν καὶ Μαρτίνον καὶ Ἄλφιαν καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Μάρκελλον καὶ Κύριλλον, **οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη**, καὶ ἑτέρους πολλοὺς τῶν Θράκην οἰκούντων.

AD 533/534, p. 189: *Belisarius took control of the army, fleet, and the officers, namely the general Solomon, Dorotheos of Armenia, Cyprian, Valerian, Martin, Alphias, John, Marcellus, and Cyril (the one just mentioned) and many others from Thrace.*

location in the entry: (1) – 86 – 90 – (861), **parallel sources:** PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, III, 11, 5–6 **οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη** (ed. H. B. DEWING, II, p. 102)²⁶.

Anastasius: – (pp. 134–135, fragment p. 188, 32 – 189, 18 is not included in Anastasius' translation)

George Syncellus uses expression n° 1 only once, in a slightly different way:

p. 452, 4–5: Ἄλλοι δὲ πλείστοι κατὰ χώρας καὶ κώμας ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν διεσπάρσθησαν, **ἧν ἑνὸς παραδείγματος ἕνεκεν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 532: *But others in great multitudes in the countryside and the villages were torn apart by the Gentiles, of whom I shall recall one for the sake of example*)

Phrases n° 2–3 are absent from the *Ekloge chronographias*. George often used forms like ἐμνημόνευσε, μέμνηται / οὐ μέμνηται (the most typical one, present in every part of the chronicle, occurred 15 times: p. 27, 25; 34, 12; 38, 18; 43, 27; 72, 10; 79, 32; 146, 16; 174, 8; 260, 25; 270, 26; 302, 30; 333, 23; 396, 1; 403, 15; 420, 14), μνησθεῖς, οὗ μνήμην, οὐ μνημονεύεται – but only in reference to his sources, with the authorities usually named (e.g. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος, p. 72, 10 and 174, 8 or τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι μνημονευομένων, p. 74, 16 or Ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ μνημονευομένων ὀνομάτων, p. 243, 21), sometimes – though rarely – impersonally, and never while referring to his own words and the previous pages of his chronicle. Related expressions, more formal and elegant, may also be found here and there:

²⁶ ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν φοιδαράτων μὲν Δωρόθεός τε, ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καταλόγων στρατηγός, καὶ Σολόμων, ὃς τὴν Βελισαρίου ἐπετρόπευε στρατηγίαν· (δομέστικον τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ὁ δὲ Σολόμων οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὰ αἰδοῖα ἐτύγχανεν ἀποτμηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ τύχη ἐν σπαργάνοις ὄντι τοῦτο ἐβράβευσε·) καὶ Κυπριανός καὶ Βαλεριανός καὶ Μαρτίνος καὶ Ἄλθιας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Μάρκελλος καὶ Κύριλλος, **οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθη**.

p. 48, 5–6: *χρή δὲ ἀναμνησθῆναι τῶν προλεχθέντων ἀνωτέρω*
(Adler/Tuffin, p. 62: *But one should be mindful of what has been previously stated*)

With this difference between the two parts and without any proper proof from the translation of Anastasius, the origin of Theophanes' phrases remains ambiguous. The respective passages were not translated by Anastasius with one exception that bears no trace of the phrase (n° 2)²⁷, either due to its absence from the Greek original or because of the deliberate skip of the remark, deemed unnecessary in a shortened part of the chronicle. Only the expression in the last passage (AM 6026) was copied into the *Chronographia* from Procopius. The previous four cannot be traced back to the direct or the parallel sources, which does not necessarily mean Theophanes' wording here. One may tentatively assume that the bolded words in n° 1 were taken from the source and reworded by Theophanes, in n° 2 they were the addition of his own, in n° 3 (the first two examples) they were either rewritten from unknown sources (as they were in the last example from *De bellis*) or were the result of Theophanes' editorial activities, as the cross-references are not empty. Be that as it may, George's hand in the edition of the sources is at any rate improbable here²⁸.

3.2 ὡς (προ)λέλεκται

Some expressions, like the relatively common ὡς (προ)λέλεκται, are even more dubious as far as their origin is concerned. In the *Chronographia* they appear rarely, but in various parts of the work:

1. AM 5857 (AD 364/365), p. 55, 1–5: *Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ Αὐγουστος Γρατιανὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν Αὐγουστον ἀνηγόρευσεν, κοινῶν τῆς βασιλείας ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑπατον, προαναγορεύσας καὶ Οὐάλεντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλέα, ὡς προλέλεκται, διάπυρον Ἀρειανὸν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπὸ Εὐδοξίου βαπτισθέντα.*

AD 364/365, p. 85: *In this year the Augustus Valentinian proclaimed his son Gratian Augustus, both as partner in the Empire and as consul, having previously proclaimed, as has been said, his brother Valens emperor, an ardent Arian who had been baptized by Eudoxios.*

location in the entry: (1) – 1 – 5 – (16), parallel sources:?

Anastasius, p. 90, 36–39: *interea Valentinianus Augustus Gratianum filium suum Augustum appellavit communicatorem imperii pariter et consulem ante pronuntiatum, et Valentem fratrem suum imperatorem.* [the underlined sentence edited out]

²⁷ Most of them are placed in that part of translation which forms an abbreviated summary – fragments of Theophanes (p. 46, 21 – 53, 24 [AM 5853–5855, i.e. Julian's reign], p. 115, 18 – 118, 19 [AM 5961–5964], p. 144, 21 – 149, 25 [AM 5996–5998], p. 188, 32 – 189, 18) are eliminated from the Latin text (see Anastasius, p. 90, 112, 120, 134–135). Only AM 5940 (example 2.) is given in Anastasius, but ὁ δὲ ἀνωτέρω μνημονευθεὶς is not translated (Anastasius, p. 106, 1–3).

²⁸ For n° 2 and 3.1 see also the papers of B. POUDERON and G. GREATREX in TM 2015.

2. AM 6071 (AD 578/579), p. 249, 22–23: Τούτω τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰβ', ἐβασίλευσε Τιβέριος στεφθεὶς ὑπὸ Εὐτυχίου πατριάρχου, ὡς προλέλεκται. ὑπῆρχε δὲ τῷ γένει καὶ αὐτὸς Θράξ.

AD 578/379, p. 369: *In this year in the month of October, indiction 12, Tiberios became emperor, having been crowned by the patriarch Eutybios, as already mentioned. He, too, was a Thracian by descent.*

location in the entry: (1) – 1 – 3 – (15), parallel sources: cf. JOHN OF EPHEBUS, III, 9, ed. & trans. E.W. BROOKS [CSCO 104], p. 98, 26–29 (*Mortuo autem Iustino, postquam Tiberius regni diadema accepit, ut supra rettulimus, reginam Sophiam obsecravit ut ipse uxorem suam arcesseret et ea ingrederetur et ipsa etiam regina fieret*, cf. Mango/Scott, p. 370 note 2).

Anastasius, p. 153, 13–14: *Mundi anno VIIxxi, divinae incarnationis anno dlxxi, imperare coepit Tiberius redimitus ab Eutychio patriarcha, cum esset et ipse genere Thrax.*

3. AM 6095 (AD 602/603), p. 290, 31 – 291, 3: Τούτω τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ἰβ', βασιλεύσας Φωκάς ὁ τύραννος ἀνείλεν, ὡς προλέλεκται, Μαυρίκιον σὺν πέντε παισὶν ἄρρεσιν.

AD 602/603, p. 418: *In this year, in the month of November, indiction 6, the usurper Phocas, upon his accession, slew Maurice together with his five male children as already indicated.*

location in the entry: (1) – 1 – 3 – (34), parallel sources: phrase absent from accounts of THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATA, VIII, 11–12 and *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 693, 9 – 694, 12

Anastasius, p. 179, 8–9: *Mundi anno VIxcv, divinae incarnationis anno dxcv, anno primo imperii sui Phocas tyrannus peremit, ut praedictum est, Mauricium una cum masculis quinque pueris eius...*

4. AM 6259 (AD 766/767), p. 443, 11–18: Τούτω διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ Στρατήγιον, τὸν τοῦ Ποδοπαγούρου «ἀδελφόν», ἀστεῖον ὄντα τῷ εἶδει προσλαβόμενος, (ἐφίλει γὰρ προσοικειοῦσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις διὰ τὰς ἀκολασίας αὐτοῦ) αἰσθόμενός τε αὐτὸν ἀηδῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς τὰς ἀθεμίτους ἀνδρομανίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Στεφάνῳ, τῷ ἐγκλειστῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Αὐξεντίου, ταύτας ἐξαγορεύοντα σωτηρίας τε φάρμακα λαμβάνοντα, ὡς ἐπίβουλον αὐτοῦ τοῦτον διαφημίσας σὺν τῷ ἐγκλειστῷ, ὡς προλέλεκται, ἀνείλεν.

AD 766/767, p. 611: *For this reason, after he had befriended Strategios, the (brother) of Podopagouros, who was of attractive appearance (for he liked to have such intimates for the sake of his lewdness), but becoming aware that this man was repelled by his illicit homosexuality and was confessing it to the blessed Stephen (the hermit of St Auxentios) and receiving salutary treatment, he branded him as a traitor and killed him along with the hermit as has been said above.*

location in the entry: (1) – 69 – 76 – (84), parallel sources: absent from Nicephorus (circa 83–86); source unknown, but Theophanes indeed returns here to the matter already discussed (AM 6257)

Anastasius, p. 293, 4–10: *unde et Strategium, Podopaguri fratrem, cum esset urbanus specie, assumpsit: amabat enim talibus adhaerere propter luxurias suas. cum autem sensisset eum moleste tulisse infandas in viros insanias suas et beato Stephano in clauso sancti Auxentii has manifestas reddidisse salutisque remedia suscepisse, hunc quasi insidiatorem suum diffamans una cum in clauso, ut praedictum est, interfecit.*

In the *Ekloge chronographias* of George the phrase also occurs four times:

1. p. 195, 26–29: εἶτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου ἔτη τε νβ' τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας, μεθ' ὃν Βαβυλῶνα, φησὶν, ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχισε τρόπον ὡς πολλοῖσι λέλεκται, Κτησίᾳ, Ζήνωνι, Ἡροδότῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 242: *Then he attaches a description of the birth of both Semiramis and the magus Zoroaster and the fifty-two years of the reign of Ninus. After him, he says, Semiramis fortified Babylon in a manner that is described by many* – Ktesias, Zenon, Herodotos, and their successors).

2. p. 317, 25 – 318, 1: συμμαχοῦντων δὲ Βυζαντίοις Ἀθηναίων διὰ Χάρητος στρατηγοῦ ἀποτυχῶν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον χωρεῖ, καὶ ταύτην λαβῶν ἐπανήλθε. τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίους σπένδεται βασιλεύσας, **ὡς προλέλεκται**, ἔτη κγ', καὶ ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Πausανίου κατὰ τὴν ρι' Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀρχομένην, καθ' ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος παῖς ἐβασίλευε Μακεδόνων.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 384: *But since the Athenians were aiding the Byzantines through the general Chares, Philip's siege was a failure and he withdrew to Cherronesos. Upon capturing it, he returned. At that time, he made peace with the Athenians and reigned, as we said previously, for twenty-three years. He was murdered by Pausanias in the beginning of the 110th Olympiad, at which time his son Alexander become king of the Macedonians*).

3. p. 319, 10–14: Μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν διαιροῦνται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Μακεδόνων μὲν, **ὡς ἤδη λέλεκται**, Ἀριδαῖος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς πατρός ἐκ Φιλίνης τῆς Θεσσαλῆς ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φίλιππος πόθῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Φίλιππον, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος παῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκ Ῥωξάνης τῆς Ὀξυάρτου.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 386: *Following Alexander's death, the Macedonian empire, as already stated, was divided between two men: Aridaïos, Alexander's paternal half-brother, born from Philinne the Thes-salian, and surnamed Philip because of the love of the Macedonians for his father Philip; and Alexander, the son of Alexander and Roxanne the daughter of Oxyartes*).

4. p. 327, 15–21: Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου κεραυνῷ τεθνεώτος, **ὡς προλέλεκται**, ἐν τῇ κατὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν μάχῃ, τὴν μὲν Αἰγύπτου ἀρχὴν κληροῦται μετ' αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλιάδελφος παῖς αὐτοῦ, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα σοφὸς καὶ φιλοπονώτατος, ὃς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Χαλδαίων, Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς βίβλους συλλεξάμενος καὶ μεταφράσας τὰς ἀλλογλώσσους εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν, μυριάδας βιβλίων ἰ' ἀπέθετο κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συστάσαις βιβλιοθήκαις.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 395: *When Ptolemy the son of Lagos died from a thunderbolt, as was previously stated, in the war against the Gauls, his son Ptolemy Philadelphos was apportioned rule of Egypt after him. A man of exhaustive learning and enormous industry, he collected the books of all the Greeks, Chaldaeans, Egyptians, and Romans, rendered those written in a foreign language into Greek, and deposited 100,000 books throughout Alexandria in the libraries he had established*).

N^o 1 is a quotation from the chronicle of Eusebius²⁹, but presumably neither n^o 2 nor n^o 3 were taken from George's reference sources, although in the latter case a similar expression had been used by Eusebius in the respective paragraph³⁰. The

²⁹ Eusebius Werke, vol. V, *Die Chronik aus der Armenischen übersetzt*, ed. J. KARST, Leipzig 1911, p. 29: *und von Zaravyšt dem Magier, von seinem des Baktrerkönigs Kriege und seiner Besiegung durch Šamiram; und die Jahre des Königums des Ninus, 52 Jahre, und von dessen Ende. Nach welchem das Königum von Šamiram übernommen ward: die umgab Babelon mit Mauer von jener Art und Gestalt, wie von vielen ja gesagt worden ist, von Ktesias und Zenon und <H>erodot und andern, die nach diesen.*

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 109, 13–24: *Arideos des Philippos und der Philinna, der Thet(t)alerin, den die Makedonier aus Anhänglichkeit an das philippische Geschlecht Philipos nannten und als König einsetzten nach Alexandros, obgleich er aus einer anderen Gattin war und sie den Mann als geisteslos kannten: folgt in die Herrschaft jenes, wie wir gesagt haben, in der hundertvierzehnten Olympiade zweitem Jahre.*

Byzantine historian did not necessarily repeat here the phrase of his predecessor, which refers to another matter in a different context (see A.A. Mosshammer's opinion in *apparatus*). N° 4 may be an example of a similar issue, as George's version mixed two different passages from his source; the phrase 'as we previously stated', taken from one of them, might have been relocated with a shift of its point of reference. Still, a simple coincidence is not excluded³¹.

The phrase *ὡς προλέλεκται* in the *Chronographia*, showing no variation, is attested twice in Anastasius, and once by an early witness of the same tradition. The latter example is uncontroversially assumed to be copied from the source, but the origin of the three remaining passages is unverifiable, so the wording and composition can be ascribed to Theophanes only tentatively. It is not difficult to notice a slight difference between the usage of Syncellus and Theophanes, but since some of the phrases were not original, nothing more can be said than that this way of referring to the past seemed natural to both writers. The expression cannot give us any clear hints, being too popular and stylistically universal to be ascribed to individual styles.

3.3 δεδήλωται

Phrases referring to the past with *δεδήλωται* are also of some meaning for the matter. In the *Chronographia* such a phrase is to be found only once, and is almost surely copied:

AM 6232 (AD 739/740), p. 413, 4–10: καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς κακὰ Χριστιανοῖς συνέβη περὶ τε τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν διοικήσεων αἰσχροῦ κέρδους καὶ φιλαργυρίας ἐπινοία κατὰ τε Σικελίαν καὶ Καλαβρίαν καὶ Κρήτην, ἢ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποστασία διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακοδοξίαν, σεισμοὶ τε καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπαναστάσεις, ἵνα τὰ κατὰ μέρος σιγήσω, ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι δεδήλωται κεφαλαίως³².

Zugezählt werden ihm 8 Jahre; denn er lebte darauf noch bis zu der hundertfünfzehnten 20 Olympiade viertem Jahre. Es hatte aber hinterlassen Alexandros als Sohn den Herakles, aus der Pharsine, der Tochter das Phar[a]nabazos; und den Alexandros aus der Roxane, der Tochter des Oxiartes, des Königs der Baktrier, welcher beim Tode Alexanders des Philippos gleich in dem Königtum geboren ward.

³¹ The phrase is absent from EUSEBIUS, I, 75, 1–5 (except for here: *Diesen löst als Nachfolger ab Ptolemeos, sein Sohn, der genannt ward, wie wir gesagt haben, Philadelphos, und zu Lebzeiten des Vaters zwei Jahre das Königtum bekleidet*) and I, 111, 7–15, devoted to Ptolemy the Thunderbolt (*Sofort nach dem Siege des Seleukos tötete Ptolemeos, des Lagos und der Euridike Sohn, der Tochter des Antipatros, welcher Keraunos genannt ward, das ist 'Blitzgrimm', seinen Wohltäter, zu dem er auf der Flucht seine Zuflucht genommen hatte; und er selbst herrschte über die Makedonier. Und als er gegen die Galater eine Schlacht lieferte, ward er getötet, nachdem er regiert hatte ein Jahr und fünf Monate; so daß gerechnet wird die Zeit seiner Regierung vom vierten Jahre der 124. Olympiade bis zum fünften Monate des ersten Jahres der 125. Olympiade*); cf. p. 395 note 4 in Adler and Tuffin's translation.

³² The cross-reference points to nothing in the transmitted text. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes...*, p. 574 n. 11 (*One may suspect that this passage has been mechanically copied from an iconophile tract similar in spirit to Nikephoros' Antirrheticus III, which dwells on the plague, famine, and earthquakes in the reign of Constantine V. Note that Crete has not been previously mentioned (cf. AM 6224, n. 2),*

AD 739/740, p. 573: *The evils that befell the Christians at that time of the impious Leo both as regards the orthodox faith and civil administration, the latter in Sicily, Calabria, and Crete for reasons of dishonest gain and avarice; furthermore, the secession of Italy because of his evil doctrine, the earthquakes, famines, pestilences, and foreign insurrections (not to mention all the details) have been related in the preceding chapters.*

location in the entry: (1) – 32 – 38 – (68), parallel sources: unknown

Anastasius, p. 268, 7–13: *et quidem quaecumque sub Leone impio Christianis evenerunt, sive circa orthodoxam fidem, sive super civilibus dispositionibus, sive super turpis lucri quaestu et avaritia per Siciliam, Calabriam et Cretam adinventata pariter et imposita, sive in Italiae apostasia propter huius cacodoxiam, sive in fame ac pestilentia gentiumque pressuris, ut particularia taceam, in praecedentibus ostenduntur capitulis.*

see above, ὡς προέφημεν n° 3

On the contrary, the past forms of (προ)δελῶ, including the participle, appear amply and diversely throughout the *Ekloge chronographias*:

δεδήλωται / ὡς δεδήλωται / ὡς [...] δεδήλωται

1. p. 43, 6–7: μετὰ γὰρ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὐθὺς οὐδαμοῦ δεδήλωται ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύς.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 57: Now **there is absolutely no indication** in scripture of a king immediately after the Flood).

2. p. 77, 1–6: Οἶμαι τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀμῶς Ἄμωσις ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Τέθμωσις υἱὸς Ἀσήθ, ὡς δηλωθήσεται· καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕκτος Μισφραγμοῦθωσις ὁμοίως καὶ Ἄμωσις εὐρηται λεγόμενος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον Ἄμωσιν, ἦτοι Ἀμῶς παρ' αὐτῷ, ἢ πρὸ δ' τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν, Μωυσῆς γεγένηται, ὡς δεδήλωται, κατὰ τὸ γψλβ' ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου·

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 99: *I am of the opinion that Africanus was unaware that his 'Amos' was also known as 'Amosis', identical as well Tethmosis the son of Aseth, as will be shown. And we find that Misphragmouthosis, the sixth king in succession after him, is likewise called Amosis. But during the reign of the first Amosis (that is, Amos according to Africanus), or four years before his rule, Moses was born, as has been showed, in AM 3732).*

3. p. 278, 3–7: ὁ μέντοι Ἰώσηπος συνηρίθησεν αὐτά, ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται, ν' ἔτη, εἰπὼν ἀφανῆ τὸν ναὸν μείναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ιθ' ἔτους Ναβουχοδονόσωρ ἕως τοῦ β' ἔτους Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Χαλδαίων Συρίας τε καὶ Λυδῶν βασιλείας κρατήσαντος.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 339: *Moreover, as was noted above, Josephos enumerated a total of fifty years when he asserted that the temple remained desolate from the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, to the second year of Cyrus, who was the first to exercise control over the kingdom of the Persians and Medes and Assyrians and Chaldeans, and of both Syira and the Lydians).*

that the only famine recorded by Theoph. during the reign of Leo III affected the Arab camp in 717/718, and the only plagues were in Syria (AM 6218, 6225); and for further and newer considerations on that source: W. BRANDES, Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes und deren Konsequenzen für die historische Forschung, [in:] Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur, hrsg. L.M. HOFFMANN (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 17), Wiesbaden 2005, esp. p. 120–122.

4. p. 335, 9–15: Μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καθαίρεσιν Περσῶν τῷ ζ' τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἦτοι πρώτῳ τῆς Ἑλλήνων βασιλείας ἔτει (Ἑλληνας γὰρ καὶ Μακεδόνας κατὰ τὴν τῶν Μακκαβαίων γραφὴν τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεμαθήκαμεν), ἐξ ὧν ἡ τε κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν μετὰ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου διαιρεθεῖσα ἀρχὴ εἰς ἀρχάς, τὴν τε κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν Πτολεμαίων καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τῶν Ἀντιόχων καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς, **ὡς ἐκεῖ δεδήλωται**, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μακεδονίαν, (...)

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 404: *Following Alexander's destruction of the Persians in the seventh year of his reign, that is, the first year of his reign over the Greeks (for we have learnt that the Greeks and the Macedonians, according to the writings of the Maccabees, are the same), the regime based in Macedonia was divided after his death into separate realms: the realm of the Ptolemies in the region of Egypt, the Antiochids in the region of Antiocheia and the other areas (as has been shown at that part of the narrative) and the region around Macedonia itself).*

5. p. 354, 2–7: τότε δύο στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἠττηθέντες εἰς μὲν ἀνῆρέθη, θάτερος δὲ ζωγρηθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἐστάλη σὺν αἰχμαλώτοις πολλοῖς, αὐτός τε ἀναζεύξας Σκηπίων <...> τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν καταγόντων τὸ γένος ἔτι κρατούντων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνων Αἰγύπτου καὶ Συρίας καὶ Ἀσίας, ἐν μέρει δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ Βαβυλωνίας, τῆς Μακεδόνων δυναστείας ὑποφόρου Ῥωμαίοις ταχθείσης, **ὡς πρὸ βραχέος δεδήλωται**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 425: *At that time, two Roman generals who had been defeated, one killed and the other taken captive, were sent to Rome with many other captives; and Scipio himself returned..., when those who traced their lineage from them had been ruling Egypt, Syria, and Asia ever since Alexander's time, and in turn also Babylonia at times, after the Macedonian dynasty had been made a tributary to the Romans, as was explained a little before).*

ὡς προδεδήλωται

6. p. 56, 7–10: Οὕτως οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νῶε τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης διαμερισθείσης θείῳ προστάγματι, **ὡς προδεδήλωται**, τῷ β' βροβ' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου, ἤλ' δὲ τῆς τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε ζωῆς πρὸ σδ' ἐτῶν τῆς κατὰ τὴν πυργοποιίαν διασπορᾶς, τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ υἱοῖς, (...)

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 71: *In this way, Noah, at the behest of God, apportioned the whole inhabited world among his three sons, as has been stated above, in AM 2572, the 930th year of the life of Noah the Just, 204 years before the dispersion at the time of the building of the tower).*

7. p. 90, 4–6: περὶ ὧν ὁ Καισαρεὺς Εὐσέβιος οὗτος σφόδρα αὐτὸν καταμέμφεται πλειοτέρως σφαλεῖς ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς, **ὡς προδεδήλωται**, ἕως ἐτῶν σθ'.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 113: *For this additional years, this man Eusebios of Caesarea severely criticises him, although, as we have previously demonstrated, on this very point and on the other matters, the magnitude of his error was even greater, extending to 290 years).*

8. p. 263, 27–30: ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῖς <ἦν> προφητεύων κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους Οὐρίας υἱὸς Ἀμαίου, ὃν φυγόντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀγαγὼν ὁ Ἰωακείμ ἀνείλε, καὶ Ἰερεμίας ἀρξάμενος καὶ αὐτός, **ὡς προδεδήλωται**, τῆς προφητείας ἀπὸ τοῦ ιγ' ἔτους Ἰωσίου.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 324: *And one of those to make this prophecy at this time [was] Ourias, son of Amaios, whom Joakeim brought back and killed after he fled to Egypt. And Jeremiah, as was stated above, began prophesying in the thirteenth year of Josiah).*

9. p. 271, 12–21: Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν παρελογίσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ια' ἔτους Σεδεκίου ἕως τοῦ β' ἔτους Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου τὰ ὀ' ἔτη ἐπιλογισάμενος φανερόν. ἀνθ' ὧν γὰρ ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν τὰ λοιπὰ κ' ἔτη τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ, τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλωσην τοῦ ἔθνους ποιησαμένου, λογισασθαι καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, λέγω δὴ τοῦ τε υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ

Εὐειλάδ Μαρδοάχ καὶ Νιριγλησάρου τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, ὡς προοδηλωται, εἶθ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ναβόννηδον τὸν καὶ Δαρεῖον Ἀστυάγην τὸν Ἀσσουήρου ἐλθεῖν (ὅς γέγονεν ἔσχατος βασιλεὺς Μήδων ἀπὸ Ἀρβάκου τοῦ καθελόντος σὺν τῷ Βελεσὺ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ὕστατον βασιλέα Σαρδανάπαλον),

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 332: *Eusebius has deceived himself and the truth by calculating the seventy years for the period from the eleventh year of Sedekias up to the second year of Dareios, the son of Hystaspes – this is clear. For instead of these years, he should have computed the other twenty years of Nebuchadnezzar, who was the cause of the conquest of the nation, and the years of those who succeeded him (I mean the years of his son Eueilad Marodach, and Niriglesaros his brother-in-law, as was stated above); and he should then have proceeded next to Nabonnedos, who was Dareios Astyages, the son of Assoueros (he was the last king of the Medes from Arbakes, who, with Belesu, destroyed the kingdom of the Assyrians and its last king Sardanapalos).*)

τὸν προοδηλωμένον

10. p. 281, 9–12: Κύρος οὗτος Ἀστυάγην τὸν προοδηλωμένον ἑαυτοῦ πάππον βασιλεύοντα Μήδων καθελόν, τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσήξε βασιλείαν, Μήδων βασιλευσάντων ἔτη που μετὰ Σαρδανάπαλον ἀπὸ Ἀρβάκου Μήδου τοῦ καθελόντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 342: *Upon killing his own grandfather Astyages, king of the Medes (whom we have mentioned above), Cyrus ushered in the Persian kingdom. Medes were kings for some years after Sardanapalos, beginning with Arbakes the Mede who put an end both to him and the Assyrian kingdom).*

All the examples above are George's own words, either very likely (n° 1, 4, 5, 6, 10) or for sure (n° 2, 3, 7, 8, 9). N° 2 and 3 express the chronographer's critical commentary of his own source, as does n° 9, with Syncellus' opinions on the Eusebian chronology. The passage in n° 4 is absent both from 1 Macc. 1, 1–11 and Eusebius (cf. I, 59, 4–10)³³, and n° 5, placed in the final section of the *sporaden*, has in this fragment no equivalent in any known source (George's authorship, especially as regards referring to the previous sections of the book, is probable here, but not demonstrable). N° 8 is the chronicler's epitome of the Biblical account, and in n° 10 one expects his paraphrase; the participle is absent from his sources, as it is consistent with his own narrative³⁴.

In the whole chronicle, only two passages of this kind are unoriginal. P. 391, 3–6: Τὸ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῦ καὶ θεραπειῶν σωμάτων καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς γνώσεως ἀποκρῦφων, ἀναστάσεώς τε τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν αὐταρκέστατα τοῖς

³³ Cf. remarks on that passage in A.-M. ТОГОМАНОВА, *Славянската версия на Хрониката на Георги Синкел*, София 2008, p. 108–109; 474–477; 531; English summary of the scholar's beliefs on the chronicle and its patchwork structure is to be found in EADEM, *A Lost Byzantine Chronicle in Slavic Translation*, SCer 1, 2011, p. 191–204.

³⁴ Cf. EUSEBIUS, I, 30, 23–26 (*Und schließlich besiegelt er dessen Untergang: »Und nach dem Tode des Sardanapallos ließ Verbakes der Meder, als er die Herrschaft der Assyrer gestürzt hatte, auf die Meder die Herrschaft übergehen«. – Dieses Sämtliche Kephalion.*), and I, 32, 29–33 (*Unter diesem regierte Kyros über die Perser; abgesetzt habend den Aždahak beseitigte er die Mederherrschaft, die sich über 298 Jahre hin erstreckt hatte. Andere indessen stellen andere Könige der Meder in schriftlicher Überlieferung dar.*)

πρὸ ἡμῶν μαθηταῖς τε καὶ ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ δεδήλωται – but the expression has a different meaning here; it derives directly from Julius Africanus (as is known from the title above: Ἀφρικανοῦ, περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος, καὶ τὴν ζωοποιὸν ἀνάστασιν [fr. 50]); p. 413, 10–12: αἴρεσιν δὲ μετήγει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, **καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν**. The quotation from Joseph is attested by George himself above, p. 413, 5³⁵.

The originality of the passages in the *Ekloge chronographias* is not surprising. The phrase reflects a higher, academic style of discourse, typical for George as long as he did not copy crucial fragments of his sources or compose short notes for his miscellanea.

3.4 ὡς δηλωθήσεται / ὡς [...] δηλωθήσεται

Some occurrences of δελῶ in the future tense only complement the picture.

1. AM 5841 (AD 348/349), p. 39, 20–22: τῶν γὰρ ὑδάτων μελλόντων τὴν θέσιν τῶν τειχῶν ἐξομαλίζειν πρὸς τὴν πτώσιν, μέρος μὲν τι τοῦ τείχους ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ θεοῦ συγχώρησιν, **ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δηλωθήσεται**.

AD 348/349, p. 66: *For as the waters were about to bring down the walls and flatten them to the ground, one part of the wall gave way, indeed by God's dispensation, as will be made clear in what follows.*

location in the entry: (1) – 8 – 10 – (33), **parallel sources:** *Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. DINDORF, Bonnae 1832, p. 537, 7–9 (ὡν γὰρ ὑδάτων μελλόντων τὴν θέσιν τῶν τειχῶν ἐξομαλίζειν εἰς πτώσιν, μέρος τοῦ τείχους πεπόνθει κατὰ θεοῦ συγχώρησιν ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι, **καθὼς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δηλωθήσεται**).

Anastasius: – (pp. 88, fragment AM 5841–5842 is not included in translation)

2. AM 6221 (AD 728/729), p. 408, 13–18: Κωνσταντῖνος γὰρ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀρταβάσδου ἀνασοβῆν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπικρατήσας Ἀναστάσιον τοῦτον τύψας σὺν ἄλλοις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἰππικῷ διὰ τοῦ διῖππιου γυμνὸν ἐπ' ὄνου καθήμενον ἐξανάστροφα ἐπόμπευσεν, ὡς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συνανασκάψαντα αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάνασδον στέψαντα, **ὡς δηλωθήσεται ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ**.

AD 728/729, p. 564: *For when Constantine had obtained the Empire after the sedition of his brother-in-law Artabasdos, he had Anastasios flogged along with other enemies and paraded him naked in the Hippodrome, by way of the Diippion, seated backwards on a donkey; and this because Anastasios had cursed him, as did his other enemies, and had crowned Artabasdos as will be related in the proper place*

location in the entry: (1) – 34 – 39 – (74), **parallel sources:** unknown, the last fragment may be added by Theophanes – cf. much different treatment of the matter by NICEPHORUS (ed. C. MANGO, 66, 26–29: μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τιμωρίᾳ ἠκίσθησαν, πλείσταις δὲ πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις καὶ οἱ συγγνώντες αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποβληθέντες ὑπερωρίας κατεδικάσθησαν).

Anastasius, p. 264, 15–20: *Constantinus enim post generi sui Artabasdi rebellionem cum imerium optinuisset, hunc Anastasium caesum et cum aliis inimicis in Hippodromium per Dihippium ingressum, nudum super asinum verso vultu sedentem pompavit, eo quod sibi una cum aliis inimicis mala fuerit imprecatus et Artabasdam coronaverit, sicut in suo indicabitur loco.*

³⁵ Cf. *Antiquitates iudaicae*, XX, 199–200, ed. B. NIESE.

3. AM 6303 (AD 810/811), p. 493, 9–10: καὶ ἐλθούσης πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου τοῦ ὄρθρου ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, τοῦτον ἀνηγόρευσαν βασιλέα, **ὡς ἐξῆς δηλωθήσεται**.

AD 810/811, p. 675: *When at dawn the whole Senate had come into the palace, they did proclaim him [sc. Michael Rangabe] emperor as will be stated later.*

location in the entry: (1) – 165 – 166 – (170), parallel sources: unknown

Anastasius, p. 331, 23–24: *cumque totus senatus ad palatium de luce venisset, hunc pronuntiaverunt imperatorem, quemadmodum in subsequentibus indicabitur.*

The occurrences in George's part of the universal history are as follows:

ὡς δηλωθήσεται / ὡς [...] δηλωθήσεται

1. p. 77, 1–2: Οἶμαι τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀμῶς Ἀμωσις ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Τέθμωσις υἱὸς Ἀσῆθ, **ὡς δηλωθήσεται**. = cf. above, **δεδηλωται** n° 2

2. p. 359, 16–24: Πομπήιος παραδοὺς Σκαύρω διέπειν καὶ δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰ τάγματα πρὸς συμμαχίαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπειγέτο διὰ Κιλικίας, αὐτὸς τὸν μέγιστον κατατάξων θρίαμβον, ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς ἠττηθέντας αὐτῷ βασιλεῖς Φαρνάκην Μηθριδάτου υἱόν, τὸν καὶ καρτερήσαντα τὸν ἴδιον ἀνελεῖν πατέρα Μηθριδάτην τῇ πρὸς Πομπήιον χάριτι καὶ αὐθις κατὰ Ῥωμαίων στασιάσαντα, Κόλχων ἤτοι Λαζῶν βασιλέα, ἄρχοντα Ἰβήρων κ', Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα σὺν θυγατράσι δυσὶ καὶ υἱοῖς, Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ Ἀντιγόνω, ὧν ὁ νεώτερος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδράς Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπάνεισι στασιάσων, **ὡς δηλωθήσεται**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 431: *Once Pompey had entrusted to the administration of Scaurus these cities and two Roman legions as an auxiliary force, he set out in haste to Rome through Cilicia, in order to make arrangements for the most magnificent triumph. He brought with him the kings whom he had defeated: Mithradates' son Pharnakes, (the one who to curry favour with Pompey had tolerated the killing of his own father Mithridates, and again revolted against the Romans), the king of the Colchians (that is, the Lazoi), the twenty chiefs of the Iberians, and Aristoboulos king of the Jews, along with his two daughters and sons, Alexander and Antigonos. Alexander, the younger of the two, escaped en route to Rome and made his way back to Judaea, to incite rebellion, as will be explained earlier).*

3. p. 368, 16–18: Ἡ τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ βασιλευσάντων ἐπαύσατο ζ' βασιλέων ἀρχή, διαρκέσασα ἔτη ρνδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ,ετιγ' κοσμικοῦ ἔτους ἕως τοῦ ,ευξζ', **ὡς ἐξῆς δηλωθήσεται**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 439: *The reign of the seven kings who ruled in Pergamon ended, after lasting 154 years from AM 5313 up to AM 5467, as will be shown in what follows).*

4. p. 378, 30 – 379, 2: Τῷ ,εup' ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου ἡ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἡ' βασιλέων ἀρχὴ ἐπαύσατο ὑπὸ Αὐγουστον χρηματίσασα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ,εσηγ' κοσμικοῦ ἔτους ἀρξαμένη, **ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα δηλωθήσεται**. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ποντικῶν ι' βασιλέων.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 452: *In AM 5480, the rule of the eight kings of the Bithynians, which began in AM 5268, came to an end through a decree from Augustus. Their names will be disclosed below. The reign of the ten kings of Pontos likewise came to an end).*

Theophanes did not seem to be fond of the phrase – it is rare, being obviously unoriginal in AM 5841, and two further examples (in AM 6221 and AM 6303) are also dubious. If it was not for the lack of comparative source material, ὡς ἐξῆς δηλωθήσεται in AM 6221 could well turn out to be a loan phrase. Although it

is difficult to assume any clear conclusions, the chronicler could have drawn the whole phrase from his source material, as he almost never used expressions of this type with ἐξῆς. On the other hand, he might have remembered it from his reading and imitated it in the narrative of his own; indeed, he is returning to the subject.

In George's part, on the contrary, a few further examples may be added to the ten original ones. N^o 1 obviously belongs to the author, as has been said before (cf. **δεδήλωται** n^o 2). N^o 2 is the historian's additional remark to the material of his source, here Flavius Joseph³⁶. It should be noted that according to Alden Mosshammer these were the last two words of the first codex of the bicodical *Ekloge chronographias*. Also in n^o 4 the bolded phrase may be tentatively ascribed to George. Only n^o 3 gives rise to some difficulties, with Mosshammer's remark in app.: *non alibi redeunt; haec imperia nonne multis annis ante Augustum desiderant?*, repeated by Adler/Tuffin in p. 439, n. 8. Still, the addition of 'ἐξῆς' in similar constructions is typical for Syncellus – either another author's words are reflected in this fragment, or this is a rare example of George's inconsistency, possible in the last sections of his book. Regardless of these minor doubts, what is clearly a rare phenomenon in Theophanes appears to be a typical way for Syncellus to express his thoughts. The difference in frequency stems here from the highly discursive language of George Syncellus, reflected in his chronological commentaries and in his critical approach towards his sources. In his polemical political attacks, Theophanes uses a quite different, more vernacular language.

3.5 ὡς ἀποδέδεικται / ὡς προαπεδείξαμεν

A certain passage in the opening part of the *Chronographia* contains two similar expressions that refer to facts discussed earlier in the chronicle. This doublet does not recur (either as a whole or partially) throughout the whole work. Accurately translated by Anastasius, in all probability it was not added by any later editor after Theophanes. Thus, this interesting way of double cross-referencing using the perfect and aorist forms of (προ)ἀποδείκνυμι draws attention and is worth comparing with the *Ekloge chronographias*.

AM 5828 (AD 335/336), p. 33, 17–22: καὶ ἐπιβὰς Κωνσταντίνος ὁ εὐσεβῆς τῇ Νικομηδέων πόλει κατὰ Περσῶν παραταξάμενος, ἀσθενήσας ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὡς τινὲς φασιν Ἀρειανόφρονες τότε καταξωθεὶς τοῦ ἀγίου βαπτίσματος ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Νικομηδείας μετατεθέντος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει· ὅπερ ψευδὲς ἐστίν, ὡς ἀποδέδεικται· ἐν γὰρ Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ Σιλβέστρου ἐβαπτίσθη, ὡς προαπεδείξαμεν.

³⁶ JOSEPH FLAVIUS, I, 157–158: παραδοὺς δὲ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρις Αἰγύπτου καὶ Εὐφράτου Σκαύρω διέπειν καὶ δύο τῶν ταγμάτων, αὐτὸς διὰ Κιλικίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἄγων μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς αἰχμάλωτον. δύο δ' ἦσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ δύο υἱεῖς, ὧν ὁ ἕτερος μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδιδράσκει, σὺν δὲ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντίγονος εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκοιμίζεται. Cf. A.-M. TOTOMANOVA, *Slavjanskata versija...*, p. 125.

AD 335/336, p. 54: *The pious Constantine went out to the city of Nicomedia on his way to fight the Persians, but became ill and died in peace. Some Arians claim that he was then deemed worthy of holy baptism at the hands of Eusebios of Nicomedia, who had been transferred to Constantinople.^[note 4] This is false, as has been pointed out; for he was baptized by Silvester in Rome, as we have already demonstrated.*

location in the entry: (1) – 7 – 12 – (28), **parallel sources:** *Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. DINDORF, p. 532, 7–13 (καὶ ἐπιβὰς Κωνσταντίνος λβ' ἐνιαυτῶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν κατὰ Περσῶν, ἐλθὼν ἕως Νικομηδείας, ἐνδόξως καὶ εὐσεβῶς μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον ἐν προαστείῳ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως μηνὶ ἀρτεμισίῳ ια', καταξιώθεις τοῦ σωτηριώδους βαπτίσματος ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, βασιλεύσας ἔτη λα' καὶ μῆνας ι').

Anastasius, p. 87, 9–15: *tunc Constantinus, cum transisset et in Nicomediensium civitatem contra Persas proeliaturus, languore praeventus in pace dormivit. tunc, ut quidam eorum; qui cum Arrio sentiunt, aiunt, ab Eusebio Nicomediensi Constantinopolim translato sanctum meruit baptismum percipere; quod mendacium est, sicut superius est comprobatum. Romae quippe a Silvestro baptizatus est, quaemadmodum et praestendimus.*

The chronicle of George Syncellus provides exceptionally abundant and diverse samples for comparison:

ἀποδέδεικται / ὡς([...]) ἀποδέδεικται([...]) / καθὼς([...]) ἀποδέδεικται

1. p. 34, 2–9: ἀλλ' ἔδει τούτων οὕτως αὐτῶ διεγνωσμένων καθὼς ἔφησαν, ὅτι πολλῶν μυριάδων ἐτῶν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον νομίζουσιν οἱ ἐθνικοὶ οἰήσει σοφοί, διαπτύσαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν μηδενὶ συμφωνοῦσαν ὡς ψευδῆ καὶ ἀντίθεον τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀληθείᾳ σπεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἀποδείξει ταύτην, ἐπεὶ, **καθὼς ἀνωτέρω σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται** καὶ αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Γενέσεως **δειχθήσεται** προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου θεοῦ χάριτι, πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ οὐδὲ Χαλδαίων ὥφθη βασιλεία ἢ ἔθνος οὐδὲ Βαβυλῶν ἐχρημάτισεν, ἦν φασὶ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν ἐπικτισθῆναι.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 44: *But since he recognized that the situation is just as they stated – that the pagans wise in their self-conceit think that the universe is many tens of thousands of years in age – he should have despised their thinking, and striven instead to demonstrate that, as a godless falsehood, it is entirely incompatible with our truth. For, just as I have already clearly demonstrated and will again (with God's grace) demonstrate from Genesis as the discussion proceeds, neither a Chaldaean kingdom nor nation was in evidence before the Flood; nor was Babylon even in existence, which, it is said, was established after the Flood).*

2. p. 38, 12–16: τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος, ὡς ἀποδέδεικται ταῖς θεολέκτοις φωναῖς, μὴ οὔσης πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ οὐδ' ἡ Χαλδαίων βασιλεία ἔσται τὸ πρότερον ἕως τῆς βασιλείας Νεβρώδ καὶ τῆς πυργοποιίας, τούτοις δὲ **συναποδείκνυται** καὶ ἡ παρὰ Μανεθῶ περι τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ δυναστειῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συγγραφὴ ψευδῆς, (...)

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 51: *And since Babylon, as has been demonstrated by divinely inspired utterances, did not exist before the Flood, neither will there have been a kingdom of a Chaldaean in the time before the reign of Nimrod and the building of the tower. And along with this, the account written by Manetho concerning the Egyptian dynasties before the Flood is also shown to be false).*

3. p. 42, 20–27: Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Πανόδωρος τὰς κατὰ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν Αἰγυπτιακὰς συγγραφὰς συμφωνεῖν αὐταῖς ἀγωνίζεται δεικνύναι μεμφόμενος τὸν Εὐσέβιον, μὴ εἰδὼς ὅτι **καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδέδεικται** ταῦτα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀναπόδεικτά τε καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστα, εἰ γε, **καθὼς προαποδέδεικται ἡμῖν** ἐκ τῆς Γενέσεως, οὔτε Βαβυλῶν

ἡ Χαλδαϊκὴ πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ οὔτε ἡ Αἴγυπτος πρὸ τοῦ Μεστρέμ ἐβασιλεύθη, οἶμαι δ' ὅτι οὐδ' ὤκισθη, καθὼς ἡ προσηγορία τῆς χώρας ἕως καὶ νῦν κεκράτηκε κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραϊδα Μεστραία λεγομένη καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ ἀντιγράφῳ.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 57: *And this is what Panodoros writes, in his struggle to prove that the Egyptian writings against God and divinely inspired scriptures are in harmony with them. And he rebukes Eusebios, not realizing that these theories of his are both beyond proof and beyond reason, and are shown to be against himself and against truth. For just as we have demonstrated above from Genesis, neither Babylon nor Chaldaea existed before the Flood, nor was Egypt ruled by a king before Mestrem. And in my opinion it was not even inhabited, just as the name of that region which has persisted even up to the present time is Mestraia in Hebrew and in the Hebrew copy of the Bible.*)

4. **p. 76, 5–9:** ὥστε ἐκ πάντων δείκνυσθαι διαμαρτάνειν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Μωυσέως χρόνοις ἔτεσι τοῦλάχιστον διακοσίοις τὸν Εὐσέβιον· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τῶν λεγομένων δυναστειῶν παρενόθευσε χρονολογίαν καὶ τὴν παρ' Ἀσσυρίοις, ὡς ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ κανονίου τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέων **δειχθήσεται**, καὶ τὴν παρ' Ἑλλήσι δέ, **καθὼς ἀποδέδεικται**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 97–98: *From all this facts, it can therefore be demonstrated that Eusebios erred by at least 200 years in his dating of Moses. For this reason, he also corrupted the chronology of what the Egyptians call 'dynasties'. And, as will be demonstrated at the end of the table of the Assyrian kings, he also corrupted Assyrian chronology, as well as Greek chronology, as has already been shown.*)

5. **p. 78, 25 – 79, 2:** ὁ τε γὰρ ἐπὶ Ὀγύγου κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ Φορωνέως καὶ τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πορείας τοῦ λαοῦ ἰστορεῖται τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀφρικανῷ, καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἐπὶ Κραναοῦ δευτέρου βασιλέως Ἀθηνησιν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων ἀποδέδεικται.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 101: *It is recorded by this same Africanus that the Flood at the time of Ogygos occurred during the reign of Phoroneus and the Exodus of the people from Egypt. And Deukalion's flood, he says, occurred during the reign of Kranaos, the second king of Athenians, as has been shown from his own writings.*)

6. **p. 79, 10–14:** καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐν τούτῳ διήμαρτεν οὐ συλλογισάμενος ἀκριβῶς ὅτι Κέκροψ ὁ διφυῆς καὶ Κραναὸς οἱ πρῶτοι βασιλεῖς Ἀθηναίων μετὰ Ὀγυγον, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος γέγονε κατακλυσμὸς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, μετὰ Μισφραγμούθωσιν ἦσαν χρόνοι ὕστερον τοῦλάχιστον ρν', ὡς αὐτὸς μαρτυρῶν ἀποδέδεικται.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 101: *And in this particular matter, he thereby committed an error; for he did not draw the proper conclusion from the fact that Kekrops the Double-Natured and Kranaos, the first kings, after Ogygos, of the Athenians, in whose time Deukalion's flood did in fact occur in Thessaly, where, as he himself has attested, at least 150 years after Misphragmouthosis.*)

7. **p. 133, 23–29:** Ἰακῶβ ἔτει πβ' τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγέννησε τὸν Λεβὶ, καθὼς ἐν τῇ προλαβούσῃ συντάξει σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἅπασα μεταξὺ τῆς γενέσεως Ἰωσήφ καὶ Λεβὶ θ' μεσεμβολεῖν ἔτη, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔνατος ἐτέχθη μετ' αὐτόν. ἀποδείκνυται δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῷ ρα' Ἰακῶβ τεχθεὶς, εἴ γε ρκ' ἔτει τοῦ πατρὸς λ' ἔτος ἄγων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀναβιβάζεται. **συναποδέδεικται** δὲ καὶ Λεβὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ θ' ἔτων αὐτοῦ τῷ πβ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης γεννηθεὶς τοῦ Ἰακῶβ ἔτει.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 166: *Jacob, in the 82nd year of his life, begot Levi, as we have clearly demonstrated in the preceding synopsis. For there definitely must have been nine years intervening between the births of Joseph and Levi, inasmuch as Joseph was the ninth to be born after him. Now it can be shown from scripture that Joseph was born in the 91st year of Jacob, seeing that it was in his father's 120th year that*

he, in his 30th year, was elevated to the rule of Egypt. **And so we have also proved at the same time that Levi's birth, preceding Joseph's by nine years, must have occurred in Jacob's 82nd year.**

8. p. 197, 27 – 198, 3: πόθεν δὲ καὶ ὁ Λουκάς ὁ θεϊότατος, ὁ πᾶσαν θείαν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ἡσκημένος φιλοσοφίαν καὶ μυρίων Εὐσεβίων ἀσυγκρίτως προὔχων, ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ καὶ εὐαγγελικῇ αὐτοῦ βίβλῳ ἰγ' ἐξ Ἀδάμ ἔθετο τοῦτον; **ἀποδέδεικται** μὲν οὖν οὗτος καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸ ἡμῶν διημαρτηκῶς ἐτῶν ἀριθμῶν κατ' ἐλάττωσιν ςθ' ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἕως τῆς εἰκοσαετηρίδος Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ πανευσεβοῦς βασιλέως Χριστιανῶν α'. ἀντὶ γὰρ ,εως' ἐτῶν ,εφκζ' συνελογίσατο.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 244: *How is it that the most divine Luke, a man thoroughly trained in divine and human wisdom and incomparably superior to 10000 Eusebioi, cites him in his sacred gospel as the thirtieth descendant of Adam? Others who have gone before us have also demonstrated that Eusebios was 290 years short in the numbering of years from Adam up to the twentieth year of Constantine the Great and most holy first emperor of the Christians. For instead of 5816 years, he numbered 5527).*

9. p. 294, 14–20: Ταῦτα ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ Ζαχαρία φέρεται κατὰ τὸ β' ἔτος Δαρείου ὡς ἐκ τοῦ λαλοῦντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλου πρὸς κύριον λεγόμενα, εἴτε τρόπῳ εὐχῆς εἴτε ἄλλης τινὸς προσωποποιίας χάριν οἰκονομήσαντος τοῦ ἀνεξερευνητοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς κρίμασι, ὅσον δέ γε ἡμᾶς κατανοῆσαι, δηλοῦντος τοῦ λόγου τὸν ο' χρόνον ἡδὴ πεπληρῶσθαι κατὰ τὸν λόγον κυρίου διὰ Ἰερεμίου ἐν τῷ α' ἔτει Κύρου, **ὡς ἐκέισε ἀποδέδεικται κατὰ τὴν τῶν Παραλειπομένων καὶ τοῦ Ἐσδρα γραφῆν, (...)**

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 357: *This is reported in the prophet Zacharias in the second year of Dareios, as if it being uttered to the Lord by the angel who was speaking to him. It was either in a form of a prayer, or it was to serve as some other personification of God, who, in the direction of human affairs, is inscrutable in his judgements. But to the extent that we can understand, his words make clear that the seventy-year period had already been completed according to the word of the Lord spoken through Jeremiah in the first year of Cyrus, as has been demonstrated up to that point according to the texts of Paralipomena and Esdras).*

10. p. 393, 28–30: Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· συνάγονται δὲ τοίνυν οἱ χρόνοι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίαν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔτη ,εφλα'. ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σν' ἔτη ροβ', **ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἡμῖν ἀποδέδεικται.**

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 357: (And after a few words:) *Therefore, from Adam there are altogether 5531 years up to the coming of the Lord and the Resurrection, from which time to the 250th Olympiad there are 192 years, as has been demonstrated by us above).*

ὡς([...]) δέδεικται

1 (11). p. 75, 25–30: εἰ γὰρ μετὰ Φορωνέα Μωυσῆς, κατὰ Κέκροπα τὸν διφυῆ, οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς αὐτοῦ πράξεων καὶ πάντων τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀρχαιολογουμένων, **ὡς δέδεικται**, παλαιότερος· εἰ δὲ παλαιότερος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, πέφυκε Μωυσῆς τοῦ Διός, κατὰ Ἰναχον καὶ Φορωνέα, ἐνδέχεται αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι πάντων εἶναι πρεσβύτατον.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 97: *for if Moses lived after Phoroneus and was a contemporary of Kekrops the Double-Natured, he is not earlier than the deeds of Zeus himself and all the events recorded by the Greeks in their ancient histories, as has been demonstrated. But if, as both Eusebius himself and all his predecessors attest, Moses was in fact earlier than Zeus and contemporary of Inachos and Phoroneus, than the possibility does arise that he also preceded all the past events involving the Greeks).*

2 (12). p. 89, 6–10: διόπερ ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν πεπεισμένοι καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς γενέσθαι ἕως τῆς τοῦ Νεβρώδ ἐπὶ τῆς πυργοποιίας γιγαντομμηίου καὶ ἀποστατικῆς τυραννίδος, **ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω δέδεικται**, μόνους δὲ τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἕως τῆς διασπορᾶς ἠγεῖσθαι τῶν πολλῶν εὐσεβῶς, (...) (Adler/Tuffin, p. 112–113: *Therefore, we have been persuaded by divine scriptures that this too is false and no kingdom whatsoever existed on the earth up to the tyrannical rule of Nimrod, who in imitation of the giants revolted from God during the building of the tower (as has also been demonstrated previously). And from the Flood up to the time of the dispersion, there were only three men who, in devotion to God, exercised leadership over the masses [sc. Noah, Shem, Arphaxad].*)

3 (13). p. 96, 27 – 97, 1: Ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἕως α' ἔτους Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη ,αο'. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀδάμ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἔτη ,βσμβ', **ὡς δέδεικται**, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος Ἀβραὰμ ἔτη ,γτιβ', ὡς ἐν τῷ κανόνι σαφῶς ὑπόκειται.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 121: *From the flood up to the first year of Abraham there are 1070 years. From Adam to the flood are 2242 years, as has been demonstrated. Up to the first year of Abraham, there are 3312 years, as is clearly indicated in the table.*)

4 (14). p. 135, 25–27: ὁ πρῶτον ἔτος Λευί, τοῦτο δὲ ἦν, **ὡς πρὸ βραχέος δέδεικται**, κατὰ τὸ ββ' τοῦ Ἰακώβ, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἄλλιν τῆς μὲν ἐν τῇ Χανανίτιδι γῆ παροικίας ἔτος ἦν ρξζ' οὕτως (...)

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 169: *The first year of Levi: this occurred, as was shown a little before, in the 82nd year of Jacob, again the same year as the 167th year of the sojourn in the land of Canaan, as follows:*)

ὡς προδέδεικται

1 (15). p. 3, 3–7: Ἐν τῷ πρωτοκτίστῳ νυχθημέρῳ, τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ παρ' Ἑβραίοις πρώτου μηνὸς Νισάν, **ὡς προδέδεικται**, παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κε' τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνός, καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις κθ' τοῦ Φαμενώθ, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ, ἧτοι μιᾶ τῶν σαββάτων, ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὸ σκότος καὶ τὰ ὕδατα, πνεῦμα καὶ φῶς καὶ νυχθήμερον, ὁμοῦ ἔργα ἑπτά.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 4: *On the first-created full day, the 1st day of the first Hebrew month of Nisan, as has been shown above, the 25th of the Roman month of March, and the 29th of the Egyptian month of Phamenoth, on the Lord's day, that is on the first of the week, God created the heaven and the earth, the darkness and the waters, spirit and light and a full day: altogether seven works.*)

2 (16). p. 36, 5–9: ἀμφοτέροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν Καισαρείας Παλαιστίνης Εὐσέβιον καταμέμφονται, ὅτι μὴ δεδύνηται ὡς αὐτοὶ τὸν μυριαδισμόν τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν ἐτῶν, ἧτοι τῶν ρκδ', εἰς ἡμέρας νοῆσαι, καὶ ἀναλύσεως ἢ μερίσεως αὐτοὶ πεποιήκασιν, **ὡς προδέδεικται**, ἵνα σύμφωνος εὔρεθῇ τῇ γραφῇ.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 47: *Now both of them reprove Eusebius of Caesarea of Palestine for not being able, as they were, to conceptualize the myriads of Chaldaean years (that is, 124 myriads) as days; and what they have done is to reduce or divide them, as has already been shown, in order that they might be found in harmony with scripture.*)

3 (17). p. 289, 5–6: Τὸν Καμβύσην τινὲς Ναβουχοδονόσωρ νομίζουσι τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδήθ· οὐκ ἔστι δέ, **ὡς προδέδεικται καὶ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα δειχθήσεται**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 351: *Some believe that Kambyses was Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in Judith. But this is not the case, as we have previously shown and shall demonstrate in what follows.*)

καθώς προαποδέδεικται ἡμῖν

1 (18). p. 42, 20–27 = see above (n° 3)

2 (19). p. 128, 29 – 129, 3: εἰσὶν οὖν οἱ πάντες ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ παῖδες ἰ΄ καὶ θυγάτηρ μία Δείνα, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔσχατος μὲν τῇ τάξει, ἰβ΄ γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥουβὴν, ὁ Ἰωσήφ, πρῶτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ῥαχὴλ κατὰ τὸ φα΄ ἔτος Ἰακώβ γεννηθεὶς, **ὡς προαποδέδεικται**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 61: *Altogether, then, these make a total in Mesopotamia of ten sons and one daughter, Dinah. After them all came Joseph, chronologically the last, the 12th from Reuben; but as Rachel's first child he was born in Jacob's 91st year, as we demonstrated above.*)

συναποδέδεικται

1 (20). p. 16, 28 – 17, 4 = see below, (n° 22).

2 (21). p. 133, 28–29 = see above, (n° 7)

ἀποδεδειγμένος, ἀποδεδειγμένη

1 (22). p. 16, 28 – 17, 4: ἄτινα πάντα καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα πολλῆς ἀδολεσχίας γέμοντα ὁρῶντες καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς ἡμῶν γραφαῖς ἀνακόλουθα οἱ τὰς Χριστιανικὰς ἱστορίας συγγράψαντες, θαυμάζω πῶς κατεδέξαντο ὅλως κανονικῇ στοιχειώσει ὑποβαλεῖν ἀνάξια πάσης ὄντα μνήμης, οὐς κατ' ὄνομα λέγειν περισσὸν ἠγοῦμαι αἰδοῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δι' οὓς ἀναγκάζομαι κἀγὼ τῇ αὐτῇ στοιχειώσει χρῆσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ δόξη ἀτελεὲς εἶναι τὸ πόνημα. τῆς οὖν Χαλδαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς **ἀπὸ Νεβρώδ ἀποδεδειγμένης συναποδέδεικται** δηλονότι καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν δυναστειῶν ὑπὸ Μανεθῶ τοῦ Σεβεννύτου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον συγγεγραμμένα πλήρη ψεύδους καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν Βηρώσσου πεπλασμένα κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς σχεδὸν που χρόνους ἢ μικρὸν ὕστερον

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 22: *And when authors of the Christian histories see that all of this and a great deal more are saturated with a large amount of prattle and are at odds with our divine scriptures, I am amazed how they have at all consented to subject to a tabular arrangement what is unworthy of any mention whatsoever. Out of respect for these men, I deem it unnecessary to mention them by name. But this is because of them that I too am required to make use of this same arrangement, lest my work appear incomplete. Since, then, the Chaldaean kingdom **has been demonstrated** to have begun from Nimrod, **it has been also clearly demonstrated** at the same time that what has been written about the Egyptian dynasties by Manetho of Sebennytyos to Ptolemy Philadelphos is full of untruth and fabricated in imitation of Berossos at about the same time or a little later than him).*

2 (23). p. 91, 1–2: Οὕτως **ἀποδεδειγμένου** τοῦ χρόνου, καθ' ὃν ὁ Ἐβερ τὸν Φαλέκ ἐγέννησε δέκατον [Goar: καὶ πέμπτων] ὄντα ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ, (...)

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 115: *Now that **I have thus demonstrated** the date at which Heber begot Phalek, the tenth [fifteenth] descendant from Adam,...*)

ὡς [...] ἀπέδειξεν

1 (24). p. 38, 26–29: εἰ καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὥσπερ τὰ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς, οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς δυναστείας ψευδηγορήματα στοιχειῶσαι ἠξίωσαν πάντα ψεῦδη πεφυκῶτα, **ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια μόνη ἀπέδειξεν**, ἥς οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 51: *All the same, I do not know how they have seen fit to arrange chronologically, just as they did for Chaldaean history, the falsehoods about the Egyptian dynasty; for they are constituted entirely of lies, **as has been demonstrated solely by the truth**, than which nothing is stronger).*

*ἀπεδείξαμεν

1 (25). p. 233, 15–17: εἶτα ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ φησίν· ἦν δ' ἄρα τοῦ Ἄχας βασιλείας ἔτος πρῶτον, ᾧ συντρέχειν ἀπεδείξαμεν τὴν πρώτην ὀλυμπιάδα.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 287: *Then in the fourth book he says: 'This then was the first year of the reign of Achas, with which we have shown the 1st Olympiad coincides*).

2 (26). p. 393, 23–24: ἰδίᾳ δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τῷ περὶ ἑβδομάδων καὶ τῆσδε τῆς προφητείας ἀπεδείξαμεν.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 470: *We have proved this in more detail in a separate work dealing with the weeks of years and this prophecy*).

This variety of examples found throughout the *Ekloge chronographias*³⁷, and especially in its first half, is all the more important because Syncellus' own wording is detectable in the majority of cases. In n° 1–8 it is to be easily guessed from the context; n° 7 is George's proof for the exact dating of the patriarchs, in n° 8 a typical emphasis reveals the author. His authorship is probable in n° 9, as he used both of the sources mentioned³⁸; n° 11 is his critical commentary of Eusebius' account, n° 12 – his repudiation of the Babylonian chronology as seen by his predecessors, Berossus and Alexander Polyhistor, and his reconstruction of the generations between the diluvial times and the dispersion of peoples. In n° 13 George summarised the proper chronology of the Biblical generations between Shem and Abraham, in n° 14 he gave a résumé of the years from Abraham to Jacob; in n° 15 he returned to the very first paragraph of his book. Similarly, in n° 16 the chronicler analysed the chronological scheme of his sources; n° 17 referred to Julius Africanus' view (pp. 282, 19–21)³⁹. N° 19 contains George's own calculations, n° 23 forms the the beginning of the short explanatory paragraph between the lists of Hebrew chronology. In n° 24 Syncellus' own words are obvious, and even more so in n° 22,

³⁷ Cf. also some further instances of conjugated ἀποδείκνυμι, meaning 'as we can prove, sb. proves, as our reasoning shows, etc.' present in the *Ekloge chronographias* (p. 35, 22–24; 38, 15–16; 69, 10–11; 76, 29–30 [this one from Africanus]; 110, 18–19 [probably also from the source]; 128, 22–25; 133, 26–28 – for the last one see above, ἀποδέδεικται n° 7), but entirely absent from *Chronographia* (with the only exception in AM 6177, p. 361, 20, which is a famous so-called scholion on the *quinisextum*).

³⁸ Cf. EUSEBIUS, I, 58, 12–22: *Allein hierauf sage ich: Zwei siebzigjährige Zeiten bedeuten die prophetischen Worte: die eine von der Verwüstung des Tempels ab, welche zum Abschluß gelangt im 2. Jahre Darehs, wie es Zacharias Ausspruch vor Augen stellt; und die andere von der Gefangenschaft der Juden bis zur Einnahme Babelons und zur Beseitigung des Königtums der Chaldäer; welche anfang gezählt zu werden von der Prophezeiungszeit an und erfüllt wird unter Kyros, entsprechend Jeremias Worte, wodurch er von der Zukunft prophezeiend sagte: »So spricht der Herr: Wann im Begriffe sich zu erfüllen sein wird Babelons 70. Jahr, werde ich euch heimsuchen und werde bestätigen über euch meine Weissagung, Zurückzuführen euch an diese Stätte«.*

³⁹ Cf. A.-M. TOTOMANOVA, *Slavjanskata versija...*, p. 465; 529.

where George the Polemist is seen at his best. Three fragments only were copied: n° 10⁴⁰, 25⁴¹ and 26, all from Julius Africanus.

This juxtaposition of Theophanes' non-use and George's abundant use of these phrases serves not only to indicate the difference between the styles. It should be said that the underlined sentence in AM 5828 (335/336) of the *Chronographia*, and probably the final version of the previous one, constitute a commentary to the source, and not the words of the chronicler's source itself (cf. Mango/Scott, p. 55, note 4: *Theophanes invents the false claim regarding Eusebios of Nicomedia's translation, which was two years later and had nothing to do with his actual baptism of Constantine in Nicomedia*). However, I suppose that the very sentence was written rather by George Syncellus than Theophanes. Throughout his chronicle, the latter used the form *ὡς ἀποδέδεικται* only once – precisely here, whereas his predecessor did it nine times, not to count the other forms, listed above, which are not attested in the *Chronographia* at all. The phrase *ὡς προαπεδείξαμεν* is also a hapax in Theophanes (Syncellus used the verb twice, although in a different form). Since I believe (as I showed in the discussion on *προέφην* / *προέφημεν* above) that even this early part of the chronicle was authored (edited) by Theophanes, the sentence must have been present in the material entrusted to him by George. The issue will be supplemented with some other arguments below, but already here I would like to stress that these notes did not go in such an annotated version in Byzantine history much further.

The present argumentation should be complemented with the forms of *δείκνυμι* in the future; equally telling, as *δειχθήσεται* / *ὡς δειχθήσεται* are completely absent from Theophanes' *Chronographia*. In the *Ekloge chronographias* the reverse is the case, which is shown in the list below, containing only George's own expressions and no quotations⁴². As with the past tense variants, they are more numerous in the first half of Syncellus' chronicle, which is richer in the polemic tone of the kind in question, and evidently more strictly woven as far as the scheme of the narrative is concerned.

⁴⁰ See on that excerpt: R. W. BURGESS, *Apologetic and Chronography: The Antecedents of Julius Africanus*, [in:] *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronik. Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik*, ed. M. WALLRAFF, Berlin–New York 2006, p. 41; A. MOSSHAMMER, *The Christian Era of Julius Africanus with an Excursus on Olympiad Chronology*, [in:] *Julius Africanus...*, p. 86; W. ADLER, *Eusebius' Critique of Africanus*, [in:] *Julius Africanus...*, p. 155; A.-M. TOTOMANOVA, *Slavjanskata versija...*, p. 508–509; 538.

⁴¹ Cf. A.-M. TOTOMANOVA, *Slavjanskata versija...*, p. 447, 525.

⁴² The originality of the instances is to be inferred from the context and the position within the narrative structure of the chronicle. N° 2 contains Syncellus' commentary to Abydenus' narrative on the kingdom of the Chaldaeans; n° 3 belongs to the analytical level of the chronicle; in n° 5 Syncellus' authorship is self-evident. N° 6 contains the chronicler's own words, as above in *ὡς προεδήλωται* (n° 7) and *ὡς ([...]) δέδεικται* (n° 2[12]). The subject in n° 7 refers to both Africanus and Eusebius a few lines earlier in the same paragraph, thus the passage must have been written by Syncellus. In n° 8 and 9 his authorship is very plausible; in n° 11 it is revealed by the topic (see below, *δείκνυται* n° 1).

1. p. 34, 2–9 = see above, ἀποδέδεικται (n° 1).

2. p. 39, 28 – 40, 4: Ἰδοὺ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἐξηλλαγμένη τινὶ φράσει τὰ Μωυσαϊκὰ παραχαράξας Κρόνον φησὶ κεχηρηματικέναι τῷ Νῶε, ἦτοι Ξισίθρω, τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὕτω καλεῖσθαι συμφωνηθέντι, τοῦ Κρόνου πολλοῖς ἔτεσι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν, **ὡς δειχθήσεται**, καὶ τὴν πυργοποιίαν γενομένου μοχθηροῦ τινοῦ καὶ ἀλάστορος.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 53: *So see how he has restamped the Mosaic writings with a rather different verbal sense, saying that Kronos issued a command to Noah, that is Xisithros (the name upon which they all agree). But Kronos was a knave and a scourge who, as will be demonstrated, lived many years after the Flood and the building of the tower.*)

3. p. 57, 26–30: ...ὅτι αὕτη μὲν ἢ παλαιότερα νομιζομένη Αἰγυπτίων συγγραφὴ Ἡφαίστου μὲν ἄπειρον εἰσάγει χρόνον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν κθ' δυναστειῶν ἔτη τρισμῦρια ,ςφκε', καίτοι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου πολλοῖς ἔτεσι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν καὶ τὴν πυργοποιίαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαντος, **ὡς δειχθήσεται ἐν τῷ δέοντι τόπῳ**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 74: *For this allegedly more ancient history of the Egyptians assigns a limitless period to Hephaistos, and 36525 years to the remaining twenty-nine dynasties, although Hephaistos ruled Egypt many years after the Flood and the building of the tower, as will be demonstrated in the proper place.*)

4. p. 76, 5–9 = see above, ἀποδέδεικται (n° 4).

5. p. 76, 22–26: Τετάρθωσαν δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφεξῆς αἱ λοιπαὶ δυναστεῖαι τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡ' καὶ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως αὐτῆς Ἀμῶς μὲν κατὰ Ἀφρικανόν, κατὰ δὲ Εὐσέβιον Ἀμῶσιος, κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν χρονογραφεῖον καὶ ἕτερα ἀκριβῆ, **ὡς δειχθήσεται**, δευτέρου τῆς αὐτῆς ἡ' δυναστείας Ἀμῶσιος.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 98–99: *Now let us arrange in sequence the remaining dynasties of the kings of Egypt from the same 18th dynasty and its first king, called Amos according to Africanus and Amosis according to Eusebios. But in the present chronography, and in other accurate ones, as will be shown, the sequence will be arranged from Amosis as the second king of the 18th dynasty.*)

6. p. 89, 14–15: ...ταῦτα οὖν οὕτω μαθόντες καὶ πιστεύοντες καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ἱστορικῶν, **ὡς δειχθήσεται**, ὁμοφωνοῦντας,...

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 113: *This, then, is what we have learnt. And having confidence that it is true we are also supported by other like minded historians, as will be demonstrated.*)

7. p. 91, 8–11: οὕτω γὰρ ἐν πέντε κανονίοις κειμένων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἕως τοῦ Φαλὲκ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαλὲκ ἕως Ἀβραάμ ἐτῶν, **εὐμαρῶς δειχθήσεται** ἡ σύμφωνος τῆ τε Μωυσαϊκῆ καὶ εὐαγγελικῆ γραφῆ γενεαρχία τε καὶ χρονολογία.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 115: *Once the years have been arranged accordingly in five tables from Adam up to Phalek and from Phalek up to Abraham, the genealogy of the patriarchs and the chronology that coincides with the writing of Moses and the gospels, will be readily evident.*)

8. p. 118, 15–18: ...οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμοφωνήσας τῷ Μανεθῶ κατὰ τοὺς μερικοὺς τῶν βασιλέων χρόνους, οὔτε μὴν τελείως ἐν τῇ τούτων ὁμαδικῆ στοιχειώσει, **ὡς δειχθήσεται** ἐν τῇ πινακικῇ αὐτῶν στοιχειώσει.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 146: *Nor does it completely agree with Manetho in the overall computation of their [sc. the kings] dates; this will be pointed out in the exposition of them in the list following.*)

9. p. 265, 16–19: τῷ δὲ β' ἔτει τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δαρείου τελείας ἀφέσεως δοθείσης τῷ ἔθνει καὶ τῇ ἀνοικοδομῇ τοῦ ναοῦ, τῷ ζ' ἔτει Δαρείου ἐτελειώθη τὸ ἔργον, ὡς ἐφεξῆς **δειχθήσεται** ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ Ἑσδρα γραφῆς.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 325–326: *After the final release of the nation was authorised in the second year of this Dareios, as well as the re-establishment of the temple, the work was completed in the sixth year of Dareios, as will be demonstrated next from the divine book of Esdras.*)

10. p. 289, 5–6 = see above, προδέδεικται (π^ο 3[17])

11. p. 377, 4–6: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῆς ζωοποιοῦ ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ ἡμέρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πρωτόκτιστον ἡμέραν συναντήσῃ κατὰ τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παραδόσεις, ὡς **δειχθήσεται**.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 450: *For in the same way the day of his life-bringing Resurrection will occur on this first-created day according to the apostolic traditions, as will be demonstrated.*)

*(12). p. 71, 10–12: τὸν δὲ τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν προειρημένην ἀπὸ Ἰγύγου ἔτη **δειχθήσεται**, ἀκ'. – slightly different usage in quotation from Julius Africanus.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 90: *1020 years will be demonstrated from Ogygos up to the aforementioned first olympiad.*)

4. The passage on Constantine the Great

All the above-discussed forms constitute only a small part of the formulas and expressions that differ between the two texts, despite their similar semantic function. They will not be discussed here in view of limitations of space⁴³. Yet to address the matter in at least a basic way, one more passage from the *Chronographia* concerning the reign of Constantine the Great needs to be treated at some length. It is original not only because of the content, but also in view of the form **δείκνυται**, applied here three times in the same paragraph (and nowhere else). It is not included in Anastasius' translation, and the text bears little resemblance in this regard to the known parallel source (*Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, p. 532, 7–13):

AM 5827 (AD 334/335), p. 32, 25 – 33, 8: ταῦτα τῷ τριακοστῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει γέγονε τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ θείου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκοποῦντος τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, καὶ οὐχ ὡς φησὶν **Εὐσέβιος μόνος**, ὅτι ὁ Νικομηδείας Εὐσέβιος, ὅτε εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια τὰ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου ἐσκεύαζεν, τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἐπέιχεν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πᾶν χρόνων ὁμάδος **δείκνυται** ψεῦδος, ἐπεὶ περ Κωνσταντίνος τὰ ὅλα ἔτη λβ' ἐβασίλευσεν. ὃς μετὰ τὴν πρώτην δεκαετηρίδα, τῷ δεκάτῳ τρίτῳ αὐτοῦ ἔτει, καταλαβὼν τὸ Βυζάντιον Μητροφάνην τὸν πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὗρεν ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἶτα Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη τρία καὶ

⁴³ One should mention e.g.: **εἶρηται / ὡς εἶρηται** – form often in *Ekl. chron.* (19 instances) and rare in *Chron.* (just 3 instances, perhaps all borrowed from the accounts used: AM 6026, p. 186, 18–22; AM 6256, p. 435, 22–24 – the Oriental source; and very late in AM 6305, p. 499, 5). The part. pass. form *εἰρημένος* is visible in both chronicles, but used a bit differently (George – 11, Theophanes – 9); **πρόκειται / ὡς πρόκειται** in *Ekl. chron.* (9 instances) – absent from *Chron.*; **ὡς ὑπόκειται** in *Ekl. chron.* (4 usages) – absent from *Chron.*; **λέγω** and **φημί** in both texts; **ὡς ἐξῆς σύγκειται** in *Ekl. chron.* (1) – absent from *Chron.*; **ὡς ἐξῆς ἐστοιχείωται** in *Ekl. chron.* (5 instances) – absent from *Chron.*

εἴκοσιν ἐπισκόπησεν· ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἕως κοιμήσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη λζ', ἅπερ Κωνσταντίνος οὐκ ἔφθασεν· καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐκ τῆς χρονικῆς ομάδος **δείκνυται** μὴ ἄρξαι τὸν Εὐσέβιον ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θρόνου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. **δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων** ἀνωτέρω περὶ Ἀρείου καὶ Ἀθανασίου. ἢ τε γὰρ Ἀθανασίου ἐξορία καὶ ἡ Ἀρείου κατάλυσις μετὰ τὸ τριακοστὸν ἔτος Κωνσταντίνου γέγονε καὶ μετὰ τὰ ἐγκαίνια Ἱεροσολύμων· ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι περιῆν.

AD 334/335, p. 52: *These events took place in the 31st year of Constantine the Great while the divine Alexander was bishop of Constantinople. And it was not, as Eusebius alone states, while Eusebius of Nicomedia was holding the throne of Constantinople that he plotted against Athanasios at the consecration. That this is false is shown from the total period of time, since Constantine ruled in all for 32 years. After his first decade, in his 13th year he arrived in Byzantium and found Alexander's predecessor Metrophanes was bishop, after whom Alexander was bishop for 23 years. The period from the beginning of Constantine the Great's rule to the death of Alexander was consequently 37 years, which Constantine did not attain. Thus from the total period of time it can be shown that Eusebius did not rule the throne of Constantinople in Constantine's time.^[note 16] This also follows from what has been said above about Arius and Athanasios. For Athanasios' banishment and Arius' death occurred after Constantine's 30th year and after the consecration at Jerusalem. The great Alexander was still alive at that time.*

location in the entry: (1) – 71 – 88 – (88), **parallel sources:** cf. *Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. DINDORF, p. 532, 7–13: καὶ ἐπιβάς Κωνσταντίνος λβ' ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν κατὰ Περσῶν, ἐλθὼν ἕως Νικομηδείας, ἐνδόξως καὶ εὐσεβῶς μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον ἐν προαστείῳ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως μηνὶ ἄρτεμισίῳ ια', καταξιώθεις τοῦ σωτηριώδους βαπτίσματος ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, βασιλεύσας ἔτη λα' καὶ μῆνας ι'.

Anastasius: – (pp. 87; fragment p. 32, 12 – 33, 16 [AM 5827, the last half – 5828] is not included in Anastasius' translation)

The above passage, being the last part of the respective *annus mundi*, is usually attributed to Theophanes – let us quote the gloss in Mango/Scott, p. 54, n. 16: *Theophanes' determination to demonstrate that the Arian Eusebios of Nicomedia could not have been bishop of Constantinople in Constantine's lifetime is presumably linked to iconodule arguments in Theophanes' lifetime for the orthodoxy of Constantine. Cf. AM 5814, n. 3, 5847, for other rare examples of Theophanes resorting to argument with a similar objective.*

However, as in example AM 5828 above (ὡς ἀποδέδεικται / ὡς προαπεδείξαμεν), this fragment should rather be ascribed to George Syncellus, as part of the loose notes entrusted to Theophanes and – we may add – properly used. The arguments for such an ascription are as follows:

I. as previously said, it is the only example of **δείκνυται** (occurring three times here) in Theophanes' *Chronographia*. Although such a form is also rare in George's work, it is a bit more visible in the *Ekloge*, and obviously in his own words:

1. p. 2, 21–26 (George's ~prooimion): ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἐκ πάντων **δείκνυται** χρονικὴ ἀρχή, καθ' ἣν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ γεγόνασιν, ἡ ἀγία αὕτη πρωτόκτιστος ἡμέρα, ἦν ὡς θεμέλιον ἀρραγὴ καὶ βᾶσιν ἄσειστον πηξάμενος τῆσδε τῆς συγγραφῆς, λιπαρῶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τὴν αἰσθητὴν κτίσιν ὑποστησάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ καινὴν κτίσιν Χριστὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν συνεργησαί μοι τῷ ἀμαθεστάτῳ...

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 3: *From every respect, therefore, this holy first-created day is incontrovertibly proved to be a chronological beginning, during which the heaven and the earth came into being. And having established this day as a solid foundation and unmoveable basis for the present narrative, I entreat Christ our God who not only gave substance to the perceptible creation on and during this day, but who also established in him a new creation: may he assist me, a most ignorant man...*)

2. p. 38, 12–16: τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος, ὡς ἀποδέδεικται ταῖς θεολέκτοις φωναῖς, μὴ οὔσης πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ οὐδ' ἡ Χαλδαίων βασιλεία ἔσται τὸ πρότερον ἕως τῆς βασιλείας Νεβρώδ καὶ τῆς πυργοποιίας, τούτοις δὲ **συναποδείκνυται** καὶ ἡ παρὰ Μανεθῶ περι τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ δυναστειῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συγγραφὴ ψευδῆς, (...)

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 51: *And since Babylon, as has been demonstrated by divinely inspired utterances, did not exist before the Flood, neither will there have been a kingdom of a Chaldaean in the time before the reign of Nimrod and the building of the tower. And along with this, the account written by Manetho concerning the Egyptian dynasties before the Flood is also shown to be false.*)

3. p. 107, 5–8: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μᾶλλον ἡ γραφὴ συνέτεμε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Θάρα συνάψασα, τὰ τε πρὸ τῆς πορείας τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν Χαναὰν καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν πορείαν, ἅπερ ἦν, ὡς **δείκνυται**, τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ρμ' ἔτους ἕως τοῦ σε' ἔτους τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 133: *Notice at this point is a rather abrupt break in scripture, which joins together the narrative about Terah before Abraham's journey to the land of Canaan with its narrative after the journey (the latter narrative encompassed, as we are showing, the period from the 140th year up until Terah's 205th year, the year of his death).*)

4. p. 133, 23–29: Ἰακῶβ ἔτει πβ' τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγέννησε τὸν Λεὺί, καθὼς ἐν τῇ προλαβούσῃ συντάξει σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἅπασα μεταξὺ τῆς γενέσεως Ἰωσήφ καὶ Λεὺί θ' μεσεμβολεῖν ἔτη, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔνατος ἐτέχθη μετ' αὐτόν. **ἀποδείκνυται** δὲ Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῷ ρα' Ἰακῶβ τεχθεὶς, εἴ γε ρκ' ἔτει τοῦ πατρὸς λ' ἔτος ἄγων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀναβιβάζεται. συναποδέδεικται δὲ καὶ Λεὺί διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ θ' ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ τῷ πβ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης γεννηθεὶς τοῦ Ἰακῶβ ἔτει. – as above (George's proof of the exact dating of the patriarchs)

(Adler/Tuffin, p. 166: *Jacob, in the 82nd year of his life, begot Levi, as we have clearly demonstrated in the preceding synopsis. For there definitely must have been nine years intervening between the births of Joseph and Levi, inasmuch as Joseph was the ninth to be born after him. Now it can be shown from scripture that Joseph was born in the 91st year of Jacob, seeing that it was in his father's 120th year that he, in his 30th year, was elevated to the rule of Egypt. And so we have also proved at the same time that Levi's birth, preceding Joseph's by nine years, must have occurred in Jacob's 82nd year.*)

* p. 476, 24–27: a phrase with **δείκνυται**, but rather useless here, as it had been rewritten from the chronicler's source

!Note that 2. and 4. have been used before as examples of Syncellus' typically discursive structures.

II. the passage furnishes the only instance of 'ὡς φησιν' in the *Chronographia*, a structure much more popular in the *Ekloge chronographias* (cf. George, p. 258, 20–22: τισὶ δὲ ἀκριβέστερον δοκεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ε' ἔτους τῆς προφητείας Ἰερεμίου, ὡς φησιν Εὐσέβιος, τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ α' ἔτος Κύρου ἀριθμεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἀκριβῶς σφίζεται).

The expression ὡς φησιν ± source (ἡ γραφὴ / ἡ θεία γραφὴ / ἡ βίβλος τῆς Γενέσεως / ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ / [ὁ] Ἰωσήπος / ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις / ὁ Ἀφρικανός / ἐν

ταῖς πράξεσιν ὁ πρωτομάρτυς / ἡ τετάρτη Μωυσαϊκὴ βίβλος / ἡ δ' τῶν βασιλειῶν καὶ ἡ β' τῶν Παραλειπομένων / ὁ Πλάτων / ὁ Φιλόχορος / Ἡρόδοτος / Εὐσέβιος / Ἱερεμίας / ὁ Διόδωρος / ὁ θεῖος εὐαγγελιστὴς Λουκᾶς), predominantly added by George and not taken from his sources, occurs 32 times, evenly spread throughout the *Ekloge chronographias*⁴⁴.

‘Φησιν’ is generally rare in Theophanes’ (11) work, but it occurs often in George Syncellus’ writings (121). Theophanes sometimes mentions his sources, where such words could have come from, and some of his instances of ‘φησιν’ are quotations or parenthetical clauses in direct speech (e.g. AM 6005, p. 159, 25–26: “γράμματα,” φησίν, “ἐδεξάμην σήμερον σημαίνοντά μοι ὅτι Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος τέθνηκεν”). Some early instances, especially “Εὐσέβιος δὲ ὁ Καισαρεύς φησιν...” and “Τελάσιος δὲ ὁ Καισαρείας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπίσκοπός φησιν...” both in AM 5796, p. 11, 14–15 and 18–19, as well as “ὁ δὲ Θεοδώρητός φησιν ὅτι Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου σύμφρων τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ὑπήρχεν...” in AM 5818, p. 28, 9–10 may derive from George’s notes – definitely edited (AM 5796) by Theophanes, as we realise from the last sentence with ‘ὡς προέφη’⁴⁵.

III. the following features should also be considered: a. the method of argumentation; b. Eusebius of Caesarea treated as the major, critically discussed source; c. opinions on the periods and reigns; d. the interest in bishops, visible in the last parts of the *Ekloge chronographias*; e. counting the periods of the world down to Constantine the Great (pp. 33, 20–23; 36, 19–20; 198, 1–2). All these elements resemble the style and method of George Syncellus much more than that of Theophanes.

Such an attribution of the fragments of AM 5827 and 5828 influences also the attribution of 5814, where the baptism of Constantine in Rome by Silvester is discussed – for Mango/Scott (note 3 on p. 32) once again *one of Theophanes’ rare authorial comments and places where he resorts to argument*. The use of ἐμοὶ δὲ... φαίνεται in AM 5814 to express one’s views also resembles the language of George⁴⁶. The same is probably true for the discussion of Eusebius of Caesarea’s orthodoxy at AM 5818 (unattributed to any source in the 1997 translation) and it

⁴⁴ *Ekloge chronographias*, p. 11, 11; 37, 20–21; 43, 20; 54, 12; 75, 1–2; 105, 7–8; 107, 28; 111, 4; 111, 17; 115, 3; 116, 23; 117, 2; 120, 4; 120, 11; 123, 3; 123, 11–12; 123, 17; 126, 11; 127, 25–26; 158, 12; 166, 16; 174, 23–24; 179, 10; 190, 11; 190, 24; 241, 17–18; 258, 21; 260, 1–2; 263, 24–25; 316, 10; 349, 5; 380, 21.

⁴⁵ Both Theophanes and George used the structures ὡς φασιν, ὡς τινὲς φασιν(v) etc., thus they are irrelevant here.

⁴⁶ In the *Chronographia* the expression never occurs again with this meaning. In the *Ekloge chronographias* one encounters similar, although not identical structures (impersonal and with reference to the sources, not to the chronicler himself) here and there: p. 100, 16; 120, 19; 136, 1–2; 168, 4–5; 302, 28–29. One cannot exclude the possibility of a yet different authorship of the fragment ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀληθέστερον φαίνεται τὸ ὑπὸ Σιλβέστρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ βεβαπτίσθαι αὐτόν... (p. 18, 1–9). Still, it is highly probable that we are dealing with an unfinished note of Syncellus subsequently incorporated by Theophanes into the framework of his *anni mundi*.

may also be of help to ascribe to George a passage from AM 5796, p. 11, 13–19 (the last paragraph without the last sentence, due to George's way of citing the sources). George's harsh opinion on Eusebius would then find here its final expression, and the case of Constantine's baptism could be important for him as well. That he spent part of his life as syncellus of the Constantinopolitan patriarch should not be forgotten in this regard.

All this is by no means to suggest that the first folios of the *Chronographia* should be separated from the part by Theophanes and glued with the *Ekloge chronographias*. George's notes, regardless if one calls them *aformai* or not⁴⁷, should not be treated as something more than they actually were, i.e. probably the loose notes, which did not reach beyond Constantine I. Even in the aforementioned *anni mundi* some marks of Theophanes' intervention can be traced, as e.g. ὡς προέφη in AM 5796, or ὡς φασί τινες in the first sentence of AM 5814, used rather by him (here, in AM 5976, p. 130, 15 and AM 6106, p. 301, 1 – in his Oriental account) than by George (who preferred ὡς τινές φασιν, cf. p. 113, 13 and 329, 8). These examples are but the most obvious and easiest to discover. Indeed, some differences in the opening decades of the *Chronographia* may be better understood if the existence of Syncellus' notes is assumed (some even morphologically different and constituting unique entries, like the genealogies in AM 5814). However, although he could have read some of the sources or guided Theophanes, it probably does not mean that he managed to write further than to the moment where the *Ekloge* stops, in the eve of the times of Constantine the Great – perhaps just apart from these scarce notes on contemporary events, which has unfortunately been understood too broadly and picked too eagerly in the recent times. It is improbable that Syncellus prepared the materials for the next few centuries, worked on them and then wrote the respective parts of the chronicle. The 'Eusebian' polemic described above – stylistically, factually and logically bound – may therefore be treated as Syncellus' last discussion with his sources, faithfully transmitted by his friend.

5. Conclusions; the 'genuine friendship' of George and Theophanes

References to the past or to the future inside the narrative are, as I hope to have demonstrated in this paper, of great value for displaying the individual habits of the Byzantine historians. Thus, such a survey provides further arguments for the discussion on the authorship; although circumstantial, they should not be disregarded. It is not my intent to claim that the method is free of disadvantages: frequency should not be compared mechanically, some of the words or phrases are

⁴⁷ On ἀφορμαί see e.g. C. MANGO, *Who Wrote the Chronicle...*, p. 9–10; I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Search for the Past...*, p. 287; *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, p. lv; A. KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine literature (650–850)...*, p. 216–217; *The Chronography of George*, p. lxxxii–lxxxiii; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–831*, Leiden 2012, p. 8–9; see also the paper of C. ZUCKERMAN in TM 2015 (p. 39–40).

too common, and sometimes the material available for comparison is too uneven. Fortunately, both George Syncellus and, surprising as it may seem, Theophanes left vast and rewarding samples to compare. The general results may be summarised in the following way. The comparison of the two chronicles firmly shows the different authorship of the respective parts, whereas comparisons inside the *Chronographia* point to a homogeneous authorship⁴⁸, with all the limitations typical for the era, genre and milieu, and with the reservation that some later and partial editorial interventions are conceivable (rubrics?) and in some instances certain (cf. AM 6177). I am personally not inclined to think that any of these additions or changes in narrative between the 3rd and the 9th cent. had the character of a general, thorough reworking, with authorial control of the whole project⁴⁹. These opinions remain valid no matter if one accepts or refutes the traditional ascription of the *Chronographia* to Theophanes the Confessor or another contemporary bearer of the same name.

Even a relative identification of the authors, with Theophanes using the notes of George for some *anni mundi* in the first pages of his chronicle, would lead to a somewhat distorted view if deprived of a commentary. The continuity between both chronographies is not merely a resumption of the interrupted narrative. As it was said at the beginning and as is to be maintained now, it is obviously and strikingly denser and more direct than the connection between the vast majority of the Byzantine chronicles or histories, even if one admits the many dissimilarities.

⁴⁸ My opinion stems not only from the wording, but also from the way of retelling the sources through separate centuries A.M. One may consider e.g. the similarities in the story of the Persian ex-emperor Kavād (AM 5968 sqq) and the Byzantine ex-emperor Justinian II (AM 6196 sqq), as compared with Procopius' *De bellis* in the former, and of necessity with patriarch Nicephorus' *Historia syntomos* in the latter case. The resemblance and parallelism of the accounts on the deposed emperors exist on the logical and narrative levels, not lexical or stylistic ones. The fragments can be easily distinguished from their textual environment: they reflect more than a year, showing a predominance of continuity of narration over the annalistic structure of the *Chronographia*. But above all, the separate sequences of the accounts accompany and correspond to each other in a permanent, parallel relationship, as if only the same aspects or categories of information were found interesting or appropriate by the chronicler. Common to both accounts are the motifs of guilt and punishment, loss of power as a consequence of tyrannical rule, as well as the adventurous character of the story, the presence of stratagems, the help of the wives and barbarians in escape or return to power etc. Certain similar elements in Kavād and Justinian's stories are stressed, others disappear. The combined comparison indicates at least that the same person abbreviated and summarised the available sources in both examples, which are quite distant in the overall structure of the chronicle; more loci can be compared that way. The idea was laid out in A. KOMPA, *Zbieżność losów a zbieżność narracji. O strukturze i autorstwie „Chronografii” Teofanesa*, [in:] *Średniowieczna wizja świata. Jedność czy różnorodność (idee i teksty) – III Kongres Mediewistów Polskich, Polska i Europa w średniowieczu. Przemiany strukturalne. Łódź 22–24 września 2008*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, Łódź 2009, p. 141–161.

⁴⁹ These were suggested by some scholars or arise from their theories (e.g. P. SPECK, *Der 'zweite' Theophanes...*, p. 433–470; P. YANNOPOULOS, *Les vicissitudes...*, p. 536–552 and IDEM, *Comme le dit Georges le Syncelle...*, p. 140–145).

The survey above is so by no means contradictory to the acknowledgement of the unique bond that the *Chronographia* of Theophanes shares with George Syncellus' *Ekloge chronographias*, a link that resembles to some extent the ties between the two authors; indeed, both parts constitute a uniform project. To be more precise, the idea established and developed by George was then taken over by his friend; the differences result from the independent work of the former and then of the latter, presumably with only rudimentary guidance at the beginning⁵⁰. This simple and traditional view has been perceived for a few decades as too straightforward and suspicious, yet it still has a certain appeal and cannot be treated as abandoned.

The two chronicles, with all the differences, should be once again perceived as a whole, and as the crucial part of the tripartite history, as they were treated when Anastasius the Librarian laid foundations of the reception of the chronographies in the Latin West. The *Tripartita* might have been an involuntary and unintended project, but the course of events made it integral, as shown by the reconstructed *stemma codicum*. It is evident regardless of whether one accepts de Boor-Wilson's reconstruction of the preserved manuscripts or calls for reconsideration of the oldest witnesses and the place of the crucial MSS in the genealogy of the chronicle. Even if the text of Theophanes we possess now (thanks to the 1883 edition and Mango/Scott's remarks within the translation) is not definitive, the link is to be easily seen in the majority of the MSS. As it is widely known, Anastasius began his Latin translation precisely in the place where the second codex of the *Ekloge* begins (the bicodical archetype is expected because of the title in some manuscripts and certain traces in MSS AB)⁵¹, and many of the codices more or less conform to this pattern (Vat. Gr. 154, Vat. Gr. 155, Vat. Gr. 979, Coisl. 133, Oxon. Chr.Ch. Wake 5, Vat. Pal. 395, Vallicell. f 35, Monac. Gr. 391, etc.). Some others, perhaps distanced too far away from the rest of the branches in the stemma, merge yet wider parts or an unabridged version of the *Ekloge* with Theophanes and contemporary authors, with the order of the *tripartita* retained (as e.g. Par. Gr. 1711, Vat. Gr. 978)⁵².

⁵⁰ I am inclined thus to follow the *via media*, blazed above all by Alexander KAZHDAN in *A History of Byzantine Literature, 650–850...*, p. 206–234; also R. SCOTT, "The Events of Every Year, Arranged without Confusion": Justinian and Others in the Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, [in:] *L'écriture de la mémoire. La littérature de l'historiographie*, ed. P. ODORICO, P.A. AGAPITOS, M. HINTERBERGER, Paris 2006, p. 49–65; L.M. WHITBY, *Theophanes: A Great Chronographer*, Dia 6, 1999, p. 101–102, J.D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses...*, p. 272–274, or I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Search for the Past...*, p. 287–289.

⁵¹ See *Ecloga chronographica*, p. xvi–xix, and in the introduction to the Adler and Tuffin's translation (p. lxxvi sq.). The otherwise inexplicable title is found in *Ecloga*, p. 360, 1–9, followed by the sentence Πομπήιος οὐν πολιορκία λαβῶν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν δέσμιον σὺν τοῖς παισὶν Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ κατέχεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπιῶν, θριαμβεύσων καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας. (p. 360, 10–12).

⁵² C. DE BOOR, *Ueber die kritischen Hilfsmittel zu einer Ausgabe des Theophanes*, [in:] *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1885, p. 374–399; N.G. WILSON, *A Manuscript of Theophanes in Oxford*, DOP 26, 1972, p. 358; *Ecloga chronographica*, p. viii, xi–xviii; C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, *Introduction to The Chronicle of Theophanes*, p. xcv–xcviii; see also Filippo RONCONI's and Jesse TORGERSON's contributions in the TM Theophanes volume (2015).

Despite the uneven popularity, the links between George and Theophanes (and their works) were also familiar to Byzantine consciousness – irrespective of the precise character of the link and the correctness of the view. This should be remembered even if reception is not the decisive factor⁵³.

From these assumptions it should be clearly visible that I do not dismiss the message of the proemium to the *Chronographia*; indeed, I suppose it is much more credible than the discussion, sometimes hypercritical, on the *vitae* and the scraps of the Confessor's biography. Although I by no means wish to trivialise the problem, there are many psychological assessments involved⁵⁴, and perhaps the encomiastic language and factography are taken too literally. As the biographical data remain obscure, there is an unavoidable need to return over and over again to proemium, the only part of the *Chronographia* which is almost universally assumed to express the words of the author/editor, no matter if we identify him with St. Theophanes the Confessor or another man bearing that name. The proemium largely resembles the taste and style of the era, with an attitude of humility (ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀμαθίαν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ λόγου παρητούμεθα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐγγείρησιν οὐσαν / ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀμαθέσι καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῖς / ἀμαθία ἡμῶν... καὶ τῇ ἀργίᾳ τοῦ χαμερπούς νοδὸς ἡμῶν), some rhetorical phrases (e.g. οὐ γὰρ μικρὰν ὠφέλειαν, ὡς οἶμαι, καρποῦται τῶν ἀρχαίων τὰς πράξεις ἀναγινώσκων), and the unfeigned admiration for the predecessor (ἐλλόγιμος ἀνὴρ καὶ πολυμαθέστατος ὑπάρχων). Yet this layer, in any case not so impenetrable, cannot fully cover something genuine – two personalities, the interactions between them, and the genesis of the universal chronography. Some fragments point out George's activity (πολλοὺς τε χρονογράφους καὶ ἱστοριογράφους ἀναγνοὺς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τούτους διερευνησάμενος, σύντομον χρονογραφίαν..., ἀκριβῶς συνεγράψατο / τούς τε χρόνους ἐν πολλῇ ἐξετάσει ἀκριβολογησάμενος καὶ τὰς τούτων διαφωνίας συμβιβάσας καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσάμενος καὶ συστήσας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ), some others attest Theophanes' input (ἡμῖν, ὡς γνησίους φίλοις, τὴν τε βίβλον ἦν συνέταξε κατατέλοιπε καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι / κόπον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα κατεβαλόμεθα.

⁵³ P. YANNOPOULOS, "Comme le dit George le Syncelle...", p. 139–145; R. SCOTT, *Byzantine Chronicles*, MChr 6, 2009, p. 37 (remarks on Scylitzes' evaluation of George and Theophanes).

⁵⁴ Is there really 'an undeniable discrepancy between the saint's character and the attributes one would expect in a compiler of a massive work of historiography and computation' (Mango/Scott's introduction, p. li; cf. also C. MANGO, *Who wrote the Chronicle...*, p. 11 sq)? Can we be sure that the man's real character was fully grasped in a text like Theodore's or the *vitae*? Do we not possess a multitude of examples of historians or writers whose character and way of life was completely unexpected for typical intellectuals of the era? On the other hand, if we are to believe in such expectations and the relations between personal dispositions and the output of one's life, why do we fail to see the discrepancy between the artless, holy life known from the bios and the double lie in the proemium, provided that Theophanes indeed lied in the introduction and falsely ascribed someone else's merits to himself? These are just scattered bits of problems and doubts, which I shall not analyse here due to space limitations. 'The Confessor's visible defects as author' (C. ZUCKERMAN, TM 2015, p. 41–46) are still not very convincing.

πολλὰς γὰρ βίβλους καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκζητήσαντες κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐρευνήσαντες τόδε τὸ χρονογραφεῖον / κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα, οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις τετάχαμεν ἐκάστου χρόνου τὰς πράξεις, ἀσυγχύτως κατατάττοντες / φίλον γὰρ θεῶ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν).

The author of the preface calls himself George's γνήσιος φίλος. But how are we to understand this 'genuine friendship', the crucial relation between the two? Such words tend to lose their literal meaning, and often shift from expressing cordial, emotional categories to formal, half-hearted relations. On the other hand, the phrase is known from various styles of literature and was hardly ever used lightly. The expression never occurs in George's *Eklōge*, although here and there the adjective is attached to other nouns – Syncellus has γνησίους ἀνελῶν παῖδας for 'legitimate offspring' (p. 354, 10–11), τοῖς γνησίοις πολίταις 'legitimate citizenry' (p. 359, 13), γνησίας αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς as 'lawfully begotten wife' (p. 375, 18), υἰὸν γνήσιον as 'lawfully begotten son' (p. 384, 6–7), ἀδελφοῦ τε γνησίου as 'legitimate brother' (p. 414, 28 – 415, 1). Whether own or copied, these phrases carry a slightly different meaning than in Theophanes' part, where γνήσιος / -ια with this lexical sense occurs only twice – copied, as one may assume, from the source covering the late 7th and the early 8th cent. in the *Chronographia*, i.e. the putative *Scriptor anni 717*: in AM 6190 (p. 371, 9–10) Apsimar's brother, Heraclius is called γνήσιος αὐτοῦ ἀδελφός, and in AM 6196, (p. 373, 1–2) Justinian II's new wife is described in relation to the Khagan of the Khazars as γνησία αὐτοῦ ἀδελφή⁵⁵.

However, these are only quotations from the sources, and all they prove is that the chronicler was aware of the different meanings of the word. Except for these two examples, seven other instances should be understood as 'genuine, faithful'. Let us omit two that are not quite parallel to the proemium⁵⁶ and focus on the

⁵⁵ Out of the nine occurrences of the adjective in the *Chronographia*, one more example can be added to the above-mentioned two in AM 6187, p. 368, 25–26. Irrespective of the originality of the latter example, which might have been copied or rephrased, the wide use of γνήσιος suggests the style of the Theophanes' source and, in consequence, is yet another small piece of evidence for the hypothesis on the reconstructed source for the period of the last Heraclid on the Byzantine throne and this direct successors – see D. AFINOGENOV, *The Source of Theophanes' Chronography and Nikephoros' Breviarium for the years 685–717*, XB 4, 2005, p. 3–14; IDEM, *The History of Justinian and Leo*, [in:] *La Crimée entre Byzance et le Khaganat Khazare*, ed. C. ZUCKERMAN, Paris 2006 (CHCB Monographies, 25), p. 181–200 (184; 186; 187). Still, in spite of this reconstruction, one must observe that yet another instance lurks very close in the narrative (AM 6209, p. 391, 6–11), associated by the author with a different piece of middle Byzantine historiography. For this meaning of γνήσιος compare also Old-Church-Slavonic ПРИСИЬ – *Řecko-staroslověnský index*, vol. I, *Prolegomena. Tabellae synopticae monumentorum slavlicorum A–G*, ed. E. VLÁHOVÁ, Praha 2014, p. 514 (s.v. γνήσιος).

⁵⁶ AM 6303, p. 489, 29 (ὕπο τινος γνησίου θεράποντος) and p. 492, 17–18 (ὁ τῆς πατρικῆς γνώμης γνήσιος κληρονόμος).

crucial set: 1. Retelling the story of the disastrous rivalry between Boniface and Aetius (AM 5931, p. 93, 34–94, 9), Theophanes says that the former believed in the treacherous messages from the latter and followed his guidance against the imperial will ὡς γνησίῳ φίλῳ Ἄετίῳ πιστεύσας⁵⁷. 2. In the entry on Zamanarzos' visit to Constantinople, the chronicler says that the latter's wish was to become αὐτὸν σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων καὶ φίλον γνήσιον – a wish that was fulfilled due to emperor Justinian's consent (AM 6027, p. 216, 6–14). 3. AM 6187 (pp. 368, 18–30) describes the scene where strategos Leontius was accompanied to the harbour of Sophia by his friends, among whom Paul of Callistratus and Gregory the Cappadocian are named οἱ γνήσιοι αὐτοῦ φίλοι – perhaps not only because they had often visited him in prison before and heralded him a smile of fortune. 4. In an incident that happened when Justinian II was on his way back to Constantinople with the Bulgarians to reclaim his paternal throne, he crossed ways with spatharius Leo, whose family had been relocated to Messembria by that emperor a dozen years earlier. To ingratiate himself with the Rhinotmetos, Leo gave him 500 sheep. θεραπευθεὶς δὲ Ὀῤουστινιανὸς σπαθάριον αὐτὸν εὐθέως πεποίηκεν, καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ὡς γνήσιον φίλον (AM 6209, p. 391, 6–11). Theophanes' words may be expected rather in n° 1 and 2, whereas n° 3 and 4 seem to be quotations. In any case, these four situations, although linked with a political and quite official level of social relations (which I would attribute to the character of the chronicle rather than to any other factor) show different levels of actual personal involvement and closeness. Political friendship or confidence is the minimal variant; more individual relations do not seem improbable in n° 1 and 3.

Fortunately, there is further material to be compared, as references to 'genuine friendship' pop up in different genres of Byzantine literature. In the vast correspondence of Theodore the Studite there is a letter to a certain patricia, recommended to him by his pupil Peter. The lady is praised because of her strong antiiconoclast beliefs, after which Theodore, himself not acquainted with her, declares that he was 'a genuine friend' of her late husband⁵⁸. Apostrophes to 'true friends' or remarks on 'genuine friendship' occur in three other letters, and these relations seem to be held by Theodore in high esteem, judging by the context, which is at least partially religious⁵⁹. The latter feature is not uncommon in contemporary writers' output

⁵⁷ Cf. PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA, *History of the Wars*, III, 3, 19–20.

⁵⁸ THEODORE STUDITE, ep. 206, 17–22, [in:] *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, rec. G. FATOUROS, vol. II, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1992, p. 328–329.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, ep. 243 (Καὶ πάλιν κόπους σοι παρέσχον, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γνήσιε φίλε, ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποστολαῖς σου·), ep. 260 (Ὡ πῶς καλὸν τὸ πλάσμα τῆς ψυχῆς σου, φίλε καλὲ καὶ πιστέ, φίλε γνήσιε καὶ φιλόθεε, φίλε κοινωνὲ θλίψεων καὶ περιστάσεων·), ep. 451 (διὸ ἠναγκάσθημεν οἰονεῖ πετασθῆναι τοῖς γράμμασιν ὡς ἐν σώματι καὶ ἰδεῖν σε, τὸν καλὸν πατέρα, τὸν γνήσιον φίλον, τὸν γενναῖον μάρτυρα τῆς ἀληθείας·).

(cf. Michael Syncellus' phrase ὁ δὲ τῶν Χριστοῦ θεραπόντων γνήσιος φίλος⁶⁰, or expressions like ἄνευ γνήσιος φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ⁶¹). The use of the expression γνήσιος φίλος among the closest family relations had in the 9th cent. a long-established tradition, as described by Philo (κἂν ἀδελφὸς ἢ υἱὸς ἢ θυγάτηρ ἢ γυνὴ ἢ οἰκουρὸς ἢ γνήσιος φίλος ἢ τις ἕτερος εὖνους εἶναι)⁶² or Pseudo-Macarius the Egyptian (ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τριημέρου σκότους γενομένου, οὐκ ἔβλεπεν υἱὸς πατέρα οὔτε ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν οὔτε φίλος γνήσιον φίλον, τοῦ σκότους καλύψαντος αὐτοῦς or, in another passage: ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ σῶμα δύνηται λαβεῖν τροφήν, ἀπελιζοῦσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ κλαίουσι πάντες γνήσιοι φίλοι, συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀγαπητοί)⁶³. Theological literature is not devoid of the notion of a sincere, emotional friendship conceived in the way we understand it intuitively – in Theodore of Mopsuestia's explanation to psalm 54[55], 15a–b one reads “Ὅς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγλύκανας ἐδέσματα. – Ἐγλύκανας ἐδέσματα, τουτέστιν συνέφαγες μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς, οὐχ ὡς ξένος παρ’ ἐμοὶ φαγὼν ἀλλ’ ὡς γνήσιος φίλος μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς τέρψεως καὶ τοῦθάρσους συμφαγῶν, and in a sort of summary “Ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπορεύθημεν ἐν ὁμοιοίᾳ. – Τούτων ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀπάντων, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος, ὅτι ἰσόψυχος, ὅτι ἡγεμών, ὅτι γνωστός, ὅτι ἐγλύκανεν ἐδέσματα, ὅτι συνεπορεύθη ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, δεικνὺς ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντες κοινωνίαν⁶⁴. Finally, no other ecclesiastical authority ever defined friendship as aptly as John Chrysostom in his commentary to 1 Thess.:

Οὐδὲν γὰρ, οὐδὲν τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγάπης γλυκύτερον γένοιτ’ ἂν· οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ λυπηρὸν συμπεσεῖται. Ὅντως φίλος πιστὸς φάρμακον ζωῆς· ὄντως φίλος πιστὸς σκέπη κραταιά.

Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐργάσαιτο φίλος γνήσιος; πόσην μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐμποίησειεν ἡδονήν; πόσην δὲ ὠφέλειαν; πόσην δὲ ἀσφάλειαν; Κἂν μυρίους θησαυροὺς εἴπης, οὐδὲν ἀντάξιον γνησίου φίλου. Καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς πρῶτον εἶπωμεν τῆς φιλίας πόσην ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν. Γάννυται ὁρῶν αὐτὸν καὶ διαχεῖται, συμπλέκεται συμπλοκὴν αὐτῷ τινα κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρρήτων ἔχουσαν τὴν ἡδονήν· κἂν ἀναμνησθῆ μόνον αὐτοῦ, διανέστη τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἀνεπερώθη⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ MICHAEL SYNCELLUS, *Encomium martyrum XLII Amoriensum (versio Γ)*, 5, [in:] *Сказания о 42 Амориѣскихъ мученикахъ и церковная служба им*, ed. В. ВАСИЛЬБЕВСКИЙ, П. НИКИТИН, Санкт-Петербург 1905, p. 25.

⁶¹ *Vita et miracula sancti Demetrii*, mir. V, 299, [in:] P. LEMERLE, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans*, vol. 1, Paris 1979, p. 232. Cf. e.g. Πατάπιος ὁ θεοῦ θεράπων γνήσιος in ANDREW OF CRETE'S *In Patapium*, PG 97, col. 1213.

⁶² PHILO, *De specialibus legibus*, I, 316, [in:] *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, rec. L. COHN, vol. 5, Berlin 1906.

⁶³ PSEUDO-MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN, hom. 28, 4 and hom. 1, 11, [in:] *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, ed. H. DÖRRIES, E. KLOSTERMANN, M. KRÜGER, Berlin 1964.

⁶⁴ *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I–LXXX)*, ps. LIV [55], 15a–b, ed. R. DEVRESSE, Citta del Vaticano 1939.

⁶⁵ JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In epistolam primam ad Thessalonicenses commentarius (homiliae 1–11)*, hom. II, PG 62, col. 403.

These senses of the phrase must have been known to an average literate Byzantine, the more so because the Christian authors did not lose even the proverbial usage with γνήσιος or γενναίος, e.g. μακάριος ὅστις ἔτυχε γνησίου φίλου⁶⁶, or γνήσιος φίλων ὁ τὰς περιστάσεις κοινούμενος⁶⁷. Although γνήσια φιλία may be semi-official, confidence is crucial here, irrespective of whether one prefers to link it with *fratria*⁶⁸ or with yet more emotional relationships. That is why in Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* an angel revealed himself to Evagrius of Pontus in disguise of his 'genuine friend', to save him from oppression and guide him. Similarly, in another place, as Palladius writes on his brother (i.e. his *alter ego*), one of the major merits he praises is exposing himself to dangers for his 'truthful friends'⁶⁹. 'Genuine friendship' does not exclude either admiration or the relation of authority. Equal level relations, respect due to difference in age or position, self-reference of a human being to God are all comprised by the notion. On the one hand γνήσιος φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ may be parallel to γνήσιος δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ, on the other hand there is no sign of the inequality of the two parts in many passages on the relation of friendship where the phrase is used.

In this perspective, 'genuine friendship' is not at odds with the significance of the proemium to the *Chronographia*. The personal relationship between George and Theophanes – stronger than that between simple acquaintances and not devoid of respect or even a certain dose of idolising – fits in this framework without any dissonance. The depth of the relation, often difficult to judge even in eras for which we have many more sources, must remain indeterminable here. Yet the incentive to continue the chronicle due to a request of a friend should not be treated with such incredulity. One may well presume that reality was in concordance with the topos in that case, not replaced with one. That in turn helps to appreciate the author of the *Chronography* as the real creator. Further arguments are manifold: George indeed gathered vast material, as Theophanes claimed, and the latter one indeed 'did not set down anything of his own composition', as he used the sources throughout his part of the chronography. Nevertheless, the amount of (often authorial) labour was impressive – this is also admitted in the introduction. Both Alden A. Mosshammer's and William Adler and Paul Tuffin's estimates of the time in which George wrote his part leave much space for Theophanes'

⁶⁶ *Vita Aesopi Westermanniana (recensio 2)*, 110, 12, [in:] *Aesopica*, ed. B.E. PERRY, vol. 1, Urbana 1952; cf. Μακάριος, ὅστις ἔτυχε γενναίου φίλου, [in:] *Menandri sententiae*, 471, ed. S. JÄKEL, Leipzig 1964.

⁶⁷ EVAGRIUS OF PONTUS, *Spirituales sententiae per alphabetum dispositae*, 27, [in:] *Gnomica*, rec. A. ELTER, vol. 1, Lipsiae 1892, repated in *Sacra parallela* ascribed to John of Damascus in Περὶ φίλων χρηστών – PG 96, col. 405, 37–41.

⁶⁸ P. SPECK, *Kaiser Leon III., die Geschichtswerke des Nikephoros und des Theophanes und der Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, Bonn 2002 (PB 19), p. 117–118, here with a concept of *fratria* derived from H.-G. BECK, *Byzantinisches Gefolgschaftswesen*, München 1965 (cf. also P. SPECK, *Der 'zweite' Theophanes...*, p. 457–458).

⁶⁹ PALLADIO, *La storia Lausiaca*, 38, 5; 71, 1, ed. G.J.M. BARTELINK, Verona 1974.

completion of the project before the hapless *anni mundi* 6306–6307⁷⁰. There are clear differences as regards what we could call the chronicles' morphology or internal structure, a different way of citing the sources, distinctive methods of calculating time and divergent literary techniques⁷¹. The explanation expounded in the proemium is straightforward and understandable; negative statements usually include too many unverifiable assumptions and do not explain the meaning and purpose of such a fake introduction. If the distance between the authorship and redaction were not that significant, why should one assume that George left such an abundance of raw material and was not able to utilize it in his own book? Why should one suppose that Theophanes, George's 'genuine friend', lied in the proemium? Why should one think that his self-criticism in the preface was anything more than a humility formula, if he was not a *homo rudis* at all? And, then again, why would someone uneducated or untrustworthy be burdened by George with such a daunting task? As for the biography of Theophanes, why to focus on the kidney problems, which might have been either exaggerated in the *vitae*, or not very precisely described by the hagiographers?

The final point of the *Ekloge* and the starting point of the *Chronographia* is not irrelevant and it is not a mere coincidence that Syncellus finished where he did. The last part of his text is a patchwork, with fewer digressions, less complex discussions, without résumés or a final touch. The next centuries demanded change of the sources, even those which had accompanied the historian throughout the whole project. Big chronological issues that had occupied his mind were solved. Finally, one cannot exclude that his intellectual stamina died away or his capabilities of fully creative work dwindled. Whatever the reasons, the change cannot be overlooked by any careful reader. The end seems neither entirely accidental nor fully deliberate, with Diocletian as the turn of the eras and the chronicler's forced retirement⁷². Finally, we may have here an example of an intellectual and his epigone, a loyal friend who undertook the commissioned task – in a slightly less sophisticated manner and agenda than his predecessor, but still successfully – with his own biases and opinions. It is not inconceivable that it was his only literary

⁷⁰ *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga*, p. xxv; *The Chronography of George*, p. xxix. Cf. e.g. also H. HUNGER, *Die Hochsprachliche...*, vol. 1, p. 331–332; A. KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)...*, p. 206; L.M. WHITBY, *Theophanes: a Great Chronographer...*, p. 102; M.J. LESZKA, *Leon V i chan Krum w świetle fragmentu Chronografii (AM 6305) Teofanesa Wyznawcy*, PNH 6, 2007, p. 109–117; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 12.

⁷¹ The differences are elegantly described by A. KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)*, p. 216–234; cf. also И.С. ЧИЧУРОВ, *Феофан Исповедник – публикатор, редактор, автор?*, есп. р. 85–87; Я.Н. ЛЮБАРСКИЙ, *Феофан Исповедник и источники*, р. 86; П. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Хронография Георгия Синкелла – Феофана Исповедника: хронологический аспект*, [in:] *KANISKION: Юбилейный сборник в честь 60-летия проф. Игоря Сергеевича Чичурова*, ed. М.В. ГРАЦИАНСКИЙ, П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, Москва 2006, p. 156–168; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 10–11.

⁷² *The Chronography of George*, p. xlvi.

undertaking, although this has been considered suspicious by the scholars. Thus, with two authors of an ultimately uniform historiographical project, the view displayed in the proemium and the conclusions of the survey on the chroniclers' own words can be considered consistent.

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Abstract. In a nutshell: 1. I believe that *Ekloge Chronographias* of George Syncellus and *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor should be treated as a single project, undertaken in turn by two authors; 2. There are important stylistic differences between the two parts, noticeable in the fragments, in which the authors deliver some editorial remarks or disclose their personal opinions; from a wider selection of such phrases, references to the past or future such as ‘as I have mentioned/as I said/as have been said/as we demonstrated above, etc.’, being diverse and individual, are especially helpful. 3. This observation is of great use not only for the texts analysed here, it may be used to confirm authorship of many other texts. 4. As for George and Theophanes, the TLG search of such structures in all extant classical Greek and Byzantine output confirms the statement nr 1, with clauses like *ὡς προέφην / καθὼς καὶ προέφην / ὡς προέφημεν / καθὼς προέφημεν* both rare in the whole preserved corpus, and relatively often used by the author of *Chronographia*. The style of the proemium of *Chronographia* fits the rest of the work and differs from *Ekloge Chronographias*. 5. Precise analysis of a wider group of similar clauses shows that *Ekloge Chronographias* and *Chronographia* were written by two different authors; *Chronographia* was created by one author, distinctive and independent, no matter how reproductive at the same time he was. I see no convincing arguments not to call this author Theophanes. Some later and partial editorial interventions to *Chronographia*, conceivable (rubrics?) and in some instances even certain, do not challenge this view. 6. Only a few entries from the initial parts of *Chronographia* fit more the George’s work; their style and content bear much more similarities with *Ekloge* (in AM 5796, 5814, 5818, 5827, 5828). These paragraphs,

George's *aphormai*, probably in form of loose notes, were inserted to *Chronographia* by its author the same way as he used his sources for the subsequent parts; they did not reach beyond the times of Constantine I. 7. I do not dismiss the message of the proemium to the *Chronographia* as it is much more credible than the discussion, sometimes hypercritical, on the *vitae* and the scraps of the Confessor's biography. I see no reason not to believe that the idea established and developed by George was then taken over by his friend; the differences result from the independent work of the former and then of the latter, presumably with only rudimentary guidance at the beginning. 8. The 'genuine friendship', the crucial relation between the two authors is still the most useful key to understand the history of the *tripartita* – therefore, I analyse it in the final part of the paper.

Keywords: Theophanes Confessor, George Syncellus, Georgios Synkellos, Byzantine chronography, *Chronographia*, *Ekloge chronographias*, *gnesios filios*, friendship, *historia tripartita*, TLG, world chronicles, *aphormai*, *prophemi*, *hos proephen*, *kathos kai proephen*, *hos proephemem*

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THE EXILED BISHOPS OF CONSTANTINOPLE FROM THE FOURTH TO THE LATE SIXTH CENTURY

The existence of quick and efficient communication with the provincial territories was a matter of vital importance to Late-Antique Constantinople, the capital city and the administrative centre of the Eastern Roman Empire. As a result, it became necessary to ensure the creation and maintenance of the land and sea routes linking the City with the provinces. The present article aims to examine which of those links, specifically by land or sea, facilitated a more rapid and convenient communication between the capital city and the more or less distant regions of the Empire, as exemplified by the various places of exile connected with the deposed bishops of Constantinople. Assuming that one of the key goals of sending someone into banishment would be to prevent them, as much as possible, from having any form of communication with the City, the location of the places to which they had been confined by the order of the authorities could indicate which method of contact would have potentially made it easier, or more difficult, for an exiled bishop to communicate with his followers at the capital¹.

In the early Byzantine period, the office of the Bishop of Constantinople was not a very secure position. Considering the time frame from the consecration of the City until the end of the sixth century, as many as 11 metropolitan bishops, in effect every third one, had been deposed from their office. In a majority of the cases in question, the reasons would be clearly religious, but in several instances various political considerations may have also played a crucial role. This article makes an attempt to focus on the places to which the deposed bishops were banished (actually, if the penalty of exile had been enforced at all) rather than to discuss the causes for the depositions in greater detail. It is important to draw a distinction between removing a bishop from his office (as a rule, according to the canonical procedure, on the strength of a synodal decision) and the emperor's

¹ On exiled bishops in Late Antiquity see E. FOURNIER, *Exiled Bishops in the Christian Empire: Victims of Imperial Violence?*, [in:] *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perception and Practices*, ed. H. DRAKE, Aldershot 2006, p. 157–166, and J. HILLNER, *Prison, Punishment and Penance in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2015, especially p. 194–274.

sentence² that condemned the patriarch to leave the City and sometimes also had him sent into exile at a specific location.

The first metropolitan to have been exiled in the period under consideration was **Paul**, who was deposed from his office three or four times³. He was a native of Thessalonica; before his elevation to Archbishop of Constantinople, he served as a lector of the local Church and secretary to Bishop Alexander. After the death of the latter, Paul became his successor in ca. 337⁴. The election was not consulted with the imperial authority, which incensed the emperor Constantius II and would effectively lead to the bishop's deposition for the first time and his replacement by Eusebius of Nicomedia⁵. Following Eusebius' death, Paul regained his see, but his return would meet with the Arians' discontent, ultimately resulting in the outbreak of violent riots and the death of *magister equitum* Hermogenes⁶. It provided the emperor with a pretext to remove Paul from the See of Constantinople for another time in 342. However, the bishop managed to secure the support from Pope Julius and emperor Constans, who would exert pressure on Constantius to reinstate him⁷. In early 350, after Constans' death, Paul was accused of taking part in the

² On exile as a form of punishment, cf. I. MILEWSKI, *Depozycje i zsyłki biskupów w Cesarstwie Wschodniorzymskim (lata 325–451)*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 279–286 and R. DELMAIRE, *Exil, rélegation, déportation dans la législation du bas-empire*, [in:] *Exil et rélegation. Les tribulations du sage et du saint durant l'antiquité romaine et chrétienne (I–IV^e s. ap. J.-C.)*, ed. PH. BLAUDEAU, Paris 2008, p. 115–132.

³ SOCRATES, *Kirchengeschichte*, II, 6–7, 13, 16, 26, ed. G.Ch. HANSEN, coop. M. ŠIRINJAN, Berlin 1995 (cetera: SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*), p. 96–97, 104–105, 107–108, 135; SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, III, 3–5, 7, 9; IV, 2, ed. J. BIDEZ, rec. G.Ch. HANSEN, Berlin 1960 (cetera: SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*), p. 104–106, 109–110, 112, 140–141; THEODOROS ANAGNOSTES, *Kirchengeschichte*, 57, 84, ed. G.Ch. HANSEN, Berlin 1971 (cetera: THEODORE LECTOR, *Epitome*), p. 29, 41; *Theophanis Chronographia*, AM 5849, rec. C. DE BOOR, vol. I, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 42. According to I. MILEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 356–357, Paul was deposed four times: in 337, 341, 342/343, and 350/351, respectively. However, the traditional historiography mentions no more than three exiles (339, 342, 351), cf. M. SIMONETTI, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo*, Roma 1975, p. 132–133, an. 104. On Paul, see W. TAFLER, *Paul of Constantinople*, HTR 43, 1950, p. 30–92; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale, Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974, p. 425–435 and D. SPYCHAŁA, *Saint Paul et Macedonius ou la lutte pour le trône de l'évêque de Constantinople sous le règne de Constance II*, [in:] *Studia Lesco Mrozewicz ab amicis et discipulis dedicata*, ed. S. RUCIŃSKI, C. BALBUZA, Ch. KRÓLCZYK, Poznań 2011, p. 377–390.

⁴ The date of the inauguration of Paul's episcopate remains a subject of scholarly debate, cf. I. MILEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁵ On Eusebius, see C. LUIBHEID, *The Arianism of Eusebius of Nikomedia*, ITQ 43, 1976, p. 3–23.

⁶ On Hermogenes, see PLRE, I, p. 422–423 (s.v. *Hermogenes 1*). For an account of those events, cf. P. FILIPCZAK, *Bunty i niepokoje w miastach wczesnego Bizancjum (IV wiek n.e.)*, Łódź 2009, p. 123–124 and M.B. LESZKA, *Kościół i jego wpływ na życie mieszkańców Konstantynopola*, [in:] *Konstantynopol Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, Warszawa 2011, p. 357–358.

⁷ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 22, p. 123; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 20, p. 133–134. Cf. M. SIMONETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 188, an. 41.

revolt of Magnentius⁸ and eventually banished from the capital. He died in exile sometime in the following year.

During his first exile (ca. 337), Paul was expelled to an unspecified location, but his subsequent presence in Rome would imply that he must have left that place⁹. Later on, in 342, as Athanasius of Alexandria recounts¹⁰, the bishop was sent into exile at **Singara** in Mesopotamia¹¹, and then at **Emesa**¹², but he would leave his place of exile again¹³. In 344, he was banished to **Thessalonica**¹⁴, yet he escaped once again and returned to Italy. Finally, in 351, after the death of Constans, Constantius II ordered Paul's banishment for the last time: the bishop was deported to **Cocusus**¹⁵ in Cappadocia, where he died¹⁶.

His successor was **Macedonius**, Bishop of Constantinople from 342 to 346 and then again from 351 to 360. He was elevated to the See of Constantinople for the

⁸ On Magnentius' revolt, cf. J.F. DRINKWATER, *The revolt and ethnic origin of the usurper Magnentius (350–53) and the rebellion of Vetranio (350)*, *Chi* 30, 2000, p. 131–159.

⁹ THEODORET, *Kirchengeschichte*, II, 5, ed. L. PARMENTIER, rec. F. SCHEIDWEILER, Berlin 1954 (cetera: THEODORET, *Historia ecclesiastica*), p. 99; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 7–8, p. 109–111.

¹⁰ ATHANASIUS, *Historia Arianorum*, 7, 3, [in:] ATHANASIUS, *Werke*, vol. II.1, *Die Apologien*, ed. H.G. OPITZ, Berlin–Leipzig 1935–1941, p. 186. According to Timothy Barnes, the emperor only ordered him to leave Constantinople. The bishop went to the court of Constans at Trier; cf. T.D. BARNES, *Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge 1993, p. 212–214.

¹¹ Singara (modern-day Balad Sinjar in north-western Iraq) was a stronghold in the north of Mesopotamia, which constituted an important element of the Roman Empire's defence system along the Roman-Persian frontier; cf. F.H. WEISSBACH, *Singara*, [in:] *RE*, s. II, vol. III, Stuttgart 1927, col. 232–233. D. OATES, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, Oxford 1968, p. 100–106 and D. VAN BERCHEM, *Recherches sur la chronologie de Syrie et de Mésopotamie*, *Sy* 31, 1954, p. 265–267.

¹² Emesa (present-day Homs in Syria), a city in the province *Phoenicia Libanensis*, located at the junction of the routes from Palmyra to the Mediterranean and from Damascus to the north; a significant pilgrimage site following the discovery of John the Baptist's head at a local monastery in 453, later on to be housed at the cathedral church of this city; cf. I. BENZINGER, *Emesa*, [in:] *RE*, vol. V, Stuttgart 1905, col. 2496–2497 and M. MANGO, *Emesa*, [in:] *ODB*, p. 690.

¹³ G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale*, p. 430–432 suggests that the destination of Paul's exile may have been Thessalonica, not the East, and puts the date of this event to the year 338/339.

¹⁴ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 16, p. 108; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 9, p. 111–112; THEOPHANES, *AM* 5849, p. 42.

¹⁵ Cocusus (Kokousos, present-day Göksun, Turkey), a city in Cappadocia (subsequently in Armenia II), situated at the intersection of the routes from Caesarea to Anazarbus and from Comana to Melitene, near the sources of the river Pyramus, cf. RUGE, *Kokousos*, [in:] *RE*, vol. VI, Stuttgart 1921, col. 1065. G. DAGRON, *op. cit.*, p. 427, notes that the information on Paulus' final exile can be found in Athanasius' account, which identifies Singara and Emesa as the actual locations of the bishop's exile.

¹⁶ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 26, p. 135; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 9, p. 111–112 and IV, 2, p. 140–141. ATHANASIUS, *Historia Arianorum*, 7, 3, p. 186. Cf. M. SIMONETTI, *op. cit.*, p. 214–215; D. SPYCHAŁA, *Saint Paul et Macedonius...*, p. 386; IDEM, *Cesarze rzymscy a arianizm od Konstancyna Wielkiego do Teodozjusza Wielkiego (312–395)*, Poznań 2007, p. 109; J. HILLNER, *Confined Exiles: An Aspect of the Late Antique Prison System*, *Mil* 10, 2013, p. 419–420.

first time upon the aforementioned deposition of Paul. Since the latter bishop had managed to obtain firm support from Constans, Constantius II was compelled to restore him to the see, while Macedonius was ousted and had to withdraw to a private church. Following the death of Constans, the bishop recovered his office¹⁷, but he would begin to lose the emperor's support in 358, when he decided to remove the remains of Constantine the Great from the dilapidated tomb and re-bury the emperor's body in a new place. Constantius reacted with indignation to Macedonius' decision to translate the remains of the emperor's father without any previous consultation¹⁸. The synod of Constantinople, which was summoned at the turn of 359 and 360 by Constantius II, condemned the homoiousians and Macedonius would become the most prominent bishop to be deposed. On January 27, 360, he was replaced by the Arian clergyman Eudoxius and banished to his **family estate in Bithynia**, where he died shortly afterwards¹⁹.

Evagrius (d. ca. 380) acceded to the See of Constantinople in an atmosphere of violent unrest and strife in 370²⁰. Previously a Constantinopolitan presbyter, he was consecrated as bishop by the deposed bishop of Antioch Eustathius, which sparked off a wave of violent protests and riots. In response to the situation, the emperor Valens expelled the new bishop to an unidentified location, most probably somewhere in **Thrace**, several months later, where he would stay until his death²¹.

The last metropolitan bishop to have been exiled in the fourth century and at the same time the last one involved in the Arian controversy was **Demophilus**. He became Archbishop of Constantinople in April 370 and remained in office for about a decade, even though his episcopate is not very well documented in the sources²². His election brought on a violent backlash, resulting in disturbances

¹⁷ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 26–27, p. 136–137; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 2, p. 141. Cf. G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale*, p. 432; M.B. LESZKA, *op. cit.*, p. 357–359.

¹⁸ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 38, p. 167–168; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 21, p. 171.

¹⁹ SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 26, p. 182. Cf. I. MILEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 358; G. DAGRON, *op. cit.*, p. 436–442.

²⁰ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 14, p. 244; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VI, 13, p. 254–255. Cf. G. DAGRON, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

²¹ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 15, p. 244. Socrates' account is not clear as regards the information to the effect that the emperor had Eustathius exiled to Bizye in Thrace, whereas Evagrius was sent into exile somewhere else (pp. 244, 22–23: Εὐστάθιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Βιζύῃ τῆς Θράκης πόλει περιωρίζετο· Εὐάγριος δὲ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον ἀπήχθη.). However, it could be assumed from the context that the location in question may have been somewhere in Thrace as well. The same information, as drawn from Socrates' account, can be found in SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VI, 13, p. 255, 1–3.

²² SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 14, p. 244 and V, 7, p. 278; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VI, 13, p. 254 and VII, 5, p. 306–307; PHILOSTORGIUS, *Kirchengeschichte. Mit dem Leben des Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten des arianischen Historiographen*, IX, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, ed. J. BIDEZ, bearbeitete Auflage von F. WINKELMANN, Berlin 1981 (cetera: PHILOSTORGIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*), p. 119–122, 125. Cf. G. DAGRON, *op. cit.*, p. 446–450.

and new divisions in the Church of Constantinople. In consequence, the supporters of the Nicene Creed proceeded with the election of their own candidate (Evagrius). None the less, Demophilus managed to secure the crucial support of the emperor Valens, and the outcome was the eventual exile of the pro-Nicene contender. The turning point would come on 24 November 380, when the emperor Theodosius I, a dedicated advocate of the Council of Nicaea, arrived at the capital, and the situation put Demophilus in danger of losing his bishopric. The emperor pledged to allow him to remain in office on the condition of adopting the Nicene Creed, but Demophilus declined and withdrew with his followers to a church outside of the city walls²³. According to Philostorgius' account²⁴, Demophilus left for **Berroia**²⁵ in Thrace, his previous see²⁶. It is difficult to determine when Demophilus' exile might have taken place, as he still would have been present at the synod of Constantinople in 383, representing the Constantinopolitan Arian faction²⁷.

One of the best known bishops banished from Constantinople is **John Chrysostom**²⁸. Born at Antioch, he was educated in rhetoric and practised asceticism. After several years spent in the desert, he returned to his native city and was ordained a priest there, becoming an eminent preacher. He was elected to the See of Constantinople in the autumn of 397, but he would soon find himself at odds with many influential circles and figures at the capital, including emperor Arcadius' wife, Aelia Eudoxia. In July 403, during the so-called synod of the Oak (east of the Bosphorus), he was deposed by the bishops led by Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria²⁹. To enforce the synod's verdict, the authorities banished John to **Prainetus**,

²³ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 7, p. 278; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII, 5, p. 306–307; *CTh* XVI, 5, 6. I. MILEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

²⁴ PHILOSTORGIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IX, 19, p. 125, 12–13: ὤν εἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Δημόφιλος· ἀπελαθεῖς δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν καταλαμβάνει τὴν Βέρροϊαν.

²⁵ Berroia (Beroa, modern-day Veria in northern Greece) – a city at the foot of Mount Bermius in the province of Macedonia I, 73 km south-west of Thessalonica, cf. E. OBERHUMMER, *Beroia*, [in:] *RE*, vol. III, Stuttgart 1897, col. 304–306.

²⁶ PHILOSTORGIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IX, 8, p. 119.

²⁷ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 10, p. 284; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII, 12, p. 315–316.

²⁸ There is an extensive amount of scholarly literature on John Chrysostom. It is worth mentioning the following two monographs: Ch. BAUR, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, vol. I–II, München 1929–1930 (still the fundamental work concerning this figure) and J.N.D. KELLY, *Golden Mouth. The Story of John Chrysostom. Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop*, New York 1995. On his Constantinopolitan period see C. TIERSCH, *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel (398–404). Weltsicht und Wirken eines Bischofs in der Hauptstadt des Oströmischen Reiches*, Tübingen 2002.

²⁹ PALLADIOS, *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, 8, ed. A.-M. MALINGREY, Ph. LECLERCQ, vol. I, Paris 1988 (cetera: PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de vita s. Joannis Chrysostomi*), p. 230; PHOTIUS, *Bibliothèque*, 59, trans. et ed. R. HENRY, vol. I, Paris 1959 (cetera: PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*), p. 52–57; SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VI, 15, p. 336–338; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VIII, 17, p. 371–373. Cf. I. MILEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 151–154; J.N.D. KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 211–227.

a town between Helenopolis and Nicomedia, not very far from the capital³⁰. It was likely to be the first stage of John's exile, but the final destination remains unknown since the original decision had been changed. Subsequently, on 20 June 404, John was moved to Nicomedia, then to Nicaea, and finally to **Cocusus**³¹. In mid-summer 407, the emperor's edict ordered an immediate expulsion of John to **Pityus**³² on the east coast of the Black Sea. He died on his journey to that location³³.

Nestorius was another famous church figure condemned to exile³⁴. Like John Chrysostom, he was a native of Antioch and was elevated to Patriarch of Constantinople at the emperor's behest. His consecration took place on 10 April 428³⁵. The new bishop would soon become embroiled in a conflict with the powerful elites of the City and, later on, with Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria over a Christological controversy. The latter dispute came to a critical point on 22 June 431, when Nestorius was deposed by the Cyrillian faction at the Council of Ephesus³⁶. It did not mean, however, that the deposition would be carried through immediately, as Nestorius still enjoyed the emperor's support. Ultimately, the increasing pressure exerted by the Constantinopolitan monastic circles induced the emperor to agree to his deposition and to put him, as well as the other deposed bishops, Cyril of Alexandria and Memnon of Ephesus (both of them adversaries of Nestorius), in custody³⁷. On September 4, 431, after Nestorius' repeated requests, the emperor agreed to his departure from Ephesus and return to the monastery of Euprepus at Antioch³⁸. It is notable that Nestorius was allowed to return to that monastery

³⁰ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VI, 16, p. 338–339; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VIII, 18, p. 373–374.

³¹ PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de vita s. Joannis Chrysostomi*, 3, p. 39, 11, p. 14–17; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VIII, 22, p. 379; THEODORET, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 34, p. 335.

³² Pityus was situated on the east coast of the Black Sea, about 75 km north-west of Suchumi in Abkhazia, over 1,100 km, by sea route, from Constantinople, cf. E. DIEHL, *Pityus*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XX, Stuttgart 1950, col. 1883–1884.

³³ PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de vita s. Joannis Chrysostomi*, 11, p. 120–156; SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VI, 21, p. 344–345; SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VIII, 28, p. 389; THEODORET, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 34, p. 335–336. Cf. J.N.D. KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 272–285.

³⁴ On the life of Nestorius, cf. R. KOSIŃSKI, *Dzieje Nestoriusza, biskupa Konstantynopola w latach 428–431*, [in:] *U schyłku starożytności. Studia źródłoznawcze*, vol. VII, ed. P. JANISZEWSKI, R. WIŚNIEWSKI, Warszawa 2008, p. 30–63.

³⁵ SOCRATES, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII, 29, p. 377–378; *La seconde partie de l'histoire de Barhadbesabba 'Arbaia et controverse de Théodore de Mopsueste avec les macédoniens*, 20–21, ed. et trans. F. NAU, *PO* 9, Paris 1913 (cetera: BARHADBESABBA OF ARBAIA, *Historia ecclesiastica*), p. 521, 529–531.

³⁶ ACO, vol. I, 1, 2, p. 54–64, cf. A. DE HALLEUX, *La première session du concile d'Éphèse (22 juin 431)*, *ETL* 69, 1993, p. 79–81.

³⁷ NESTORIUS, *Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas*, ed. P. BEDJAN, Paris 1910 (cetera: NESTORIUS, *Liber Heraclides*), p. 374–384.

³⁸ ACO, vol. I, 1, 7, p. 71, also NESTORIUS, *Liber Heraclides*, p. 387; *Nestoriana. Die Fragmente des Nestorius*, ed. F. LOOFS, Halle 1905, p. 194, BARHADBESABBA OF ARBAIA, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 25, p. 555–556.

as a free man³⁹. Despite the fact of the consecration of a new archbishop, a majority of the bishops from the East would continue to refuse to anathematize Nestorius and to accept his deposition until as late as 433⁴⁰. However, Bishop Maximian died in April 434 and rumours appeared that Nestorius could be possibly restored to his former office⁴¹. It became clear to the court that the situation would continue to be volatile as long as Nestorius, still at Antioch, could have any influence on the affairs of the Church. On 3 August 435, the emperor issued a constitution aimed against the supporters of Nestorius⁴². The bishop was divested of his property and sent into exile at **Petra**⁴³. The date remains controversial, but it is very likely that it may have happened sometime in the latter half of the year 435⁴⁴. Nevertheless, Petra was not to become a final destination of his exile as it seems that not very long after his first banishment, still in the late 430s, he was moved to the **Great Oasis** in Egypt⁴⁵ and perhaps placed at one of the monasteries there, where he would live until his death⁴⁶.

Flavian served as Bishop of Constantinople from 446 to 449. The Council of Ephesus, convened on 8 August 449 with the purpose of investigating the Euty-chian dispute, rehabilitated the controversial Constantinopolitan monk and carried through a deposition of Flavian, who had been responsible for having Eutyches banished in the previous year⁴⁷. The bishop feared for his life and decided to seek refuge inside the church at Ephesus. He was prevented from entering the church but he managed to find asylum in the sacristy⁴⁸. Ultimately, he was banished to and died at **Hypaipa** in Lydia⁴⁹, yet the dates of his exile and death remain disputable.

³⁹ Cf. G.A. BEVAN, *The Last Days of Nestorius in the Syriac Sources*, JCSSS 7, 2007, p. 40. A different, but incorrect, opinion can be found in, e.g., J. MCGUCKIN, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy. Its History, Theology, and Texts*, New York 2004, p. 106, who notes that the emperor had also condemned Nestorius to exile.

⁴⁰ ACO, vol. I, 1, 7, p. 164–165.

⁴¹ ACO, vol. I, 4, p. 170 and CALLINICOS, *Vie d' Hypatios*, 39. 1, ed. et trans. G.J.M. BARTELINK, Paris 1971 (cetera: KALLINIKOS, *Vita Hypatii*), p. 232.

⁴² CTh XVI, 5, 66 and CJI, 5, 6. Cf. also the Greek text in the ACO, vol. I, 1, 3, p. 68.

⁴³ ACO, vol. I, 1, 3, p. 67 and ACO, vol. I, 4, p. 66. In Nestorius' lifetime, Petra formed part of the *Palaestina Tertia*, and was the capital of that province, cf. W.E. KAEGI, A. KAZHDAN, *Petra*, [in:] ODB, p. 1642–1643.

⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion of the difficulties over the dating of Nestorius' exile, see G.A. BEVAN, *The Case of Nestorius: Ecclesiastical Politics in the East, 428–451 CE*, Toronto 2005 [PhD diss.], p. 274–278.

⁴⁵ The Great Oasis (present-day Khargêh) is situated in the Libyan Desert in Egypt, ca. 200 km west of the Nile, cf. J. BALL, *Khargah Oasis. Its Topography and Geology*, Cairo 1900.

⁴⁶ In the light of a fragment of Nestorius' letter addressed to the governor of Thebaid, the former bishop would live at a place known as Oasis of Ibis, cf. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the scholia*, I, 7, ed. J. BIDEZ, L. PARMENTIER, London 1898 (cetera: EVAGRIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*), p. 14, 25 and 15, 23.

⁴⁷ ACO, vol. II, 1, 1, p. 191.

⁴⁸ ACO, vol. II, 2, p. 78.

⁴⁹ NESTORIUS, *Liber Heraclides*, p. 494–495; LIBERATUS XII, 75, [in:] ACO, t. II, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense*, vol. V, *Collectio sangermanensis*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berolini et Lipsiae 1936, p. 118; *The Chronicle of Marcellinus*, s.a. 449, trans. B. CROKE, Sydney 1995 (cetera: MARCELLINUS COMES),

Some scholars are of the opinion that contrary to the generally accepted account of Flavian's death on 11 August 449 in the aftermath of a brutal treatment during the council and following his deposition, he died in February 450⁵⁰.

For almost half a century after Flavian's exile, the bishops of Constantinople would be able to remain in office until their death. In one noteworthy case, Basiliscus made an attempt to remove Patriarch Acacius, but the bishop resisted and managed to save his position thanks to the crucial support from the monastic circles and the people of Constantinople⁵¹. This failure on the emperor's part seems to be indicative of the fact that throughout the decades the position of bishops of Constantinople had become consolidated enough to make it more difficult to have them deposed from the metropolitan see. It was only in the late fifth century that bishop **Euphemius** was removed from office⁵². A native of Apamea, he became a presbyter entrusted with providing charitable services for the poor in the Church of Constantinople⁵³. Euphemius succeeded Patriarch Fravitta, who died in March 490⁵⁴. His unwavering dedication to the decrees of Chalcedon was very well known but it was the weight of political issues, not any particular doctrinal disagreement, that would lead to his conflict with emperor Anastasius, eventually resulting in the deposition of the bishop in 496⁵⁵. Anastasius came to suspect or even obtained some evidence for Euphemius' alleged collaboration with Isaurians, bringing on

p. 19: in *Epipam exulatus est*. Cf. H. CHADWICK, *The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople. A Prologue to the Council of Chalcedon*, JTS 6, 1955, p. 19–20; K. ILSKI, *Sobory w polityce religijnej Teodozjusza II*, Poznań 1992, p. 22–23, an. 71; cf. I. MILEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 362. Hypaipa was a city and bishopric in Lydia, on the route from Ephesus to Sardes, at the foot of the mountain called Aipus, cf. BÜRCHNER, *Hypaipa*, [in:] *RE*, vol. VIII, Stuttgart 1914, col. 195–196.

⁵⁰ Cf. E. SCHWARTZ, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma*, München 1934, p. 174, an. 3; this scholar arrived at the conclusion that Flavian died in February 450. Initially, this proposition elicited no response and would be thoroughly considered by Chadwick (cf. H. CHADWICK, *op. cit.*, p. 19–34), who, although refuting Schwartz's argumentation, would appear to have been in favour of this particular dating of Flavian's death and contributed some new points to support it.

⁵¹ For Acacius and his conflict with Basiliscus, see R. KOSIŃSKI, *Dzieje Akacjusza, patriarchy Konstantynopola w latach 471–489*, *USS* 9, 2010, p. 63–97.

⁵² On Euphemius, see R. KOSIŃSKI, *Euphemios, Patriarch of Constantinople in the Years 490–496*, *JÖB* 62, 2012, p. 57–79.

⁵³ *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, VI, 4, rec. E.W. BROOKS, vol. II, Lovanii 1924 (cetera: PSEUDO-ZACHARIAS, *Historia ecclesiastica*), p. 5–6; THEOPHANES, AM 5981, p. 133. According to Pseudo-Zacharias, Euphemius received his education in Alexandria. Conversely, Liberatus mentions Alexandria as his birth-place, which is very likely a confusion arising from his misinterpretation of facts from Pseudo-Zacharias' account (cf. LIBERATUS, XVIII, 127, p. 132).

⁵⁴ THEODORE LECTOR, *Epitome* 440, p. 122. On the other hand, EVAGRIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 23, p. 121 refers to four months of Fravitta's episcopate. Cf. E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 213, esp. an. 2; PH. BLAUDEAU, *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451–491). De l'histoire à la géo-ecclésiologie*, Roma 2006, p. 234.

⁵⁵ On the disputed date of his deposition, see R. KOSIŃSKI, *Euphemios...*, p. 75, note 123.

the deposition and banishment of the disloyal bishop⁵⁶, first to **Euchaïta**⁵⁷, later on to **Ancyra**⁵⁸, where he died in 515.

A similar fate would befall his successor, **Macedonius II**⁵⁹. He was a nephew of Gennadius (Patriarch of Constantinople in the years 458–471)⁶⁰ and a follower of the Council of Chalcedon. Contrary to his predecessor, he was more inclined to make a compromise with the anti-Chalcedon Patriarch of Alexandria on the basis of the emperor Zeno's *Henotikon*. He managed to find allies at the court and would meet with much success in the East, where a majority of the Churches decided to endorse that compromise solution⁶¹. Beginning from 507, a hiatus between the emperor and the bishop was growing more and more difficult to repair, which was the situation caused by Anastasius' increasingly evident anti-Chalcedonian sympathies. In 511, Macedonius became embroiled in an intense controversy with the advocates of Miaphysitism, Julian of Halicarnassus and Severus, the later bishop of Antioch⁶². On the night of 6–7 August 511, he was banished to **Euchaïta** in Pontus on the emperor's orders⁶³ and died at **Gangra** ca. 517⁶⁴.

⁵⁶ THEODORE LECTOR, *Epitome* 449, 455, p. 126–127, 128; THEOPHANES, AM 5987, p. 139; *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. DE BOOR, vol. II, *Textum genuinum inde a Vespasiani imperio continens*, Lipsiae 1904 (cetera: GEORGE THE MONK), p. 623–624; *The Synodicon Vetus*, 109, ed. et trans. J. DUFFY, J. PARKER, Washington 1979 (cetera: *Synodicon Vetus*), p. 92; EVAGRIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 30, p. 126–127; MARCELLINUS COMES, s.a. 495, p. 31.

⁵⁷ THEODORE LECTOR, *Epitome* 457, p. 128 = GEORGE THE MONK, p. 625; THEOPHANES, AM 5989, p. 140. Euchaïta, a place of exile for several figures of note, was located in Pontus, west of Amasea; it was made a city by emperor Anastasius, cf. H. GRÉGOIRE, *Géographie byzantine*, BZ 19, 1913, p. 59–61 and C. FOSS, *Euchaïta*, [in:] *ODB*, p. 737.

⁵⁸ The information on Ancyra as Euphemios' place of exile and the year 515 as the date of his death can be found in only one source: VITTORE DA TUNNUNA, *Chronica. Chiesa e impero nell'età di Giustiniano*, s.a. 515.2, ed. A. PLACANICA, Firenze 1997 (cetera: VICTOR OF TUNNUNA), p. 32. According to *Synodicon Vetus* 115, p. 96 Euphemios and Macedonius died at Gangra. Ancyra was the administrative centre and the ecclesiastical metropolis of Galatia. It also served as a military base of strategic importance. In the fifth century, it gained in prominence as a place of summer residence preferred by emperors, cf. C. FOSS, *Ankyra*, [in:] *ODB*, s. 102.

⁵⁹ On Macedonius, see W.H.C. FRIEND, *The Fall of Macedonius in 511 – a Suggestion*, [in:] *Kerygma und Logos. Beiträge zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Carl Andresen zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. A.M. RITTER, Göttingen 1979, p. 183–195 and E. ΧΑΤΖΗΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ, *Η θρησκευτική πολιτική του Αναστασίου Α' (491–518). Η στάση του αυτοκράτορα απέναντι στο ακακίανό σχίσμα και τη μονοφυσική έριδα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2009, p. 69–88.

⁶⁰ THEODORE LECTOR, *Epitome* 458, p. 129.

⁶¹ Cf. W.H.C. FRIEND, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁶² THEODORE LECTOR, *Epitome* 484, p. 138; LIBERATUS, XVIII, 134, p. 133; *Vie de Sévère par Jean, supérieur de monastère de Beith-Aphthonia*, ed. M.-A. KUGENER, PO 2, Paris 1907, p. 236–237. Cf. F. HAARER, *Anastasius I. Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*, Cambridge 2006, p. 145–151.

⁶³ EVAGRIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 32, p. 130; VICTOR OF TUNNUNA, s.a. 501, p. 26; MARCELLINUS COMES, s.a. 511, p. 35; THEODORE LECTOR, *Epitome* 487, p. 138; PSEUDO-ZACHARIAS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VII, 8, p. 28–33.

⁶⁴ THEOPHANES, AM 6008, p. 161–162. Gangra (present-day Çankırı in Turkey), the capital city of Paphlagonia, is situated on a tributary of the river Halys, at the main route that connects Galatia

Before his elevation to Patriarch of Constantinople, **Anthimus I**⁶⁵ had served as Bishop of Trebizond, but he deserted his bishopric and decided to practise asceticism in Constantinople⁶⁶. In 532/533, he participated, on the pro-Chalcedonian side, in a dispute with the adherents of Severus of Antioch⁶⁷. Following the death of Patriarch Epiphanius on June 5, 535, Anthimus was chosen as his successor with the decisive support of empress Theodora⁶⁸, but he would very soon arouse suspicion of harbouring Miaphysite views. The monastic circles urged him to condemn Eutyches and Dioscurus of Alexandria, but the bishop refused to do so⁶⁹. In March 536, Pope Agapetus I arrived at Constantinople, refusing to acknowledge communion with Anthimus and accusing him of having assumed the bishopric in violation of the church canons⁷⁰. Justinian wasted no time in removing Anthimus from his office and had the bishop expelled from Constantinople⁷¹. The synod convoked by the emperor (2, 6, 10, 21 May and 4 June 536; concluded 6 August of the same year) condemned Anthimus for the uncanonical manner of his accession to the See of Constantinople and for his adherence to Eutyches' teachings⁷². On the other hand, John of Ephesus claims that the bishop accepted the empress Theodora's proposal and would go on to spend the next 12 years at her estate in Constantinople, leading an ascetic life. Found there only after the empress' death, he became reconciled with Justinian. The former bishop reportedly enjoyed the emperor's respect for the rest of his life⁷³, yet his later years and the date of death remain unknown.

In the sixth century, the authorities carried through only one deposition from the office of metropolitan bishop, removing **Eutychius** from the See of Constantinople⁷⁴. He was born at a village called Theium (Theion), in Phrygia, and became

with the Black Sea. In the fifth and sixth centuries, Gangra was a place of exile for many important figures of the Church, cf. C. FOSS, *Gangra*, [in:] *ODB*, p. 821.

⁶⁵ E. HONIGMANN, *Anthimus of Trebizond, Patriarch of Constantinople (June 535–March 536)*, [in:] *Patriaristic Studies*, Città del Vaticano 1953, p. 185–193 and A. GRILLMEIER in collaboration with TH. HAINTHALER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. II, *From the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590–604)*, part II, *The Church of Constantinople in the sixth century*, trans. J. CAWTE, P. ALLEN, London 1995, p. 347–355.

⁶⁶ *ACO*, vol. III, p. 131, 134, 139; JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 48, ed. et trans. E. W. BROOKS, PO 18, Paris 1924 (cetera: JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*), p. 685.

⁶⁷ *ACO*, vol. IV, 2, p. 169.

⁶⁸ PSEUDO-ZACHARIAS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IX, 19, p. 93–94.

⁶⁹ *ACO*, vol. III, p. 134, 179.

⁷⁰ LIBERATUS, XXI, 146–147, p. 135–136.

⁷¹ LIBERATUS, XXIII, 159, p. 138–139. John of Ephesus is incorrect in his information that Anthimus held the Patriarchate of Constantinople for as long as several years (cf. JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 48, p. 685).

⁷² *ACO*, vol. III, p. 178–180.

⁷³ JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* 48, p. 687.

⁷⁴ THEOPHANES, AM 6044, p. 228. On Eutychius, see R. JANIN, *Eutichio*, [in:] *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. V, Roma 1964, col. 323–324, A. KAZHDAN, *Eutychios*, [in:] *ODB*, p. 759. Cf. also M. WHITBY,

a monk in Amaseia at the age of 30. After the death of Patriarch Menas on August 25, 552, Justinian designated Eutychius as successor in connection with the new bishop's embrace of the emperor's policy on the so-called Three Chapters. A year later, the bishop presided over the proceedings of the Second Council of Constantinople, yet he refused to accept the doctrine of anathematism, which was advocated by Justinian. This act of resistance led to the bishop's arrest and confinement. Arrested on 22 January 565, he was first placed at the Choracudis monastery and, on the following day, at the monastery of St. Osias near Chalcedon. Finally, he was deposed on 31 January after his refusal to appear before a synod summoned by Justinian (the so-called *endemousa* synod), sent into exile on an island in the Propontis known as **Principus** (Princes' Island), and subsequently to his former monastery at **Amaseia**, where he would spend over 12 years⁷⁵.

The cases described above are indicative of the fact that the rulers would always make an effort to remove the deposed bishops from the City, but sometimes without explicit orders to have them confined to a definite place of exile. In the fourth century, the bishops retreated to the suburbs or to their estates, and it was only in the fifth century that depositions from the office of the metropolitan would begin to involve being "deported" to a specific exile location.

The motives behind banishing bishops from the City and putting them in custody at a remote place were obvious. First of all, the exile was intended as a measure preventing the deposed bishop from having any real influence on the community of the faithful in Constantinople; secondly, it was a form of punishment, in particular when the destination was located in some remote region with harsh climate conditions or exposed to various dangers such as the threat of a nomad attack⁷⁶.

As regards the first of the above-mentioned objectives, the places of exile should be viewed from the angle of their accessibility. It appears that throughout the fourth century the authorities did not attach much importance to exile locations, as the banished individuals were frequently placed not very far from the capital (Thessalonica, Thrace, Bithynia). The situation changed in the early fifth century, beginning from John Chrysostom's exile, when destinations would be more deliberately selected. Most of those localities were inland towns/cities, normally situated along the communication routes but at a greater distance from the sea coast (Amaseia, Hypaipa, Ancyra, Euchaïta, Emesa), or even off the main routes from and to Constantinople (Cocusus, Petra, Great Oasis, Singara). A rather singular case is Pityus, which would fulfil all the criteria for being a very distant and extremely inaccessible place, although it was located on the Black Sea coast.

Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople. An Epic Holy Man, [in:] *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. M. WHITBY, PH. HARDIE and M. WHITBY, Bristol 1987, p. 297–308.

⁷⁵ THEOPHANES, AM 6057, p. 240. Cf. A. GRILLMEIER in collaboration with TH. HAINTHALER, *op. cit.*, p. 469 and 490. Amaseia was situated on the river Lycus in Pontus; the city functioned as the metropolis of the Pontic provinces, cf. C. FOSS, *Amaseia*, [in:] *ODB*, p. 74.

⁷⁶ Cf. I. MILEWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 353–355.

Obviously, sending a person into exile at a remote location such as the Great Oasis did not mean there would be no attempts undertaken to communicate with them, provided that those who wished to maintain such contact had resources, especially sufficient amounts of money, at their disposal in order to make a long and dangerous journey (or to cover the costs if a trustworthy person could undertake it). The cases of Nestorius and John Chrysostom prove this point very clearly. For instance, John Chrysostom carried on his extensive correspondence in exile, with about 240 surviving letters addressed to as many as over a hundred figures in Constantinople and beyond. Occasionally, people would visit him at Cocusus, with many of his admirers from Antioch and other places in Syria. Moreover, John had substantial resources at his disposal. In his correspondence, he would also attempt to maintain a semblance of being still in charge of the affairs of his Church. He addressed letters to his presbyters and Gothic monks, showing much interest in the Gothic community living along the north-west coast of the Black Sea, and also exchanged friendly correspondence with some high-profile figures such as prefects of the City Gemellus⁷⁷ (ep. 79, 124, 132, 194) and Paianius⁷⁸ (ep. 95, 193, 204, 220)⁷⁹. In turn, Nestorius would keep on receiving the news of all the important religious issues and events at the capital; for instance, he knew about the conflict between bishop Flavian and Eutyches as well as the events in connection with the Council of Ephesus in 449. Let us also make a mention of his letter addressed to the citizens of Constantinople in the late 440s⁸⁰. Some of Nestorius' followers managed to reach him at his place of exile, but such visits were not as frequent as in the case of John Chrysostom.

In conclusion, it can be said that the various exile destinations of the Bishops of Constantinople serve as a perfect illustration of the fact that the sea routes functioned as the most rapid and convenient means of communication in the Roman Empire, while the journey by land was much more time-consuming and made the traveller have to endure more difficulties and hardship.

⁷⁷ On Gemellus, see *PLRE*, vol. I, p. 388 (s.v. *Gemellus* 2). He served as Prefect of the City in the years 404–408.

⁷⁸ On Paianius, see *PLRE*, vol. II, p. 818 (s.v. *Paianius*). Paianius is a figure attested as Prefect of the City in 404.

⁷⁹ Cf. the edition of John's letters: *PG*, vol. 52, cols. 549–748.

⁸⁰ *La lettre de Nestorius aux habitants de Constantinople*, ed. E.W. BROOKS, *ROC* 15, 1910, p. 275–281.

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XATZHANTONIOY E., *Η θρησκευτική πολιτική του Αναστασίου Α' (491–518). Η στάση του αυτοκράτορα απέναντι στο ακακιανό σχίσμα και τη μονοφυσική έριδα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2009.

Abstract. A number of cases of the bishops of Constantinople exiled over a period until as late as the close of the 6th century prove the fact that the rulers would always make an effort to remove the deposed bishops from the City, even though relocating the latter to specific destinations did not always have to be the case. In the 4th century, the bishops could withdraw to suburban districts or settle at their own estates, and it was not until the 5th century that depositions of the metropolitan bishops would involve, in principle, being deported to a specific place of exile. The purpose behind banishing a bishop from the City and putting him under supervision at a certain location was to prevent him from exerting any influence on the faithful in Constantinople.

It should be also noted that sending a person into exile was a form of punishment, especially when the destination was a remote location exposed to harsh weather conditions or the threat of sudden incursions by bands of nomads or brigands. Results of an analysis of the accessibility of exile destinations provide substantial evidence for an overwhelming proportion of inland urban localities. Although many of such places would be located along or near various roads, they were generally situated far from the coast or the main routes to Constantinople.

Keywords: Byzantium, Byzantine Church, bishops of Constantinople (4–6 c.)

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THE CHRISTIAN NUBIA AND THE ARABS

Nubia constituted the area in the Nile Valley in the present day Sudan (**Fig. 1**), the area which spread from the first cataract up to the place in the neighbourhood of Soba, where the White Nile meets the Blue Nile. In Antiquity, the area was inhabited by the population using a common language – Old Nubian¹.

In mid 6th century three kingdoms occupied the above described area: Nobatia in the north with the capital in Faras, Macuria south of the second cataract with the capital in Old Dongola and further south, at the sixth cataract – Alodia with the capital in Soba, the city located near the present day Khartoum².

It is well known that the Christian faith penetrated the Nubian territory very early³. Egypt, bordering Nubia on the north become entirely Christian as early as the beginning of the 4th century. Starting from the end of the 4th century and at the beginning of the 6th century, Christian bishops resided on the island of Phile and Syene (Aswan)⁴, hermits probably settled in Nubia⁵ and we also have archeologically confirmed presence of Christian graves in that territory⁶. However official acceptance of Christianity as a state religion took place in the second half of the 6th century (in the years 540–580) thanks to missions send by the Byzantine Court⁷. Acceptance of Christianity in Nubia had very interesting and even adventurous character⁸. The process was of major importance for the entire structure of the state, as it precedes the merger of Nubian kingdoms into one state⁹.

¹ D.A. WELSBY, *The medieval Kingdoms of Nubia, Pagans, Christians and Muslims along the Middle Nile*, London 2002, p. 7–8.

² *Ibidem*, p. 24–30.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 31–32, 35; S. JAKOBIELSKI, *Faras III. A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras on the Basis of Coptic Inscriptions*, Warszawa 1972, p. 17–24.

⁴ U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Storia della Nubia christiana*, Roma 1936, p. 44–45 (4th/5th century).

⁵ However, see *ibidem*, p. 63–64.

⁶ W.Y. ADAMS, H-Ä. NORDSTRÖM, *The Archeological Survey on the West Bank of the Nile*, Ku 11, 1963, p. 30–31; T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Preliminary Report of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition*, Ku 11, 1963, p. 66–67; L. KIRWAN, *Studies on the History of Late Antique and Christian Nubia*, eds. T. HÄGG, L. TÖRÖK, D.A. WELSBY, Suffolk 2002, XV – p. 202; XXI – p. 123.

⁷ Cf. L. KIRWAN, *op. cit.*, XX – p. 127–130.

⁸ Cf. G. VANTINI, *Christianity in the Sudan*, Bologna 1981, p. 33–50.

⁹ S. JAKOBIELSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 35–36.

Nubia immediately found itself in the area of influence of Byzantine culture. That led to certain cultural unification with all the countries where Christianity was present. Within the frame of that unification in Nubia, as elsewhere, components of Byzantine administration system were introduced¹⁰. Nubian church copied the patterns of ceremonials and liturgy of the Eastern Church and first of all the Greek language, the *lingua franca* of the area of Byzantine culture, gained popularity. Greek designations of state functionaries of the kingdom were adopted. The king – *basileus* – held the position of the head of the court which apparently was modelled on the Byzantine one. The king nominated bishops, subsequently approved by the patriarch of Alexandria. The king's governor held the title of *eparchos* – whose residence was in the North of Nubia in Qasr Ibrim. The *domesticos* was a commander of the royal guard while *meizoteros* was in charge of economic matters. Those posts and many others according to Byzantine pattern were introduced in Nubia during the reign of Emperor Justinian I. All that resulted in creation of well organized, politically and militarily strong state.

So, in the middle of the 7th century the Nubian Kingdom, organized according to Byzantine pattern, united by one official language, state structure and royal rule as well as one religion, faced in 641 the fact of Arab conquest of Egypt. Soon afterwards in 642 the Arab army crossed the line of the first cataract and entered the territory belonging to Nubians¹¹. The peace treaty, signed by Nubians and Arabs was not adhered to by either party, which over nearly ten years resulted in numerous clashes.

Many Arab writers give account of those clashes describing cavalry combats as well as brave and brutal Nubian archers who earned the Arab name of *rumat al-hadaq* – pupil-smitters. Women and children were killed or kidnaped, prisoners were taken, towns and villages destroyed. That led to great Arab campaign in 652, which after siege of Makurian capital, Old Dongola, ended with officially signed peace treaty, the so-called *Baqt*¹². In practice the agreement made political-commercial agreement confirming the centuries-old tradition of relations between Nubia and Egypt. Our knowledge on the entire substance of that treaty has been gained from works of the Arab historian Maqrizi, who was active in the 15th century but had access to much earlier sources¹³.

On the ground of that treaty both Arabs and Nubians could freely travel in the territory of both countries but settlement was forbidden. Nubians were obliged to return slaves who kept escaping from Egypt, had to take care of the mosque built

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 15; T. HÄGG, *Some remarks on the use of Greek in Nubia*, [in:] *Nubian Studies. Proceedings of the Symposium for Nubian Studies, Cambridge 1978*, ed. J.M. PLUMLEY, Warminster 1982, p. 104–105; L. TÖRÖK, *Money, Economy and Administration in Christian Nubia*, [in:] *Études Nubiennes, Colloque de Chantilly 1975*, Le Caire 1978, p. 302–309.

¹¹ U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *op. cit.*, p. 71–78; K. MICHAŁOWSKI, *La Nubie chrétienne*, AfB 3, 1965, p. 15.

¹² Cf. D.A. WELSBY, *op. cit.*, p. 69–71.

¹³ G. VANTINI, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg–Warsaw 1975, p. 638–644.

at the outskirts of Dongola, each year supply Egypt with certain number of slaves and Arabs in return were to supply the kingdom with food, textiles, wine and horses. Despite the earlier doubts as for the existence of such a treaty, a few documents written in Arabic and kept in Qasr Ibrim archive, discovered by the English mission enabled different approach. Arab letters to the king and Nubian functionaries complaining that Nubians breach the principles of the treaty, fully confirm the rightness of written sources¹⁴. Over entire period of Nubian-Arab contacts, *Baqt* was breached by military expeditions as well as in the field of political and commercial principles. In 748 the king Cyriacus (Kyriakos) with the Nubian army conquered the Upper Egypt, reaching as far north as close to Cairo. The reason for that venture was imprisonment of Michael, the Patriarch of Alexandria by the Umayyad Egyptian governor¹⁵. As the result of prolonged negotiations the Patriarch was released. It can be seen that in that period Nubia was capable of political and military ventures, which testifies the power of the kingdom.

Another example of similar policy was the travel of the young heir to the throne in 835 – George (Georgios), son of Zacharias, to Baghdad to see the caliph al-Mu'tasim¹⁶. Both Arab and Christian sources describe that visit as an important political success. The regulations contained in the *Baqt* were renegotiated, which normalized relations between Caliphate and Christian Nubia and ended wars between those parties for certain period. George traveled on the camel back, under red umbrella, wearing the crown topped with the cross and distributed gifts made of gold or silver¹⁷. Undoubtedly his travel was connected with difficult internal situation in Egypt at the time of Fatimid dynasty rule.

The first half of the 10th century was the period of peace and development for the kingdom of Nubia. At the same time the first bigger groups of the Arab settlers began to appear on the territory south to the first cataract. That fact is indicated by numerous Arab cementaries at Taffa, Kalabsha, Qurta and Derr. The Arab historian of that time, Al-Mas'udi left descriptions of rich Nubian towns including also Dongola. Long Nubian occupation of southern Egypt¹⁸ yielded reconstruction in Nubian style of the famous St. Symeon monastery in Assuan. Certain manuscripts from the monastery give account of three-years Nubian occupation of Arab towns of Esna, Armat and Abnout. The Nubian king Salomon, who abdicated and became a monk in the St. Onuphrius monastery, was invited by vizier Badr to Cairo, where he was highly honoured and presented with the rich house. In turn one of his successors, king George (Georgios) IV also resigned the throne, but went to the Egyptian monastery in Wadi Natrun, where he died in 1158¹⁹.

¹⁴ J.M. PLUMLEY, *Qasr Ibrim and Islam*, ET.SP 12, 1983, p. 159.

¹⁵ K. MICHAŁOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 16–17.

¹⁶ G. VANTINI, *op. cit.*, p. 644–647.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 421.

¹⁸ K. MICHAŁOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 19–20.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

Peace and prosperity ended together with the fall of Fatimide dynasty in 1171. The Nubian king organized the expedition to Egypt in order to help Fatimides. That of course caused the retaliation from, this time, Ayyubide dynasty. Their Egyptian ruler Saladin gathered the army under command of his brother Turan-Shah and sent it to Nubia. The town of Qasr Ibrim was conquered, its population slithered, the bishop subjected to tortures and the cathedral converted into a mosque. Probably also the Faras cathedral was destroyed the same year²⁰.

The 13th century marks slow decline of the kingdom of Nubia²¹. Hostile Black tribes from the South and South-West appear in the Mid Valley of Nile. Fights weakened the kingdom; slow islamization of the country followed, royal rule and Christian faith fell and subsequently culture and arts deteriorated. The royal palace in Dongola was converted into a mosque in 1317 (**Fig. 2**).

* * *

The history of military as well as political or commercial Nubian–Arabic contacts over entire period of existence of the Christian Kingdom of Nubia undoubtedly had to bring about certain artistic trends in Nubia originating from rich heritage of Muslim culture. As long as the kingdom was strong, united with one language and religion and also uniform culture based on Byzantine patterns, symptoms of islamization were not visible, which is confirmed in the material discovered by archeologists. An art that developed in Nubia in that period (9th–11th century), based on the Byzantine patterns created specific phenomenon, similar to the case of Ethiopia, recognizable at the first glance. It concerned all fields of art and craftsmanship. Both in architecture and wall painting that specific Byzantine–Nubian mixture can be traced, which not only differentiated that art from the others but also shown the consistent trends in particular periods over the entire territory of the Nubian Kingdom²².

Changes that were taking place in the Nubian art can be traced in Nubian wall painting from Faras and Dongola. The classic period of that art falls in the end of the 10th and entire 11th century²³ (**Figs 3, 4, 5**). However, in course of time and particularly from the 12th century²⁴, together with gradual weakening of the Nubian state, new components of art can be noticed. The art gradually becomes less homogenous, which is distinctly manifested in painting (**Figs 6, 7**). Greater freedom in selection of subjects, form and colouring, smaller size and different

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

²¹ Cf. *ibidem*. p. 25; D.A. WELSBY, *op. cit.*, p. 242–243.

²² E.g. D.A. WELSBY, *op. cit.*, p. 216–241.

²³ M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *Faras VII. Les éléments décoratifs sur les peintures de la Cathédrale de Faras*, Varsovie 1982, p. 50–88; EADEM, *Byzantine Models in Nubian Iconography*, GAMAR 6, 2010, p. 109–118; EADEM, *The Wall Paintings from The Monastery on Kom H in Dongola*, Warsaw 2011, p. 239–252, 261–263.

²⁴ M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *The Wall Paintings...*, p. 252–260, 263–264.

composition of the representations begin to appear more and more often. New artistic influences seem to appear. In many cases those influences can be described just as 'Arabic.' They can be found in elements of vestments, composition and the very character. It seems that the era of Byzantine influences is ending. It was most likely caused by intensified contacts with Arabs, growing Arab migration into the Nubian territory and at the same time weakening and poverty of the Nubian church, lesser position of monasteries and decreasing role of the royal support.

As far as the wall painting is concerned I will limit myself to two examples, that perfectly illustrate the above remarks on Arabic elements in the late Nubian art. Both examples originate from so called Southwestern Annex of the monastery on *kom H* in Old Dongola (**Fig. 8**).

Putting aside an interpretation of the subjects of representations, the first composition²⁵ consists of a sequence of episodes, of which the central scene makes a financial transaction, whose completion is to be celebrated by a feast on lamb. Two men are sited on the wide bed in the interior (**Fig. 9**) behind a folded curtain. Between the two men dark skinned servant or slave waits for orders. Below that composition, slightly to the right, another servant skins the lamb, more lambs waits behind a round fence (**Fig. 10**). Above the main episode (**Fig. 11**) one more man sits on semi-round sofa hand outstretched as if in gesture of greeting towards approaching couple, man and woman clad in white robes.

The form of the painting seems to constitute a fragment from illuminated Arab manuscripts. The interior with folded decorated curtain hanged on a wooden pole; Arabic type *angarebs* – beds used also for sitting²⁶; attires of men – small caps, caftans, wide coloured galigaskins and pointed shoes as well as the attire of the couple – man in *galabiyah* and *top* covering the woman's head – all those confirm definite Arabic influences visible on the painting in question also manifested in even so minor details as decoration of robes in the form of stripes on sleeves with an imitation of Kufic inscriptions, so called *tirazes*²⁷. Other basic Arabic customs such as position of men sited with crossed legs or celebrating the meeting with the feast on lamb are also manifested in the painting. The representation of lambs crowded behind the round fence reminds scenes from Arab village, where lambs and goats are closed in round *zeribas* built of thorn branches.

The second of the paintings in question is bordered by the frame of icon²⁸. The composition consists of three horizontal rows of male figures (**Fig. 12**). The men constitute two types of figures in different attires. Some have animal masks on their faces, the others are clad in sleeveless chitons and long galigaskins, skirts, shawls

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 121–125.

²⁶ G. ERSTER, *Nubien, Goldland am Nil*, Zürich–Stuttgart 1964, p. 202.

²⁷ S. BLAIR, *Islamic Inscriptions*, Edinburgh 1998, p. 164–173; J. BLOOM, S. BLAIR, *Islamic Arts*, London 1997, p. 225–226, fig. 103, 117.

²⁸ M. MARTENS-CZARNECKA, *The Wall Paintings...*, p. 233–238.

and turbans with bands. Both groups are represented dancing. The figures are supplemented with inscriptions in so far incomprehensible Nubian language. Two folkloristic streams can be clearly seen in an iconography of that scene – one from black Africa and the other from Africa dominated by Arabic culture. Analogies concerning shape of masks, attires and musical instruments as well as undoubtedly ritual character of the dance itself can be found in the culture of peoples inhabiting Central Africa (present territories of the Western Sudan, Chad and Niger). In turn their attires – tunics, skirts, galigaskins and turbans with bands are the components of attires of Arab tribes known not only from the local folklore but also from numerous illuminated manuscripts²⁹, among others Syrian or Coptic-Arab³⁰. In the scene of dance, for the first time in archaeological material, the attires of men and their folk dance give evidence that the Nubian society was multicultural. The Arabic component was becoming predominant and also African folklore appeared in the art that used to belong, at least partially, to the Mediterranean world.

Arab influence can also be seen in that late-period church architecture³¹. In the latest stage of development of Nubian church architecture, the form of buildings was affected by the idea of the multi-axial and multi-bayed hall system, a basic compositional motif of the Islamic cult edifices. The Arabic halls of prayer, so-called *harams* divided by columns into several bays having a square plan and their homogeneous form, could influenced the plans of Nubian churches (**Fig. 13**). They are superimposed on the division of the naos into nine fields leading to the annihilation of differences between the nave and the aisles and to the obliteration of the individual character of the central bay. This solution coexisted with the traditional arrangement of eastern and western part of the structure of the Nubian churches. We can quote as examples the church of Rafael in Tamit, the church in Mediq near Gerf Hessein and the church in Kaw.

The good examples of the Muslim influence on Nubian art are the decoration of the arch of the doorway, giving access to commemorative part with grave recesses in North-Western Complex on kom H in Dongola (**Fig. 14**) and of the design of ceramic plate (**Fig. 15**) that must have decorated interior of the same monastery in Dongola.

This type of arches³² imitates so-called *l'arc polylobé* known in Islamic architecture of 11th and 12th centuries. The internal part of the arch is decorated

²⁹ *Islam. Art and Architecture*, ed. M. HATTSTEIN, P. DELIUS, Cologne 2000, p. 107.

³⁰ J. LEROY, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, Paris 1964, p. 133, 134–135, 241–252, ill. 62–64; IDEM, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés*, Paris 1974, p. 113–148, ill. 41–74; p. 110–113, ill. 39–40, 101–104, 148–153.

³¹ P.M. GARTKIEWICZ, *New Outline of the History of Nubian Church Architecture*, BAB 55, 1980, p. 142, ill. 19.

³² I. RYL-PREIBISZ, *Architectural Decorative Elements Recently Discovered at Dongola*, [in:] *Actes de la VIII^e Conférence Internationale des Études Nubiennes, Lille 11 – 17 septembre 1994*, vol. II, *Découvertes archéologiques*, Lille 1997, p. 230–231.

with six rounded recesses and leans against the modeled columns and capitals. All is made out of thick coats of plaster a kind of local *stucco* which is supported with small columns topped with the capitals which shape are cubic in the upper part divided from the lower one by the sharp narrowing. Such design of capitals evidently links them with the Muslim ones.

The open-work ceramic plate (12/13th century)³³ is unfortunately only fragmentarily preserved. Nevertheless it can be clearly noticed that a half-sited male figure in Arabic attire makes the main component of the decoration. That figure wears turban, is clad in caftan and wide galigaskins and leans on the sword with richly decorated sheath. The same decoration molded on one side was only painted on the other, so it was visible on both sides, which indicates that the open-work plate served as a kind of grating or partition.

The abode analysis clearly shows that the culture of Christian Nubia, originally based to considerable extent on Byzantine art, in course of time subjected to more and more intense Arabic influence, significantly changed. Arabic components became predominant, which over following centuries led to creation of Arabic culture of the contemporary Sudan (Fig. 16, 17, 18, 19).



Fig. 1. Sketch Map of the Nubian kingdoms in the Middle Nile Valley

³³ I. RYL-PREIBISZ, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

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Abstract. Nubia constituted the area in the Nile Valley in the present day Sudan, the area which spread from the first cataract up to the place where the White Nile meets the Blue Nile. The area was inhabited by the population using a common language – Old Nubian. In the second half of the sixth century thanks to the missions send by the Byzantine Court, Nubia accepted Christianity as a state

religion. Nubia immediately found itself in the area of influence of Byzantine culture. Byzantine administration, liturgy of the Eastern Church and the Greek language were introduced.

In 641 the Arab conquest of Egypt took place. Soon after that in 642, the Arab army entered the Nubian territory and from this date centuries of clashes and peace treaties characterized relations between Nubians and Arab peoples. The 13th century marks slow decline of the kingdom of Nubia. Hostile Negro tribes from the South and South-West appear in the Mid Valley of Nile. Fights weaken the kingdom; slow islamization of the country follows, royal rule and Christian faith falls and together with those culture and arts deteriorates.

The history of military as well as political or commercial Nubian–Arabic contacts over entire period of existence of Christian kingdom of Nubia undoubtedly had to bring about certain artistic trends in Nubia originating from rich heritage of Muslim culture. The culture of Christian Nubia originally based to considerable extent on Byzantine art, in course of time, subjected to more and more intense Arabic influence, significantly changed. Arabic components seen in Nubian church architecture, wall painting and art crafts became predominant, which over following centuries led to creation of Arabic culture of the contemporary Sudan.

Keywords: Nubia, early Christianity, Arabs, Byzantium, Christian Church, Nobadia, Makuria

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Fig. 2. The royal palace in Dongola converted into a mosque (Photo by the author)



Fig. 3. Nativity from Faras Cathedral – Sudan National Museum in Khartoum (Photo by the author)



Fig. 4. Martha Mother of the King under protection of St. Mary with the Child – Sudan National Museum in Khartoum (Photo by the author)



Fig. 5. Votive Cross with Christ at the centre – Sudan National Museum in Khartoum (Photo by the author)



Fig. 6. Christ from Northwestern Annex from Old Dongola Monastery (Photo by the author)



Fig. 7. Baptism of Christ from Northwestern Annex from Old Dongola Monastery (Photo by the author)



Fig. 8. Monastery compound on *kom* H in Old Dongola (Photo by B. Żurawski)



Fig. 9. Story of Tobias – painting from Southwestern Annex from Old Dongola Monastery (Photo. by the author)



Fig. 10. Sheep corralled in a circular zeriba – fragment of the painting from Southwestern Annex from Old Dongola Monastery (Photo by the author)



Fig. 11. Tobias and Sara greeted by Raguel – fragment of the painting from Southwestern Annex from Old Dongola Monastery (Photo. by the author)



Fig. 12. Dance composition from Southwestern Annex from Old Dongola Monastery (Photo. by the author)

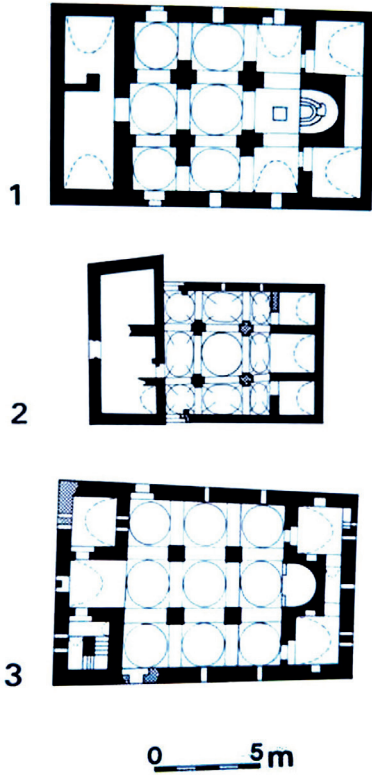


Fig. 13. Examples of the plans of the Nubian churches influenced by multi-axial hall composition (after: Gartkiewicz, Babesch 55, 1980, Fig. 19)



Fig. 14. Doorway giving access to commemorative part with grave recesses in North-Western Complex on kom H in Dongola (Photo by the author)

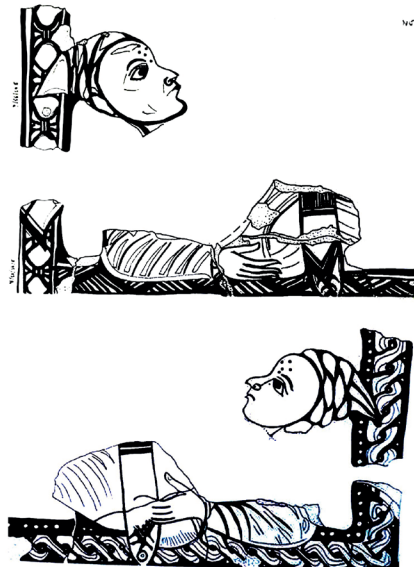


Fig. 15. Ceramic plate that must have decorated interior of the same monastery in Dongola (Design by the author)



Fig. 16–17. Pictures of the Arabic culture of the contemporary Sudan (Photos by the author)



Fig. 16–19. Pictures of the Arabic culture of the contemporary Sudan (Photos by the author)

Ian S.R. Mladjov (Bowling Green)

MONARCHS' NAMES AND NUMBERING IN THE SECOND BULGARIAN STATE*

In modern historiographical practice, Bulgaria's rulers over the ages are assigned consecutive ordinal numbers without distinction between monarchs who reigned under different titles, for example: Boris I (852–889), Boris II (969–977), and Boris III (1918–1943), or Simeon I (893–927) and Simeon II (1943–1946)¹. Such numeration has only been assumed formally by modern rulers, reigning after 1878². Its application to medieval monarchs is convenient and relatively unexceptional when compared with historiographical practices in other modern societies. There are, however, certain inconsistencies that have been introduced into the names and numbering of monarchs due to a combination of oversight and misunderstanding. Names like *Ivan II Asen*, *Mihail II Asen*, *Georgi I Terter*, *Ivan IV Smilec*, and *Mihail III Šišman*, which are found commonly in the historical literature, are inaccurate or inconsistent in various ways. A re-examination of the subject, focusing on double names, yields a regularized and improved naming and numbering system with only minor effective emendation.

* Although the editorial board follows the principle of Anglicizing/Latinizing the personal and family names of historical figures, their spelling in this text has been left unaltered at the special insistence of the author [Editors' note].

¹ Of these, Boris I was a king (*rex* in papal letters, although the old generic term for monarch used in contemporary Bulgarian sources, *knjaz*, subsequently came to designate the usually non-sovereign title of *prince*), Boris II was emperor (*car/tsar*), and Boris III was king (*roi des bulgares* in diplomatic usage, although he used the traditional medieval title of *tsar*); Simeon I was king and then emperor, and Simeon II, king. This is not the place to discuss the titles of Bulgarian monarchs at length, and the usage has been based on comparisons to that in the contemporary diplomatic languages (Greek and Latin in the Middle Ages); compare note 138 below. Names are provided in standardized modern forms in the various vernaculars (e.g., Ivan, not Ioann), including, for non-Latin-based alphabets, forms in scientific transliteration (e.g., Teodora for Теодора, Theodōra for Θεοδώρα).

² The only *possible* attestation of a similar numbering in a medieval Bulgarian source *might* be found in a Bulgarian gloss to the Middle Bulgarian translation of the *Chronicle* of Kōnstantinos Manassēs, where the duration of Byzantine domination in Bulgaria was qualified as extending *even to the emperor of the Bulgarians Asen, the first* (даже и до Асѣнѣ, ц(а)рѣ бѣлгарѣмъ прѣваго) [in:] М.А. Салмина et al., *Среднеболгарский перевод хроники Константина Манасии в славянских литературах*, София 1988, p. 234.

I. Basic Typology of Names

After Bulgaria's conversion to Christianity in the 860s, Bulgarian rulers bore personal names that can be categorized according to three basic types, not including names assumed when taking holy orders:

- (1) Secular names drawn from the folk traditions of Bulgars and Slavs, like Boris, Vladimir, Presian, Boril, and Smilec;
- (2) Baptismal names drawn from the Biblical and Christian traditions current in contemporary Byzantium, like Mihail, Simeon, Petăr, Roman, Samuil, and Ivan;
- (3) Double names usually formed by pairing two names from the other two types with each other, like Gavril Radomir, Ivan Vladislav, Todor Svetoslav, Ivan Sracimir, and Ivan Šišman. In such cases the Christian baptismal name precedes the secular folk name³.

Such double names are not confined to monarchs, and can be found among nobles and commoners alike⁴. This phenomenon is also well-attested in Serbia⁵. In Kievan Rus' double names were also common until the late 13th century, but they

³ On double names see Н. КОВАЧЕВ, *Двойни лични имена в българската антропонимия*, БЕ 31/4, 1984, p. 367–371, and also the remarks of П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения от 1257 до 1277 година*, СБАН 11, 1920, p. 53, an. 2.

⁴ Nobles, for example: Georgi Vojteh [В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. II, *България под византийско владичество* (1018–1187), София 1934, p. 138; *Ἡ συνέχεια τῆς хроνογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτζου*, ed. E. TSOLAKES, Thessalonica 1968 (cetera: CONTINUATOR OF SKYLITZES), p. 163: Γεώργιος ὁ Βοϊτάχος (= ЕМΣ.ІМХА, 105)], Aleksij Slav [И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460)*, София 1985, p. 95–98, № I 11; *Стара българска книжнина*, vol. II, ed. И. ДУЙЧЕВ, София 1944, p. 30–35, № 15: Ἀλέξιος Δεσπότης ὁ Σθλάβος (cetera: *Книжнина*, vol. II)], Jakov Svetoslav (*Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 64, № 27: Пякова С[ВЛ]Тослава деспотѣ), Ivan Dragušin (X. МАТАНОВ, *Нови сведения за родственици на деспот Елтимир /Алдимир/*, ГСУНЦСВПИД 81, 1987, p. 107–113, and И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Институциите на средновековна България – Второ българско царство*, София 1998, p. 58); commoners, for example the copyist *Ivan called Dragoslav* (Іванъ зовомъ Драгославъ), in a 1262 gloss in the Compendium sent to Russia by Jakov Svetoslav, in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 351–352, № 27; *Konstantin the lector, called Voisil the Grammarian* (Костандинъ чьт(ъ)ць а зовомъ Воисилъ граматикъ) and *Georgi the presbyter, called Father Radoslav* (презвитерю Геургию а зовомъ поп(о)у Радославу) in the 1278/1279 gloss to the Svrllg gospels, in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 65–66, № 29; and *Georgi called Hrāb* (Геурьги а зов(о)мь Хр(ъ)бь), in a late-14th-century inscription from Zaječar, in *Старобългарски надписи/Altbulgarischen Inschriften*, vol. II, ed. K. POPKONSTANTINOV, O. KRONSTEINER, Wien 1997 (cetera: *Надписи*, vol. II), p. 208–209; also numerous examples in И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите във византийската империя*, София 1995.

⁵ Among the Serbian nobility, for example Jovan Dragaš, Grgur Preljub, Jovan Uglješa; there are also the several royal names compounded with Stefan (although in at least some of the cases this might have been a name specifically assumed upon accession to the throne), like Stefan Radoslav, Stefan Vladislav, Stefan Uroš, and Stefan Dušan.

are not found paired together in the same text very often, and the narrative sources tend to prioritize the secular/folk name elements⁶. In the rare cases where modern Russian historiography indicates the baptismal names, they are placed *after* the more familiar secular names, probably for convenience (for example, Vsevolod-Dmitrij instead of Dmitrij Vsevolod⁷). It might be noted, however, that double names do not seem to have been common among women of any class in medieval Bulgaria⁸, although they are attested in Kievan Rus⁹.

A rare and apparently late variation of Type 3 is a double name composed of two names both derived from Type 2. Among Bulgarian monarchs, this is attested in the cases of Ivan Stefan (1330–1331) and Ivan Aleksandăr (1331–1371). The first of these deviations can be explained by the desire to advertise the descent from the Serbian Nemanjid kings, each of whom had or assumed the name Stefan by itself or paired with another. The second deviation is perhaps best explained with the lasting fascination with Alexander the Great inherited from the Greco-Roman past, although by this time the name had acquired suitable Christian antecedents¹⁰. Double names with two Christian elements also occur in Russia, but

⁶ For example, see the *Testament or Admonition (poučenie)* of Vladimir II Monomah in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, where he identifies himself as having being named *Vasilij in baptism (and known by the Russian name Vladimir (нареч(є)нѣмъ въ кр(ь)щн(є)ѣи Василии, Русьскъимъ именемъ Володимиръ)* [in:] *Полное собрание русских летописей*, vol. I, ed. Е.Ф. Карский, Ленинград 1926–1928, col. 240; *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, trans. S.H. Cross, Cambridge Mass. 1930 [= HSNPhL, 12], p. 301. On princely names in Kievan Rus' see the voluminous study of А.Ф. Литвина, Ф.Б. Успенский, *Выбор имени у русских князей в X–XVI вв.*, Москва 2006.

⁷ А.Ф. Литвина, Ф.Б. Успенский, *Выбор имени...*, p. 505.

⁸ The occasional designation of women by two names in Bulgarian historiography almost always indicates doubt as to the actual name due to contradiction or ambivalence in the sources: for example, Anna or Teodora (*not* Anna Teodora), a daughter of Ivan Asen II: see I. Mladjov, *The Children of Ivan Asen II and Eirēnē Komnēnē*, ВМе 3, 2012, p. 485–486; Anna (*not* Anna Mária) of Hungary, a wife of Ivan Asen II: I. Mladjov, *The Children...*, p. 485; Ana of Serbia, renamed Dominica, meaning Neda (*not* Ana Neda), the mother of Ivan Stefan: I. Mladjov, *The Bulgarian Prince and would-be Emperor Lodovico*, ВМе 2, 2011, p. 614–615; all three are treated as having double names in Й. Андреев, И. Лазаров, П. Павлов, *Кой кой е в средновековна България*, ³София 2012, p. 40–43. Constructs like *Kera Tamara* and *Kiraca Marija* are not double names, but rather names preceded by forms of the Greek term *kyra (lady)*: I. Божилов, *Фамилията...*, p. 137; the treatment of these names in Й. Андреев, И. Лазаров, П. Павлов, *Кой кой е...*, p. 358–360, 364–365, is misleading; as for *Keraca Petrica*, p. 360, no source actually pairs these two terms: *Petrica (Petrisa)* comes from a papal letter (for which see *Неиздадено писмо на папа Бенедикт XII до майката на цар Иван Александър*, ed. and trans. И. Дуйчев, ИБИД 14/15, 1937, p. 205–210), while *Keraca* is found in the *Synodikon of Boril*, ed. И. Божилов, А. Тотоманова, И. Билярски, *Борилов Синодик*, София 2010, p. 163, fol. 34a.

⁹ For example, А.Ф. Литвина, Ф.Б. Успенский, *Выбор имени...*, p. 495–496, 544–545, 591–592, 604.

¹⁰ For the Medieval Slavonic translations of the *Alexander Romance*, see *Александрия русских хронографов*, ed. В.М. Истрин, Москва 1893; also Л. Милетич, *Една българска Александрия от 1810 год.*, София 1936 [=БСт, 13].

there, too, they represent a fairly rare and late development; they do not require special explanation in each case¹¹.

It should be emphasized that double names were not always used consistently, especially in non-official or semi-official contexts. An early example of this comes from the Bitola inscription of Ivan Vladislav (1015–1018), who is simply referred to by the first of the two names in that text¹². Although the gold seal (chrysobull) and coin of Ivan Asen II (1218–1241) record the full double name, the two surviving charters issued by this monarch give only the second element in the signature¹³. A similar inconsistency can be seen with Ivan Asen II's sons and successors, Kaliman Asen (1241–1246) and Mihail Asen (1246–1256), who appear with these official double names in some contemporary sources, but are referred simply by the first element of their double names elsewhere¹⁴.

Whereas seals, coins, and charters of Konstantin Asen (1257–1277) give his official double name, some inscriptions and manuscript glosses do not, referring to him simply as *emperor Konstantin* instead¹⁵. Similarly, the second Georgi Terter

¹¹ For example, А.Ф. Литвина, Ф.Б. Успенский, *Выбор имени...*, p. 487, 539, 550–551, 569.

¹² For this inscription, see *Битолски надпис на Иван Владислав самодържец български*, ed. and trans. Й. ЗАИМОВ, В. ТЪПКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, София 1970; also *Старобългарски надписи/Altbulgarischen Inschriften*, vol. I, ed. К. РОПКОСТАНИНОВ, О. КРОНШТЕЙНЕР, Wien 1994, p. 15–16. The relevant line reads (33): *Иваном(ъ) самодръжъцемъ българьско[мъ]*.

¹³ For *Ivan Asen*, see Й. ЮРУКОВА, В. ПЕНЧЕВ, *Български средновековни печати и монети*, София 1990, p. 52–53, 79–81: *Ив(анъ) Ясѣн(ъ) ц(а)р(ъ) българомъ и гръкомъ* (coin) and *Ив(анъ) Ясѣн(ъ) ц(а)р(ъ)* (seal); for the simpler *emperor Asen*, see *Грамоты болгарских царей*, ed. Г.А. ИЛЬИНСКИЙ, Москва 1911, p. 13, № 1, and *Грамоты на българските царе*, ed. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, София 2005, p. 29–30: *Ясѣн(ъ) ц(а)р(ъ) българомъ и гръкомъ*. Similarly in the more casual references, like the Stanimaka inscription of 1231, which also names him *ц(а)р(ъ) Ясѣнъ българомъ и гръкомъ*: *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 15, and the Kričim inscription, recording the visit of *Ясѣн(ъ) царь*: *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 85. See also *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 38, 40, nos. 18, 20; *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century*, trans. К. РЕТКОВ, Leiden 2008, p. 427, № 158, dates the Kričim inscription to 1254. The *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 156–160, fol. 30a–326, uses both *Ivan Asen* and *Asen* by itself.

¹⁴ Kaliman Asen: Greek gloss in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 277, № 81: βασιλεύωντος ἐν τῇ Βουλγαρία Καλλιμάνου τοῦ Ἀσάν, υἱοῦ Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Ἀσάν; but *Поменици на българските царе и царици*, ed. Й. ИВАНОВ, ИБД 4, 1915 (cetera: *Поменици*), p. 226 has *Калиманов(ъ) в(а)р(ъ)в(ъ)р(ъ)ном(ъ) ц(а)р(ъ)*; similarly for Mihail Asen: treaty with Dubrovnik from 1253, in *Monumenta Serbica*, ed. F. МІКЛОШИЧ, Wien 1858, p. 35, № 41, and И. БОЖИЛОВ, *България и Дубровник, Договорът от 1253 г.*, София 2010, 120: *царь самодръжавъць вьсен землѣ вьлгарьскѣ господинъ Мнханаю Ясѣню*; but *Поменици*, p. 226: *хр(и)столубиваго ц(а)рѣ Мнханаил*. The Batoševo inscription, however damaged, has both *Mihail Asen* and *Mihail*, in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 278, № 83: [*ц(а)рѣ Мнханаил Ясѣнѣ*] and [*Мнханаилъ ц(а)рѣ*]. Geōrgios Akropolitēs [*Georgii Acropolitae opera*, § 39, vol. I, ed. А. HEISENBERG, Leipzig 1903 (cetera: GEORGIOS AKROPOLITĒS, *Annales*)], names the brothers simply Καλλιμάνος and Μιχαήλ, as does the *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 161, fol. 326: *Калиманов(ъ) в(а)р(ъ)в(ъ)р(ъ)ном(ъ) ц(а)р(ъ) и Мнханаю братоу его*.

¹⁵ For *Konstantin Asen*, see the Virginia charter, *Грамоты*, p. 19, № 2, and *Грамоти*, p. 36: *Квста(н) дин(ъ) в(ъ) хр(и)ста в(о)га вѣрениъ ц(а)р(ъ) и самодръжець вьлгаромъ Ясѣнъ*; seals and coinage,

(1322–1323) is recorded by that name on his gilded pectoral cross in the Vatopedi monastery and in the *Synodikon of Boril*; but in a contemporary manuscript gloss he is simply *the great emperor Georgi, son of the great emperor Todor Svetoslav*¹⁶. The inconsistency is naturally amply attested in narrative sources: for comparison, in writing about these Bulgarian monarchs, Iōannēs Kantakouzēnos gives only the second element of the name *Todor Svetoslav*, introduces his son as *Georgi Terter*, and later proceeds to call him only by the second element of his name¹⁷.

The same trend can be found in the more plentiful attestations of the last medieval Bulgarian monarchs. The names of Ivan Aleksandār (1331–1371) and his sons Ivan Sracimir (1356–1397) and Ivan Šišman (1371–1395) are all attested in their full double forms in the most official type of surviving documents, their charters¹⁸. However, they were also frequently reduced to their second and more characteristic element in other, less formal, or more constrained places¹⁹.

We can conclude that double names (Type 3 above) were common, and perhaps prevalent in the anthroponymy of the ruling classes of the Second Bulgarian State. Moreover, the great inconsistency of usage indicates that even when we find an attestation of a single name, it does not preclude the possibility that it is only part of a fuller, double name for the same individual. Given the relative scarcity of surviving native source materials, we cannot expect that the full name would be traceable in the available documentation in every case. This relatively

Й. ЮРУКОВА, В. ПЕНЧЕВ, *Български средновековни печати...*, 54–57, 85–87: КѡСТАНДИН(Ъ) В Х(РИСТ)А В(ОГ)А ВЪРЕН(Ъ) Ц(А)Р(Ъ) И САМОДРЪЖЕЦ(Ъ) ВЪЛГАРОМЪ ЙЄВН(Ъ); the Vojana inscription, *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 54–55, № 25 and *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 31: КѡСТАНДИНЪ ЙЄВНИ; the Troica inscription, *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 147–148: ц(а)ри кѡстанди[нъ асѣ]ни; for the simpler emperor *Konstantin*, see another inscription from the Vojana church, *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 33: КѡСТАНЪТ(И)Н(Ъ) В Х(РИСТ)А В(ОГ)А ВЪРЕНЪ Ц(А)РЪ И САМОДРЪЖЕЦЪ ВЪЛГАРОМ(Ъ), and several glosses in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 64, № 27, from 1269/1270: ц(а)рѡ КѡСТАТИНА; p. 65, № 28, from 1272/1273: царю Кѡнстантинуу; p. 279, № 84, from 1276/1277: ц(а)ри КѡСТАДИНЪ.

¹⁶ For the Vatopedi cross, see *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 19–20; for the *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 162, fol. 2036: Гѡургію Тертерію; for the manuscript gloss from 1322, see *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 67, № 31: великѡи ц(а)рь Гѡургіе с(ы)нъ великаго ц(а)рѣ Фѡѡд(о)ра Гѡѡт(о)слав(а).

¹⁷ *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, vol. I, ed. L. SCHOPEN, Bonn 1828 (cetera: IōANNĒS KANTAKOUZĒNOS, *Historiae*), p. 169: Σφεντισθάβος ὁ τῶν Μυσῶν βασιλεὺς [...] διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μυσῶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Γεώργιος ὁ Τερτερῆς, but later (p. 170) simply ὁ Τερτερῆς.

¹⁸ For Ivan Aleksandār, see *Грамоты*, p. 21–26, nos. 3 and 4 and *Грамоти*, p. 37–43: Іѡ(анъ) Ілѣѡандръ; for Ivan Sracimir, see *Грамоты*, p. 30, № 7 and *Грамоти*, p. 48: Іѡанъ Срѡцимиръ; for Ivan Šišman, see *Грамоты*, p. 26–29, nos. 5 and 6 and *Грамоти*, p. 44–47: Іѡ(анъ) Шишманъ.

¹⁹ *Поменици*, p. 222, 224; for *Aleksandār* also see the gloss from the Loveč gospels, in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 68–69, № 33: дѣспотѣ Ілѣсандра, and the building inscription in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 285, № 90, from 1355: при ц(а)рѣ Ілѣксандра; also the charter of Radu I of Wallachia in *Нови влахо-български грамоти от Брашов*, ed. Л. МИЛЕТИЧ, СЛУНК 13, 1896, p. 47, № 2: царю Ілѣѡандре; for *Sracimir* see also the Zaječar funerary inscription of Georgi Hrăb, in *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 209: ц(а)ра Срѡцимирѡ; for *Šišman* see also the Boženci or Urvič inscription of the *sebastos* Ognjan, in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 289, № 98, and *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 155: Шишмана царѣ.

straightforward pattern of three types of personal names is complicated by a number of further assumptions, which have led to questionable usage in the treatment of several monarchs' names.

II. Family Names?

One such assumption is the implicit or explicit notion that family names were used in medieval Bulgaria. Distinct names of royal and aristocratic clans are amply attested during the pre-Christian period of the Bulgarian monarchy, most notably in the so-called *Imennik (Nominalia)* of Bulgarian rulers, which names the royal clans of Dulo, Ermi, Vokil, Ukil, and Ugain²⁰. However, this very explicit attestation of family names, apparently carried over from the eastern origins of the Bulgar polity, seems to have disappeared some time after the conversion to Christianity. Although familial identity obviously retained its importance, it is not possible to discern clear native examples of Bulgarian family names in the period of the Second Bulgarian State²¹. Therefore, collective names like Asenids (*Asenevci*), Terters (*Terterevci*), and Šišmanids (*Šišmanovci*) are constructs that did not necessarily exist as such within medieval Bulgarian society. This is quite surprising, given earlier Bulgar usage and the widespread use of family names among some of medieval Bulgaria's closest neighbors, including Byzantium and northern peoples like the Cumans and Pečenegs²².

²⁰ For the parallel texts of the surviving manuscripts see С. СТОЯНОВ, *Към четенето и тълкуването на някои места от именника на българските ханове*, ЕЛ 26.4, 1971, p. 21–42, and in general М. МОСКОВ, *Именник на българските ханове (ново тълкуване)*, София 1988. On the clan names, see А. GRANBERG, *Observations on Bulgarian Clan Names in the 7th–9th Centuries*, [in:] *Civitas divino-humana: in honorem annorum LX Georgii Bakalov*, ed. С. СТЕПАНОВ, V. ВАЧКОВА, София 2004, p. 551–561.

²¹ In addition to the obvious importance of Asenid descent in the succession of Bulgarian monarchs during the 13th and 14th centuries, we find occasional references to aristocratic lineages in the Byzantine sources, for example the description of the *sebastokratōr* Radoslav, the brother of Smilec (1292–1298), as belonging to *the most illustrious family among the Bulgarians*, in *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, vol. II, ed. I. ВЕККЕР, Bonn 1835 (cetera: GEÖRGIOS ПАХΥΜΕΡΗΣ, *Libri VII de Andronico Palaeologo*), p. 266: γένους ὧν τοῦ πρωτίστου παρὰ Βουλγάρους. From an earlier period, we find Georgi Vojteh described as *descended from the family of 'kaukhans'* by the CONTINUATOR OF SKYLITZĒS, p. 163: τῶν Κοπχάνων γένους καταγόμενος.

²² This curious dissimilarity between Byzantine and South Slavic practice is also noted by Д. ЦЕЛЕБИЏИЋ, *Словенски антропоними у судским актима Димитрија Хоматина*, ЗРВИ 43, 2006, p. 483–499. More specifically on the development of Bulgarian family names see recently В. СУКАРЕВ, *Наставката -ов/-ев и хронологијата на българската родовоименна система*, ГРИМП 6, 2009, p. 176–182. For Byzantine family names see for example А. КАЗХДАН, *Names*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. II, p. 1435–1436, and E. PATLAGEAN, *Les débuts d'une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IX^e–X^e siècles*, [in:] *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. ANGOLD, Oxford 1984, p. 23–42; for some examples of Cuman and Pečeneg names (including Terteroba and Basaraba), see I. VÁSÁRY, *Cumans*

It was Byzantine society that produced, by analogy with its own practice, family names for the collective identification of Christian Bulgarian-descended aristocrats within the Byzantine state. An early example of this is the Aaronios family, which included the descendants of the Bulgarian emperor Ivan Vladislav (1015–1018) living within the Byzantine Empire, and was named after his father Aaron²³. By the same token, after the former Bulgarian emperor Mico Asen (1256–1257) and his descendants established themselves in Byzantium, the name *Asan* (sometimes Hellenized even further as *Asanēs*) came to be applied to that family²⁴. The same dynamic can be observed in several other cases, for example the Byzantine family Kalamanos, descended from the Hungarian king Kálmán (1095–1116)²⁵.

Such external evidence and the natural application of such constructs to medieval families in modern historiography notwithstanding, we should be wary of identifying any of the names of medieval Bulgarian monarchs as family names. This is not to say that inherited or assumed names such as *Asen* and *Terter* did not denote a genuine or claimed place within an illustrious lineage, something they clearly did, as blatantly demonstrated by the assumption of the name *Asen* by the non-Asenid emperors Mico and Konstantin in the mid-1250s, in both cases to advertise legitimate succession by marriage²⁶. In the case of Mico's son Ivan Asen III (1279–1280), we are told explicitly that he assumed the additional name *Asen* when he was put forth as a candidate for the Bulgarian throne by the Byzantine emperor Mikhaēl VIII Palaiologos in 1278²⁷. Such names clearly served as genealogical and political markers, but without being Byzantine- or modern-type family names.

and Tartars, *Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*, Cambridge 2005, p. 65–66, 151; В. Стоянов, *Куманите в българската история*, ИПр 61.5/6, 2005, p. 3–25; К. Кръстев, *Българското царство при династията на Тертеревци*, Пловдив 2011, p. 221–223.

²³ See A. KAZHDAN, *Aaronios*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. I, p. 1–2; В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. II, p. 127–137; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 236–254.

²⁴ See A. KAZHDAN, *Asan*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. I, p. 202; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, especially part II.

²⁵ See A. KAZHDAN, *Kalamanos*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. II, p. 1091.

²⁶ On Mico, see П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 51–56; for his claim to the throne, see for example GEORGES RACHYMERÈS, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. FAILLER, V. LAURENT, Paris 1984, p. 449 (cetera: GEÖRGIOS PAKHYMERÈS, *Libri VI de Michaele Palaeologo*): *And Mytzēs... was a son-in-law of Asan... and after his death he assumed the rule over the Bulgarians* (Ὁ δὲ Μυτζῆς... γαμβρὸς μὲν ἦν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ τῷ Ἀσάν... Ὡς γοῦν ἐκεῖνος ἐτελεύτα καὶ οὗτος τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέχετο τῶν Βουλγάρων); for Konstantin's claim, see p. 451: *But since he did not have a claim to authority through his own family, because he was not related to Asan, he took his granddaughter to wife... and thus obtained the same right to Asen's empire as Mytzēs* (Ὅσον οὖν ἐνέλιπέν οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ σφετέρου γένους, μηδὲν τῷ Ἀσάν προσήκων, τὴν ἐκείνου ἐκγόνην λαβὼν εἰς γυναικα... ἐπ' ἴσων εἶχε τὸ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἀσάν βασιλείαν δίκαιον τῷ Μυτζῆ).

²⁷ GEÖRGIOS PAKHYMERÈS, *Libri VI de Michaele Palaeologo*, p. 557: Mikhaēl VIII, *having changed his apparel, called him his son-in-law and the emperor of the Bulgarians. And he gave him the name of his grandfather Asan* (καὶ μετασηματίσας γαμβρὸν ἐκάλει καὶ βασιλέα Βουλγάρων. Μετετίθει δὲ καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τὸ τοῦ πάππου Ἀσάν).

An instructive case is the addition of the name *Asen* to that of Ivan Aleksandăr (1331–1371) in a Constantinopolitan patriarchal document confirming the alliance between the Bulgarian and Byzantine emperors through the impending marriage of their children in 1355²⁸. Here *Asen* is clearly used as a family name ascribed to the Bulgarian ruler in addition to his personal double name, but this is done in a document issued at Constantinople and in Greek. That the Bulgarian monarch was given the family name *Asen* in this source has as much to do with its Byzantine origin as with the Asenid descent of Ivan Aleksandăr. This usage, however, is apparently exceptional. As if to underscore the lack of consistency, a second document from the same source and year refers to the same Bulgarian monarch by adding the family name *Asen* again, but this time omitting *Aleksandăr*²⁹. Even if we might say that the addition of the name *Asen* to that of Ivan Aleksandăr in a Byzantine source seems to reflect its interpretation as a family name, this does not seem to occur in Bulgarian sources. In those rare cases where Ivan Aleksandăr's Asenid descent was advertised through his name in Bulgaria, the name *Asen* seems to have simply replaced *Aleksandăr*³⁰.

Therefore, we may conclude that whereas descendants of the original imperial lineage of the Second Bulgarian State were conscious of their membership in what we may call the Asenid Dynasty (or the House of Asen), this was signaled with the addition of genuine family names only in Byzantine sources, whose writers expected and therefore anticipated the use of family names by analogy with their own social practices. But in native Bulgarian practice a name compounded with *Asen*, or for that matter with *Terter*, *Šišman*, and *Sracimir*, should be understood as a double name. That it commemorates an honored ancestor or advertises connection to an illustrious lineage is a related but slightly different matter³¹.

²⁸ *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. I, ed. F. MIKLOSICH, J. MÜLLER, Wien 1860, p. 432, № 185: καὶ τοῦ (ὑψηλοτάτου) βασιλέως τῶν Βουλγάρων κύρ Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀσάνη. See also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 443.

²⁹ *Acta et diplomata* 1, п. 439, № 186: ὑψηλοτάτον βασιλέα τῶν Βουλγάρων κύρ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἀσάνη. Accordingly, a Slavic 15th-century translation of the document rendered this as ц(а)рю болгарьскомоу... Іванноу Ясѣнѣ: *Грамота патриарха Калиста как новый источник истории болгарской церкви*, ed. С. ПАЛАУЗОВ, Санкт Петербург 1858, p. 20.

³⁰ Ivan Aleksandăr is called *Ivan Asen* in the dating formula of an inscription from AM 6840 (AD 1331/1332) in the church of Saint Nicholas in Staničene near Pirot, for which see С. ГАБЕЛИЉ, *Прилог познавања живописа цркве „Св. Никола” в Станичења*, Зог 18, 1987, p. 22–36; М. ПОПОВИЉ, С. ГАБЕЛИЉ, Б. ЦВЕТКОВИЉ, Б. ПОПОВИЉ, *Црква светог Николе у Станичењу*, Београд 2005; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, София 2006, p. 586: въ дни благовернаго ц(а)рѣ Іω(а)на Ясѣнѣ и при г(оспо)д(и)нѣ Бѣ[лѣоугрѣ]. For other possible attestations of Ivan Aleksandăr as *Ivan Asen* at Ivanovo and Berende, see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 443–445.

³¹ While I agree with Н. КОВАЧЕВ, *Двойни лични имена...*, p. 369, that names compounded with *Asen* indicated real or claimed membership in the family, I disagree with his contention that such names should not be considered double names. Zlatarski did not consider the implications of double names, but he did note some problems with the usage of *Asenids* to designate the first monarchs

III. Patronymics?

Another potential interpretation of the second elements in double names is that they serve as patronymics, reflecting the name of the individual's father. The use of patronymics in various forms stretches at least as far back as Classical Antiquity, and patronymics were, and remain, the chief way of distinguishing between numerous like-named Rjurikid princes in Kievan Rus' and medieval Russia³². Patronymics also became increasingly widespread in the medieval western Balkans, and are first attested in large quantity in documents reflecting the relations between Dubrovnik and neighboring rulers³³. In modern times patronymics have taken the place of middle names in Russia and Bulgaria, and many family (last) names are derived from the patronymic employed by an earlier generation³⁴. However, while medieval Bulgarian monarchs, nobles, and commoners alike were fully capable of indicating their parentage³⁵, did they use patronymics?

A plausible example of this can be found in the treatment of the aforementioned ruler Konstantin Asen (1257–1277) in the Byzantine sources, where the name *Konstantin* is associated with another, *Tih* (*Toikhos/Teikhos*). This has led to the conventional naming of this monarch as *Konstantin Tih*, but it has long been recognized that, as specified by Geōrgios Akropolitēs, this is to be understood as *Konstantin, the son of Tih*³⁶. Therefore, here we are not dealing with (1) a personal

of the Second Bulgarian State: В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, *Второ българско царство. България при Асеневци (1187–1280)*, София 1940, p. 94, n. 1. On the programmatic use of names, see also И. ЛАЗАРОВ, *Владетелското име „Йоан” и култът към св. Йоан Рилски в държавно-политическата идеология на второто българско царство*, [in:] *Светогорска обител Зограф*, vol. III, ed. В. Гюзелев, София 1999, p. 90–98.

³² So, for example, Svjatoslav I of Kiev is Svjatoslav Igorevič, Svjatoslav II is Svjatoslav Jaroslavič, Svjatoslav III is Svjatoslav Vsevolodovič, etc. Patronymics were also widely used in the Scandinavian countries (e.g., Harald I of Norway is Harald Halvdansson, Harald II is Harald Eiriksson, Harald III is Harald Sigurdsson, etc.) and in northern Iberia and the Languedoc (e.g., the alternating names of the kings of Navarre in the 10th–11th century: Sancho I Garcés, García I Sánchez, Sancho II Garcés, García II Sánchez, Sancho III Garcés, García III Sánchez, and Sancho IV Garcés, each the son of the preceding).

³³ For example, *Monumenta Serbica*, p. 8, № 11, including patronymics like Pečenežić (Печенежикъ), Radoslavič (Радославикъ), Sočibabič (Сочивабикъ), Pikularevič (Пикваревикъ), Boleslavič (Болеславикъ), Rastič (Растикъ), Tihoslavič (Тихославикъ), and Grgurevič (Гръгворикъ) as early as the 12th century.

³⁴ Perhaps most famously the Romanovs, descended from the boyar Roman Jur'evič Zahar'in.

³⁵ For simple filiation, see the Tărnovo inscription of Ivan Asen II, in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 38, № 19, and *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 167: Іw(анъ) Ясѣн(ъ)... с(ы)нъ стараго Ясѣнѣ; see note 16 above on Georgi Terter II as the son of Todor Svetoslav; for the Šumen inscription of Ivan Šišman, see *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 135: Іw[ан] Шиш[манъ сынъ] великаго ц(а)рѣ Іwана Ялѣ[ксандра]; for non-royals, see *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 38, 59.

³⁶ GEORGIOS AKROPOLITĒS, *Annales*, § 73: *Toikhos' son Kōnstantinos*: τοῦ Τοίχου υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον; GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VI de Michaele Palaeologo*, p. 59: Κωνσταντῖνῳ τῷ Τείχῳ. Nikēphoros Grēgoras [*Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, vol. I, 1, ed. I. BEKKER, L. SCHOPEN, Bonn 1829,

name followed by a family name, or (2) a double name, or (3) a name and an epithet, but rather with the name *Konstantin* followed by the name *Tih* (functioning as a patronymic), apparently an abbreviation for a name like *Tihomir*³⁷. However, it should be pointed out that in this case the use of the patronymic is found in a foreign, not a Bulgarian source³⁸. In the native sources, this monarch is invariably given the double name *Konstantin Asen* or is labeled more simply and less formally as *Konstantin* (often in a variation approaching the demotic form *Kostadin*)³⁹. The frequently encountered historiographical variation, *Konstantin Tih Asen*, is a technically inaccurate modern construct⁴⁰.

A similar problem involves the designation *Mihail III Šišman* (1323–1330), which has become fairly common in modern Bulgarian and foreign historiography⁴¹. The official name employed by this Bulgarian monarch was *Mihail Asen*, as documented in both Bulgarian and Byzantine sources⁴². While many sources

p. 61 (cetera: ΝΙΚΕΡΦΟΡΟΣ ΓΡΕΓΟΡΑΣ, *Historia Romana*), refers to him as *Kōnstantinos by name, Toikhos by surname* (Κωνσταντίνος ὄνομα, Τοῖχος ἐπώνυμον); then, at p. 61 and 63, Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Τοῖχος.

³⁷ K. JIREČEK, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Praha 1876, p. 269–270 (repeatedly translated and republished with various additions and emendations based on the author, most recently as *История на българите*, София 1978, p. 315); В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 474; nevertheless the mistaken notion that *Toikhos/Teikhos* is a Greek rendering of the Bulgarian adjective тих (*quiet*) continues to appear in scholarship: see for example R. MACRIDES, *George Akropolites: The History*, Oxford 2007, p. 335, n. 5.

³⁸ For a different treatment of this issue, see С. ПИРИВАТРИЋ, *Једна претпоставка о пореклу бугарског цара Константина Асена „Тиха“*, ЗРВИ 46, 2009, p. 313–331. Pirivatrić advances an interesting hypothesis that Konstantin was descended from the Serbian grand *župan* Tihomir (1166–1167), a brother and predecessor of Stefan Nemanja, and was thus Serbian on his father's side, not literally a grandson or even lineal descendant of Stefan Nemanja as claimed in his Virginia Charter (*Грамоты*, p. 15, № 2), *Грамоти*, p. 31: с(вѣ)таго ГИМЕОНА НЕМАНА ДЪДА Ц(А)РС(Т)ВЪ НИ), and that Konstantin's possible father or uncle Ivan Tihomir of Skopje did not carry a double-element name but a patronymic (*Ivan, son of Tihomir*), which would make Tih a sort of family name when used for Konstantin himself. The onomastic implications of this study seem problematic, and it remains more plausible to infer that the Byzantine writers would have identified Konstantin with his father's name rather than with that of some more distant and surely obscure ancestor.

³⁹ See above, an. 15.

⁴⁰ For example, in Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 396–400.

⁴¹ To their credit, neither K. JIREČEK, *Geschichte...*, nor А. БУРМОВ, *История на България през времето на Шишмановци (1323–1396 г.)*, ГСУИФФ 43, 1947, p. 1–56 and 1–20 (cited here as published in ИДЕМ, *Избрани произведения*, vol. I, София 1968, p. 220–278), use this rather misleading designation.

⁴² A Gloss to the Sredec Gospels from 1328/1329, in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 68, № 32: при ц(а)ри миχαηλѣ асѣни; *Actes de l'Atchos 4: Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. REGEL, E. KURTZ, V. KORABLEV, ВВ 13: app. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1907, p. 48–52, 58–61, nos. A.22, A.23, and A.26: ὁ ὑψηλότατος βασιλεὺς τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ περιπόθητος υἱός (καὶ γαμβρός) τῆς βασιλείας μου κύρ Μιχαήλ ὁ Ἀσάνης. See also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 445–446. This official name also seems to be indicated in at least one of his coin types, for which see Й. ЮРУКОВА, В. ПЕНЧЕВ, *Български средновековни печати...*, p. 109–123; note, however, the retranscription of some of these coin types by С. АВДЕВ, *Българските*

simply refer to him as *emperor Mihail*, that is obviously a more casual usage⁴³. Yet no contemporary source names this monarch *Mihail Šišman*⁴⁴. The modern construct *Mihail Šišman* seems to derive from a Serbian charter, which refers to him as *Mihail' Šišmanik'*. But the modern Serbian form of this would be *Mihailo Šišmanić*, and the Bulgarian, *Mihail Šišmanov*. Here we are not dealing with a double name or a first name followed by a family name, but with a single name followed by a patronymic, signifying *Mihail, the son of Šišman*⁴⁵. While this monarch was certainly the son of Šišman, and *might* have been referred to by a patronymic (though not one attested in native Bulgarian sources), it would be more accurate to refer to him by the name *Mihail Asen*, a name he shares with several other monarchs, rather than the completely unattested form *Mihail Šišman*.

As with the attempt to discern the use of family names in the Second Bulgarian State, the use of patronymics also proves elusive. While they would be less

средновековни монети, София 2007, p. 127–141. Note also that Mihail Asen III's nephew Ivan Aleksandăr apparently named his own eldest son Mihail Asen, born during this reign, after his uncle: И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 192–197, № I 39, and a gloss in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 68–69, № 33: при ... деспотѣ Ялксандра и при с(ы)нѣ его Мнѣхана(ъ) Ясѣн(ъ); whether Ivan Aleksandăr's brother Mihail also bore the double name *Mihail Asen* remains unclear; for him see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 184, № I 35, and the Jambol inscription from 1356, in *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 70–71.

⁴³ For example, some coin types (see preceding note); ΙΩΑΝΝĒS ΚΑΝΤΑΚΟΥΖĒΝΟΣ, *Historiae*, vol. I, p. 207, 294, 323, 340: ὁ τῶν Μυσῶν βασιλεὺς Μιχαήλ; ДАНИЛО II, *Life of Dečanski*, [in:] *Животу краљева и архиепископа српских*, ed. Ђ. ДАНИЧИЋ, Zagreb 1866, p. 174, 178, 189: цара българьскаго Мнѣхана; the *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 162, fol. 203b: Мнѣханъ вл(а)гочьстиваго ц(а)рв (oddly, since the same text provides the full double names of his predecessor and successor). Note, moreover, that this Mihail Asen III had, among his sons by Ana of Serbia, a *despotēs* Mihail, for whom see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 144–148, № I 31; if this prince did not bear a double name, that would preclude his father being named simply *Mihail*. The prince Mihail could, theoretically, be identified with other sons of Mihail Asen III and Ana of Serbia: possibly with the prince later known as Lodovico in Italy (who cannot be identical with Ivan Stefan or Šišman, for which see I. МЛАДЈОВ, *The Bulgarian Prince...*, p. 609–610), or possibly with Šišman, in which case we might have a real double name *Mihail Šišman*, but pertaining to the son rather than to the father. For Šišman and Lodovico, see also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 142–144 (№ I 30), 148–149 (№ I 32).

⁴⁴ Avdev has demonstrated that the trident-shaped coin monogram previously interpreted as the name *Šišman*, is in fact a variation of the monogram for *emperor*, possibly influenced by contemporary *tamga* usage in the Golden Horde, and that it has nothing to do with the name *Mihail Šišman*: С. АВДЕВ, *Българските средновековни монети...*, p. 155–160.

⁴⁵ Dečani charter of Stefan Uroš III, in *Monumenta Serbica*, p. 100, № 83: царь българьскыи Мнѣханъ Шишьманникъ, also appearing further simply as царь Мнѣхана. We cannot take seriously the statement that all (sic!) rulers of Vidin were named Šišman (*Cysmani*) in the *Anonymous Description of Eastern Europe* from 1308, *Anonymi descriptio Europae Orientalis*, § 84, ed. O. GÓRKA, Kraków 1916, p. 38: *Imperatores autem eiusdem imperii [omnes] uocantur cysmani*. Note also that *all (omnes)* is supplied, and that the rest of the passage contains so much confusion, that its testimony cannot be accepted at face value. Besides, it is not certain that at this point (1308) Šišman was already dead and that his son Mihail Asen had already succeeded him.

surprising to find, they only seem to occur in foreign sources⁴⁶. The available evidence continues to indicate that names found in pairs in medieval Bulgarian texts are most likely to be interpreted as double names.

IV. Double Names as Genealogical Indicators

Although family names and patronymics do not seem detectable in the surviving Bulgarian sources from the period under consideration, the plentiful, perhaps typical double names could be said to fulfill some of the functions of these otherwise absent onomastic forms. To begin with, names were assigned in accordance with longstanding social and cultural traditions. The most obvious of these are papponymy and theionymy – naming boys after their grandfather or uncle – and similarly with girls, after their grandmothers and aunts. Conversely, there seems to have been great aversion to naming a child after a living parent⁴⁷. The rare exceptions to this rule have to be explained away, perhaps through special circumstances like posthumous birth, illegitimate parentage, or later name change⁴⁸. The combinations of single and double names (or the variations within double names) help explain seeming contradictions to these basic rules. Father and sons, or brothers, could thus share the same baptismal name, provided that the secular name paired with it differentiated between them: thus Ivan Aleksandăr (1331–1371) had four sons named respectively Ivan Sracimir, Ivan Asen (d. 1349), Ivan Šišman, and another Ivan Asen (b. after 1349); moreover, Ivan Aleksandăr also had a brother named Ivan (secular name, if any, unknown), who adopted the family names Komnēnos and Asanēs in Byzantine style while ruling Valona and Kanina in Albania⁴⁹.

The names of Ivan Aleksandăr's sons provide a convenient demonstration of the double name model. Although each of their respective secular names (Asen,

⁴⁶ The funerary inscription of Ostoja Rajaković, a kinsman of the Serbian king Marko (1371–1395) and son-in-law of the Albanian *župan* Gropa, who died at Ohrid in 1379, included in *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 98, cannot be used as support for the use of patronymics in medieval Bulgaria. A Genoese document referring to Ivanko, the son of Dobrotica, uses a patronymic to express the filiation, but it is a foreign source in a foreign language: И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Добруджа*, vol. II, Велико Търново 2004, Excursus 2, p. 425, № 42: *Juancho Dobroticie*.

⁴⁷ In early medieval Russia the determination to avoid naming a child after *any* living close relative often got in the way of papponymy or theionymy, at least as long as grandfathers and uncles remained alive: А.Ф. ЛИТВИНА, Ф.Б. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Выбор имени...*, p. 11–30.

⁴⁸ For an illegitimate son being named after his father, consider the Epirote rulers Mikhaēl I and Mikhaēl II, on whom see D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai*, London 1968, p. 91–92. nos. 45, p. 93–94, and 48; for a son assuming the name of his father after the latter's death, consider Mikhaēl II's legitimate son, the *despotēs* Dēmētrios, who began calling himself Mikhaēl in honor of his father: *ibidem*, p. 96, № 51.

⁴⁹ For him see A. SOLOVIEV, *Un beau-frère du tsar Douchan*, RIEB 1, 1934/1935, p. 180–187, and И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 178–184, № I 34.

Sracimir, Šišman) served as a genealogical marker associating them with illustrious ancestors and their respective lineages, none of these secular names were shared by their father⁵⁰. Therefore, none of these names served as a simple patronymic, and none of them constitutes a Byzantine- or modern-type family name. The same type of basic analysis confirms the names of Todor Svetoslav (1299–1322), Ivan Stefan (1330–1331), and Ivan Aleksandăr himself as double names. The names of Ivan Asen, Kaliman Asen, Mihail Asen, Konstantin Asen, and Georgi Terter fall within the same typology, but issues related to some of their bearers merit further discussion.

IVa. Names associated with the House of Terter (Table 2)

Let us begin with the name *Georgi Terter* (or, more accurately, *Georgi Terterij*). The bearers of this name are often called *Georgi I Terter* (1280–1292) and *Georgi II Terter* (1322–1323) in modern Bulgarian historiography, but this is technically inaccurate⁵¹. At first glance *Georgi Terter* could be interpreted as (1) a given name followed by a family name, (2) a given name followed by a patronymic, or (3) a double name composed of the typical pairing of a Christian baptismal name and a secular name derived from a folk tradition. It is fairly clear that the element *Terter* reflects the attested Cuman clan name *Terteroba*⁵². It is also theoretically conceivable that it might reflect the name of the earlier monarch's father (thereby serving as a patronymic). Nevertheless, the third option, that we are dealing with a double name, remains the most likely. While we do not have any clear attestation of the name of the first ruler's father⁵³, we know that his grandson was also named Georgi Terter⁵⁴, and that *he* certainly had no Terter as *his* father. Therefore, at least in the case of the second Georgi Terter, we are clearly dealing with a double name. Given the widespread practice of papponymy (and the apparent absence of real

⁵⁰ Excluding the obviously propagandistic casting of Ivan Aleksandăr as *Ivan Asen* in a few contexts discussed above.

⁵¹ See for example Й. Андреев, И. Лазаров, П. Павлов, *Кой кой е...*, p. 143–149; И. Божилов, В. Гюзелев, *История на средновековна България...*, p. 529–540, 554–556; К. Кръстев, *Българското царство...*, especially p. 222–227.

⁵² К. Кръстев, *Българското царство...*, p. 221–223; see also O. PRITSAK, *The Polovcians and Rus'*, АЕМА 2, 1975, p. 373, 375–376; П. Павлов, *По въпроса за заселвания на кумани в България през XIII в.*, [in:] *Втори международен конгрес по българистика, София 23 май – 3 юни 1986 г. Доклади*, т. VI, *Българските земи в Древността. България през Средновековието*, ed. М. Йотова, София 1987, p. 633–634; ИДЕМ, *Куманите в обществено-политическия живот на средновековна България (1186 г. – началото на XIV в.)*, ИП 46.7, 1990, p. 23.

⁵³ A certain Arslan Terter, who could have been the father or grandfather of Georgi Terter, is said to have served as Bulgarian emissary to Volga Bulgaria sometime before 1246, according to a surviving excerpt from the controversial Бахши Иман, *Джагфар тарихы*, vol. III, Оренбург 1997, p. 102.

⁵⁴ The *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 162, fol. 2036, gives both rulers the same names, distinguishing the grandfather with the epithet *the elder*: Георгію Тертерію старому.

family names or patronymics in medieval Bulgaria), it is reasonable to conclude that the same is true for the grandfather, whose name was applied to the grandson. In that case, it would be best to refer to these monarchs as Georgi Terter I and Georgi Terter II⁵⁵.

Even interpreted as a double name, *Georgi Terter* clearly functions as a genealogical marker referencing the Cuman clan Terteroba. This is especially clear in the case of Georgi Terter I, who is described as a Cuman in the Byzantine sources⁵⁶. In the case of Georgi Terter II this might still be true, but perhaps only indirectly: his naming was predicated upon reproducing the name of his grandfather. At least one more member of the Bulgarian aristocracy bore the name *Terter*: a son of the *despotēs* Dobrotica of Karvuna, who governed Drăstâr (Silistra) in the 1370s and 1380s⁵⁷. It is still debated whether or not this Terter bore the double name *Ivan Terter*, and whether he is identical to the Ivan (Ivanko), who succeeded his father Dobrotica as ruler of Karvuna in 1385⁵⁸. The name has been seen as sufficient evidence for inferring that Dobrotica and his family belonged to a branch of the House of Terter⁵⁹. This is probable enough, although theoretically the name could have passed into this family through a matrilineal connection. The names of Dobrotica's brother Todor, and of his other brother Balik's probable son Georgi would also fit within the known onomastic repertoire of the House of Terter⁶⁰.

An obscure *despotēs* named Kuman has also been tentatively associated with this family⁶¹. We are on firmer grounds with the *despotēs* Aldimir (Eltimir), a brother

⁵⁵ As already done by K. JIREČEK, *Geschichte...*, p. 279–280, 289 (IDEM, *История...*, p. 325–326, 337–338); compare I. VÁSÁRY, *Cumans and Tatars...*, p. 86.

⁵⁶ GEÓRGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VII de Andronico Palaeologo*, p. 265: ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ Τερτερῆς ἐκ Κομάνων ἦν, indicating at least paternal Cuman descent.

⁵⁷ On this Terter, see Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 676; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Добруджанското деспотство*, Велико Търново 2009, p. 133–149; В. ИГНАТОВ, *100 мита от българската история*, vol. I, София 2007, p. 343–355.

⁵⁸ I. BILIAŃSKY, *The Despots in Mediaeval Bulgaria*, BBg 9, 1995, p. 157–160; IDEM, *Институциите...*, p. 79–84; IDEM, *Деспот Йоан Тертер (40-те – 90-те години XIV столетие)*, ИП 48/10, 1992, p. 3–23; IDEM, *Пак за добруджанските Тертеровци*, ИП 49.3, 1993, p. 143–147; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Добруджа...*, vol. II, p. 234, 240; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Добруджанското деспотство...*, p. 153–161.

⁵⁹ I. BILIAŃSKY, *The Despots...*, p. 155; IDEM, *Институциите...*, p. 74; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Добруджа...*, p. 223; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Добруджанското деспотство...*, p. 113.

⁶⁰ For the brothers Balik, Todor, and Dobrotica, see IOANNĒS KANTAKOUZĒNOS, *Historiae*, vol. II, p. 584: πρὸς Μπαλίκαν τινὰ τοῦ Καρβωνᾶ ἄρχοντα πέμψασα πρεσβείαν ἐδεῖτο βοηθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως τε ἐδέξατο τὴν πρεσβείαν καὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Τομπροτίτζαν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς; for Georgi see the damaged inscription from Aksakovo in И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Добруджа...*, p. 228 and 392 (Excursus 2 № 5): Γεώργ[γιος...] τοῦ Μπαλί[κα...] τοῦ Καρβου[vā].

⁶¹ В. ИГНАТОВ, *Към историята на Карвунската средновековна област (XIII–XIV век)*, Доб 4, 1987, p. 20. But note the objections of И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Пак за добруджанските Тертеровци...* The *despotēs* Kuman is attested only in the Vojana and Poganovo memorial lists; for him see IDEM, *The Despots...*, p. 149, and IDEM, *Институциите...*, p. 55–56.

of Georgi Terter I, who married Marija, a daughter of Smilec (1292–1298), and left behind a son named Ivan Dragušin, who died in Serbian Macedonia before 1340⁶². Whether Adimir had any other issue, and whether he was related to other bearers of that name remains impossible to determine with certainty⁶³.

The name of Todor Svetoslav (1299–1322), the son of Georgi Terter I and the father of Georgi Terter II, could also serve as a genealogical marker. It is possible, but not verifiable, that at least one element of his double name reflected that of his paternal grandfather, the unnamed father of Georgi Terter I. The name *Svetoslav*, however, is found in a medieval Bulgarian context extremely rarely: apart from Todor Svetoslav, there is only the Russian-descended *despotēs* Jakov Svetoslav (d. 1276)⁶⁴, not counting the Kievan ruler Svjatoslav I Igorevič (945–972), who had invaded Bulgaria in the 960s. Given the rarity of the name *Svetoslav* in Bulgaria and its ample use among the Rjurikid princes, Plamen Pavlov has proposed that Todor Svetoslav's mother Marija was the daughter of Jakov Svetoslav by his wife, an unnamed granddaughter of Ivan Asen II⁶⁵.

Although this theory is based on circumstantial considerations, the case for it is actually very strong. When Ivan Asen III (1279–1280) was accepted as emperor in Tărnovo, the leading member of the Bulgarian aristocracy was the *stratēgos* Georgi Terter, *to whom the Bulgarian people was much devoted, and whom it exalted*⁶⁶. To safeguard the position of his son-in-law Ivan Asen III, the Byzantine emperor Mikhaēl VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282) arranged for Georgi Terter's divorce from his wife Marija and his marriage to *kira* Marija, the sister of Ivan Asen III. Georgi Terter was accordingly promoted to *despotēs*, while his first wife Marija and their son Todor Svetoslav were exiled to Nicaea. But Georgi Terter plotted against his new brother-in-law, and Ivan Asen III and his wife fled

⁶² X. МАТАНОВ, *Нови сведения...*; И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Институциите...*, p. 56–59; ИДЕМ, *The Despots...*, p. 150; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Севастократори и деспоти в средновековна България*, [in:] *ТКШ*, vol. VII, p. 470–471, proposes identifying Aldimir with the otherwise unknown *despotēs* Kuman. On Aldimir and Ivan Dragušin, see also Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 20–22, 268–270.

⁶³ An Aldimir, son of the general Vitomir, is named as the deceased in a funerary inscription from Bojana: *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 38. Another Aldimir was the recipient of letters from Ivan Šišman: K. IVANOVA, *Un renseignement nouveau dans un manuscrit bulgare du XIV^e siècle au sujet de la résistance du tsar Ivan Šišman contre les Ottomans pres de Nikopol*, *EB* 24.1, 1988, p. 91. For both, see also Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 22–23.

⁶⁴ On him, see П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 114–189; В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 498–543; Б. ФЕРЖАНЧИЊ, *Деспоти у Византији и Јужнословенским земљама*, Београд 1960, p. 143; I. VILJARSKY, *The Despots...*, p. 147–148; ИДЕМ, *Институциите...*, p. 51–53; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 711–713.

⁶⁵ П. ПАВЛОВ, *Търновските царици*, Велико Търново 2006, p. 32–33; citing chronological considerations, В. ИГНАТОВ, *100 мита...*, p. 321–322, proposes Jakov Svetoslav as the brother of Todor Svetoslav's mother Marija. For the name *Svjatoslav* in Rjurikid Russia as virtually limited to members of the Rjurikid dynasty: А.Ф. ЛИТВИНА, Ф.Б. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Выбор имени...*, p. 43.

⁶⁶ GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VI de Michaelae Palaeologo*, p. 567: Ἦν δ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν προϋόντων καὶ Τερτερῆς, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μεγάλως τὸ Βουλγαρικὸν προσεῖχε καὶ παρ' ἑκείνοις ἐμεγαλίζετο.

to Byzantium; the Bulgarians enthroned Georgi Terter as emperor⁶⁷. Sometime later Georgi Terter successfully requested the return of his original wife from the new Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), having separated from Ivan Asen III's sister. Pakhymerēs thought that Georgi Terter did so because he was excommunicated by the church on account of divorcing his first wife⁶⁸. Almost two decades later, Todor Svetoslav (1299–1322) seems to have based his claim to the Bulgarian throne on his maternal descent⁶⁹.

This is the gist of the information supplied by the sources about Todor Svetoslav's mother Marija. Three points deserve special attention: (1) Georgi Terter I divorced his Asenid wife *kira* Marija to remarry his original wife Marija; (2) Todor Svetoslav derived his legitimacy from his Bulgarian descent through his mother Marija; (3) Georgi Terter was *already* considered the most preeminent member of the Bulgarian aristocracy *before* his marriage to Ivan Asen III's sister. Bulgarian descent by itself could hardly have been the qualification for the throne, especially since Todor Svetoslav was a monarch's son. Besides, there is an implication that Georgi Terter I, being a Cuman, was qualified for the throne through his marriage. Normally this legitimacy is seen as derived from Georgi Terter's marriage to *kira* Marija, the sister of Ivan Asen III. But this marriage seems to have been expedient *only* during the reign of Ivan Asen III; the readiness with which Georgi Terter discarded this Asenid wife and reclaimed the first Marija suggests that his original wife was no less politically valuable. While possible romantic attachment and implied ecclesiastical pressure might have played some part in Georgi Terter's decision, Marija seems to have provided him with as much claim to the throne as *kira* Marija; to do that, Todor Svetoslav's mother would have had to carry Asenid blood too.

All this would make sense if the first Marija was the daughter of the *despotēs* Jakov Svetoslav by an Asenid-descended wife, and if Todor Svetoslav received his secular name in honor of his maternal grandfather. Jakov Svetoslav's prominence was at least partly due to his marriage in 1261 to a daughter of the Byzantine emperor of Nikaia Theodōros II Doukas Laskaris (1254–1258) and his wife Elena,

⁶⁷ GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VI de Michaele Palaeologo*, p. 567, 569. Whether it was Mikhaēl VIII Palaiologos or Ivan Asen III who made Georgi Terter a *despotēs* is disputed, although ΝΙΚĒΡΗΦΟΡΟΣ ΓΡĒΓΟΡΑΣ, *Historia Romana*, vol. I, p. 133, explicitly states that it was Ivan Asen III who did so. See also Б. ФЕРІАНЧИВЪ, *Деспоти...*, p. 144–145; I. BILIARSKY, *The Despots...*, p. 148–149, and ИДЕМ, *Институциите...*, p. 54–55, who nevertheless attribute this promotion to Mikhaēl VIII Palaiologos. But we can interpret the evidence as Ivan Asen III implementing policies agreed upon with Mikhaēl VIII; compare И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 253–254, n. 25, and Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Севастократори и деспоти...*, p. 470.

⁶⁸ GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VII de Andronico Palaeologo*, p. 57.

⁶⁹ GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VII de Andronico Palaeologo*, p. 265: Ὅσφεντίσθλαβος, Βούλγαρος ὦν ἐκ μητρὸς.

herself the daughter of Ivan Asen II⁷⁰. It is probable that Jakov Svetoslav was granted the title of *despotēs* precisely because he had become the brother-in-law of the Bulgarian emperor Konstantin Asen (1257–1277), himself the husband of Eirēnē Doukaina Laskarina, another daughter of Theodōros II and Elena⁷¹. After Eirēnē's death in 1269, presumably because he became the only man in Bulgaria married to a princess of Asenid descent, Jakov Svetoslav assumed the title of Bulgarian emperor⁷². This claim eventually led to Jakov Svetoslav's adoption *and* subsequent murder in 1276 by Konstantin Asen's new empress, Maria Kantakouzēnē⁷³.

It is therefore plausible to infer a connection between Jakov Svetoslav and Todor Svetoslav's mother Marija. If Jakov Svetoslav and his anonymous wife⁷⁴ were the parents of Marija, we would have an explanation for the appearance of her husband Georgi Terter at the forefront of the Bulgarian elite in the late 1270s, for his legitimation as Bulgarian emperor even after discarding the sister of Ivan Asen III, for the unusual name of Todor Svetoslav, and for his claim to the throne on the basis of his maternal Bulgarian descent⁷⁵. We would also find a good explanation of the inclusion of the *despotēs* Jakov Svetoslav in the memorial lists of Bulgarian

⁷⁰ GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VI de Michaele Palaeologo*, p. 243. As Todor Svetoslav's maternal great-grandfather, Theodōros II of Nicaea could provide the rationale for the baptismal name *Todor*.

⁷¹ Jakov Svetoslav is not yet named as *despotēs* in Pakhymerēs' mention of his marriage. Some commentators attribute the grant of the title to the Byzantine emperor: e.g., Б. ФЕРЈАНЧИЊ, *Деспотите...*, p. 143 (who thinks it was Mikhaēl VIII Palaiologos), I. BILIAJSKY, *The Despotēs...*, p. 148; ИДЕМ, *Институциите...*, p. 53 (who thinks it was Iōannēs IV Doukas Laskaris); Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Севастократори и деспотите...*, p. 469 (who thinks it was Theodōros II Doukas Laskaris, deceased since 1258). Since Iōannēs IV was a minor about to be toppled from the throne, and Mikhaēl VIII was trying to get rid of the three remaining princesses of the previous dynasty by marrying them to foreigners (none of the others receiving the title of *despotēs* on account of their marriages), the more likely opinion seems to be that of П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 117; В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 499–501, and S. GEORGIEVA, *The Byzantine Princesses in Bulgaria*, Bg 9, 1995, p. 196, who attribute the grant of the title to Konstantin Asen.

⁷² See two Hungarian royal charters in *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. I, ed. E. HURMUZAKI, București 1887, p. 348, № 258, from 1270: *Zuetizlaus Bulgarorum Imperator, karissimus gener noster*; p. 353, № 262, from 1271: *Swetizlaum Imperatorem Bulgarorum*.

⁷³ This is described in GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VII de Michaele Palaeologo*, p. 549.

⁷⁴ For the wife of Jakov Svetoslav, see S. GEORGIEVA, *The Byzantine Princesses...*, p. 194–197. If she were illegitimate, as suggested by C. DE FRESNE DU CANGE, *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae*, Paris 1680, p. 224, and followed by A. FAILLER, *Chronologie et composition dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère I*, REB 38, 1980, p. 73 (because she was a fifth, unnamed daughter of Theodōros II, whereas other authors had named only four daughters), then Jakov Svetoslav could not have derived a claim on the Bulgarian throne through her, and he might not have been described as the in-law (*gener*) of the Hungarian king in 1270. Given the names of her mother (Elena) and sisters (Eirēnē, Maria, Theodōra, and Eudokia), the unnamed princess might have been named Anna: it is the most common remaining Byzantine female name in this period, and also the name of her maternal grandmother, Anna of Hungary.

⁷⁵ The alternative proposed by В. ИГНАТОВ, *100 мума...*, p. 321–322, is less persuasive (a sister of Jakov Svetoslav could not have legitimized a claim to the Bulgarian throne) and unnecessary.

emperors if he were an emperor's ancestor⁷⁶. Moreover, the ecclesiastical pressure on Georgi Terter I to separate from Ivan Asen III's sister would become even more explicable, if his two successive wives were first cousins once removed, and thus well within the prohibited degrees of kinship.

IVb. Names associated with the House of Asen (Table 1)

At least eleven, possibly fifteen, Bulgarian monarchs bore double names compounded with the name *Asen*. Among these the most common combination, attested five times, is *Ivan Asen*. The names of Ivan Asen II (1218–1241), Ivan Asen III (1279–1280), and Ivan Aleksandăr's sons and co-rulers Ivan Asen IV (c. 1337–1349) and Ivan Asen V (c. 1356–1388?) do not necessitate any special comment beyond what has been stated above. However, the case of Ivan Asen I (c. 1188–1196) merits some additional consideration.

It has been questioned whether the first Asen really bore the double name *Ivan Asen*. This is attested in the *Synodikon of Boril*, while Patriarch Evtimij's *Life of Saint Ivan of Rila* explicitly states that Asen's baptismal name was *Ivan*⁷⁷. However, taking into account that his younger brother Kalojan was clearly baptized Ivan, Zlatarski expressed understandable doubt that Asen could have been baptized with the same name as his younger brother⁷⁸. Although Zlatarski's doubts have not been accepted by every historian writing on the period⁷⁹, they have left an influential legacy. A recent attempt to reconcile the sources and Zlatarski's logic,

⁷⁶ *Поменници*, p. 222 (Војана): *ЈАКОВА ДЕСПОТА Ц(А)РА*, and p. 224 (Роганово): *ЈАКОВА Ц(А)РА*. The usual inference is that the imperial title attached to Jakov's name here reflects his documented use of this title in claiming the crown: e.g., В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 539–540; И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Институциите...*, p. 52; ИДЕМ, *Погановският поменик*, ГСУНЦСВПИД 84/85, 1990/1991, p. 64. But the memorial lists include other examples of notables who did not reign as emperors of Bulgaria (and, save for Jakov Svetoslav, do not seem to have claimed the title), and were nevertheless mechanically listed as such: the *sebastokratōr* Aleksandăr, the otherwise unknown Šegmon, the *despotēs* Kuman, and the *despotēs* Sracimir. For commentary on their inclusion, see again И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Погановският поменик...*, p. 63–68. The *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 162, fol. 2036, also includes Šišman of Vidin, inserted between Georgi Terter I and Todor Svetoslav; he is not only an emperor's father, but also seems to have been substituted for rulers who were edited out of the list: П. ПАВЛОВ, *Куманите...*, p. 24, n. 59. The labeling of Jakov Svetoslav as emperor in the memorial lists is, therefore, probably the result of the mechanical repetition of the title *emperor* for every entry, rather than a commemoration of the status he actually claimed.

⁷⁷ The *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 150, 202a, has: *ІВАННУ ЯСЕНУ Ц(А)РА БЪЛГВНЮ*; the office of Saint Ivan of Rila in the *Draganovo menaion* similarly has *ІВ ЯСЕНУ Ц(А)РА*, [in:] *Български старини из Македония*, ed. Й. ИВАНОВ, София 1931, p. 359, № 40; ЕВТИМИЈ ОФ ТАРНОВО, *Life of Saint Ivan of Rila*, [in:] *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius*, ed. E. КАЛУЖНИАККИ, Wien 1901, p. 23: *цари ЯСЕНИ ИЖЕ ВЪ СВАТЪМЪ КР(Ъ)ЩЕНІИ ИМЕНОВАНЪ БЫВЪ ІВАННЪ*.

⁷⁸ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. II, p. 482–483.

⁷⁹ For example, И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 27–40, № I 1, and Andreev, in Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 246–252.

has led to the ingenious suggestion that Asen was not baptized Ivan, and only assumed this name later, to honor Saint Ivan of Rila⁸⁰. While this theory is not altogether implausible, it not only relies on evidence that is circumstantial, but it contradicts the express testimony of medieval sources, which ought to remain our point of departure. Moreover, in view of the preceding considerations about the widespread use of double names, there is no real problem with two brothers bearing the names *Ivan Asen* and *Ivan*, respectively. Although the baptismal name is the same in both cases, the elder brother is distinguished by his double name, which eliminates the imaginary problem; as we have seen in the family of Ivan Aleksandăr, brothers could share the same baptismal name if the secular names distinguished between them.

We may also note that the name of the younger brother in question is very often attested in a diminutive form like *Ioanica*, rendered in foreign sources as *Iōannitza*, *Iohannitius*, *Johanisse*, etc.⁸¹ While this *could* have originally referred to his youth, that in itself could no longer have been a significant factor by the early 1200s. More likely the diminutive had been intended to add further distinction between the two brothers who shared the same baptismal name by marking the younger brother as such. The assumption of the more formal name *Kalojan* (on the basis of Greek Καλοϊωάννης) may well have been the younger brother's reaction to a nickname he no longer had to suffer.

Another line of argument, not pursued by Zlatarski, would be that Ivan Asen II could not have borne the same name as his father Ivan Asen I. While it is always possible that an exception to the rule could occur, especially where monarchs are concerned, there are various unknowns that could account for this seeming problem. It is entirely possible, for example, that Ivan Asen II was originally named simply *Ivan*, in honor of his uncle Ivan (Kalojan), and that he adopted the name *Ivan Asen* to honor his father and stress legitimacy and continuity when making a claim for the Bulgarian throne in 1217–1218. As we have seen, it was in a similar vein that Mico Asen (1246–1257), Konstantin Asen (1257–1277), and Ivan Asen III (1279–1280) added *Asen* to their names.

There remains no serious reason to doubt that Ivan Asen was the full name of the first Asen, and this leaves us with five monarchs named Ivan Asen, as listed above.

Several Bulgarian monarchs of Asenid descent bore the double name *Mihail Asen*. The names of Ivan Asen II's son Mihail Asen (1246–1256), of Šišman's son

⁸⁰ И. ЛАЗАРОВ, *Владетелското име „Йоан“*...

⁸¹ For the name see В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 105, n. 2; Ἰωαννίτζη, in *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae*, § 11, ed. J. VAN DIETEN, Berlin 1972, p. 106 [= CFHB, 3]; *Iohannitio*, in J.-P. MIGNÉ, [in:] *PL*, vol. CCXIV, col. 825; *Johanisse*, in *La conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Villehardouin avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes*, § 429, 1, ed. M.N. DE WAILLY, Paris 1872, p. 256.

Mihail Asen (1323–1330), and of Ivan Aleksandăr’s eldest son and co-ruler Mihail Asen (c. 1332–1355) do not require any special comment beyond what has been stated above. Although he is not actually attested in the surviving sources by the double name *Mihail Asen*, circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that a fourth Bulgarian monarch bore that name.

This is Mihail, the son of Konstantin Asen by his third wife Maria Kantakouzēnē⁸². Born sometime between 1269 and 1272, Mihail was crowned as early as 1272, and succeeded as sole emperor of Bulgaria on his father’s death in 1277⁸³. He is amply attested in both native Bulgarian and Byzantine sources, but no preserved official charters or seals bear his name. His short reign as a minor reflects the adoption of Byzantine imperial practices in Bulgaria. In addition to the Byzantine-style association on the throne mentioned above⁸⁴, Mihail was titled *porphyrogennētos*, partly in imitation of Byzantine practice and perhaps partly to deny claims to his father’s throne by any potential sons of Konstantin Asen’s first, non-royal wife⁸⁵. When the empress-mother Maria Kantakouzēnē was threatened by the advance of Byzantine troops on the capital Tărnovo, she struck a deal with her husband’s killer, the rebel leader now known as Ivajlo, married him, and made him emperor of Bulgaria without deposing her son⁸⁶. This was a particularly Byzantine solution to the combination of an underage monarch and powerful political rivals, manifested most clearly in the reigns of Nikēphoros II Phōkas (963–969) and Rōmanos IV Diogenēs (1068–1071), both of whom associated themselves on the throne with minor emperors by marrying their respective mothers.

⁸² For him see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 118–119, № I 25, and Andreev in Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 474–476.

⁸³ The association on the throne is described by GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VI de Michaele Palaeologo*, p. 547: *Maria, having crowned her son Mikhaēl in spite of his age, raised him and educated him as emperor, including her child among his parents at acclamations* (Η μέντοι γε Μαρία, Μιχαήλ τὸν παῖδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν στέψασα, βασιλικῶς ἔτρεφε καὶ ἀνῆγε, τὴν εὐφημίαν μετὰ πατέρας τῶ παιδὶ παρέχουσα). Mihail is included with his father and the Bulgarian patriarch Ignatij in a gloss from 1272/1273, for which see *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 65, № 28: царю Константинуу и Михаилоу сыноу его.

⁸⁴ The earlier association between Petăr IV (1185–1196) and his two brothers Ivan Asen I and Kalojan did not follow contemporary (or for that matter earlier) Byzantine practice, in which brother emperors (a phenomenon limited to the Heraclian and Macedonian dynasties) succeeded to the throne together.

⁸⁵ In the gloss from 1276/1277, for which see *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 279–280, № 84: *Михаилъ порфирородникъ*. The Rojak inscription names the *вагѣрор[о]жд(е)нѣкъ... ц(а)ри михай[а]ѣ*, in a year that has been restored as 67[6]1 (1252/1253), in the reign of Mihail Asen I: *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 118–119. Nevertheless, see Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *Кой е “багренородният” цар Михаил от скалния надпис при село Рояк, Провадийско?*, [in:] *ТКИШ*, vol. V, p. 441–454, who convincingly identifies this as a record of Mihail Asen II from 68[1]1 (1302/1303), when he attempted to reassert himself in Bulgaria in opposition to Todor Svetoslav.

⁸⁶ GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VI de Michaele Palaeologo*, p. 563.

This Mihail, who on account of his minority and his short tenure on the throne has been almost universally ignored in the enumeration of Bulgarian monarchs⁸⁷, was probably also given the double name *Mihail Asen*. This can be inferred from his father's official name *Konstantin Asen*, which was applied in charters, seals, and coins alike, and also from the obvious precedent of the earlier Bulgarian emperor Mihail Asen, who seems to have been regarded as Konstantin Asen's most recent legitimate predecessor⁸⁸. Although it has been surmised that Konstantin Asen and Maria Kantakouzēnē's son was named in honor of his maternal great-uncle, the Byzantine emperor Mikhaēl VIII Palaiologos⁸⁹, this plausible inference, even if partly correct, need not conflict with the explanation suggested above. The remaining possible objection, that Mihail is never explicitly named *Mihail Asen* in the preserved sources is not compelling: the sources in question are informal glosses that similarly omit the element *Asen* from the name of his father and co-ruler as well⁹⁰. They do not and cannot prove that the son of Konstantin Asen and Maria Kantakouzēnē was named simply *Mihail*, as opposed to *Mihail Asen*. In fact, the circumstantial evidence suggests the contrary. It would be curious indeed, if the father legitimized himself with the assumption of a name that he would have later denied his son and intended heir. Therefore, between 1277 and 1279, Bulgaria was governed in the name of yet another Mihail Asen. Retrospective bias cannot excuse the omission of this ephemeral monarch from the list of Bulgarian rulers or from the numeration attached to their names.

This is perhaps all the more significant, because there is good reason to doubt whether the name *Ivajlo*, now commonly attributed to the killer of Konstantin Asen, who later married the widowed Maria Kantakouzēnē and became the co-ruler of her son Mihail Asen, really belonged to this rebel. The only source to provide

⁸⁷ See for example В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 550–551, who recognized that in 1277 Mihail had remained sole emperor, but omitted him in the count, skipping from *Mihail II Asen* (1246–1256) to *Mihail III Šišman* (1323–1330); as a further example of this inconsistent treatment, Zlatarski did present Mihail as a Bulgarian emperor by printing his name in bold type and followed by the regnal years 1277–1278 in his genealogy of Bulgaria's Asenid monarchs – *ibidem*, p. 608.

⁸⁸ The same cannot be said for Mico Asen, whom Konstantin Asen had driven from the throne, or for Mico's immediate predecessor Kaliman, who had briefly seized the throne through murder. An Armenian gloss suggests that Konstantin Asen (*Kat'ənd*) was indeed presented as the legitimate successor of the murdered Mihail Asen (*Ker Mixayl*) – A. MARGOS, *Deux sources arméniennes du XIII^e siècle concernant certains événements historiques du second empire bulgare*, EB 2/3, 1965, p. 295: (in the time of) the Bulgarian ruler *Kat'ənd*, who succeeded *Ker Mixayl*, the son of *Hawan*, murdered by *Kalaymann*, the son of his uncle.

⁸⁹ See for example Andreev in Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 474.

⁹⁰ See the glosses in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 64, № 27: ц(а)рѣ КостаѢина; p. 65, № 28: царю КонстанѢиноу; p. 279, № 84: ц(а)ри КостаѢинѢ; compare the building inscription from 1355, apparently naming Ivan Aleksandār and his son Mihail Asen simply Aleksandār and Mihail, in *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 285, № 90.

this name is a 1278/1279 gloss from the Svrlig gospels by Voisil the Grammarian. The text's mention of *Greeks under the city of Tărnovo in the days of the emperor Ivail* was interpreted, plausibly enough, as referring to a Byzantine attack on the former rebel in the Bulgarian capital by Konstantin Jireček, whose opinion has dominated Bulgarian and foreign historiography ever since⁹¹. This was not, however, the original interpretation of the passage, and recent studies have reopened the question, showing that another possibility, that *Ivajlo* (as *Ivail* has been rationalized in modern usage) is simply an informal reference to the Byzantine protégé Ivan Asen III (1279–1280), is as likely, if not more likely an inference⁹². If so, we are left with the nicknames Lakhanas and Kordokoubas, attested only in Greek form⁹³, to designate the man who was once hailed as the leader of the first anti-feudal peasant revolt in the history of Europe⁹⁴. For all that he was a minor eclipsed by others, his stepson and co-ruler Mihail Asen at least provides a named and legitimate head of state to span the period between 1277 and 1279.

This leaves us with four monarchs bearing the double name Mihail Asen: Mihail Asen I (1246–1256), Mihail Asen II (1277–1279), Mihail Asen III (1323–1330), and Mihail Asen IV (c. 1332–1355).

There are two additional cases where, in the absence of sufficiently explicit formal sources, circumstantial considerations strongly imply double names compounded with the name *Asen*. The first of these cases is that of the cousin and

⁹¹ K. JIREČEK, *Geschichte...*, p. 276, n. 21 (IDEM, *История...*, p. 323, n. 29). Jireček's interpretation has been followed almost universally in modern historical narratives, including, among many others, В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 545–546; G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, New Brunswick–New York 1969, p. 462; J.V.A. FINE Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans*, Ann Arbor 1987, p. 195–198. For the gloss from 1278/1279, see *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 65–66, № 29: въ д(ъ)ни ц(а)рѣ Ивана... и҃ни стоахоу грѣци подѣ градомъ тръноволь.

⁹² For the original publication of the Svrlig gloss, see М. МИЛИЉЕВИЋ, Ј. ШАФАРИК, *Сврљишки одломци еванђелија и запис од 1279 године*, ГСУД 3, 1866, p. 244–264; the authors assume that *Ivail* is a reference to Ivan Asen III, as do М. ДРИНОВ, *Исторически преглед на Българската црква от самото ѝ начало и до днес*, Wien 1869, cited here as published in М. ДРИНОВ, *Избрани произведения*, vol. II, София 1971, p. 110, n. 7, and В. МАКУШЕВ, *История болгарь в труде К.О. Иречека 2*, ЖМНП 197, 1878, p. 69; support for this earlier interpretation has been advanced recently by К. ГОСПОДИНОВ, *Сврљишката приписка като исторически извор*, ИП 61.3/4, 2005, p. 151–175, and В. ИГНАТОВ, *100 мита...*, p. 280–283; this criticism has also been accepted by К. КРЪСТЕВ, *Българското царство...*, p. 15.

⁹³ GEORGIOS PAKHYMERĒS, *Libri VI de Michaelae Palaeologo*, p. 549: called *Kordokoubas...* and therefore named *Lakhanas* (Κορδοκούβας κεκλημένους... καὶ Λαχανᾶς ἐντεῦθεν φημιζεται).

⁹⁴ For less tendentious treatments of the events, see J.V.A. FINE Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans...*, p. 195–198, and В. ИГНАТОВ, *100 мита...*, p. 272–283. For *Bardokva*, the possible Slavic original of Pakhymerēs' *Kordokoubas*, see В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 544, n. 1, who discusses the slightly variant considerations offered by Sreznevskij, Palauzov, Jireček, and Makušev.

murderer of Mihail Asen I, Kaliman⁹⁵, the son of Ivan Asen II's brother Aleksandār⁹⁶. In spite of the circuitous language of our main source, Geōrgios Akropolitēs, there is no need to doubt that this prince seized the throne in 1256, at least long enough to marry his predecessor's widow⁹⁷. His unusual baptismal name was shared by his first cousin, Mihail Asen I's older half-brother and predecessor Kaliman Asen (1241–1246). This first Kaliman Asen was apparently given his baptismal name to honor his maternal uncle, the Hungarian prince Kálmán (d. 1241), second son of the Hungarian king András II (1205–1235). It is unreasonable to postulate that, like his brother Ivan Asen II, the *sebastokratōr* Aleksandār, had also married a Hungarian princess (and an unattested one at that)⁹⁸. Therefore, the name of Aleksandār's son Kaliman cannot be dissociated from that of his cousin Kaliman Asen. Perhaps Aleksandār's son was born only after Kaliman Asen had become Ivan Asen II's heir apparent, probably no later than 1237⁹⁹. If so, it is natural to conclude that Aleksandār's son Kaliman was named in honor of his older cousin and bore the same double name, *Kaliman Asen*¹⁰⁰. Thus, two Bulgarian monarchs bore that name: Kaliman Asen I (1241–1246) and Kaliman Asen II (1256).

⁹⁵ For him see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 113–114, № I 22. The doubts about the name Kaliman and his erroneous identification with the *sebastokratōr* Kalojan of the Bojana inscription by В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, 468, n. 1, have been long dismissed. The sources say little: GEORGIOS AKROPOLITĒS, *Annales*, § 73: *Mikhaēl... having been mortally wounded by his first cousin in Kalimanos... died immediately* (Μιχαήλ... πρὸς τοῦ πρωτεξαδέλφου αὐτοῦ Καλιμάνου καιρίαν πληγείς... εὐθὺς ἐτεθνήκει); the Armenian gloss from 1258 that confirms this presentation of the events, in А. MARGOS, *Deux sources...*, has been quoted above.

⁹⁶ For him, see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 92–93, № I 8.

⁹⁷ With П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 17, И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 113, and ИДЕМ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна България...*, p. 507–508; contra R. MACRIDES, *George Akropolites...*, p. 335, n. 3; GEORGIOS AKROPOLITĒS, *Annales*, § 73: *Kalimanos, having taken his (Mikhaēl's) wife, expected to make the sovereignty of the Bulgarians his own* (Καλιμάνος τὴν ἐκείνου λαβὼν γαμετὴν ἔδοξε τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀρχὴν σφετερίσασθαι). See also С. ГЕОРГИЕВА (ТОДОРОВА), *Дъщерята на Ростислав Михайлович и събитията в България от средата на XIII век*, ИП 45.2, 1989, p. 52–56, who convincingly interprets the intervention of the bride's father Rostislav Mihajlovič as an attempt to bolster the positions of his new son-in-law Kaliman, rather than to make himself ruler of Bulgaria.

⁹⁸ That the *sebastokratōr* Aleksandār married a Hungarian princess was proposed by П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 17, n. 1, on the basis of his son Kaliman's Hungarian name.

⁹⁹ At that point Ivan Asen II's Hungarian wife Anna and one of their children died: GEORGIOS AKROPOLITĒS, *Annales*, § 36: *αἴφνης ἐπήει μῆνυμα τῷ Ἀσάν, ὡς ἡ σύζυγος αὐτοῦ ἢ ἕξ Οὐγγρων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο· τετελεύτηκε δὲ κατὰ ταῦτό και παιδίον αὐτοῦ και ὁ Τρινόβου ἐπίσκοπος*. That the child in question was male and possibly named Petār has been inferred on the basis of now lost evidence by ЛАЗАРОВ, in И. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 553, but is doubted by others, e.g., И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 104, № I 17.

¹⁰⁰ The first element of the name is attested in this fashion in Bulgarian and Greek sources alike, and, with И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 105, n. 1, and А. MARGOS, *Deux sources...*, p. 296, n. 3, there is no good reason to prefer a form based on the Latin *Colomanus*, as done by П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 13, and В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 420, following a papal

The third and last case, in which a double name compounded with *Asen* can be inferred with great probability from the circumstantial evidence, involves the last ruler of Medieval Bulgaria, Ivan Sracimir's son Konstantin¹⁰¹. Various sources record the existence and political station of this monarch both as his father's junior co-ruler and after his father's death or deposition. Recent re-examination of the evidence has suggested that for most of the period from 1397 to shortly before his death in 1422 Konstantin remained in possession of at least some portion of Ivan Sracimir's Vidin polity, and therefore he was rather more than a merely titular emperor of Bulgaria¹⁰². Ioasaf, the metropolitan of Vidin, refers to Konstantin as his father's co-ruler and as a *New Constantine*, on the occasion of his successful mission to translate the relics of the Saints Philothea, Petka (Paraskeuē), and Empress Theophanō from Tărnovo to Vidin¹⁰³. Konstantin's status as monarch is also attested by no less a potentate than Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary (1387–1437), future emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1410–1437), and king of Bohemia (1419–1437), who refers to Konstantin as the *magnificent emperor of Bulgaria* in a letter from 1404¹⁰⁴. The son of an emperor, the brother of another, and a future emperor himself, Sigismund is not likely to have conceded imperial status to someone who did not have a convincing claim to it. Similarly Konstantin of Kosteneč recorded the death of the *emperor Konstantin, son of Sracimir, the Bulgarian emperor* in September 1422, in his *Life of Stefan Lazarevič*¹⁰⁵.

The sources always seem to refer to this ruler by the single name *Konstantin*, but none of them is an official document issued by his chancery; no seal or charter of his is preserved to indicate that he did not bear the double name *Konstantin Asen* like his 13th-century predecessor. Given the use of the element *Asen* in the names of three of Konstantin's uncles (Mihail Asen and the two Ivan Asens), as well as the historical precedent of the earlier emperor Konstantin Asen, it is probable to infer that the last medieval Bulgarian monarch also bore the double name *Konstantin Asen*. Such a conclusion seems to be supported by the memorial lists

letter from 1245, in *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 4, pars 1, ed. G. FÉJER, Buda 1829, p. 365: *Illustri Colomanno, in Bulgaria imperanti*. Nikov and Zlatarski's notion that the Bulgarian form *Kaliman* was influenced by the Greek rendering *Kalimanos* seems implausible.

¹⁰¹ For him see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 237–240, № I 50; П. ПАВЛОВ, *Цар Константин II Асен*, LN 7 (80), 2006, http://liternet.bg/publish13/p_pavlov/konstantin_II_asen.htm, and Pavlov in Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 381–385.

¹⁰² For the reassessment of the evidence, see П. ПАВЛОВ, И. ТЮТЮНДЖИЕВ, *Българите и османското завоевание (краят на XIII – средата на XV в.)*, Велико Търново 1995.

¹⁰³ IOASAF OF VIDIN, *Life of Saint Philothea*, § 10–11, [in:] *Aus der panegyrischen Litteratur der Süd-slaven*, ed. E. KAŁUŻNIACKI, Wien 1901, p. 111: *новаго Кѡнстантїна*; 113: *Кѡнстантїнь царь*.

¹⁰⁴ *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique*, ed. J. BRANDON, G. DE ROYE, A. DE BUT, Bruxelles 1870, p. 94: *Constantinus, imperator Bulgariae magnificus*.

¹⁰⁵ В. ЈАГИЋ, *Константин Философ и његов живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српскога*, ГСУД 42, 1875, p. 314: *царь Константїнъ сынъ Срацимира царя болгарскаго*.

(*pomenici*) of the Bojana and Poganovo churches, where the name of *emperor Konstantin* is followed immediately by that of *emperor Asen* towards the end of the listing of Bulgarian monarchs. Needless to say, no Asen could have followed Konstantin, who had at any rate lost his lands by the time of his death. On the other hand, the memorial lists sometimes inadvertently divided up double names, creating two entries out of an original single entry¹⁰⁶. While there is no guarantee that the original texts of the memorial lists would have included both elements of a double name¹⁰⁷, it is likely that the otherwise unexplained *Asen* at this point in the list is nothing more than the artificially or accidentally separated second element of the double name *Konstantin Asen*¹⁰⁸. The circumstantial evidence therefore points to the existence of a second Konstantin Asen at the very end of the medieval series of Bulgarian monarchs. Thus, there were two rulers of that name: Konstantin Asen I (1257–1277) and Konstantin Asen II (1395–1422).

The assumption of the name Asen by Mico (1256–1257) has already been discussed. Whether Boril (1207–1218) assumed the name is less certain, though possible¹⁰⁹. Since neither name occurs more than once on the Bulgarian throne, there is no potential for error or confusion.

¹⁰⁶ This is most obvious in the division of Gavril Radomir into the successive entries of Radomir and Gavril, and of the first Georgi Terter into Georgi and Terter: *Поменици*, p. 222 (Bojana) and 224 (Poganovo, where the *despotēs* Kuman was inserted in-between Georgi and Terter). For the Zographou memorial list, see *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 198, 201, № 69, but here the listing is even more confused. It is possible that some of the seemingly superfluous rulers named Asen in the memorial lists are also elements separated from the remainder of their double names.

¹⁰⁷ In fact double names are often reduced to only one of their elements in the lists, for example those of the first Konstantin Asen, of the second Georgi Terter, Ivan Aleksandār, Ivan Sracimir, Ivan Šišman, in both the Bojana and Poganovo memorial lists.

¹⁰⁸ И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Погановският поменик...*, p. 67–68, suggests that the Asen who follows Sracimir in the Poganovo memorial list is to be identified with a son of Ivan Šišman. But the existence of such a son of Ivan Šišman has been questioned by Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *България през втората четвърт на XIV в.*, Велико Търново 1993, p. 147–152, who argues that the two Asens of the *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 166, 356, are actually the two sons of Ivan Aleksandār named Ivan Asen, rather than any otherwise unattested sons of Ivan Šišman; АНДРЕЕВ (*Ibidem*, p. 145) would rather identify the last Asen of the memorial lists with Ivan Šišman's son Fružin, who is included in the Bojana and Zographou memorial lists, though not in the one from Poganovo. But while Fružin is indeed attested in a foreign source as *Frusinus Asan* – see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 244, № I 54 – the inversion of the names, with Asen coming before Fružin, is most unlikely.

¹⁰⁹ A charter of the Hungarian king Béla IV (1235–1270) issued in 1259 names Boril as *Assenus Burul, imperator quondam Bulgarorum*: reproduced in П. НИКОВ, *Цар Борил под светлината на един нов паметник*, СБАН 3, 1912, p. 133. Since several of Boril's kinsmen, all of them bearing the name *Asen*, had succeeded him by 1259, it is not impossible that the Hungarian source ascribed the name *Asen* to Boril by mistake.

IVc. Names associated with the House of Šišman (Table 3)

Although the last monarchs of the Second Bulgarian State have long been designated members of the Šišmanid Dynasty (*Šišmanovci*), this convenient but modern designation should technically cover only those in patrilineal descent from Šišman of Vidin¹¹⁰. In other words, strictly speaking, the House of Šišman encompasses only two Bulgarian monarchs: Mihail Asen III (1323–1330) and his son Ivan Stefan (1330–1331). Ivan Aleksandăr and the members of his family are only matrilineal descendants of the House of Šišman, and technically belong to what we should term the House of Sracimir. The two families shared matrilineal descent from the Asenids, and were, in this way, offshoots of the House of Asen.

The names of the few known members of the House of Šišman provide little to go on in the context of this study. The two monarchs are attested with double names; of these the secular names *Asen* and *Stefan* pointed to Asenid and Nemanjid ancestry, respectively. The baptismal names of Mihail Asen III and his son the *despotēs* Mihail reflected their Asenid descent through a sister of Mihail Asen I (1246–1256)¹¹¹. The names *Mihail Asen* and *Mihail* were brought to the House of Sracimir through the marriage of Mihail Asen III's sister Petrica to the *despotēs* Sracimir: one of her sons was named Mihail¹¹², and her grandson, the eldest son and co-ruler of Ivan Aleksandăr, Mihail Asen IV (c. 1332–1355)¹¹³.

Only the name *Šišman* seems truly particular to this family, and is well attested among its members: Mihail Asen III's father, Šišman of Vidin, and Mihail Asen III's son Šišman¹¹⁴. Mihail Asen III's sister Petrica brought the name *Šišman* into the House of Sracimir, where it is attested for two of her grandsons: Ivan Aleksandăr's son, the emperor Ivan Šišman (1371–1395), and Mihail's son Šišman, known only from the Jambol inscription¹¹⁵. Ivan Šišman's son Fružin was the father of yet another Šišman¹¹⁶.

Of the known onomastic repertoire of the male members of the family, there remain only the names of Mihail Asen III's son Lodovico and of Mihail Asen III's brother Belaur¹¹⁷. The name *Lodovico* appears to have been assumed by the

¹¹⁰ For Šišman see Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 707–708; К. КРЪСТЕВ, *Династията на Тертеревци...*, p. 25–27, 144–151, 243–246; the main primary source is ДАНИЛО II, *Life of Milutin...*, p. 117–119.

¹¹¹ И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 113, 119, 435–451; for the identification of the Asenid ancestress of Mihail Asen III as Marija (rather than Anna/Teodora), see I. MLADJOV, *The Children...*, p. 485–490.

¹¹² И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 184–186, № I 35.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 192–197, № I 39.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 142–144, № I 30.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 236–237, № I 49.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 244.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 134–136, I 27; Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, *България...*, p. 35–41.

Bulgarian prince as a catechumen (and later convert) to Catholic Christianity¹¹⁸. This opens up the possibility that Lodovico could be identical with another son of Mihail Asen III, known by some other name. For various reasons this is not possible for Ivan Stefan or Šišman, but the *despotēs* Mihail remains a theoretical possibility¹¹⁹. As for Belaur, his unexpected name has been explained as Hungarian in origin and traced to a hypothetical Hungarian sojourn of Šišman's Cuman ancestors¹²⁰; alternately it might have entered the onomastic repertoire of the family through the second marriage of Šišman, to the daughter of the Serbian grand *župan* Dragoš¹²¹.

IVd. Names associated with the House of Sracimir (Table 4)

As we have seen, the House of Sracimir was a matrilineal offshoot of both the House of Asen and the House of Šišman through the marriage of Mihail Asen III's sister Petrica to the *despotēs* Sracimir¹²². It arrived on the throne with Sracimir's son Ivan Aleksandār (1331–1371) and encompassed seven monarchs (including three who never became senior or sole rulers), all of whom have been mentioned above. The family's onomastic repertoire is characterized by the perpetuation of Asenid and Šišmanid names like *Ivan Aleksandār*, *Aleksandār*, *Ivan Asen*, *Mihail Asen*, *Mihail*, *Ivan Šišman*, *Šišman*, and, among the females, *Elena*, *Tamara*, *Teodora*.

Apart from the remarkable frequency of *Ivan* as a baptismal name (Ivan Aleksandār, one of his brothers, four of his sons), it is the name *Sracimir* that seems most characteristic in this lineage. We find this name attested for Ivan Aleksandār's father, the *despotēs* Sracimir, and for Ivan Aleksandār's second son, the emperor Ivan Sracimir (1356–1397), an example of papponymy, especially if the *despotēs* also bore the double name *Ivan Sracimir*¹²³. The name *Sracimir* is also attested for two or three additional members of the clan, although their precise relation to Ivan Aleksandār and his immediate family remains unknown. These are the great *epikernēs* Sracimir and his grandson Sraco (evidently another Sracimir), mentioned in the inscription commemorating the visit of Ivan Šišman (1371–1395) to Šumen¹²⁴. That they were related to the ruling family is confirmed by a document

¹¹⁸ I. MLADJOV, *The Bulgarian Prince...*, p. 615; see also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 148–149, № I 32.

¹¹⁹ I. MLADJOV, *The Bulgarian Prince...*, p. 609. But it is just as possible that *Mihail* was the baptismal name of Šišman, in which case there would be no possibility for identification with Lodovico.

¹²⁰ К. КРЪСТЕВ, *Българското царство...*, p. 222; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, Leiden 1983, p. 205: *Béla-úr*.

¹²¹ DANILO II, *Life of Milutin...*, p. 119: *вѣдасть имену дъщерь великааго своего жупана Драгоша*.

¹²² For Sracimir see Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 620–621.

¹²³ As suggested, on the basis of circumstantial considerations, by Pavlov in Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 708; compare Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Добруджанското деспотство...*, p. 84, n. 16.

¹²⁴ *Надписи*, vol. II, p. 135–136.

issued by the Byzantine emperor Iōannēs V Palaiologos (1341–1391), in which the *epikernēs* Sracimir is named as the emperor's *beloved uncle and in-law*¹²⁵. This would only be possible if the *epikernēs* were related to Ivan Aleksandār, who was indeed a relative, by marriage, of the Byzantine emperor¹²⁶. Thus at least two more Sracimirs were somehow related to the Bulgarian imperial house in the second half of the 14th century. A further member of the family who *might* have been named Sracimir is the monk Samuil, described as the *uncle by blood* (γνήσιος θεῖος) and *ancestral uncle* (πρόγονος θεῖος) of the emperor Ivan Aleksandār on an icon of the Virgin of Mercy (*Theotokos tēs Eleousēs*) from Mesēmbria (Nesebār)¹²⁷. The monastic name Samuil is suitable for a layman named Sracimir, and the phrase *ancestral uncle* might identify this individual as an uncle of the *despotēs* Sracimir and great-uncle of Ivan Aleksandār, although the precise relationship remains uncertain¹²⁸.

The name *Aleksandār*, which recalls that of the aforementioned *sebastokratōr* Aleksandār, brother of Ivan Asen II, was used for three members of the family: Ivan Aleksandār, his nephew Aleksandār of Valona¹²⁹, and Ivan Aleksandār's grandson, Ivan Šišman's son Aleksandār¹³⁰.

The *Synodikon of Boril* mentions two brothers of the *despotēs* Sracimir, Radoslav and Dimitār¹³¹. Although the name *Radoslav* could possibly point to a connection with the family of Smilec (who had a brother named Radoslav), the names are unexceptional enough and in the absence of additional evidence they cannot be used to draw sufficiently plausible conclusions¹³².

¹²⁵ *Actes de l'Athos* 4, p. 87–88, № A.36: ὁ πικέρνης τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ περιποθίτου θείου καὶ συμπενθέρου τῆς βασιλείας μου κύρ Στραντζιμηρός. For the great *epikernēs* Sracimir see A. КУЗЕВ, *Великият епикерний Срацимир – виден български сановник през XIV в.*, Век 4.4, 1975, p. 14–17; И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Институциите...*, p. 175–177.

¹²⁶ That the court title of *epikernēs* was conferred upon the ruler's kinsman is unsurprising, given the attestation of the 'epikernēs' Petār, the emperor's cousin, on a ring discovered at Ajtos: И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Институциите...*, p. 174.

¹²⁷ Т. ГЕРАСИМОВ, *Новооткрит надпис върху иконата „Богородица Умиление” от Несебър*, ИНМБ 1, 1950, p. 253–256.

¹²⁸ Compare И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 170, n. 18. Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Добруджанското деспотство...*, p. 79–80, thinks that the monk Samuil was a brother of the *despotēs* Sracimir, but in that case he should have been simply the uncle (θεῖος) of Ivan Aleksandār. For comparison, note that the great *epikernēs* Sracimir appears to have become a monk under the name Silvestār, as attested in the *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 167, fol. 33a, but note the caution of И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Институциите...*, p. 174–175.

¹²⁹ И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 236, № I 48; В. ИГНАТОВ, *100 мита...*, p. 362–368.

¹³⁰ И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 241–242, № I 53.

¹³¹ *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 162, fol. 2036: Страцимиръ деспотъ и Радославъ и Димитръ братѣа его. For Sracimir and his brothers, see also И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Институциите...*, p. 67–69; ИДЕМ, *The Despots...*, p. 152–153.

¹³² The same is true for a possible additional brother, the *despotēs* Vladislav, attested only in the memorial lists at Vojana and Poganovo: *Поменици*, p. 222 (Вожана): Страцимира ц(а)ра, Владислава брата его, and p. 224 (Роганово): Страцимира ц(а)ра, Деспота Владислава брата его; see also the comments of И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Погановският поменик...*, p. 65–66; ИДЕМ, *Институциите*, p. 71–72;

V. Regularization and Systematization

The foregoing considerations indicate that the majority of monarchs (22 out of 27) of the Second Bulgarian State bore double names. This both necessitates and makes possible a regularization and systematization of the nomenclature of Bulgarian rulers. Fortunately, with very few exceptions, this would result in little ostensible change, thereby minimizing the potential for confusion. It is easiest to demonstrate this reassessment with a concise list of monarchs (some of the dates are approximate):

HOUSE OF ASEN (AND SUCCESSORS)

- 1185–1197 Petăr IV (originally named Todor), with
- 1188–1196 Ivan Asen I, brother of Petăr IV, and then with
- 1196–1207 Ivan I (called Kalojan), brother of Petăr IV
- 1207–1218 Boril, sister's son of Petăr IV
- 1218–1241 Ivan Asen II, son of Ivan Asen I
- 1241–1246 Kaliman Asen I, son of Ivan Asen II
- 1246–1256 Mihail Asen I, son of Ivan Asen II
- 1256 Kaliman Asen II, son of Aleksandăr, son of Ivan Asen I
- 1256–1257 Mico Asen, married Anna/Teodora, daughter of Ivan Asen II
- 1257–1277 Konstantin Asen I, the son of Tih; married Eirēnē,
granddaughter of Ivan Asen II
- 1277–1279 Mihail Asen II, son of Konstantin Asen I (associated 1272?), with
- 1278–1279 Ivajlo (name uncertain), married Mihail Asen II's mother Maria
- 1279–1280 Ivan Asen III, son of Mico Asen

HOUSE OF TERTER

- 1280–1292 Georgi Terter I, married Marija, daughter of Jakov Svetoslav
by granddaughter of Ivan Asen II; also married Marija,
daughter of Mico Asen

HOUSE OF SMILEC

- 1292–1298 Smilec, married niece of the Byzantine emperor Mikhael VIII
- 1298–1299 Ivan II, son of Smilec

IDEM, *The Despots...*, p. 154–155. Although Vladislav appears in both the Bojana and Poganovo memorial lists, these share enough common and unexpected features to be traced back to a single source. Therefore, we cannot be completely certain of the existence of the *despotēs* Vladislav independently of or in place of the Radoslav named in the *Synodikon of Boril*.

HOUSE OF TERTER

- 1299–1322 Todor Svetoslav, son of Georgi Terter I (associated 1285–1289?)
 1322–1323 Georgi Terter II, son of Todor Svetoslav (associated 1321?)

HOUSE OF ŠIŠMAN

- 1323–1330 Mihail Asen III, the son of Šišman by daughter of Petăr and Marija, daughter of Ivan Asen II
 1330–1331 Ivan Stefan, son of Mihail Asen III (associated 1323–1324?)

HOUSE OF SRACIMIR

- 1331–1371 Ivan Aleksandăr, son of Sracimir by Mihail Asen III's sister Petrica + Mihail Asen IV, son of Ivan Aleksandăr (associated c. 1332–1355)
 1356–1397 Ivan Sracimir, son of Ivan Aleksandăr (associated c. 1337) + Ivan Asen IV, son of Ivan Aleksandăr (associated c. 1337)
 1371–1395 Ivan Šišman, son of Ivan Aleksandăr (associated 1356?) + Ivan Asen V, son of Ivan Aleksandăr (associated 1356–1388?)
 1397–1422 Konstantin Asen II, son of Ivan Sracimir (associated 1395?)

The revised arrangement of the monarchs' names and numbers improves upon current practice, while largely conforming to it. Insofar as this practice is consistent (which is debatable), the only potentially confusing departures are the corrected names of Konstantin Asen I and Mihail Asen III (treated above), and the numbering of Petăr IV, Ivan I (Kalojan), Mihail Asen I and II, and Ivan II.

The name of Petăr IV (instead of II) takes into account the temporarily successful attempts at liberation from Byzantine rule under Petăr II (Deljan¹³³) and

¹³³ It is unclear whether he bore a double name, whether Deljan was a nickname, or whether the original name was *Deljan*, replaced by *Petăr* after he claimed the throne. For this see В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. II, p. 48–49, and 48, n. 2, who thinks it was a double name, like those of Gavril Radomir and Ivan Vladislav. Iōannēs Skylitzēs seems to have thought that Deljan was a nickname: *Petros*, a certain Bulgarian, *Delianos* by appellation (Πέτρος τις Βούλγαρος, Δελεάνος τὴν προσηγορίαν) – *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, § 23, ed. I. THURN, Berlin 1973. Mikhaēl Psellos shows ambiguity: *his name was Dolianos, and I do not know whether this appellation came from his father, or whether he himself declared the name* (Δολιάνος τὸ ὄνομα, οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε πατρόθεν τῆς τοιαύτης προσηγορίας κληρονομήσας εἶθ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν κλησιν ἐπιφημίσας) – MICHEL PSELLOS, *Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, 6, 40, ed. É. RENAULD, Paris 1926–1928. Psellos' uncertainty might be influenced by the apparent similarity between the name (as he rendered it), and Greek δόλος, *craft, cunning, treachery*. The information is insufficient for a definitive conclusion, but it might be significant that no source provides a simple pairing of the names *Petăr* and *Deljan*.

Petăr III (Konstantin Bodin) in the 11th century; the corrected usage has already been introduced in Bulgarian historiography¹³⁴.

The name of Ivan I (Kalojan) takes into account that this is the first Bulgarian ruler to bear the name by itself, as opposed to his predecessors Ivan Vladislav and Ivan Asen I, both of whom had double names. The form *Kalojan* itself is nothing more than an ornate and flattering version of *Ivan*, by analogy with Greek Καλοϊωάννης¹³⁵. Kalojan did not bear the name *Asen*, since that would have made him *Ivan Asen*, like his older brother¹³⁶. There is, of course, no inherent problem with retaining the designation *Kalojan*, even if it seems to obscure the standard name form.

Mihail Asen I (1246–1256) has long been called *Mihail II Asen*, on the basis that Boris I (853–889) had been baptized with the name *Mihail* and that *Asen* was used here as a family name¹³⁷. That the latter assumption is flawed has been demonstrated above. That Boris I was baptized *Mihail*, and was sometimes referred to by his new Christian name alone, is clear enough¹³⁸. Yet the new name did not completely displace the old one, as shown by contemporary documents and by the naming of Boris II (969–977)¹³⁹. In fact the name *Boris* was preferred as the single

¹³⁴ Especially by Andreev, most recently in Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 548–550. Although this ruler was originally named Todor, the name was *changed* to Petăr upon accession; therefore we cannot speak of a double name (containing two baptismal names!) *Todor Petăr*, contra Н. КОВАЧЕВ, *Двойни лични имена...*, p. 368.

¹³⁵ This numbering of the ruler generally referred to as Kalojan is not unprecedented: e.g., С. ПАЛАУЗОВ, *Уния в царуването на Йоанна I Асеня*, БК 1.2, 1858, p. 51–63; similarly М. ДРИНОВ, *Исторически преглед...*, p. 80.

¹³⁶ The only source to ascribe the name Asen to Kalojan is the late-14th-century Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea: Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea, Chronique de Morée aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, § 59, ed. A. MOREL-FATIO, Geneva 1885, p. 16: *vn emperador de Burgaria, el qual auia nombre Caloy(a)nni Assan*. The chronicle was translated from Greek at a time when the Byzantine Asenids (who used this name as a family name) were both well-known and present in the area. It seems clear that the name Asen was ascribed to Kalojan on this basis.

¹³⁷ See for example В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. III, p. 428; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 106–110, № I 19. The usage is not universal, for example J.V.A. FINE Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans...*, p. 156, uses simply *Michael* and Andreev in Й. АНДРЕЕВ, А. ПАНТЕВ, *Българските ханове и царе от хан Кубрат до цар Борис III*, Велико Търново 2004, p. 200–206, uses *Mihail Asen*.

¹³⁸ The seals of Boris I, inscribed in Greek, read Κ(ύρι)ε/Θ(εο)ς)κε βοήθη Μηχαήλ ἄρχοντα Βουλγαρίας, i.e., *Lord/Theotokos, assist Mikhaēl, the king of Bulgaria*: Й. ЮРУКОВА, В. ПЕНЧЕВ, *Български средновековни печати...*, p. 24–25; the letters of Pope Ioannes VIII to Boris I are addressed to *Michael, king of the Bulgarians*, in *Johannis VIII papae epistolae passim collectae*, ed. E. CASPAR, [in:] MGH.E, vol. VII, p. 1–33: Letter 66 from 878: *Michaeli regi Vulgarum*; letter 182 from 879: *Michaheli regi Vulgarorum*; letter 184 from 879: *Michaellem regem Bulgarorum*; the Balši inscription from 865/866 reads [ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγ]αρίας Βορίης ὁ μετονομασθεῖς Μιχαήλ, *the king of Bulgaria Borēs, renamed Mikhaēl*, in *Първобългарски надписи*, ed. and trans. В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, София 1979, p. 139–140, № 15. I translate *arkhōn* as *king* rather than *prince* here on the basis of the Latin use of *rex*.

¹³⁹ The monk Hrabār dated the invention of the Slavic alphabet to the time of *the Greek emperor Mihail and the Bulgarian king Boris (михаила ц(ьса)рѣ грѣчьскаго и бориса княза българскаго)*,

designation of Boris I even in the later memorial lists of the church¹⁴⁰. More recent royal nomenclature has confirmed this preference, in the official style of Boris III (1918–1943). But even if we were to treat the first Boris as the first Mihail¹⁴¹, the later medieval rulers are not named simply *Mihail*, but rather *Mihail Asen*. It is preferable, therefore, to abandon the usage *Mihail II Asen* in favor of *Mihail Asen I*, which is not only more accurate, but also places the last legitimate Asenid within a whole group of monarchs who hearkened back to *his* name as a way of highlighting their link to the founding family of the Second Bulgarian State. This leaves the often ignored son of Konstantin Asen I as *Mihail Asen II*, and *Mihail III Šišman* becomes more correctly *Mihail Asen III*, retaining the ordinal number assigned to him, although now in reference to his full double name.

The obscure Ivan II (1298–1299) has been designated *Ivan IV Smilec* by his discoverer, Ivan Božilov¹⁴². Although based on rational considerations, this designation is not a particularly fortunate one. Božilov surely knew that no source used the name *Smilec* for this ephemeral ruler, and he must have intended it as a marker indicating that this Ivan was the son of Smilec (1292–1298). But *Smilec* is not a family name, not a second element of a double name, and not even a proper patronymic; the designation *Ivan IV Smilec* thus becomes analogous to the problematic *Konstantin I Tih* and *Mihail III Šišman* discussed above. It seems best to abandon the artificial designation altogether; this monarch does not need yet

in *Славянская христоматия*, ed. Г. ВОСКРЕСЕНСКИЙ, Москва 1882, p. 188; the 907 gloss of Tudor Doksov recording the passing of Boris I, calls the deceased *the Bulgarian king named Boris, whose Christian name is Mihail... this Boris baptized the Bulgarians* (кѣнѣзъ болгарскѣтъ, именеѣмъ Борисѣтъ; христѣанское же имя еѣмъ Мѣхѣилъ... Сеѣ же Борисѣтъ болгары крѣ(ѣ)стѣилѣтъ): *Стара българска книжнина*, vol. I, ed. И. ДУЙЧЕВ, София 1944, p. 76. № 15. The *Synodikon of Boril*, p. 149, fol. 201b, treats Boris I similarly: *to Boris, the first Bulgarian emperor* (sic!), *named in holy baptism Mihail* (Борисъ прѣвоѣмъ цѣ(а)рѣвъ българскѣмъ нареченномъ въ с(вѣ)тѣѣмъ крѣ(ѣ)щѣнѣи Мѣхѣилъ).

¹⁴⁰ See above for the *Synodikon of Boril*; the Bojana and Poganovo memorial lists simply have Борисъ цѣ(а)рѣ: *Поменици*, p. 222, 224, similarly in the Zōgraphou list, for which see *Книжнина*, vol. II, p. 198, 201, № 69.

¹⁴¹ The modern designation *Boris-Mihail* for the ruler as a saint of the Bulgarian Church is very similar to the double names we have observed, but it reverses the elements, placing the Christian baptismal name second. Moreover, unlike later rulers sporting double names like *Mihail Asen*, Boris I did not bear a double name from the start, since he was baptized long after his birth and accession to the throne. The sources cited above also show that while he could be identified by either name, the names are not attested as a simple pairing. In similar non-Bulgarian cases, only one of the two names, pagan or Christian, is preferred: for example, István I of Hungary (997–1038), who was originally named Vajk, and Vladimir I of Kiev (978–1015), who was baptized Vasilij.

¹⁴² И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Бележки върху българската история през XIII век* [in:] В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Българско средновековие*, София 1980, p. 78–81. See also Pavlov in Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 128.

another name (least of all an artificial one), considering the long string of family names he adopted in Byzantium after leaving Bulgaria¹⁴³.

As for the numbering of this ephemeral ruler, *Ivan IV* seems to reflect *Ivan I Asen*, *Ivan II Asen*, and *Ivan III Asen*, designations used by Božilov elsewhere in his work¹⁴⁴. But if we were to break up the double name *Ivan Asen* and count each resulting *Ivan* as such, we ought to include in this count Kalojan (see above) and also to break up and account for the name of Ivan Vladislav. By this logic Božilov's *Ivan IV* should become *Ivan VI*, and several of the other aforementioned rulers should be renumbered too. On the other hand, maintaining the distinction between single and double names demonstrated in this study would allow the simpler solution of designating this last 13th-century monarch of Bulgaria *Ivan II* as in the tabulation above. Given the ephemeral duration of his rule and his status as a minor, this correction is perhaps more likely to pass unnoticed than to cause confusion¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴³ The former Ivan II is named by his maternal aunt, Theodōra Synadēnē, in her *typikon* for the monastery of the Virgin of Safe Hope (*Theotokos tēs Bebaias Elpidos*) as *my beloved nephew, the lord Iōannēs Kōmnēnos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos, the son of the most exalted lady of the Bulgarians, ... monk Iōasaph* (περιποθίτου μου ἀνεψιοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ Δούκα Ἀγγέλου Βρανᾶ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, υἱοῦ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης δεσποίνης τῶν Βουλγάρων... Ἰωάσαφ μοναχοῦ): *Typicon monasterii Theotoci Bebaias Elpidos*, 24, 142, ed. H. DELAHYE, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, Brussels 1921, p. 93, and similarly at 23, 122, p. 84.

¹⁴⁴ See И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 27–40 (№ I 1), 77–92 (№ I 7), 249–255 (№ II 1).

¹⁴⁵ The existence of this Ivan II (1298–1299) has been called into question by К. КРЪСТЕВ, *Имало ли е български цар Йоан IV „Смилец“?*, Pbg 34.1, 2010, p. 55–60; ИДЕМ, *Българското царство...*, p. 210–211, 232–233. Krāstev points to the absence of any indication that Theodōra Synadēnē considered her nephew a Bulgarian monarch and adopts the traditional interpretation of a passage in a letter of Theodōros Metokhitēs (*Presbeutikos*, [in:] L. МАВРОМАТИС, *La fondation de l'empire serbe, Le kralj Milutin*, Thessalonikē 1978, p. 982–1035), by Nikov, according to which Smilec's widow ruled alone and was ready to make the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) ruler of Bulgaria by offering him her hand in marriage (see П. НИКОВ, *Татаробългарски отношения през средните векове с оглед към царуването на Смилеца*, ГСУИФФ 15/16, 1921, p. 37–41, 44, 46–48, 91–93); Krāstev concludes that her son Iōannēs Komnēnos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos must have been born of a second marriage to an unknown husband after she returned to the Byzantine Empire. While Krāstev has proposed a scenario that is not implausible in and of itself, he has not disproven Božilov's identification of Ivan II as Smilec's son and heir. On the other hand, if Smilec's widow had no son, it is difficult to see how she could have kept her son-in-law, the *despotēs* Aldimir, or Smilec's brothers, the *sebastokrator* Radoslav and the *despotēs* Voisil from the throne; as for the marriage alliance she sought to arrange with the Serbian royal family, this appears to have involved one of her daughters, as proposed by Pavlov in Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 349–350, and by В. ИГНАТОВ, *100 мита...*, p. 307–316; both Pavlov and Ignatov see the intended marital alliance as the marriage between the future Stefan Uroš III (1321–1331) and Smilec's daughter Teodora, which they date before the accession of Todor Svetoslav in 1299/1300. С. МИШИЊ, *Српско-бугарски односи на крају 13. века*, ЗРВИ 46, 2009, p. 333–340, thinks this marriage cannot have been contracted so early (opting for c. 1305/1306 instead), in part because he follows Nikov's interpretation of Metochites. At any rate a later date for the marriage between Stefan Uroš III and Teodora need not necessarily negate Pavlov and Ignatov's interpretation of the *intentions* of Smilec's

An additional issue pertinent to this discussion is whether rulers who were associated on the throne but did not survive to become sole (or senior) monarchs themselves should be assigned ordinal numbers. This is not generally done in historiography, as can be seen from many examples from around Europe¹⁴⁶. The history of the Byzantine Empire provides particularly numerous examples, of which only the last, Mikhaēl IX Palaiologos (1294–1320), is generally assigned an ordinal number¹⁴⁷. It is by analogy that we may assign ordinal numbers to Mihail Asen IV, Ivan Asen IV, and Ivan Asen V, all of them sons of Ivan Aleksandār who were associated on the throne but never became sole or senior rulers, unlike their brothers Ivan Sracimir and Ivan Šišman. Mihail Asen IV and Ivan Asen IV fell in battles against the Ottoman Turks (in 1355 and 1349, respectively), while Ivan Asen V might have survived in the shadow of his full brother Ivan Šišman into the 1380s¹⁴⁸. Since numbering Mihail Asen IV and Ivan Asen IV and V would not conflict with that of any later Bulgarian monarchs, it does not present a problem.

The considerations above indicate that medieval Bulgarians and their monarchs typically bore single or double names, but did not seem to employ family names in spite of pre-Christian and contemporary Byzantine practice, and also did not seem to pair patronymics with their personal names. Medieval Bulgarian monarchs also did not assume ordinal numbers. Reviewing the names and numbering of the Bulgarian monarchs with this in mind, it becomes apparent that there is room for improvement upon pre-existing practice. And since that practice is neither completely consistent nor entirely universal, it is not unfeasible to propose its revision. The main effect of such revision would be to eliminate patronymics (like *Tih* and *Šišman*) from the formal nomenclature, and to treat double names as such, rather than as personal names followed by imaginary family names or patronymics. The imaginary family names themselves could still be used to group monarchs together in genealogical groupings for convenience (e.g., House of Asen, House of Terter, etc.). The resulting revision in the naming and numbering of monarchs seems relatively minor and, on the whole, unobtrusive. It improves our understanding of an aspect of medieval Bulgarian society, and

widow in 1298/1299. It thus seems best to agree with Božilov that Smilec's widow ruled Bulgaria in the name of her son in 1298–1299.

¹⁴⁶ For example Philippe, the son and co-ruler (in 1129–1131) of Louis VI of France (1108–1137); Henry, the son and co-ruler (in 1170–1183) of Henry II of England (1154–1189); Heinrich, the son and co-ruler (in 1147–1150) of Konrad III of the Holy Roman Empire (1138–1152).

¹⁴⁷ Not counting the purely titular Andronikos V Palaiologos, who was associated as a minor with his father Iōannēs VII Palaiologos, while the latter was governor of Thessalonica in 1403–1408. On Andronikos V, see G.T. DENNIS, *An Unknown Byzantine Emperor, Andronicus V Palaeologus (1400–1407?)*, JÖB 16, 1967, p. 173–187. Since neither a Mikhaēl nor an Andronikos reigned after Mikhaēl IX and Andronikos V, the numbering is in each case equally unproblematic.

¹⁴⁸ For him see Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, *България...*, p. 285–297, who also points out that the depiction of Ivan Asen V with his parents and brother in the London gospels, while giving him the imperial title, shows him bearing the crown of a *despotēs* instead: *ibidem*, p. 41–44, 286–288.

it corrects the occasional oversights of earlier historians. Moreover, the process of reassessing the relevant data provides new opportunities in a field where, due to the relative scarcity of sources, so much depends on inference.

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Abstract. The article explores the onomastic practices of medieval Bulgarians, focusing on the Second Bulgarian State, from the late 12th to the early 15th century. The collected evidence suggests that soon after their conversion to Christianity, Bulgarians abandoned the attested pre-Christian clan names. Yet, despite the undeniable strength of Byzantine cultural influence, neither aristocrats nor commoners in Bulgaria seem to have adopted Byzantine-type family names, nor, for that matter, making recourse to the use of patronymics as found among the Eastern and other Southern Slavs. Thus, for example, the name Asen became a true family name only among members of the royal family living in Byzantium. More generally, the few cases of family names or patronymics apparently applied to medieval Bulgarians, seem to be restricted to a foreign context.

While family names and patronymics do not seem to have been employed in Christian Medieval Bulgaria, many individuals (at least where males are concerned) appear to have sported double names, composed almost invariably of a baptismal Christian name paired with a folk name usually derived from Slavic or even Bulgar tradition. This practice included Bulgaria's monarchs, most of whom had such double names that should not be misinterpreted as family names or patronyms, as often done in the past. Specific names did, however, function as indicators for belonging within a particular lineage, as witnessed by the propagation of names like Asen, Terter, Šišman, and Sracimir. Thus, while these cannot be considered true family names, we could continue to use them as expedients to designate the ruling clans of Medieval Bulgaria (e.g., the *House of Terter*), albeit recognizing this to be a modern label.

These considerations not only elucidate another aspect of cultural practice in Medieval Bulgaria, but also allow and necessitate a relatively inobtrusive emendation and systematization of the historiographical nomenclature of Medieval Bulgarian monarchs. Discarding the notion of family names and recognizing foreign patronymics for what they are, it becomes possible to recover the actual results of dynastic name selection, as well as the rationale behind them.

Keywords: Bulgaria, Byzantium, Serbia, personal names, monarchs, house of Asen, house of Terter, house of Šišman, house of Sracimir

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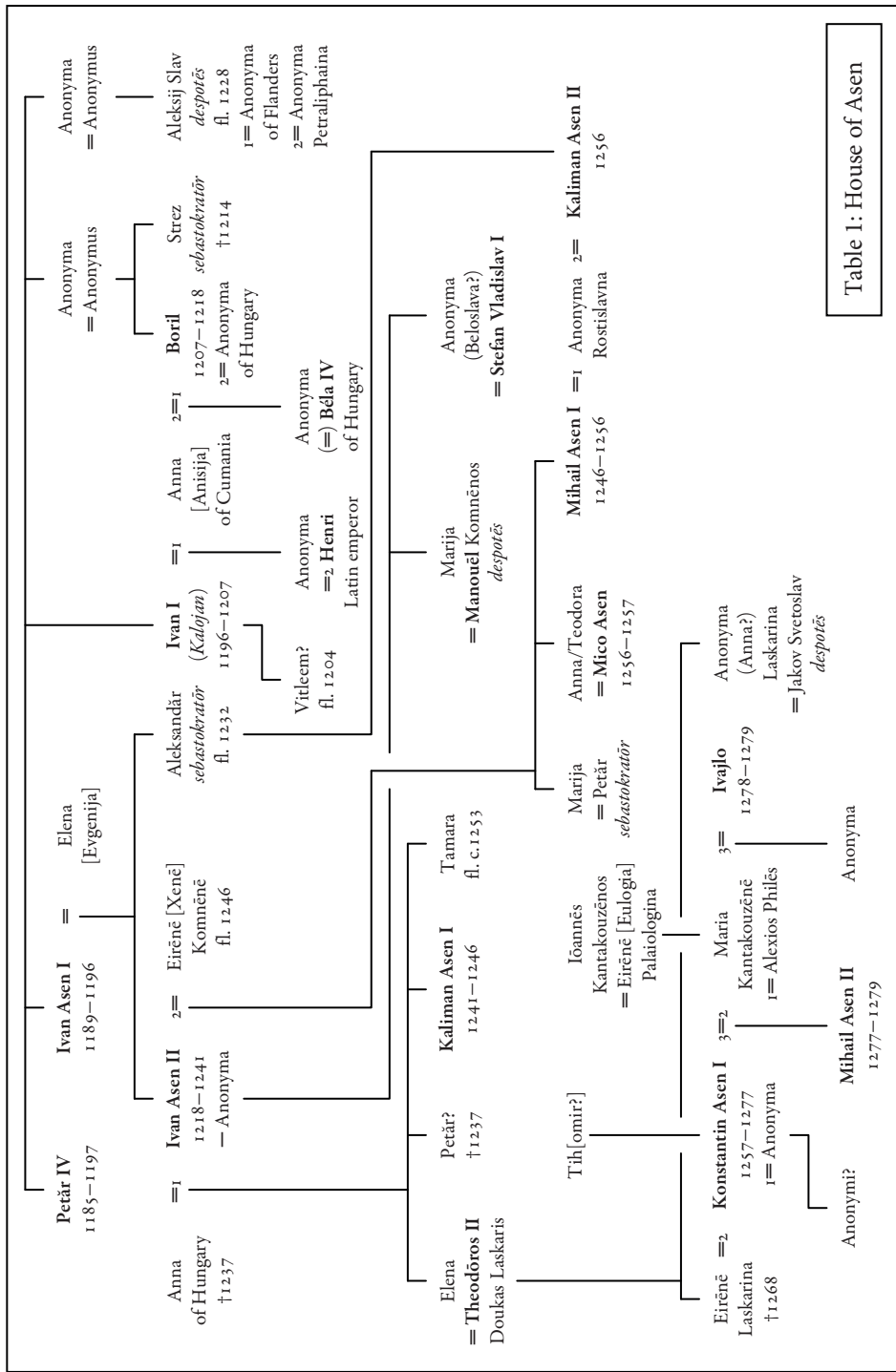


Table 1: House of Asen

Table 2: Houses of Terter and Smilec

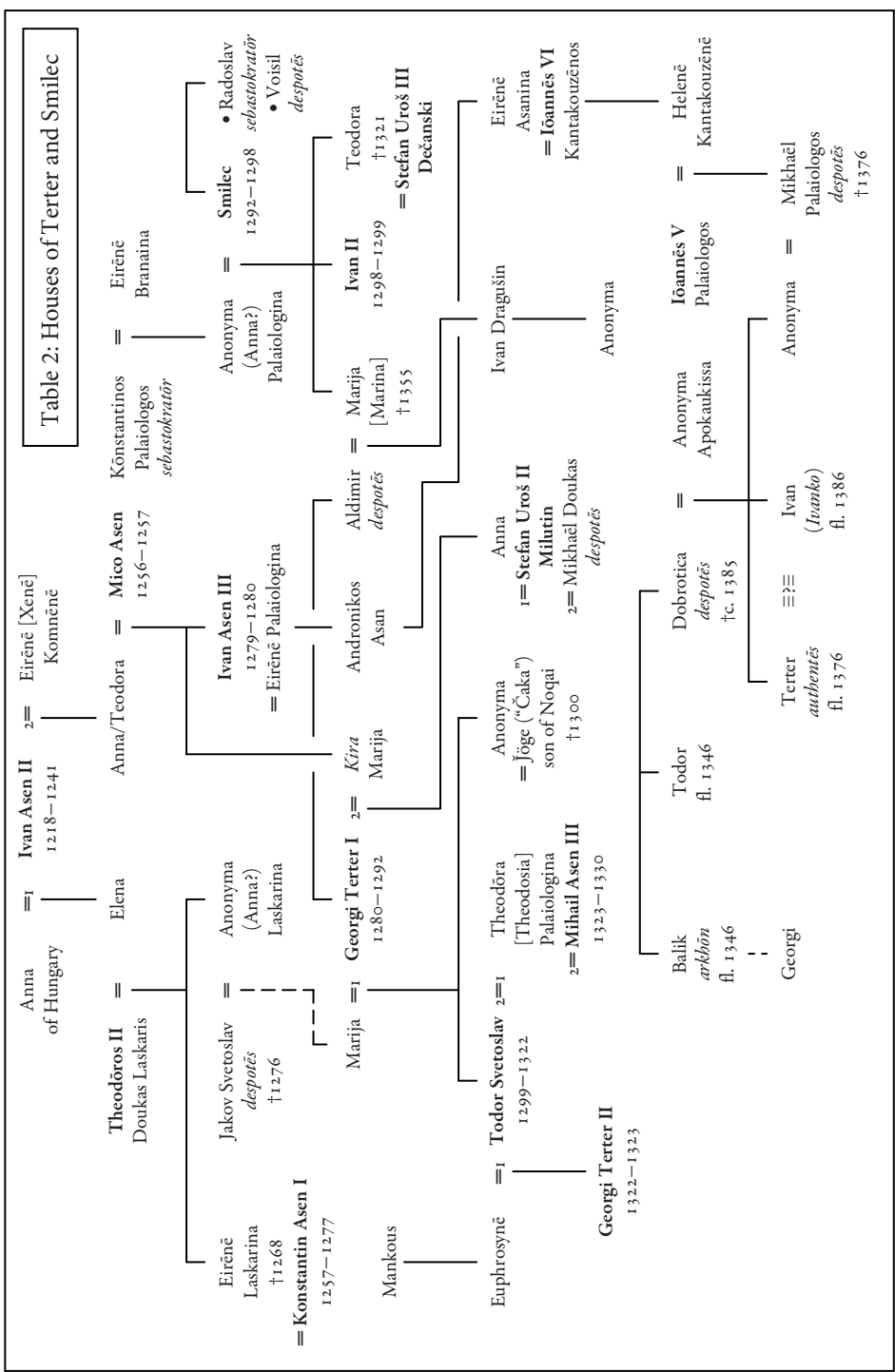


Table 3: House of Šišman

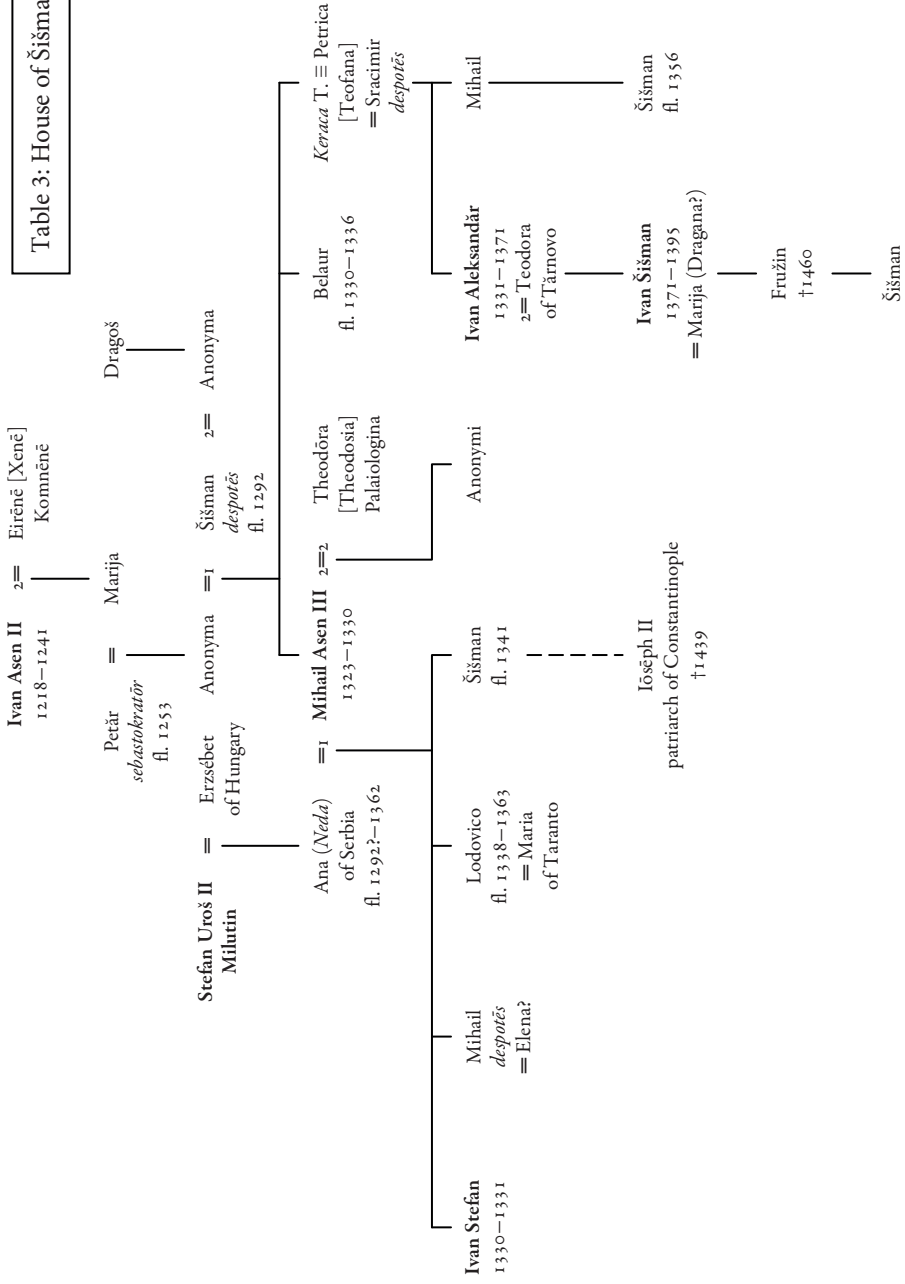
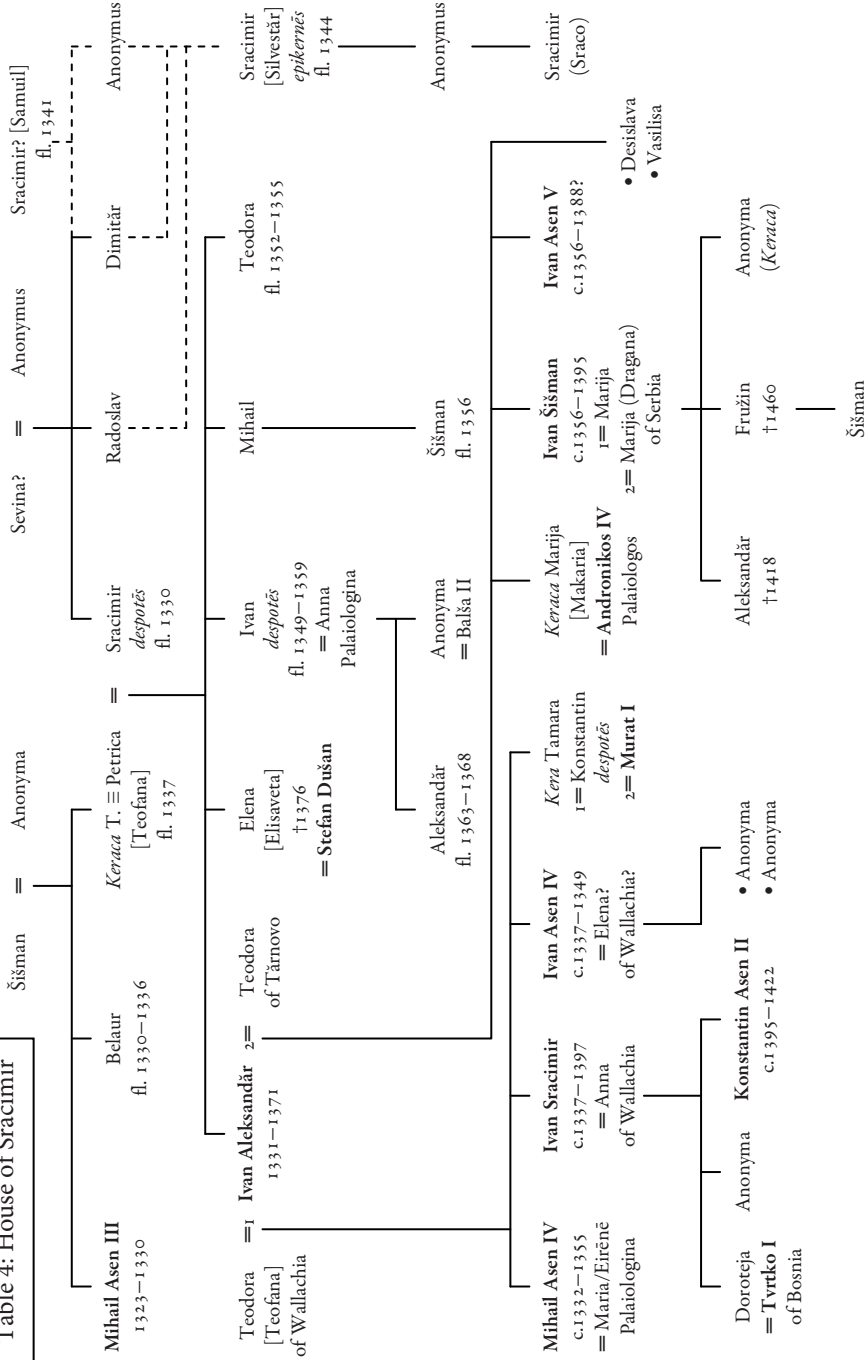


Table 4: House of Sracimir



Kamil Sobczak (Łódź)

TRANSITION FROM THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER TO THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DAMASCUS IN ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN

The Great Mosque of Damascus is one of the most important buildings in the Islamic world. It was built between 705 and 715 by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I. However, the origins of this building date to the distant past. At first it was a location of an ancient Aramaean temple dedicated to the god Hadad. After the successful military campaign of Alexander the Great and with the forthcoming Hellenization the temple was dedicated to Zeus. In the first century BC Romans transformed it into a temple of Jupiter (*Jupiter Damascenus*). With the dawn of Christianity in the Roman Empire, Emperor Theodosius in 391 converted the temple into the Cathedral of Saint John. The last stage of transformation was an Umayyad Mosque, which was rebuilt many times because of renovations after natural disasters. Listed phases reveal how complex the history of this sacred area is. The main goal of this article is to signalize the main changes that took place within that space in order to determine how deep in the past it is possible to search for an architectural correlation. Furthermore, it seems important to answer whether they had an impact on the later Islamic architecture through the Umayyad Mosque.

As far as the structures erected before the mosque are concerned, their history seems to be parallel to the history of Damascus, which should be presented cursorily. Damascus is located between Mount Qasiyun on the west and the desert in the east, in a fertile oasis supplied by water from the river Barada. The earliest findings which suggest habitation of this region date back to 9000 BC¹. Nevertheless, there is a lack of signs suggesting vast and developed settlements in the oasis. Even so, excavations in Syria have revealed complex settlements, which have been dated back to 9600 BC². Traces of urbanization were dated during excavation to the fourth millennium BC. Different sources mostly mention Damascus during the time of the Amorites, Hittites and Egyptians taking control over the area³.

¹ R. BURNS, *Damascus: A History*, Abingdon 2007, p. 2.

² B. ARNAUD, *Firs Farmers*, *Archeo* 53, 2000, p. 56–59.

³ Clay tablet at Ebla mentioned Damascus (3rd millennium BC). Egyptian hieroglyphic tablets mention the city among other conquest of pharaoh Thotmes III in 1490 BC. Cf.: R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 5–7.

Furthermore, there are references in the Bible⁴ and in *Antiquitates Judaicae* by Joseph Flavius⁵. With the end of the Bronze Age, development of the region was disturbed by a migration of the so-called People of the Sea⁶. Damascus became an important city in the Near East thanks to Aramaeans in the first millennium BC. Due to the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet, the Aramaic language, spread within the Near East after Damascus became part of the Assyrian Empire in the eighth century BC. With Assyrian rule Aramaic (or rather the Imperial Aramaic) became a regional *lingua franca*. That Aramaic however, was different from its precursor⁷. Later on, the city was controlled first by Babylonians and Persians respectively in the seventh and sixth century BC⁸. However, the main changes in the city's appearance must be connected with Alexander the Great and his conquest of Syria in 333 BC. Damascus came under the strong influence of Hellenization and was transformed considerably under the regime of the Seleucids⁹. In 90 BC the city might have been reestablished as Demetrius¹⁰. After a successful campaign in the Near East, Pompey the Great created the Roman Province of Syria in 64 BC¹¹. Then Damascus became one of ten cities of the Decapolis¹². In the fourth century CE Christianization took place in all of Syria. After the end of the unified Roman Empire in 395 CE, the city became an important part of the eastern (Byzantine) Empire up to the year 635 CE when it was finally conquered by Muslims¹³. Under the rule of the Umayyad dynasty, Damascus flourished as a new capital of the Caliphate¹⁴.

This historical summary gives a necessary background for describing changes that took place within the sacred area located in the center of Damascus. As there are no previous traces, the first archaeologically perceptible stage is the temple

⁴ Gn 14,15.

⁵ JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, I, 6, 4, I, 7, 2, [in:] *Dawne dzieje Izraela*, trans. Z. KUBIAK, J. RADOŹYCKI, Warszawa 2001.

⁶ J. ŚLIWA, *Sztuka i archeologia starożytnego Wschodu*, Warszawa–Kraków 1997, p. 194–195.

⁷ S. PARPOLA, *National and Ethnic Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Assyrian Identity in Post-Empire Times*, JAAS 18, 2004, p. 6–22.

⁸ J.M. MILLER, *Syria: Land of Civilizations*, NEA 64, 2001, p. 122–131.

⁹ R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁰ Discussion over placement of the city Demetrius and its founder Demetrius III was described by G.M. Cohen. Cf.: G.M. COHEN, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2006, p. 242–245.

¹¹ W. BALL, *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire*, London–New York 2002, p. 62.

¹² GAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS, *Naturalis Historiae*, V, 16, 74., [in:] *Historia naturalna*, trans. I. ZAWADZKA, T. ZAWADZKI, Wrocław–Kraków 1960.

¹³ B. CECOTA, *Ekspansja arabska na tereny bizantyńskie (632–718) oraz początki organizacji kalifatu*, [in:] *Bizancjum i Arabowie. Spotkanie cywilizacji, VI–VIII wiek*, ed. T. WOLIŃSKA, P. FILIP CZAK, Warszawa 2015, p. 300.

¹⁴ N. KHALEK, *Damascus after the Muslim Conquest: Text and Image in Early Islam*, Oxford 2011, *passim*.

of Hadad¹⁵. The Semitic god Hadad was the head of the Aramaic pantheon in the ninth century BC¹⁶. Among many attributes, he was primarily the god of thunderstorms and rain, and it seems that as such a deity he was worshipped in high places¹⁷. Strongly connected with a bull as a symbol, he was usually depicted with horns or as an anthropometrical animal¹⁸. Such an important deity required a suitable place of worship. The sacred area which had been chosen for this enterprise is the same on which the Umayyad Mosque stands today. Unfortunately, there is almost no data concerning this structure. The only surviving piece of the temple is an orthostat with a bas-relief depicting a sphinx, found at the northern wall of the mosque (now in the Damascus National Museum)¹⁹. Nevertheless, some conclusions may be drawn. As for the construction of the temple we might expect a strong Phoenician influence²⁰ as it was in the case of the First Temple of Jerusalem, which would be a suitable comparison²¹. The temple of Hadad presumably had the shape of an elongated rectangle with a walled courtyard. As typical for Phoenician architecture, the elevation of consecutive chambers is expected²². It might be also connected with the type of deity, as the storm god should be worshipped on a high place²³. We have no further information concerning the temple. Even though Damascus was conquered many times, the sacred area seems to play an important religious role, up to the Seleucid rule in the city without any major breaks.

In the second century BC Damascus started to become a more Hellenistic city thanks to the stability provided by Antiochus the Great and his successors. At that time, transition from Hadad into the Greek equivalent of Zeus began to be noticeable²⁴. The temple became a major point in the new urbanization system based on the Hippodamean plan. The entrance to the temple was located at the east and was

¹⁵ Mentioned in the Bible, 2 Reg 5,18; Cf.: R. DUSSAUD, *Le Temple de Jupiter Damascénien et ses transformations aux époques chrétienne et musulmane*, Sy 3, 1922, p. 219.

¹⁶ J.C. GREENFIELD, *Hadad*, [in:] *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, ed. K. VAN DER TOORN, B. BECKING, P.W. VAN DER HORST, Leiden–Boston–Köln 1999, p. 377–382.

¹⁷ R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁸ I. SKUPIŃSKA-LØVSET, *Kulty na et-Tell. Źródła archeologiczne*, SBO 3, 2011, p. 109–125.

¹⁹ E. DJAFAR ABD EL-KADER, *Un orthostate du temple de Hadad à Damas*, Sy 26, 1949, p. 191–195.

²⁰ Hadad was a known and worshiped deity in the Phoenician cities, cf.: J.C. GREENFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 381. Furthermore, the orthostat found during excavations was created in a Phoenician style E. DJAFAR ABD EL-KADER, *op. cit.*, p. 193–194.

²¹ The First Temple of Jerusalem was built by Phoenician architects and craftsman, J. ŚLIWA, *op. cit.*, p. 216; other argument for the Phoenician influence is mentioned earlier Aramaic language itself, with its alphabet adopted from Phoenicia, S. PARPOLA, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

²² Typical as well to Egyptian architecture, which had a great influence on the Phoenician one, cf.: J. ŚLIWA, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

²³ R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 40. In Bethsaida (et-Tell) the worship of Hadad is located within the city gate complex and not in the temple. I. SKUPIŃSKA-LØVSET, *op. cit.*, p. 110–111.

²⁴ R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

connected with the agora by a *Via Sacra*. Nevertheless, the architectural character was still a Semitic one, only partially fitted with Greek elements like *temenos* (inner courtyard) or *cella/naos* (inner chamber)²⁵. The whole premise had to be relatively vast as it was later reused by the Romans in the erection of the temple of Jupiter. Attribution of the temple to Jupiter seems natural because of his huge similarity to Zeus. The Roman construction was one of the largest in the Near East, and significantly rearranged the previous plan²⁶. Its history became known due to the elementary research over the history of Damascus and the Umayyad Mosque, that started at the end of the eighteenth century CE and lasted until the beginning of the twentieth century CE²⁷. It was later supplemented by the further research. Studies led to the identification of Roman architectural remains among city buildings, which lie in the vicinity of the Umayyad Mosque, with the temple of Jupiter²⁸. The main structure of the temple was assembled from a *peribolos* (outer courtyard) with dimensions of 380 x 310 m and a *temenos* with dimensions of 156 x 97 m (**Fig. 1a**). The *temenos* was erected probably during the regime of August in the first century BC; the *peribolos* was finished later, in the middle of the first century CE. One of the last major improvements and renovations was made during the rule of Emperor Septimius Severus in the second century CE²⁹. The wall of the *temenos* was built from ashlar blocks. Every corner of the structure had a square tower. Erection of the towers might have been motivated by the dedication to Jupiter, with the high superstructures no longer needed for the religious purposes³⁰. There was an entrance on each side of the temple. The main entrance was placed at the east wall of the *temenos* and was leading to a *cella*. The external size of the complex was determined by a colonnade in the Corinthian architectural order. Formed that way, the *peribolos* had also a lay usage as a market place or festival area, which was not something unusual in the ancient Near East³¹. The colonnade provided perfect protection against sun and rain. There is still an ongoing debate regarding

²⁵ C. WATZINGER, K. WULZINGER, *Damaskus. Die antike Stadt (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos*, Berlin–Leipzig 1921, p. 62–64.

²⁶ K.S. FREYBERGER, *Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte des Jupiter-Heiligtums in Damasku*, DMi 4, 1989 p. 61–86.

²⁷ Research over ancient Damascus were strongly connected with its political status in the last four centuries. Therefore, studies were mostly conducted by British and French expeditions. The German and then French research at the beginning of the 20th century, confirmed previous suspicions that the structure of the ancient temple of Jupiter lies within the permit of the Umayyad Mosque and city structure. Cf.: C. WATZINGER, K. WULZINGER, *op. cit.*, *passim*; R. DUSSAUD, *op. cit.*, p. 219–250.

²⁸ C. WATZINGER, K. WULZINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²⁹ The remains of the outer colonnade, which might be found at the present Damascus are dated back to renovation by Septimius Severus.

³⁰ The towers were probably used for sacrificial practices. Cf.: R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

³¹ One of the most famous example comes of the Bible when „Cleansing of the Temple” took place as traders and bankers were cast out from the Temple. Mt 21,12–27, Mc 11,15–33, and Lc 19,45–48, 20,1–8, Io 2,13–16.

the origins of such a vast construction³². The collaboration of the High Priest and the local aristocracy seems the most appealing, as a strictly Roman undertaking is highly unlikely at that time. As a good example, enterprises of Herod the Great should be taken into consideration. The process took place at the same time in the Near East under Roman influence³³ and was financed by the king himself. However, the situation is analogous only partially as Damascus was under a different administrative order. Thus, differences are highly probable.

The next important moment came in the fourth century CE, when Christianity became the main religion in the Roman Empire. Emperor Theodosius in 391 converted the *temenos*³⁴ of the temple into the Christian Cathedral of Saint John. The reason for that attribution is a legend regarding the head of Saint John the Baptist being buried in the temple (commemorated later by a shrine built inside the Umayyad Mosque)³⁵. Unfortunately, because of the final transition into a mosque (as the church was destroyed) there is no certain data regarding the shape and situation of the Christian structure³⁶. The church probably stood in the center or in the southern-west corner of the *temenos*, however, there is no indisputable evidence (**Fig. 1b–c**). Different locations might be a result of different approach to the Roman and Christian temples³⁷. Moreover, the smaller scale is the most probable as there are no other sources regarding the church being so immense. It is worth mentioning, that after the conquest of Damascus in 635 the *temenos* was used as a prayer space by Muslims. The situation changed in 705 when the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I decided to definitively replace the church with the mosque.

The new structure was ready in 715. The Umayyad Mosque is especially interesting for the Byzantine influence on its architecture and decor. The construction of the building is based solely on the Roman basilica. The choice of the basilica as a structural model might have been motivated by the size of previous structures and requirements of religious practices. As the choice of the place might have been based on political and religious factors, it had strong repercussions on the new construction. The *temenos* was a big structure and the building within it also had to rise to a huge size³⁸. The Islamic practice of praying in the direction to Mecca

³² R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

³³ R.L. HOHLFELDER, *Beyond Coincidence? Marcus Agrippa and King Herod's Harbor*, JNES 59, 2000, p. 241–253.

³⁴ While the *peribolos* role as a part of the temple become less important and was incorporated within market (at the west and north side) and later contained by palace (at the south-east side).

³⁵ Attribution to Saint John the Baptist is problematic as evidence suggest that it stated no sooner than the 6th century CE and might be strongly connected with the promotion of the legend by Christians and Muslims as well. Cf.: R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 89, 282.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 89.

³⁷ *L. cit.*

³⁸ Size of the Great Mosque exceeded the demands of not so vast at that time Muslim community, cf.: F.B. FLOOD, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture*, Leiden 2001, p. 235.

(location of the *qibla* wall) was another factor for rearrangement³⁹. The Umayyad Mosque was thus built on the south side of the building leaving the rest of the *temenos* as an open courtyard (**Fig. 1d**). The main structure was different from the typical Roman basilicae as it had three aisles of an unusual even size on an east-west line and one aisle on a north-south line across the middle of the structure. The aisles were formed by the arched columns, some of which might be reused in the church and belonged originally to the Roman Temple. The roof over the transept was topped with a dome flanked by two half-domes. This element was also copied from Byzantine architecture⁴⁰. It was destroyed in a fire in 1401 and rebuilt later without the half-domes. As the *temenos* walls did not have windows there was trouble with a lack of daylight inside. The solution was a wooden roof with tiles, built high enough to create a space for windows. It is worth noting, that this feature became very typical for Islamic architecture. A new entrance to the mosque was located at the northern wall. Applied arches and the construction of a façade were purely Byzantine⁴¹. Decoration and mosaics created by Byzantine craftsmen had a huge impact on further buildings in Egypt and Levant⁴². Even after thirteenth century when Mameluks had risen to power, art motifs were copied into their architecture⁴³. The *temenos* towers were used as a base for the erection of minarets.

The Great Mosque of Damascus became a pattern for Islamic architecture of the Umayyads and their successors⁴⁴. Therefore, purely Roman/Byzantine elements became ubiquitous in the Islamic world. The Umayyad Mosque is not only an architectural phenomenon. Behind the visible changes in building, and its decoration, stands the continuity of the sacred space. There are many factors that should be taken into consideration about this process, from strictly religious and social reasons, to economic and political factors. Nonetheless, the fact is that the Semitic cult of Hadad was replaced by a Greco-Roman one. The polytheistic religions were then substituted by Christianity, which in the case of Damascus was eventually dominated by Islam in the seventh century. That kind of transition was not an isolated example in the Near East. One of the most well known is the Dome

³⁹ R. BURNS, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁴⁰ Flood had suggested that inspiration for the dome was Hagia Sophia as Caliph al-Walid I would have thought that the conquest of Constantinople was unavoidable and had huge ambitions regarding this aim. Cf.: F.B. FLOOD, *The Great Mosque...*, p. 163–164.

⁴¹ Remarkable resemblance to the 6th century Theoderics palace in Ravenna, which façade is known from the mosaics of Basilica di Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Cf.: F.B. FLOOD, *The Great...*, p. 163.

⁴² F.B. FLOOD, *Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus*, Muq 14, 1997, p. 57–79.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem, passim*; Grafman and Rosen-Ayalon had suggested that as Umayyad Mosque was definitely an inspiration for Islamic architecture, however, at least the same role or even bigger played the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Cf.: R. GRAFMAN, M. ROSEN-AYALON, *The Two Great Syrian Umayyad Mosques: Jerusalem and Damascus*, Muq 16, 1999, p. 1–15.

of the Rock in Jerusalem. Moreover, it has been recorded that the same process took place in Damascus, in the case of the Umayyad Mosque⁴⁵. The Great Mosque of Damascus, however, might have taken the continuity even further. A retracable and confirmed transition is only from the Roman temple into the Mosque (with a Christian church stage). Roman/Byzantine patterns and the reuse of previous design were listed above. However, another question arises, whether it is possible to look for traces of patterns further in the past to Aramaic and Assyrian architecture. Taking into consideration the case of high places, there are indications that could lead to a continuity of sacred space from such a distant past. High places were used for sacrificial purposes and recreation of them within the Hellenistic temple as towers, might have been motivated by easing religious transition⁴⁶. Furthermore, when the Mosque was built they were incorporated as bases for minarets. The origin of minaret and the reason for the building of such constructions is a complicated merit in itself⁴⁷. The Umayyad Mosque with its minarets undoubtedly had a huge impact on Islamic architecture. It needs to be underlined that such course of events as proposed here can only be considered as theoretical. One of the main reasons for that is the fact that the archaeological excavation within such sacred areas, especially while still in use, is very difficult. The core of archaeological data regarding previous stages of the Great Mosque comes from excavation conducted at the beginning of the twentieth century⁴⁸. There are a lot of factors regarding changes within the sacred space in Damascus. Some of them are simply impossible to recreate and at this point we can try to find correlations in architecture by comparison with different archaeological sites. Nonetheless, based on Creswell's view regarding the towers of the Temple of Jupiter and the origin of minarets, it is plausible to make hypothetical connections with previous constructions. Creswell had suggested that towers of the Temple of Jupiter, used by Muslims just before the erection of the Great Mosque, might have been an inspiration for building those kind of structures as minarets (the first ones) in the mosque located in Fustat by the Umayyad governor of Egypt. Not long later minarets were built in the Great Mosque. Leaning on that theory, it would be possible to search for the origins of the Great Mosque of Damascus not only in the Temple of Jupiter, but even in the Aramaic temple from the tenth century BC.

⁴⁵ A. BOUNNI, *Du Temple païen à la Mosquée: note préliminaire sur le cas de la Mosquée Omeyyade de Damas*, [in:] *Sacralidad y Arqueología, Antigüedad y Cristianismo XXI*, ed. A. GONZÁLEZ BLANCO, J.M. BLÁZQUES MARTÍNEZ, Murcia 2004, p. 595–605.

⁴⁶ As Hadad and Zeus has comparable features usage of these similarities by combining rituals seems to be appealing.

⁴⁷ K. CRESWELL, *The evolution of the minaret, with special reference to Egypt*, BMag 48, 1926, p. 134–140; J.M. BLOOM, *Creswell and the Origins of the Minaret*, Muq 8, 1991, p. 55–56.

⁴⁸ Therefore, almost every research regarding the earliest stages of this sacred area are based on the work of German expedition, which because of political and financial reasons had been conducted very fast and without standards of modern archaeology.

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Abstract. Great Mosque of Damascus was built between 705 and 715 by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I. However, the origins of this building dates to the distant past. At first it was a location of an ancient Aramaean temple dedicated to the god Hadad. With Hellenization the temple was dedicated to Zeus and in the first century BC the Romans transformation it into the Temple of Jupiter Damascenus. In 391 Emperor Theodosius converted the temple into Christian Cathedral of Saint John. Erection of the mosque by Caliph al-Walid I was under strong influence of earlier constructions. Meaning and consequences of such transitions, from the Roman temple (there is almost no data of the Aramaic building) through the Christian Cathedral to the Islamic mosque is an interesting process. Issue not only within the art and architecture, but what is more, in a religious aspect of the continuity of sacred space.

Keywords: Hadad, Temple of Jupiter Damascenus, Great Mosque of Damascus, Roman architecture, Islamic architecture.

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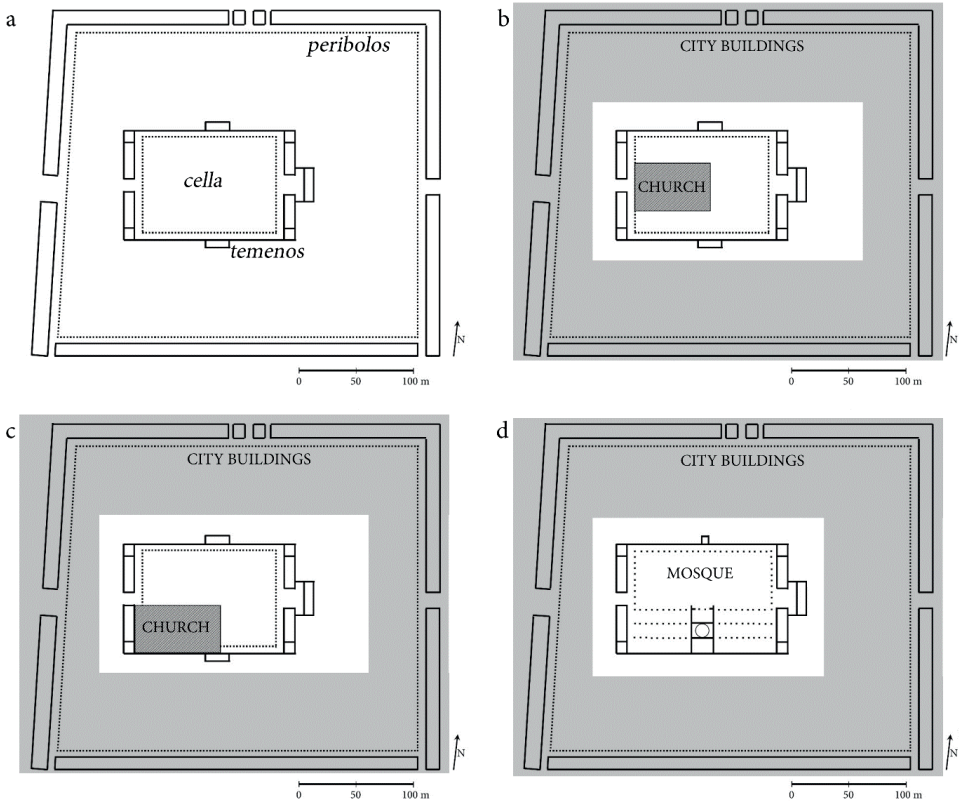


Fig. 1. Simplified plan of transformation based on research of Watzinger and Wulzinger: a) Temple of Jupiter, b) Cathedra of Saint John the Baptist located at the center (beginning of the city buildings extension) c) Cathedra of Saint John the Baptist located at the south-west corner (beginning of the city buildings extension), d) The Great Mosque of Damascus

drawn by *Kamil Sobczak*

Ростислав Станков (София)

О “РУСИЗМАХ” БЕРЛИНСКОГО СБОРНИКА

Берлинский сборник (БС), рукопись из собрания Вука Караджича, хранится в Берлинской государственной библиотеке (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz) под № 48. Фрагмент из трех листов этой рукописи находится в РНБ в Санкт-Петербурге (Q. п. I. 15). Впервые на эту рукопись внимание обратил В. Ягич¹. Краткое описание графики и орфографии БС можно найти у С.А. Кульбакина, который относил рукопись к XIII в.² Фототипическое издание вышло в 1988 г.³, а печатное – в 2006⁴. Издатели БС относят его к началу XIV в., по их мнению, рукопись объединяет тексты разного происхождения, с различной предысторией и отражает, таким образом, многовековые отношения между южнославянскими и восточнославянскими книжными традициями⁵. Еще до издания рукописи Х. Миклас писал, что в БС есть доказательства того, что отдельные восточнославянские юридические рукописи вскоре после появления Номоканона св. Саввы⁶ получили распространение на славянском юге не позднее последней четверти XIII в.⁷ Мнение Микласа основано на тех авторах, которые писали, что в БС и в Иловицкой Кормчей есть русизмы. Издавая текст рукописи БС, авторы (Х. Миклас, Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева) пришли к заключению, что некоторые языковые особенности БС следует отнести за счет влияния со стороны восточнославянской традиции, т.е. протографы отдельных текстов

¹ V. JAGIĆ, *Opisi i izvodi iz nekoliko južnoslovenskih rukopisa*, Star 5, 1873, p. 43–68.

² “Судя по почерку, Берлинский Сборник относится к XIII веку”, С.А. КУЛЬБАКИН, *Материалы и замечки по славяноведению (Из отчета о заграничной командировке)*, ЖМНП 354.7, 1904, отделение 2, p. 19.

³ H. MIKLAS, V. ZAGREVIN, *Berlinski sbornik*, Graz 1988.

⁴ *Берлински сборник. Среднобългарски книжовен паметник от началото на XIV век с допълнения от други ръкописи*, ed. X. MIKLAS, L. TASEVA, M. JOVČEVA, София–Wien 2006 (cetera: БС).

⁵ БС, p. 7.

⁶ Видимо, автор имел в виду Иловицкую Кормчую 1262 г.

⁷ H. MIKLAS, *Kyryllomethodianisches und nachkyryllomethodisches Erbe im ersten ostslavischen Einfluß auf die südslavische Literatur*, [in:] *Symposium Methodianum. Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung in Regensburg (17. bis 24. April 1985) zum Gedenken an den 1100. Todestag des hl. Method*, ed. K. TROST, E. VÖKL, E. WEDEL, Neuried 1988 (= *Selecta Slavica* 13), p. 444.

могли возникнуть в восточнославянской среде или же протографы могли побывать некоторое время в восточнославянских областях⁸.

Цель настоящего изложения – ответ на вопрос, можно ли вообще говорить о каких-то “восточнославянизмах” или “русизмах” в БС. Рассмотрим сначала фонетические особенности. Среди фонетических русизмов выделяется появление в орфографии БС буквы *ѡ* вм. *ѡ*⁹. Некоторые из примеров, указанных издателями, просто некорректны, а другие допускают совсем другую интерпретацию, имеющую отношение к рефлексам *ѡ* в болгарском языке. Приведем примеры:

- (1) то всеѡа сѡ блудн да прѣвѣваеть по всѣх днѣ. не ѡдѣлѣнѡ ѡ себѣ своего съпржга мьѣсльнн л. 122v¹⁰;
- (2) тыѡа всакѣѡх красотн твора[щ]ѣ л. 124r¹¹;
- (3) бжѣ бо страхѣ вселенѣ се бѣше въ нь н любвѣн. да все тнѡх сластн скоромноуѡщаѡа нн въ ѡтоже нмѣше л. 124v¹²;
- (4) то не въѡ могль дшѡх своѡх въ тнѡх зльѣ въврѣшн л. 126r¹³;
- (5) нзвѣѡ ѡа ѡба црѣѡ не темннѡа. н ѡвого простн а дроуѡгаго ѡбѣсн л. 128v¹⁴;
- (6) ѡѡ не въѡ емоу пакостн нноѡх-ѡже работннѡх л. 129v¹⁵;
- (7) н ннѡх многѣѣ. ѡже быше въ вѣнѡа мѣсто мжжомѣ своимѣ л. 130v¹⁶;
- (8) которнхъ вѣшн вонте сѡ. ѡ всѣхъ ѡже ѡ хѡ кртннаноѡх прѣданаѡх сѡтъ л. 42v¹⁷;
- (9) Хоуѡннкѣ канновѣ ѡстн прилагаеть сѡ. хѣдо бо коренне. сотоннѣское хоуленне вратнѡа л. 7v¹⁸;
- (10) добрѣѡ оупасѣ поржѣннѡа тн бмѣ дшѣ л. 22v¹⁹.

Форма *тыѡа* в (2) определена издателями как вин. ж. мн., на самом деле это самый ранний известный пример новой болгарской формы личного местоимения ж. р. в им. ед. – *тя* ‘она’ (“она, всякие красоты твоя”); та же самая форма (*тнѡа*) зафиксирована в Бдинском сборнике 1360 г.²⁰

⁸ БС, р. 7.

⁹ БС, р. 386, § 2, 1, 2.

¹⁰ БС, р. 338, 21–339, 2; после страницы указана строка.

¹¹ БС, р. 341, 13–14.

¹² БС, р. 342, 17–21.

¹³ БС, р. 345, 3–5.

¹⁴ БС, р. 350, 21–23.

¹⁵ БС, р. 352, 22–23.

¹⁶ БС, р. 354, 1–3.

¹⁷ БС, р. 152, 1–4.

¹⁸ БС, р. 79, 23–80, 2.

¹⁹ БС, р. 112, 22–23.

²⁰ И. Харалампиев, *Из езиковите особености на Берлинския сборник, среднобългарски паметник от XIII век*, БЕ 47.2, 1997–1998, р. 7–8.

Форма **тѣи** в (4) также определена как вин. ж. мн., но это может быть уже новая форма показательного местоимения – *тия*, которая в данном случае имеет скорее значение ср. мн.; ее можно рассматривать и как форму **тѣ** или **тѣи**, расширенную показательной частицей **ѣ**²¹; ср. *тѣе* во Врачанском евангелии: (11) **рѣша ѣиъ тѣи** (вар. **тѣ**, **ѣи**) *Іо 7, 45*²².

В (5) местоименная форма **ѣ** неправильно определена как форма вин. мн. м.; очевидно, что это форма дв. ч., следовательно, тут нельзя говорить о **ѣ** на месте **ѣ**. В (8) форма **ѣже** определена как вин. мн. ж., на самом деле это форма вин. мн. ср., которая согласуется с причастием **рѣданаѣ** (иначе следовало бы ожидать – **рѣданѣѣ**); т.е. и в этом случае нет буквы **ѣ** вместо **ѣ**. Форма **пържѣнѣи** в (10) определена как вин. мн. ж. (видимо, авторы имели в виду причастную форму **пържѣнѣѣ**); текст, возможно, испорчен, и писец имел в виду слово ср. р. во мн. ч. (о фонетической интерпретации ниже). В (9) форма **вратѣи** определена как род. ед. Это возможно, но лучше интерпретировать форму как им. мн. Обычно **вратѣи** относится к собирательным существительным ж. р., но уже в древнеболгарскую эпоху оно сочетается с местоимениями других родов и глагольными формами во мн. ч. со значением ‘братья’ и переводит греч. ἀδελφοί (им. мн.): (11) **вѣси же вѣи вратѣѣ есте** (ἀδελφοί ἐστε) *Мт 23, 8* Мариинское евангелие (**вратѣѣ** *Ассем., Остром.*); (12) **и вратѣи вѣси не отъ единаго и единаго рождѣни** (ἀδελφοί) *Супрасльская рукопись 84, 19*²³. На наш взгляд, в противовес авторам указанных словарей, собирательным данное слово является только в тех случаях, когда оно согласуется с местоимениями ж. р. типа *моѣ*, *твоѣ*, *наша* и т. п. Только в этих случаях оно ведет себя как собирательное слово ж. р. и грамматически, и семантически – ‘братство, братия’. Следующий пример из Супрасльской рукописи, где слово согласуется с местоимением ж. р. и причастиями м. р. в им. мн., демонстрирует переходное состояние между формой собирательного существительного ж. р. и формой им. мн. к **врат(р)ѣ**: (13) **Братѣѣ же вѣса пристѣпѣше** падоша на ногу ѣго. **млаште** повѣдати ѣиъ... 570, 18–20 (греч. нет)²⁴. Поэтому в (9), при отсутствии определительных слов, форма **вратѣи** может иметь значение им. мн. (болг. *братя*); после XII в., когда вин. падеж уже во многих случаях употребляется как общая форма, наблюдается и его замена на им. падеж; такая замена отмечена еще в Синайской псалтири

²¹ Б. Велчева, *Показателни местоимения и наречия в новобългарските паметници от XVI и XVII в.*, ИИБЕ 10, 1964, р. 191.

²² Б. Цонев, *Врачанско евангеле. Среднобългарски паметник от XIII век*, София 1914 (= БС, vol. IV), р. 103.

²³ *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)*, ed. Э. БЛАГОВА, Р. ВЕЧЕРКА, Р.М. ЦЕЙТЛИН, Москва 1994 (cetera: СС), р. 100; *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, ed. J. KURZ, vol. I, Praha 1966 (cetera: SJS), р. 141; *Старобългарски речник*, ed. Д. ИВАНОВА-МИРЧЕВА, vol. I, София 1999, р. 118–119.

²⁴ *Старобългарски речник*, р. 119.

(*незълѡба* вм. *незълѡбѡ*)²⁵. Фонетическое объяснение данной формы предполагает *ѡ* вм. *ѡ* (также на болгарской почве, см. ниже).

Остальные случаи объясняются фонетически, но не как результат влияния древнерусской орфографии, а как отражение рефлексов *ѡ* на болгарской почве. Еще В. Ягич предполагал, что *ѡ* в некоторых случаях является широким гласным звуком типа [ä]²⁶. Идею Ягича подтвердил И. Кочев²⁷, а примеры с рефлексами *ä*н, *ä* на месте *ѡ* в болгарских говорах можно найти, начиная с самых крайних регионов юго-западной болгарской языковой территории и кончая ее крайними юго-восточными регионами²⁸. В среднеболгарских памятниках отмечены случаи *ѡ* вм. *ѡ* после гласных и *ј* (Врачанское евангелие, Орбельская триодь, Севастьянов сборник)²⁹, т.е. замена *ѡ* знаками, выражающими задние гласные³⁰. Согласно другим авторам, здесь имеет место отражение рефлекса большого юса (*ж*) после *ј*, что зафиксировано в таких словах как *йазѡк*, *йачмѡн*³¹. О том, что *ѡ* в некоторых районах Болгарии дает *а* (*я*), писал еще Т.Д. Флоринский³². Как видно, нет оснований относить случаи *ѡ* вм. *ѡ* в БС за счет некоего воображаемого древнерусского протографа.

Следующий “русизм” находится на грани фонетики и лексики. Речь идет о слове *ѡпнтѡнна*, которое в первом тексте сборника (*Notosanon roenitentialis*) встречается в следующих вариантах: *ѡпнтѡнна* (7), *ѡпнтѡнне* (1), *ѡпнтѡнна* (3), *ѡпнтѡнна* (1), *ѡпнтѡнна* (1). В части текста, несохранившейся в БС, распределение вариантов таково: *ѡпнтѡнна* (5), *ѡпнтѡнна* (2), *ѡпнтѡнне* (3), *ѡпнтѡнна* (1). Как видно, нигде в этом тексте не отмечен исходный вариант *ѡпнтѡнна* (< *ѡпнтѡнна*), известный из Супрасльской рукописи! На “русскость” может претендовать лишь одно употребление: *ѡпнтѡннаж*³³. Одна-

²⁵ Д. Иванова-Мирчева, И. Харалампиев, *История на българския език*, Велико Търново 1999, р. 180; И. Харалампиев, *Историческа граматика на българския език*, Велико Търново 2001, р. 189.

²⁶ V. JAGIĆ, *Wie lautete ж bei den alten Bulgaren?*, ASP 3, 1879, р. 347–350.

²⁷ И. Кочев, *Особеностите на назалната вокална корелация в историческия развой на българския език*, БЕ 32.3, 1982, р. 177–183.

²⁸ М. Чомонев, *Застѡпник ä < ѡ в говора на с. Аврен, Цариградско*, БЕ 36.1, 1986, р. 71–73.

²⁹ А.-М. Тотоманова, *Из старобългарската историческа фонетика*, София 1992, р. 27, 47, 49.

³⁰ А.-М. Тотоманова, *Среднобългарският вокализъм*, [in:] ЕАДЕМ, *Из историята на българския език. Сборник статии*, София 2009, р. 38; ЕАДЕМ, *Среднобългарският вокализъм*, [in:] *Пѡвнѡ мало Гѡвѡргнѡ. Сборник в чест на 65-годишнината на проф. Георги Попов*, София 2010, р. 612.

³¹ Д. Иванова-Мирчева, И. Харалампиев, *op. cit.*, р. 66; И. Харалампиев, *op. cit.*, р. 63; в болгарском этимологическом словаре указаны формы *йазѡк* и *йѡчмен* для юго-западных и западных болгарских говоров: *Български этимологичен речник*, vol. I, София 1971 (cetera: БЕР), р. 483, *език*; р. 517, *ечемик*.

³² Т.Д. Флоринский, *Лекции по славянскому языкознанию*, vol. I, Киев 1895, р. 75.

³³ БС, р. 85, 12.

ко оснований признать его русизмом при такой картине вариантов слова *ѣпнтѣмнѣ* в рассматриваемом тексте *БС* явно недостаточно. Если в древнерусском языке в начале слова мог стоять только звук [o], то это не позволяет нам считать, что второе *o* в указанных вариантах является особенно-стью древнерусского языка – в древнерусских памятниках такого варианта нет. Все говорит о лексикализации вариантов с начальным *ѣ* – (*ѣпнтѣмнѣ*) и *ѡ* – (*ѡпнтѣмнѣ*) в *БС*. О лексикализации указанных вариантов говорит и колебание в орфографии – *ѡпнтѣмнѣ*. Следует отметить также и формы ср. р. *ѣпнтѣмнѣ*, *ѡпнтѣмнѣ*. В несохранившейся части этого текста отмечен еще один грецизм с начальным *ѡ* – в ср. р. – *ѡктѣѣннѣ*³⁴. Вариант *ѡпнтѣмнѣ* (*ѡпнтѣмнѣ*) можно объяснить фонетически на греческой или болгарской почве: лабиализация (*ε > o, y*) связана с влиянием соседнего лабиального согласного³⁵. Чередование *ѣ* и *ѡ* в *ѣпнтѣмнѣ* может иметь древнее происхождение и восходить к неправильному прочтению глаголических букв *э* (*ε*) и *э* (*o*), это относится и к слову *ѡктѣѣннѣ*. Каково бы ни было происхождение этих вариантов, вряд ли их следует относить за счет влияния гипотетического древнерусского протографа. Тем более, что, как отмечают и сами издатели *БС*, при передаче греческих слов нет строгой орфографической нормы³⁶. Мнение авторов, что это объясняется различными влияниями на тексты, связанными со временем и местом их бытования, неубедительно. Неубедительность такого объяснения видна в связи с другой особенностью передачи грецизмов в *БС*. Так, греч. *θ* передается в *БС* буквой *ѡ*, но в некоторых случаях встречается и буква *ѣ*. Авторы отмечают, что явление зафиксировано в Зографском евангелии. Тем не менее, они, опираясь на другие фонетические и лексические “русизмы”, допускают, что *ѣ* на месте *θ* в *Сказании о злонравных женщинах* и *Откровении Псевдо-Методия Патарского* можно считать русизмом³⁷. Тут необходимо сделать важное методологическое уточнение. Если какое-нибудь явление известно из классических древнеболгарских памятников, то его наличие в среднеболгарской рукописи никоим образом нельзя считать результатом влияния протографа неболгарского происхождения.

Переходим к морфологическим “русизмам”. Среди морфологических “русизмов” совершенно странным образом оказалось окончание 2 л. ед. наст. -шь (*чюдншь*, *ѡречѣшь*)³⁸. Окончание -шь было характерно только для диалекта, легшего в основу древнеболгарского письменного языка. С XIII в.

³⁴ *БС*, р. 64, 13–14.

³⁵ Х. Дзидзилис, *Фонетични проблеми при етимологизуване на гръцките заемки в българския език*, София 1990, р. 16.

³⁶ *БС*, р. 393.

³⁷ *БС*, р. 393–394.

³⁸ *БС*, р. 400, 422.

в среднеболгарских памятниках появляются примеры окончания *-шь*: *нзгѡннш* (Банишское евангелие), *тврѡншь*, *хѡщѣш* *лн*, *глаголѣш* (Добрейшово евангелие), *сѣтварѣшъ*, *зѣтварѣшъ* (Германов сборник), *поуѣтншь*, *нандѣшь* (Троянская повесть)³⁹. Аргумент издателей, что в тех же текстах встречается фонетический русизм *ѣ* вм. *ѡ*, как было показано, ничего не доказывает.

Как словообразовательный русизм определен суффикс *-нѣскъ-ѣ* (*-нѣскъ-ѣ*). В то же время издатели, проявляя непоследовательность, пишут, что изолированный характер “русизмов” *сѡтѡннѣскъ* в *Правилах Феодора Студита* и *боуѣнѣскъ*, *жрѡднѣскъ* в *Откровении Псевдо-Мефодия Патарского* не позволяет сделать более определенные выводы относительно истории списков, где читаются эти слова⁴⁰. Последнее звучит несколько странно, так как авторы (см. выше) считают, что в *Откровении* есть и другие русизмы; то же самое касается и слова *сѡтѡннѣскъ* (см. здесь 9, где якобы отмечен русизм *ѣ* вм. *ѡ*). Пример со словом *боуѣнѣскъ* некорректен: в нем выделяется суффикс *-ѣскъ-ѣ*, а не *-нѣскъ-ѣ*, как считают издатели. Слово является образованием от *боуѣнѣ*, зафиксированном в разных списках Евангелия и *Жития Андрея Юродивого* и др.⁴¹ В древнеболгарских рукописях есть слова с концовкой, где *-нѣ* (*-нѣ*) относятся к мотивирующей основе: *мѣжѣннѣ-ѣскъ*, *страстѣннѣ-ѣскъ*, *владѣннѣ-ѣскъ*, *крѣтѣннѣ-ѣскъ*. Эти слова могли послужить основой для появления избыточного суффикса *-нѣскъ-ѣ*. По крайней мере, одно такое слово имеется в Супрасльской рукописи: *оубнѣльннѣскъ*⁴². Поскольку данное слово предполагает существование **оубнѣльннѣ* ‘убийца’, В.С. Ефимова выделяет здесь суффикс *-ѣскъ-ѣ*⁴³. Существование *оубнѣльннѣ* на фоне трех слов с тем же значением сомнительно: *оубнѣ* (*оубнѣцѣ*), *оубнѣца*, *оубнѣль* (последнее известно из Гомиляра Михановича, сербской рукописи XIII в.⁴⁴). Здесь гораздо более вероятно существование (правда, незафиксированного) прилагательного **оубнѣльнѣ*, от которого посредством избыточного суффикса *-нѣскъ-ѣ* образовано *оубнѣльннѣскъ*. В Супрасльской рукописи есть еще одно подобное слово, являющееся предметом спора: *нзѣщѣннѣскъ* (старѣннѣннѣ *нзѣщѣннѣскъ* ‘старший таможенник’)⁴⁵. Р.М. Цейтлин восстанавливает *нзѣщѣннѣ*, которое соотносится со значением

³⁹ Д. Иванова-Мирчева, И. Харалампиев, *op. cit.*, p. 133–134; И. Харалампиев, *op. cit.*, p. 137; К. Мирчев, *Историческа граматика на българския език*³, София 1978, p. 210.

⁴⁰ БС, p. 419–420.

⁴¹ И.И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка*, vol. I, Санкт-Петербург 1893, col. 195; F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, Vindobonae 1862–1865, p. 48.

⁴² СС, p. 720; SJS, vol. IV, Praha 1997, p. 574–575; *Старобългарски речник*, vol. II, София 2009, p. 1014.

⁴³ В.С. Ефимова, *Старославянская словообразовательная морфемика*, Москва 2006, p. 241.

⁴⁴ F. Miklosich, *op. cit.*, p. 1030.

⁴⁵ СС, p. 258; SJS, vol. I, p. 759; *Старобългарски речник*, vol. I, p. 627.

глагола *нѣзати* ‘изъять, выбрать, собрать’⁴⁶. В словаре Миклошича указано *нѣзати* без примеров со ссылкой на Лексикон Берынды⁴⁷. А. Вайан для *нѣзати* и *нѣзати* предполагает исходное прилагательное **izęstь* по подобию зафиксированных *нншти*, *тѣшти*⁴⁸.

Другим словообразовательным русизмом в БС якобы является глагольный суффикс *-ыва-/-нва-*. Издатели БС отметили, что в древнеболгарском указанный суффикс зафиксирован только в глаголе *цѣлывати* (со ссылкой на А. Вайана⁴⁹), но, поскольку суффикс широко распространился в древнерусских памятниках XIII–XIV вв., исследователи считают его особенностью русского глагольного словообразования (со ссылкой на одну из работ В.Б. Силиной⁵⁰). А. Вайан отмечает, что формы на *-ыва-* чередуются с формами на *-ова-*, указывая при этом на два глагола в древнеболгарских памятниках: кроме *цѣлывати* (*Ассеманиево евангелие*, *Супрасльская рукопись*), в Псалтири (103, 5) есть причастие *оснываяан*. (Заметим попутно, что глагол *цѣлывати* сохранился в болгарском языке.) Далее Вайан пишет, что древнерусские “церковнославянские” памятники заменяют *-ова-* на *-ыва-* с указанием на *Хронику* Георгия Амартола (ХГА); то же самое явление, но позднее, наблюдается в сербо-хорватском “церковнославянском” языке.

В русской литературе В.Б. Силина установила мнение, что суффикс *-ыва-/-нва-* возник на собственно древнерусской почве; он стал универсальным средством имперфективации и сохранил продуктивность в русском языке⁵¹. Первые глаголы с этим суффиксом появляются в XII в., к концу XIV в. они получают широкое распространение, хотя на протяжении всего древнерусского периода они все еще существуют в рамках корреляции с имперфективами на *-а-* и *-ова-*. Пик их продуктивности приходится на XV–XVII вв., лишь к середине XVIII в. заканчивается процесс утраты глаголов на *-ова-*⁵².

В работах В.Б. Силиной есть некоторые несоответствия. Так, в 1982 г., согласно Силиной, в картотеке *Словаря древнерусского языка XI–XIV вв.* зафиксировано 38 лексем на *-ыва-/-нва-* в составе парных корреляций,

⁴⁶ Р.М. Цейтлин, *Лексика старославянского языка. Опыт анализа мотивированных слов по данным древнеболгарских рукописей X–XI вв.*, Москва 1977, р. 91.

⁴⁷ F. Miklosich, *op. cit.*, р. 254.

⁴⁸ A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves*, vol. IV, *La formation des noms*, Paris 1974, р. 333; цитировано по: В.С. Ефимова, *op. cit.*, р. 241.

⁴⁹ А. Вайан, *Руководство по старославянскому языку*, Москва 1952, р. 370.

⁵⁰ БС, р. 419, footnote 70.

⁵¹ В.Б. Силина, *История категории глагольного вида*, [in:] *Историческая грамматика русского языка. Морфология. Глагол*, ed. М.В. Шульга, Москва 1982, р. 260, 278; ЕАДЕМ, *Специфика выражения видовых различий в древнерусском литературном языке*, [in:] *Древнерусский литературный язык в его отношении к старославянскому*, ed. Л.П. Жуковская, Москва 1987, р. 197.

⁵² В.Б. Силина, *История категории...*, р. 260–264, 278.

а в 1987 г. число этих глаголов в картотеке словаря возросло до 168, которые распределяются по векам следующим образом: XII в. – 10 глаголов; XIII в. – 23; XIII–XIV вв. – 16; XIV в. – 112; первая четверть XV в. – 63⁵³ (итого получается 224). Кроме того, автор пишет, что “первые примеры образований на *-ива-/-ыва-*, относящиеся к XII в. (10 глаголов в 14 употреблениях), отмечаются в житийно-поучительной литературе и в большинстве своем встречаются в переводных памятниках” (9 примеров в *Житии Феодора Студита*, 3 примера в *Ефремовской Кормчей*, 2 примера в *Сказании о Борисе и Глебе*)⁵⁴. Согласно индексу К.А. Максимовича, в *Ефремовской Кормчей* 4 таких глагола: *повѣдывати, показывати, помазывать, съвязывать*⁵⁵; вполне возможно, что на русской почве эти глаголы заменили исходные формы *повѣдовати, показовати, помазовати, съвязовати*.

Можно ли считать, что суффикс *-ыва-* является собственно древнерусским? В связи с этим интересно мнение С.Л. Николаева: “Характерной чертой говоров литературного типа является также редкое в славянских языках праславянское диалектное отличие глагольного деноминативного *-ова-/-ије-* от девербативного *-ува-/-ије-*, первоначально присоединявшегося почти исключительно к основам *a/je-* глаголов и в дальнейшем ставшего универсальным итеративным формантом (*указывать, привязывать, намазывать* в отличие от *следовать, беседовать*). Все прочие восточнославянские говоры, кроме части центральнобелорусских, имеют в обоих случаях рефлекс **-ова*. Из других славянских языков только литературный польский и мазовецкие говоры (...) и некоторые штокавские говоры (в том числе и литературный сербохорватский) имеют распределение этих суффиксов, аналогичное литературному русскому”⁵⁶. Из этого высказывания видно, что возникновение суффикса *-ыва-* относится к праславянскому периоду, в то же время он характерен исключительно для русских говоров литературного типа. На наш взгляд, отнесение данного суффикса к праславянскому периоду спорно, ввиду его употребления в древнеболгарских и в древнерусских рукописях, о чем было сказано. Среди праславянских глагольных суффиксов значится только формант *-ова*⁵⁷. Что касается сербского языка, то увеличение глаголов с суффиксом *-ива-* относится к XIV–XV вв.⁵⁸

⁵³ В.Б. Силина, *История категории...*, р. 260; ЕАДЕМ, *Специфика...*, р. 198.

⁵⁴ В.Б. Силина, *Специфика...*, р. 199.

⁵⁵ *Византийская Синтагма 14 титулов без толкований в древнеболгарском переводе. Славянско-греческий, греческо-славянский и обратный (славянский) словоуказатели*, coll. К.А. МАКСИМОВИЧ, ed. Л. БУРГМАНН, Frankfurt am Main 2010 (= FBR 27, *Das byzantinische Syntagma in 14 Titeln*), р. 510, 576.

⁵⁶ С.Л. НИКОЛАЕВ, *Раннее диалектное членение и внешние связи восточнославянских диалектов*, ВЯ 3, 1994, р. 44.

⁵⁷ *Słownik prasłowiański*, ed. F. SŁAWSKI, vol. I, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1974, р. 48.

⁵⁸ А. БЕЛИЋ, *Историја српскохрватског језика*, vol. II.2, *Речи са конјугациојм*, Београд 1969, р. 40–41.

Возникает вопрос, насколько удачен пример с ХГА А. Вайана, так как это не оригинальный древнерусский текст. В ХГА отмечено 19 глаголов с суффиксом *-ыва-* и 2 глагола с суффиксом *-нва-*. Разночтения в отдельных списках показывают, что по крайней мере в семи случаях в переводе стояли глаголы с суффиксами *-а-* и *-ова-*: *въспнствывахоу* (*воспнсовахоу* E² 179v19) 62, 7⁵⁹; *нзмѣтывахоуть* (*нзмѣтахуть* SE²) 263, 3; *ѡбрѣзываети сѧ* (*ѡбрѣзовати сѧ* Сп)⁶⁰ 450, 11; *ѡбѣтываше* (*ѡбѣташе* Сп) 348, 19–20; *показываше* (*показоваше* E² 177r26) 537, 21; *прнкасываше сѧ* (*прнкасашеть сѧ* SE²) 289, 23; *росказывает* (*росказа* Ув)⁶¹ 559, 20. Поскольку основное число древнерусских списков ХГА относится к XV–XVI вв., замену форм на *-а-* и *-ова-* формами на *-ыва-* можно отнести за счет влияния древнерусской традиции. В одном случае, однако, глагол с суффиксом *-ыва-* бесспорно относится к переводу: *ѡснывающемь* (*ѡснывающнмь* E² 381v26) 535, 5 (см. выше). В остальных случаях на основании данных существующих словарей можно предполагать исходный глагол на *-а-* или *-ова-*. Вместе с тем нельзя отказаться от допущения, что единичные глаголы, возможно, тоже относятся к переводу ХГА, например, *размышлинѡ* 430, 19 (в русском только *размышлять*, ср. *размышливати* в сербском кодексе XVI в.⁶²).

Малое число древнеболгарских рукописей не позволяет определить степень распространения суффикса *-ыва-* в древнеболгарском языке. Можно лишь предполагать, что в нем были и другие единичные образования с этим суффиксом кроме *цѣлывати* и *оснывати*. Поэтому трудно согласиться с тем, что суффикс *-ыва-* возник на собственно древнерусской почве, несмотря на то, что он слабо продуктивен в древнеболгарском и не характерен для современного болгарского языка. Последнее свидетельствует о том, что данная модель не получила широкого распространения в древнеболгарском языке. Появилась ли она в древнерусском письменном языке под влиянием древнеболгарского, тоже нельзя с уверенностью сказать.

Что касается БС, то те три глагола с суффиксом *-нва-*, на которые указывают издатели, следует отнести за счет влияния со стороны сербского языка:

⁵⁹ Числа указывают на страницу и строку в издании: В.М. Истрин, *Книги временныя и образныя Георгия Мниха. Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славяно-русском переводе. Текст, исследование и словарь*, vol. I, *Текст*, Петроград 1920; краткие сведения о древнерусских списках с их обозначениями, которые использованы и в настоящей работе, см. в: В. Матвеевко, Л. Щеголева, *Книги временныя и образныя Георгия Монаха*, vol. I.1, Москва 2006, р. 32–38; Р. Станков, *Древнеболгарский перевод Хроники Георгия Амартола в древнерусской письменной традиции*, СЛ 39–40, 2008, р. 47–48.

⁶⁰ На основании этого чтения в переводе можно реконструировать глагол *ѡбрѣзовати сѧ*.

⁶¹ Контекст подсказывает, что аористная форма предпочтительнее.

⁶² F. Miklosich, *op. cit.*, р. 779.

(14) Я на латинѣхъ складнваеть.л̄. въиъ зльиъхъ л. 1v⁶³;

(15) н пакѣи-н-стрѣблвватн вѣрь л. 4v⁶⁴;

(16) нже ѡвѣвъ братьне прѣгрѣшенне. а послѣдѣ научеть ѡкарнватѣ. да ѡлжунт сѧ нѣлж едѣж л. 41r⁶⁵;

Относительно (14) издатели допускают и вариант н складнваеть. Ф. Миклошич также видит здесь форму складнваеть⁶⁶. С этим нельзя согласиться по той причине, что совершенно неуместно одновременное использование двух противоположных по значению союзов (а и н), так как это нарушает строе-ние всей фразы, которую можно перевести так: “А против латинян излагает 30 злых провинностей”. Ср. также чуть ниже: (17) а въ нѣйже складнвтъ стѣиън ѡцѣи много въиъ зльиъхъ л. 1v⁶⁷. Данный глагол не может быть русизмом и по другой причине: наличие приставки нз- выделительного значения. В (15) нстрѣблвватн также не может быть русизмом; ср. серб. *истребљивати* при рус. *истреблять*.

Несколько сложнее обстоит дело с формой оукарнватн в (16), которая, кроме БС, известна еще из Ипатьевской летописи:

(18) н въяхутсѧ крѣпко н много ѡ вбои падаху (вар. падше); Дръучане же оукарнвахутъ (вар. оукарнвахж) много (6667)⁶⁸;

(19) Отець же его Мнндовгъ оукарнвашетьсѧ ему по его житѣю (вар. оукарнваше его про его житіе), ѡнъ же на ѡцѣ своего нелюбовашеть (вар. нелюбоваше) велми (6770)⁶⁹.

И.И. Срезневский считает, что в (18) глагол означает ‘укорять’, а в (19) – ‘укорять, сердиться’⁷⁰. Непонятно, однако, кого и за что укоряли Дручане в (18). В Воскресенской летописи текст звучит несколько иначе: (20) и бяхутсѧ крѣпко и много падоша отъ обоихъ, Дручане же коряхуть (вар. укоряху) ихъ много лающе (6667)⁷¹. На наш взгляд, вариант в Воскресенской летописи является более поздним переосмыслением непонятного ввиду его редкости глагола оукарнватн; ср. беспрефиксальный глагол карити ‘оплакивать’ в той же Ипатьевской летописи: (21) Б то же верема оумре княгини Мнндовгова, н поча карити по нѣн... се сестра твога мертва, а поѣдн каритъ по

⁶³ БС, р. 68, 3–4.

⁶⁴ БС, р. 74, 4.

⁶⁵ БС, р. 149, 11–14.

⁶⁶ F. MİKLOSICH, *op. cit.*, р. 927, съкладыватн.

⁶⁷ БС, р. 68, 8–9.

⁶⁸ Полное собрание русских летописей, vol. II, *Ипатьевская летопись*², Санкт-Петербург 1908, col. 494.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, col. 859.

⁷⁰ И.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *op. cit.*, vol. III, Санкт-Петербург 1912, col. 1178.

⁷¹ Полное собрание русских летописей, vol. VII, *Летопись по Воскресенскому списку*, Санкт-Петербург 1856, р. 67–68.

свои сестрѣ (6770)⁷². В (18) Дручане оплакивали погибших, а не “укоряли” их. В (19) контекст допускает двоякое толкование: ‘укорять, сердиться’, ‘оплакивать, огорчаться’. Второе выглядит более вероятным ввиду того, что контексты (19) и (21) находятся в летописи рядом. Иными словами, глагол оукаривати (с.л) в Ипатьевской летописи отличается по смыслу от глагола в БС.

Глагол **kariti* известен двум славянским языкам: сербохорв. *kārīti* ‘сердить, злить’, *kārīti se* ‘сердиться, злиться’, диал. *kārit* ‘огорчать, сердить’; рус. диал. *kāritь* ‘упрекать, выговаривать’, рус. диал. *kāritься* ‘жаловаться’⁷³. В литературе, как правило, сближают глаголы **kariti* и **koriti*⁷⁴. О.Н. Трубачев ввиду древней долготы и подударности корневого гласного и самобытной семантики др.-рус. карити настаивает на особой этимологизации **kariti*, несмотря на его большое сходство с **koriti*⁷⁵. В этой схеме неясным остается место болгарских форм *укарисам*, *укарисвам*, которые Н. Геров толкует глаголами *укорясам*, *укорясвам*, т.е. ‘укорить, укорять’⁷⁶, а в Болгарском этимологическом словаре этих форм при глаголе *коря* ‘корить’ нет⁷⁷, хотя, вероятно, их нужно отнести к нему ввиду безударного корневого гласного, согласно О.Н. Трубачеву. Скорее всего, чередование *o-a* в болгарских формах нужно рассматривать в рамках глагола **koriti*, правда, несколько смущает объединение А. Дювернуа форм *укоря*, *укарям* в одну словарную статью⁷⁸, так как ударение в *укарям* падает на корневой гласный. В таком случае последнюю форму можно рассматривать как итеративную по отношению к *укоря*.

В итоге, в (16) форму оукаривати нужно рассматривать как вариант оукарити (ср. болг. *укарисам*, *укарям*), а суффикс -нв- причислить к немногим сербским особенностям, зарегистрированным в БС. Рукопись сборника издатели локализируют в Северной Македонии⁷⁹. Еще одно важное методологическое уточнение: в болгарской рукописи XIII–XIV вв., писанной в контактной зоне с сербским языком, могут обнаружиться единичные сербские языковые особенности, русских особенностей быть не может. Тем не менее, и в этом отношении необходимо проявлять осторожность. Так, издатели

⁷² Полное собрание русских летописей, vol. II, col. 859.

⁷³ Этимологический словарь славянских языков. Праславянский лексический фонд, ed. О.Н. Трубачев et al. (cetera: ЭССЯ), vol. I–XXXVII, Москва 1974–2011; vol. IX, p. 153–154.

⁷⁴ Cf. хотя бы: М. Фасмер, Этимологический словарь русского языка, vol. II, Москва 1986, p. 199–200.

⁷⁵ ЭССЯ, vol. IX, p. 154.

⁷⁶ Н. Геров, Речник на българския език, vol. V, Пловдив 1904, p. 427, 429.

⁷⁷ БЕР, vol II, София 1979, p. 651.

⁷⁸ А. Дювернуа, Словарь болгарского языка по памятникам народным и произведениям новейшей печати, vol. II, Москва 1889, p. 2421.

⁷⁹ БС, p. 422–423.

БС в число сербских особенностей рукописи включили п на месте греч. ф. Данное явление можно было бы определить и как русскую особенность, но это неосновательно, ср. *пѣникъ съ* – *φοῖνιξ* в Синайской Псалтири⁸⁰.

Под конец рассмотрим лексический “русизм” *смолокотнага*: (22) *ѿще н волѣн бжджѣ. Нлн роума шнветъ. нлн ѿ дхѣ неѣтаго. нлн смѣолокотнага волѣзнь* л. 5v⁸¹. М. Йовчева и Л. Тасева, ссылаясь на Х. Микласа, связывают гапакс с укр. *смолотока* ‘насморк’ (от *смоли* ‘сопли’). Таким образом, сочетание *смолокотнага волѣзнь* якобы должно означать некое хроническое заболевание, сопровождаемое течением⁸². В самом же издании БС те же авторы указали на укр. *смолотока* как на вероятную параллель прилагательного *смолокотънага*, не определяя его семантику⁸³. Новую гипотезу толкования сочетания *смолокотнага волѣзнь* недавно выдвинула Е. Мирчева. Автор предлагает разделить текст (22) по-другому: *ѿще н волѣн бжджѣ. Нлн роума шнветъ. нлн ѿ дхѣ неѣтаго. нлн съ молокотнага волѣзнь*. В этом варианте перед нами уже словосочетание с предлогом *съ*, чье значение определено как ‘от’⁸⁴. Автор объединяет этимологически праславянские формы **molka/*molku*, **molkyta* и **mlakъ*, **mlakavъ*. В итоге получается словосочетание *молокотънага волѣзнь* ‘болотная лихорадка, малярия’, причем прилагательное является русизмом в БС⁸⁵.

Гипотезу следует признать неудачной. Во-первых, слабым моментом является синтаксическая часть, несмотря на то, что знак ” в БС используется для обозначения пропущенного ѣ или ь. Предлог *съ* требует после себя либо родительного, либо творительного падежа, его присутствие в (22) нарушает структуру фразы. Между предлогами *съ* и *отъ* в древнеболгарском нет точек соприкосновения в области семантики, с некоторой натяжкой можно сблизить пространственные значения ‘указание на исходный пункт движения’ (*възнде отъ воды* Mt 3, 16) и ‘указание на направление движения’ (*съшедшемиъ ннъ съ горы* Lc 9, 37)⁸⁶.

Во-вторых, критическое замечание автора в адрес *Этимологического словаря славянских языков* относительно разграничения **molka/*molku* и **mlakъ*, **mlakavъ* дискуссионно. **Molka/*molku* имеет современные параллели только в южнославянских и западнославянских языках, исключая

⁸⁰ СС, р. 758.

⁸¹ БС, р. 76, 4–7.

⁸² М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Редки думи от Берлинския сборник*, Pbg 16.4, 1992, р. 44.

⁸³ БС, р. 419.

⁸⁴ Е. МИРЧЕВА, *По дирите на една необичайна дума в българската книжнина или от какво може да бъде болен епископът и пак да бъде епископ*, ЕЛ 48.1/2, 2013, р. 103.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, р. 103–105.

⁸⁶ СС, р. 425, 635.

польский⁸⁷; **molkyta* представлено только в восточнославянском ареале со значениями ‘вид ивы’, ‘болото, топь’, ‘лоза, из которой плетут корзины’⁸⁸; **mlakъ*, **mlakavъ* имеет параллели только в южнославянских (болгарском и сербском) языках⁸⁹. Иными словами, между болгарским выражением *млаково ми* ‘я болен, мне не хочется есть’ (**mlakavъ*) и словом *млѧка* (‘топкое, болотистое место, где, когда копают, выступает вода’, ‘топкое, болотистое место, болото’, ‘низкое, топкое, всегда зеленое место’) нет той этимологической связи, на которой Е. Мирчева строит свою гипотезу. **Mlakъ* возводится к и.-е. **ml-āk-*⁹⁰, в то время как **molka*/**molky* и производное **molkyta* связаны с **melko*, а это последнее возводится к и.-е. **melk-*⁹¹. Другие авторы принимают это разделение слов, но высказывают осторожное предположение о возможном родстве болг. *млака* (< **molka*) и *млак* ‘прохладный, тепленький’ (< **mlakъ*), реконструируя первоначальное значение как ‘нечто мягкое’⁹². О.Н. Трубачев, однако, вслед за А. Брюкнером видит родство **melko* и **molka*/**molky* в том, что они определенным образом называют текучую жидкость, ср., например, греч. *μῆλκιον* ‘родник, источник, ключ’.

Кроме того, сослаться на редкое болгарское выражение, не имеющее соответствия в восточнославянском ареале, и определять прилагательное в реконструированном словосочетании как лексический русизм логически неоправданно.

В одном Е. Мирчева права: насморк слишком незначительное заболевание, чтобы оно могло иметь место в данном тексте. Что собственно означает *смолокотътна болѧзнь*, при отсутствии греческой или латинской параллели трудно сказать. Во всяком случае у нас нет оснований менять форму прилагательного в этом словосочетании. Перед нами сложное слово, чья вторая часть, **котънаја*, известна всем славянским языкам, ср. болг. *котна* ‘беременная, котная, суягная’, рус диал. *котная* ‘суюгная (об овце)’ и т.д.⁹³ Первую часть слова, скорее всего, нужно отнести к *смола* вопреки знаку ”, ср. болг. диал. выражение *смолна вода* ‘пот тяжело больного человека’⁹⁴. Можно предположить, что в (22) *смолокотътна болѧзнь* означает какое-то тяжелое наследственное заболевание.

⁸⁷ Слова, отмеченные в польском и украинском, являются заимствованиями из словацкого: ЭССЯ, vol. XIX, p. 189.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 189.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 63–64.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

⁹¹ ЭССЯ, vol. XVIII, p. 86–87.

⁹² БЕР, vol. IV, София 1995, p. 158–159.

⁹³ ЭССЯ, vol. XI, p. 219–220; БЕР, vol. II, p. 678.

⁹⁴ БЕР, vol. VII, София 2011, p. 195–197.

В заключение необходимо отметить, что идея о наличии русизмов в БС вписывается в общую проблематику так называемого “восточнославянского влияния” на южнославянскую письменность в XII–XIII вв. Как видно, эта идея серьезной критики не выдерживает, да и не может выдержать. В этом отношении, однако, предстоит еще большая работа.

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Abstract. About “russicisms” of Berlinski Sbornik. The article deals with the problem of the so-called “eastslavonic influence” on southslavonic literature in 12th–13th centuries. The idea, based on claims that some Bulgarian and Serbian manuscripts of the period (among them Berlinski Sbornik) contain russicisms, is complete misconception.

Ключевые слова: Берлинский сборник, древнеболгарский, древнерусский, русизм, “восточнославянское влияние”.

Keywords: Berlinski Sbornik, Old Bulgarian, Old Russian, russicism, “eastslavonic influence”.

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THE IMAGE OF THE TOWN: MEDIEVAL SOFIA IN ORIGINAL BULGARIAN WORKS FROM THE 16TH CENTURY

The connection between text and image was an invariable feature of the medieval cultural model. Although, in its time, medieval Sofia was never portrayed in visual images, if we undertake what M. Stančeva has figuratively called “a search for the vanished image”¹, we might discover a reliable way for reconstructing images on the basis of the verbal material contained in Slavic manuscripts. In addition to the architectural legacy and various types of literary documents (travel literature by foreigners, Ottoman-Turkish registers, chronicles), this city is present in various ways in Slavic manuscripts as well – ways ranging from brief mention of the city’s toponyms to comprehensive description. These textual sources are ample enough, and they not only enable us to reconstruct the image of Sofia on the basis of the linguistic means by which it was designated, but also permit drawing more general conclusions about the city’s place in the broad picture of the world as a semiotic model for acquiring knowledge about the daily life, spiritual culture and ethnic consciousness of Bulgarians during the period of Ottoman rule. This chronological cross-section was not selected accidentally. The time in question was a transitional period both as regards the processes of renaming the city of Sofia, and as concerns the creation of a new type of cultural situation in which the political-ideological emphasis on the medieval city (especially a capital city) as a fortress, a throne city, the embodiment of the royal institution, had changed due to objective causes. Moreover, after the fall of Constantinople under Ottoman rule in 1453, the Byzantine prototype itself was destroyed, i.e., the spiritual image of the mother-city and center of the Orthodox world. An interesting question is to what extent a new, different value model of the city was created in the Bulgarian cultural area and how the tradition was reproduced in that model.

According to the collected information, the name Sofia was documented as early as in 14th century written sources. Those are a Latin document from Dubrovnik and two Slavonic documents. The first of them, a Tetraevangelium with marginal note from 1329, was lost after the fire in the National Library in Belgrade during

¹ М. СТАНЧЕВА, *София в отдавна минало време*, София 1999, p. 20.

the Second World War. The second, however, was published several times. This is the so called Vitoša chart of tsar John Šišman, a chrysobull for Dragalevtzi monastery “St. Theotokos of Vitoša”, undated precisely, but probably issued between 1378–1385². This document of the Bulgarian royal chancellery testifies the twofold use: in the typical formula *въ градѣ црѣва ми Софини*; in the expression that raises various interpretations – *то ни да иматъ власти стѣа софинѣ на люди прѣвнестъ въ ѿматѣре*. Most probably, the second example refers to the church “St. Sofia”, metonymically designating the metropolis of Sredets, which, viewed in the context, had not rights over the monastery property. Besides neither the church authorities, nor the civil power of Sofia town had. The later was presented by the mentioned title in the Chart *кефалине срѣдешьское*, from Greek κεφαλότης, that is to say the regional governor. To conclude, in the 14th century, the renaming of Sardikia, Serdika–Sredets to Sofia was in progress, as for a long period of time the three denominations coexisted.

Similar onymic references can be found in the five original Bulgarian works, dedicated to the neo martyrdom against Islam, which constituted the survived legacy of the Sofia literary school from the 16th century. These are two Vita: of Saint George the New Martyr of Sofia by priest Peyo³ and the Vita of Saint Nicholas the New Martyr of Sofia by the great lampadarius (the person who carried candles in Church processions) of the Church “St. Sofia”, Matthew the Grammarian⁴; two services for the same new martyrs. While the Service for St. George the New Martyr presumably came from the same author⁵, the attribution of this for St. Nicholas the New Martyr was proved and ascribed to another hymnographer from Sofia, monk Andrew⁶. The fifth work is an anonymous Eulogy for all Sofia

² А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти на българските царе. Увод. Текстове. Речник. Библиография*, София 2005, р. 11, 47, 355–356.

³ Д. БОГДАНОВИЧЪ, *Житије Георгија Кратовца (Житие Георгия Нового)*, ЗИК 10, Београд 1976, р. 203–267.

⁴ П. СЫРКУ, *Очерки из истории литературных сношений болгар и сербов в XIV–XVII веках. Житие св. Николая Нового Софийского по единственной рукописи XVI в.*, СОРЯС 71.2, 1901; А. БУЮКЛИЕВА, *Житие на Николай Нови Софийски от Матей Граматик в контекста на житийната традиция*, София 2008; П. ДИНЕКОВ, *Софийски книжовници от XVI в.*, vol. I, *Поп Пейо*, София 1939; М. ЙОНОВА, *Софийската книжовна школа*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*², ed. Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, Велико Търново 2003, р. 279–280; И. КАЛИГАНОВ, *Георгий Новый у восточных славян*, Москва 2000; А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Литературата през XVI в.*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, ed. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, София 2009, р. 695–707.

⁵ Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Служба на Георги Софийски*, [in:] *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература*, vol. III, София 1978, р. 131–155.

⁶ С. КОЖУХАРОВ, *Тах Андрей – един незабелязан химнописец от XVI в.*, СЛ 18, 1985, р. 150–160; ИДЕМ, *Химнографска интерпретация на софийските мъченичества от XVI век. Инок Андрей. Служба за Николай Софийски*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Проблеми на старобългарската поезия*, vol. I, София 2004, р. 259–278; В. РОЗОВ, *Служба и канон св. Николи Новом Софийском*, Бог 5.3, 1930, р. 205–219; И. СНЕГАРОВ, *Поглед към изворите за св. Никола Софийски*, ГСУБФ 9, 1931–1932, р. 1–58.

martyrs⁷. It is to point out that the works, dedicated to St. Nicholas the New Martyr, as well as the Eulogy are preserved with only one copy each, in one and the same manuscript from 1564. The manuscript itself is kept under № 1521 in the repository of the Church Historical and Archive Institute by the St. Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in Sofia (onward CHAI 1160)⁸.

In all these original works, the sacred place of the martyrdom was depicted by concrete verbal marks. If one summarizes the nominative facts about the name of the city from the quoted sources, the following picture is to be viewed:

In the Vita of St. Nicholas the New Martyr while still in the title: *въ славномъ градѣ сардакѣиѣ. глѣмѣ средцѣ;* in the text *срѣдѣуьскѣ страни; срѣдѣцѣ; прѣдревеннемъ средци; въ сардакѣи глѣмемъ срѣци; граѣ софѣа иже и сардикѣиѣски и срѣдѣуьскѣи именуѣми дѣнь; ѿ срѣуьсцѣ прѣдревеннемъ градѣ; срѣуьскомоу словоуѣмоу градоу,* and other.

In the Eulogy for the Sofia martyrs: in the title *иже въ градѣ сарѣдакѣиѣскѣ, глѣмѣки Софѣа;* in the text *градѣ Софѣа.*

In the Vita of St. George the New Martyr: in the title *въ сарѣдакѣиѣстѣмъ градѣ;* in the text *влизѣ Софѣи; въ срѣдѣуьскын градѣ нарицаемн Софѣа.*

In the Service for St. George the New Martyr: *въ Сардакы; Сарѣдакыскѣи людѣи, градѣ Софѣе, къ градѣ Сарѣдакыскомѣ; къ Срѣуьскомѣ пришль юсе градѣ; въ Сарѣдакѣиѣстѣ градѣ.*

In the Service for St. Nicholas the New Martyr by monk Andrew: *граѣ Софѣа; граѣ Софѣю.*

The first conclusion confirmed in this study is that, during the period in question, the triple designation of the city was in effect, which reflected three stages in its diachronic onymy: its Thracian name *Serdika* (*Sardica* during the Roman period), the Slavic name *Sredets* (*Triaditsa*), and the new name *Sofia*. Moreover, there is no doubt that the compilers of original written works felt “*Sofia*” was the contemporary name for them. There were two important proves for that. The first was the glossing and the double or the triple denomination (as in Matthew Grammarian’s work), more often introduced by participles of the verbs *глаголати*, *именовати*. Once Matthew the Grammarian use the expressive adverb “today”, *дѣньсь* – *граѣ софѣа иже и сардикѣиѣски и срѣдѣуьскѣи именуѣми дѣнь*, in order to outline the equal status of the three denominations and their synchronic existence. The second conclusion regards the connotative content of the name *Sardakia* (*Sardikia*),

⁷ М. Райкова, *Похвална беседа за софийските мъченици – издание на текста и изследване*, Рбг 34.1, 2010, р. 61–94.

⁸ А. Николов, Л. Герд, П. А. Сырку в България (1878–1879), SMSB 3, 2012, р. 75–77; Б. Христова, Д. Караджова, А. Икономова, *Български ръкописи от XI до XVIII век, запазени в България. Своден каталог*, vol. I, София 1982, р. 99; Х. Темелски, *Храмът св. Николай Нови Софийски*, София 2000, р. 119–120; А. Буюклиева, *op. cit.*, р. 51–52; М. Цибранска-Костова, *Към езиковата практика на Софийската книжовна школа от XVI век: синаксарните жития в ръкопис ЦИАИ 1521*, Приложението на БЕ за 2014 г. по повод 145 години БАН, р. 200–213.

the function of which was to express two things: on one hand, this name encoded some important historical messages from the settlement's distant past; on the other hand, it marked genre-related purposes in hagiographic works and especially in hymnography. In the second case, as concerns the original services, some scholars presumed the influence of other hymnographic works, from which the Sofia man of letters borrowed models. This was the cycle for Saint John of Rila to have been pointed as example. However, the use of Sofia without synonyms in the Service for St. Nicholas the New Martyr by monk Andrew contradicted to this presumption. The different type of naming reflected the different approach and the personal preferences of the authors. It may justifiably be assumed that, in the linguistic thinking of clerical circles, the triple designation system applied to Sofia was the result of their awareness of the connection with the historical tradition and the stress they placed on the present day of the city, which had acquired an even greater sacred status thanks to a contemporaneous 16th century phenomenon – the new martyrdom. The topic of new martyrdom in the copyist works in the region of Sofia reproduced one of the most important ideological themes of Orthodoxy, that of holiness. The Christian communities had a real need for this in relation to their contact with Islam. This predominant idea was developed both in original Slavic manuscripts and in translated works. Through the new martyrdom, a typical phenomenon for the 16th century in the Balkans under Ottoman rule, Divine grace was bestowed on Sofia, which transformed the city into a smaller model of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the God-chosen site and God's home, whose celestial inhabitants and patrons, the saints, fueled Orthodox believers with spiritual energy. The new martyrs, whether natives of the city or people who had perished there, imbibed some of the historical holiness of a place that had been sacred since the dawn of the Christian era; by their courageous death, they added even more holiness to that place. It was not hazardous that in the Service for St. Nicholas the New Martyr one can read the following exclamation: *ῥάδουσι σε ο ἴτι γρά Σοφία и красоути се. Блаженна бо зѣмля ꙗко напивѣши се мѣникъ крѣви*⁹. Among the canonic works from Sofia, dedicated to the neo martyrdom, one can not neglect another written (somewhat ignored) source about the sacralization of the Late Medieval city's history. This is the Greek Life of George the Oldest from Sofia, who was born in Sofia town, but martyred by the Muslims in Adrianopolis in 1437. In the unique 16th century copy of this work, the native place of the hagiographic hero was named *ἐκ τῆς Σοφίας πόλεω οὕτω λεγομένης*¹⁰. Despite the possibility the later copy to have been influenced by vive linguistic processes, one can suppose that the name Sofia increased its civil legitimating for the whole Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire because of its holy and recognizable connection with the spiritual pillow, the namesake Church. I allow myself to express, as a matter of principle,

⁹ С. Кожухаров, *Химнографска интерпретация...*, р. 267.

¹⁰ А. Михайлов, *Един неизвестен софийски мъченик*, СЛ 1, 1971, р. 403–411.

an agreement with the plausibly looking statement of G. Todorov, who claimed that for an unknown period Sofia town might be named Saint Sofia, but it seems impossible to me to prove it on the base of the existing sources¹¹. As a final result, the toponym Sofia strengthened position to discriminate the town and the church for practical purposes, as well as probably under the influence of the Ottoman chancellery's practice. However, the "Great Wisdom of God" did not vanish skipping the epithet "Saint", but it found its expression in both the way the City was perceived, and its descriptions.

In a study of this kind, we cannot overlook a fundamental 16th century source – the *Life of the Saint New Martyr Nicholas of Sofia*, who suffered for the Christian faith on May 17, 1555, in the very town. It was written by Deacon Matthew the Grammarian, also lampadarius of the *СТЪБЕ ВЪЖТЕН И ВЕЛИЦЪБИ ЦРКЪВИ САРДАКЪИНСЦЕН*. Among the poor documentation of his life and activity, we dispose with another testimony in the Gospel from 1562 decorated by the famous iconographer John (Joan) from Kratovo¹². From the scribal note to the manuscript, it became clear that Matthew the Grammarian ordered its making. As a sign of respect, he was called Great lampadarius of *СТЪБЕ И ВЕЛИКЪБИ ЦРКЪВИ САРДАКЪИНСЦЕН*¹³. Besides the name of the Church, the note is valuable as a proof that in 1562, it has not been transformed in Siavuš mosque yet. Matthew the Grammarian was a notorious person, close or belonging to the clerical milieu, contemporary eyewitness of the process of naming, renaming and rationalization of the Sofia historical past. As the genre scheme required, he borrowed some traditional hagiographic models and subjected them to the overall town's description. But at the same time, Deacon Matthew left an unprecedented to scope, exhaustiveness and content description of Sofia in the third quarter of the 16th century.

The *Life of St. Nicholas New of Sofia* gives the following points of analysis. To begin with, the first conclusion drawn concerns the existence of individual authors' peculiarities despite the common scope of nomination. For instance, Matthew the Grammarian used with greatest frequency the name *Sredets*. Moreover, the Slavonic name was presumably his personal choice in order to foster the ethnic identity and to shape the homeland space. That is why he left an explanation of the name *Sredets* in the course of the popular etymology: *ЗДА ЕЖЕ НИЖЕ КЪ ВЪСТОКОУ*

¹¹ Г. ТОДОРОВ, *Град Света София*, София 2013.

¹² Б. ХРИСТОВА, Д. КАРАДЖОВА, Е. УЗУНОВА, *Бележки на български книжовници X–XVIII в.*, vol. II, XVI–XVIII век, София 2004, p. 16–17, 206; Е. ГЕНОВА, *Църковните приложни изкуства от XV–XIX век в България*, София 2004; П. ДИНЕКОВ, *Старобългарски страници. Антология*, София 1966, p. 247–251. Latest contributions for him in: Ц. ЕВЛОГИЕВА-КАЦАРОВА, *Художествено оформяне на ръкописите от Софийското книжовно средище XV–XVI в.*, Автореферат на дисертация за присъждане на научната степен «доктор», София 2013.

¹³ See also: Й. ИВАНОВ, *Български старини из Македония. Фототипно издание*, ed. Б. АНГЕЛОВ, Д. АНГЕЛОВ, София 1970, p. 155; *Писахме да се знае. Приписки и летописи*, ed. et comm. В. НАЧЕВ et Н. ФЕРМАНДЖИЕВ, София 1984, p. 62.

НИЖЕ КЪ ЗАПАДОУ ПАКЫ ЛЕЖИТЬ. НЪ ПОСРѢ НЕКАКО ШЕОИХЪ¹⁴. In his description, the name Sardikia applied to key events of the Christian being of this centuries-old town. Sofia acquired its Christian identification in/through basic historical facts and some important legendary piece of information. In the tradition of Bulgarian historical research, the description of Sofia has long been pointed out as, indisputably, a particular feature of the *Life*. But until now, the stress has primarily been placed on the following artistic devices: idealization of the city, hyperbole, the author's patriotic motivation and the veracity of the hagiographic narrative, which is viewed as an element of the democratization trend in the descriptive prospective of the Sofia literary school in general. Matthew the Grammarian's description of Sofia, however, can be interpreted in the context of hierotopy and the creation of a sacred space. In the 16th century, Sofia was an Ottoman city; consequently, the *translation (translatio) of holiness* as a founding concept in the medieval spiritual paradigm turned in this case into *a copying of the model of holiness*. Martyrdom was so essential to the Christian value system that each new example was subsumed under the model, set by the first early Christian martyrs, who had affirmed the same values under different conditions, thereby setting an example worthy of emulation. The early Christian model of martyrdom had a connotation that made it particularly appropriate to be emulated in the struggle against pagans and people of other faiths (heretics). Matthew the Grammarian consciously strove to integrate his new work into the traditions of martyrology, for his writing appeared amidst a new socio-cultural environment, under conditions of intense religious confrontation; and he was free of the mandatory norms stemming from specific textual categories. He

chose the model of projecting saintliness and forming a sacred space by taking these from history and situating them in the contemporaneous 16th century, and from an outward geographic location to an internal sphere of spiritual content.

The City was a dominant mark to organize the holy space. The description distinguished by its double structure: a use of images and symbols taken from the Biblical semantic code, from one hand, and some kind of historical authenticity, from another. The very terms of geographic space varied from *земля, страна, прѣдѣлы* to *градъ*, in purpose of giving the most comprehensive view of the holy space the center of which was taken by the City. In the beginning of his description the author placed the Sredets land on a broad historical and geographic background not only in *македонїи*, as in the literature of the period this large area of the Balkans was named, but by using the denomination "Europe" (*велици европїи*) – even on the very continent, on the crossroad of the ancient Roman routes *Via diagonalis* and *Via militaris*, that connected Central Europe with Constantinople,

¹⁴ П. СЫРКУ, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

and Danube with Thessalonica. Sofia town had a reputation for its natural beauties, mountains, cold springs and healing thermal waters. Its external beauty was so irrefutable that outrivaled many other places in Arabia, Palestine, the Roman province Illyricum, Egypt, Italian lands. It is interesting to stress that it is namely in the geographic localization and the comparisons with others faraway places the author leaned on already existing texts, borrowing literally a passage from the *Life* of king Stephen of Dečani, compiled by Gregory Tsamblak¹⁵. But once again, the geographic landmarks were merely external projections of the internal continuum of the Orthodox holiness from far times. Thus, aware of how much Sofia exceeded “not with wideness and great building”, but with piety, the author went further fostering some chronological reference points from the early-Christian history of faith and its greatest defenders which left traces in one-time Sardikia, as well as another crucial examples of the Christian being of the city. Respecting the chronological succession, Matthew the Grammarian offered to his readers one sacralized history of Sofia, making references to such historical personalities or realia, which incarnated the very notion of Christian sanctity:

– The convocation of the Church Council of Sardika in 343, which confirmed the Nicean Symbol of Faith and released 20 rules of the Saint Ecumenical Christian Church. It has been attended by distinguished Christian thinkers and ecclesiastical figures, among which St. Athanasius the Great, Bishop of Alexandria. The historical frame of this event imposed the milestone personality of Constantine the Great (306–337) to be mentioned. His figure was an image-symbol of the beginning of the new Christian era in the history of the humankind; he was glorified as the first Christian ruler, *rex and pater Europae*¹⁶. Since then, the Byzantine cosmopolitanism gave rise to the idea of the Constantinople’s supremacy as Center and Core of the Christian world.

– The martyrdom from the past and the present of Sofia was also connected with the sacred history of the town. While Matthew the Grammarian reproduced the legend about the early-Christian martyr St. Therapont of Sardakia, suffered in Phrygia about 250–260, which connected him with 16th century Sofia as place of his martyrdom, the reminding of Sredets as holy place for the hermit Saint John of Rila, together with the exploits of George New of Sofia and George the Newest of Sofia, had real historical localization. The basic idea was to foster the vision of how the ever burning holiness was always present from the early Christian times to those of the contemporary 16th century Sofia martyrs. Undoubtedly, this part of Matthew the Grammarian’s description acquired a supplemental historical

¹⁵ *Стара българска литература*, vol. IV, *Житиенписни творби*, coll. et ed. К. ИВАНОВА, София 1986, p. 616.

¹⁶ M. STANESCO, *L’Europe médiévale*, [in:] *Précis de littérature européenne*, ed. B. DIDIER, Paris 1998, p. 291–308.

value, because of the fact it gave the most detailed information about George the Newest, another sufferer from Sofia, for whom neither self-dependent images, or texts had been discovered insofar¹⁷. The 26th of May was the date of his death, but the year still remains unfixed. A lot of details led to the conclusion that the author of St. Nicholas of Sofia's Vita was also an witness of his martyrdom, and transmitted first-hand data about what happened. That placed the consecutive Sofia exploit of Christian faith before 1555.

– Two projections of sanctity drew attention further in succession of the hagiographic narrative: the multiple churches in Sofia, and the network of monasteries in the surroundings which won the privilege to be called Little Holy Mountain of Sofia. After the Athonite model¹⁸, the monastic agglomeration around Sofia reproduced the holy space as an isle of Orthodoxy in a foreign religion environment. Usually in researches, this passage from the Life of St. Nicholas the New was quitted to adduce arguments in favor of the mentioned techniques of hyperbole and idealization, mostly because Matthew the Grammarian spoke about “the every day rising and imposing of holy churches in town and all around”¹⁹. However, it contained something more important and, to some extent, symbolic. This was the allusion to the Great Saint Apostolic Church of God shining amidst town. Did the compiler refer to a concrete church? According to the given description, the church in question sheltered the wonder-making relics of Serbian king Stephen Uroš II Milutin (about 1253–1321), the knowledge about involved the Sardiki-an metropolitan Siluant who transferred them from Trepča in Sofia in 1459. The same church kept also “the honest relics of the above-mentioned martyrs”²⁰. It was called “dressed bride of Christ” and a breeder with “the milk of Spirit”; it beatified with the Divine light of the righteous man of clergy – bishops, priests, deacons, lectors, domestics, and with uninterrupted liturgy²¹. From one hand, the Great lampadarius might have depicted the church “Saint Sofia” he was devoted to. As it was stressed, the original Lives of Sofia martyrs George the New and Nicholas the New contained real loci of the contemporary topography of the city. In the Vita of Saint George the New of Sofia, two churches took place in the narrative, namely “St. Sofia” and “St. Marina”²²; in the second Vita of St. Nicholas the New of Sofia,

¹⁷ И. ГЕРГОВА, *Софийски светци*, [in:] *София – 120 години столица*, ed. А. ПОПОВ, Е. ТОНЧЕВА, София 2000, p. 307–312.

¹⁸ И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Света гора като свещено място за Православието (Богородичният култ и имперската идеология)*, [in:] *Proceedings from the 5th International International Hilandar Conference*, Beograd–Ohio 2004, p. 1–10.

¹⁹ *Стара българска литература*, p. 320.

²⁰ The Church “Св. Неделя”, where today the saint relics of king Milutin are kept, existed all 16th century long, but the relics of St. Nicholas the New were first of all put in the church “St. Archangel Michael”.

²¹ *Стара българска литература*, p. 320.

²² А. БУЮКЛИЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

the church of “Ascension of Our Lord to Heaven” was mentioned²³. However, we are allowed to ask ourselves whether this description was not a general symbolic picture of the Church of Christ with its most important characteristics according to the Symbol of the Faith. Among them should be placed the spiritual pillar of the city and its Orthodox community, by the help of what the spatial continuum of Sofia’s Orthodox holiness realized its grounds once again. In case this subsequent bipolar image-symbol looks plausible, it is to conclude that, in specific way, the design of the sanctity in the Life of St. Nicholas the New represented an echo of the established Byzantine Orthodox concept of the Church-City, as it was depicted in the iconography²⁴. For a town whose name derived upon the concept of the Sofia as the Great Wisdom of God, a similar perception was of especial significance. This supposition seems not deprived of logical grounds, taking into account the fact that the passage relied upon three quotations from the Psalter and two from the Canticle of Canticles, reproduced literally or in paraphrases. They all praised “the God’s courts, abodes, the Holy Church of God” (Ps 44, 15, Cant 4, 1; 7, 7; 2, 5; Ps 15, 3; 83, 1–2). They also matched with the obligatory co-going Biblical topos of light. It seems to me that, from the prospective of the so called hierotopy approach, this passage deserves a special attention, so that I cite it in original shape:

Онѣхъ разоумѣете, вратѣе, въ лѣпотоу, и тѣхъ ради похваляетъ се страна ѿна и красует се. ѿкоже и милотече слово сказа. Нъ и прѣстынь вѣтвенынь црквамъ по въсьемоу градоу же и шкртъ, въздвизаемоу же по въсе днѣи и назаваемоу. Отъ въсьемъ испльненіемъ своимъ прѣспевающе шкртны, непрѣстанно бо днѣвное глаго и ношно славословіе въ нѣ, ген боу възсилаютъ се. Блаже и велика стѣа вѣта и аплака црква посрѣ грд стѣающи, ѿко невеста прѣиспрѣщренна красующи се исправаеніемъ своимъ женихоу своѣмоу хоу прѣстоитъ. и прроческы възываетъ пѣнми. оураси се моа доврота паче въсакого грд. и пакы оуразвих се ѿ женише моѣ любовію твоѣю азъ. Таже въ срѣдоу нѣдръ своихъ прѣиши съхраняетъ чюдотворивіе мѣщи ѿтнѣ стго и великаго иже въ црехъ крапа стѣфана иже и милотина, и прѣреченны сткы линикъ чѣстны мѣщен. и тѣни въсегдѣ блгооуханѣа и чюдесъ испльнат се, и красует се, ѿкоже некою вѣлисоу оутварію цркову. и шщеніе подаваетъ пристоупающѣи съ вѣроу къ нѣи. и кое прочее покажоу вамъ богатство вѣе дховное и въ лѣпотоу прѣкшщеннми бо архіеремни стѣе и на пажити своѣ тѣни оупасаеетъ своѣ агнце и същею своѣ дѣти доврѣ въздойше и непрѣстанно доитъ млѣкѣо дха. и прѣреченны линикъ тѣ млѣкомъ въздой своимъ. аплаское пакы ликостѣаніе, шщенникъ глаго и клирикъ къ сѣвѣ притрѣже. блгооукрашенихъ же и блгоговенны аггловенны дѣаконъ съ нѣи. непорѣчнхъ же и правѣврѣны чѣстцы ритори же блганскоуснихъ же и цѣломоудрны пѣвцы же и доместигъ съ въсьемъ по рѣдоу сткы причтоу въ сѣвѣ имать.

²³ *Стара българска литература*, p. 273.

²⁴ A. Лидов, *Heavenly Jerusalem: the Byzantine Approach, Jewish Art*, Jerusalem 1998, p. 341–353; А.М. Лидов, *Иеротопия. Пространственные иконы и образы-парадигмы в византийской культуре*, Москва 2009; *Новые Иерусалимы. Иеротопия и иконография сакральных пространств*, ed. А.М. Лидов, Москва 2009; J. ЕРДЕЛЪАН, *Избрана места. Конструисање Нових Јерусалима код православних Словена*, Београд 2013, p. 43–44.

– The holiness as basic concept of the Christian thinking realized itself by other Biblical topoi. The hagiographic scheme often shadowed this second, symbolic stratus of the description, which seemed so natural that often does not need any further analysis. However, I would like to outline only three of the most important key concepts. First one is this of *the Divine Grace*, to be detected in the special narrative stress upon the concentration of churches in town and of monasteries around. The concept of Good and Grace is a basic characteristic of the God’s energy and power, and of its life-saving influence over the human kind. It is understandable way, for instance, the massive amount of composite words in the Old Slavonic literature gathered resources from the semantic specter of unities with first component благо-. I mention the composites because they were not merely signs of the cultivated literary norms and discursive stylistic peculiarity of the high Medieval genres, but linguistic markers to reproduce the Biblical ideological and thematic paradigm (see the composites in the original works from Sofia literary school, as БЛАГОВѢРІЕ, БЛАГОВѢКНІЕСТВО, БЛАГОВѢКНІЪ, БЛАГОВѢКНІѢ, БЛАГОДАРИТИ, БЛАГОДАТЕЛСТВО, БЛАГОДАТЬ, БЛАГОДѢТЬ, БЛАГОМАСТИЕ, БЛАГОСЛОВІЕ, БЛАГОУХАНІЕ, БЛАГОУИИИЪ, БЛАГОУЪСТИЕЪ, БЛАГОУЪСТИЕ and others, as well as the rare word БЛАГОМАСТИЕ which entrusted the martyrs’ blood – a symbol of the exploit in the name of Christ, with the essence of supreme substance, outranking all fragrances in the world)²⁵. In spite of being calques or semi-calques upon well known Greek models, or bringing to life as simplex of two words, the lexemes of the given group contributed to a special textual core of holiness to be shaped. *The Divine Grace* was an emanation of the spiritual content which bound in a compulsory entity the sacred place and the sacred man. ВѢУВНАЯ БЛАГОДѢТЬ was the common verbalized expression in the cultural vocabulary of the scribes and compilers from Sofia Literary School, with particular frequency in hynography. In the prolegomena of the St. George the New’s Life, priest Peyo registered different human qualities from humbleness and mildness to humiliation which incarnated the projections of the God’s energy upon the human kind, and made possible the transformation of man into God’s creation. In the same work, *the Divine Grace* found other symbolic incarnations, as the white cloud over the martyr’s stake, or the dew fallen from the skies²⁶. In the Matthew the Grammarian’s work, *the Divine Grace* upon Sofia town was *as out of time and continuous, as well as reproduced here and now* thanks to the “flourishing piety of the city”: И ДА СЪКРАЩЕНІЕ РЕКОУ, ПО ВЪСОУ. ЦВѢТОУЩЕЕ ЗРИТ СЕ БЛГОУЪСТІЕ. НА ВЪСАКЪ ДНЬ ПРѢВЪСХОДѢЩЕ²⁷. The author called the Grace “New-Testimonial” in order to follow the tradition and to rise up the New Testament’s knowledge of God over that of the

²⁵ М. РАЙКОВА, *op. cit.*, p. 80; М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Композитите като маркери за святост в “Похвална беседа за софийските мъченици” от XVI в.*, SMer (in press).

²⁶ Д. БОГДАНОВИЪ, *op. cit.*, p. 231; *Стара българска литература*, p. 306.

²⁷ П. СЫРКУ, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Old Testament, and to liken the new martyrs to the hypostases of Christ, binding together the apostolic and the martyr's nature. The second basic concept was the mentioned Upper Jerusalem not in the very description of the town, but as a final stop in the road of the hagiographic hero. Despite the lack of this topos, formally speaking, and its replacement with the "stencil" medieval expression *цѣсарьство, царьство небесною*, the allusion with the celestial home was present in all literary works from Sofia, to compare the especially important quotation from the Gospel of Matthew 5, 14–15 in the St. George of Sofia's Life: *понеже не възможе градъ съкрити се връху горы стѣе, ниже свѣтильникъ подъ спѣдомъ полагает се, нь на свѣщникъ въз'льгает се, да възходещи свѣтъ видѣтъ*²⁸. In the Life of St. Nicholas the New, the reproduction of the Orthodox ideologem of sanctity leaned on the presentation of the martyrs' town as a small model of the God's kingdom, of the God chosen place and God's home, in terms of confirming the Divine predestination in the hero's road, who, leaded by the Divine providence and the Angel guardian, came into from elsewhere place to absorb from Sofia's holiness and, by means of his sufferance, to impart more sanctity to. According to the hagiographic schema, the birthplace of the future martyr is, by definition, holy and pious. Hence, the author calls Yanina, the native city of St. Nicolas of Sofia, "gradina" (a garden). But Sofia is the place raised to a higher rank in Matthew's work, and compared by him to the "Covenant land", richly watered like God's Paradise. The hagiographic hero walks the road to the place of his earthly death in order to continue his eternal life in heaven. It is hardly necessary to stress that the connotation "Sofia – Covenant land" was particularly topical for religious circles in the city under the conditions of intense religious opposition since the beginning of the 16th century. The people in this milieu were the actual readers of this *Life*, and it is justified to assume the work was meant for personal reading or for being read, in parts, to listeners at a local church.

As concerns the concept of the Heavenly Jerusalem, I think that the analogies made insofar between the City's descriptive model in the Vita of St. Nicholas of Sofia and other hagiographic works could not be accepted without reservations. Some scholars consider Matthew the Grammarian well acquainted with the description of Belgrade from the Life of despot Stephen Lazarevič (1402–1427) by Constantine of Kosteneč, as well as with the Torture of John (Yoan) the New from Sučava by Gregory Tsamblak²⁹. However, the difference with the detailed description of Belgrade is not only in the rhetoric style and the concentration of Biblical topoi, but in *the use of a disparate hierotopy model*. The seeking for a "Jerusalem identity", according to E. Erdeljan's apt expression³⁰, was unfit to the historical situ-

²⁸ Д. БОГДАНОВИЪ, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

²⁹ А. БУЮКЛИЕВА, *op. cit.*, p. 169, 174–175.

³⁰ J. ЕРДЕЉАН, *op. cit.*, chapter dedicated to Belgrade: p. 169–189, especially p. 175. Original text in: К. КУЕВ, Г. ПЕТКОВ, *Събрани съчинения на Константин Костенечки. Изследвания и текст*,

ation and the lack of ruler's institutional marks. Matthew the Grammarian wrote about an Ottoman city that was his birthplace and a city of martyrdom, but he did not directly use the ruler paradigm related to power in order to convey a similarity. In this sense, I believe we should give him full credit for his original descriptive programme regarding the city, which combines three sources: the Bible, history and legend. The verbal description of Sofia in the *Life* by Matthew the Grammarian is one of the most recognizable creative elements in this work and his original contribution to hierotopy in the Balkans from the period of "Byzantium after Byzantium".

The third concept is this of the specific status of *Sofia's citizens*. The topic of the citizenship loaded down with double sense again. It combined two lexemes overcharged with special connotation in the all works from Sofia Literary School, namely *жИТЕЛЬСТВО* and *ГРАЖДАНСТВО*, together with their derivatives. For instance, the anonymous compiler of the common Eulogy for all Sofia martyrs, made repeatedly use of the word *гражданинъ*, and it should be taken in double meaning, in both concrete and metaphoric way. Citizens were the peoples from the procession who followed Nicholas the New and opposed to the Ishmaelite crowd; but *граждани небесные* were also the martyrs, crowned with their exploit. The double structure of nomination put under doubt the hypothetic civil status of the compiler, as some scholars claimed, because it did not result from the simple use of the word *гражданинъ*³¹. To be a citizen of a holy place in the Middle Ages, meant to be a cosmopolite in the Christian sense, for what the terrestrial confines were narrow borders before the infinite space of the God's kingdom of Spirit. As early as in the beginning of his description of Sofia, Matthew the Grammarian gave a characteristic of his co-citizens: *таковаа иже въ нѣ бл҃гоуѣстивы и бл҃гогѣвнии мѹдрии жителѣ добродетелии живѹщѣе*³². Stronger the following rhetoric expression was: *ѡ жителѣ егда слышиши, да не нещюѣши ѡ здѣшныи. нѣ ѡ нѣныи гражданъ выѡши некогда жителни нами*³³. In this way, the citizenship on the earth compared to the spiritual model of the holy God's town; peoples and images of saints braced in a union, which the man of letters called "Orthodox synod", that is to say the whole Christian community of laity and clergy (see in the St. George of Sofia's Service *православни събори въ градѣ прѣмѹдрости тѣхъименителъ живѹщѣи*)³⁴. Therefore, the idea of the City as a unifier of the Orthodox community and a creator of identity took its place in the hierotopic scheme.

The concrete geographic descriptions and the data about the natural resources of Sofia, the abundant historical information were just a starting point for

София 1986, p. 314–328, 366–375; П. Русев, А. Давидов, *Григорий Цамблак в Румѣния и в старата румѣнска литература*, София 1966, p. 36–37, 90–91.

³¹ М. Райкова, *op. cit.*, p. 66, 84.

³² П. Сырку, *op. cit.*, p. 36; *Стара българска литература*, p. 315.

³³ П. Сырку, *op. cit.*, p. 39; *Стара българска литература*, p. 317.

³⁴ Б. Ангелов, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

shaping out of the *sacralized image of the City as a spiritual space*. Hence, in the Vita of St. Nicholas the epithets varied from denominations of basic qualities to stable trapharets composite, which had been inherited from the city's descriptive tradition in the Byzantine and the Slavonic literature. Since this topic traced out separate and quite voluminous, I shall give only one comparison. In the copy of the Chronicle of Manasses from the priest Philip's miscellany from 1344–1345, a gloss-encomium (panegyric speech of praise) took place to glorify Tǎrnovo as a new Constantinople³⁵. As the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses was one of the so-called “royal manuscripts”, this insertion deemed appropriate to the court rhetoric about the Ruler. The encomium carried out the typical expressive setting of pathetic epithets and other artistic devices: “And our new Constantinople flourishes and grows, straightening and rejuvenating. Let it growing until the end. You, king, who governs upon all peoples... etc.” Such literary uses imposed a model of the city that legitimizes the Ruler's power through its throne residence. This could happen on Biblical example of the Upper, Celestial Jerusalem with God's inhabitation, but another example was the first and the unique capital of the world Rome. This town engendered all capital traditions and gave birth to the concept of the Constantine the Great's town, officially called by the Church “New Rome”. Praising Tǎrnovo as “New Constantinople”, that is to say a second Constantinople, was one of the features of the ruler's ideology and broadly speaking state's ideology of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, a synthesis of Rome imperial and Biblical tradition. Tǎrnovo became a “new” frequent object of description in the literature and art of the 14th century as an element of the verbal incarnation of the ruler's ideology, known by combination of verbal and iconic signs, text and image³⁶. It was not hazardous that Tǎrnovo fortifications were even illustrated in a 14th century Hungarian chronicle³⁷.

The city praising model changed in the 16th century hagiography in terms of ruler's institution, but it preserved the connection with the tradition in terms

³⁵ И. Дуйчев, *Из старата българска книжнина*, vol. II, *Книжовни и исторически паметници от Второто българско царство*, София 1940, p. 97.

³⁶ Е. БАКАЛОВА, *Аспекти на съотношението словесен текст-изображение в Българското средновековие (песеннопоетична образност – визуални съответствия)*, ПИ 1, 1991, p. 3–20; ЕАДЕМ, *The Image of the Ideal Ruler in Medieval Bulgarian Literature and Art*, [in:] *Les cultes des saints souverains et des saints guerriers et l'idéologie du pouvoir en Europe Centrale et Orientale*, ed. I. VAINOVSKI-МИХАИ, Bucarest 2007, p. 34–80; I. BILIARSKY, *La ville, les héros et l'Univers*, [in:] *Forma Formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij*, ed. S. BERTOLISSI, R. SALVATORE, Napoli 2010, p. 63–76; ИДЕМ, *La translation des reliques à la capitale du Second Empire Bulgare et les idées du pouvoir*, [in:] *Liturgia e agiografia tra Roma e Costantinopoli. Atti de I e II Seminario di Studio Roma-Grottaferrata, 2000–2001*, ed. K. STANTCHEV, S. PARENTI, Grottaferrata 2007, p. 329–338; M. TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA, I. BILIARSKY, *Verbal formulae and images for glorification of the ruler in Medieval Bulgaria*, ЦСТУ 7.7, 2010, p. 245–266.

³⁷ Й. БЪОДЕЙ, *Непозната миниатюра за Търново в унгарската илюстрирана хроника*, Век 4, 1987, p. 33–38.

of fidelity to Orthodoxy. The predominant verbal expression glorified Sofia as великѣ, дивьнѣ, достохвальнѣ, нарочитѣ, приснословоуемѣ, прѣкрасьнѣ, прѣславьнѣ, свѣтлѣишии, славьнѣ, словоуемѣ град. On linguistic level, they created an image of exclusiveness, uniqueness and highest level of possession of the given qualities at such point that the text said не быти глѣють прѣреченноу мѣстоу тѣуиство ни гдѣже (to say that there was not likeness anywhere)³⁸. The very word тѣуиство 'likeness, equality, similarity' was unknown to the Old Bulgarian manuscripts and remained poorly documented in dictionaries. But the qualities were not merely external marks. They followed the same double fold descriptive programme to depict the holy status of the city. This continuous Orthodox sanctity of Sofia untouched for centuries and even under Ottoman domination guaranteed lack of oblivion not because of the passing material beauty, but above all, because the Faith was alive. As Matthew the Grammarian said: не ѡскоудеѡаетъ вѣтъ вжїа ѡ него (*the Divine Grace never quit the city*)³⁹.

The hymnographic material from the Sofia literary school uses two-part adjectival modifiers for the city, verbs, and specific stylistic-rhetorical forms in the praises (encomiums) of Sofia, shaped through an anaphora of the imperative "Rejoice, city", or the so-called heretisms. This was a favorite device of the Old Bulgarian writers and became a major rhetorical convention in a number of works. It is worthy to point out that the verbal formula of that kind made part of both hymnographic works and the anonymous Eulogy as an example of oratory prose. Being only one of many other similarities, this feature proved the unanimity in artistic principles and the reproduction of the Old Bulgarian examples the Sofia man of letters followed up. To illustrate the encomium as an artistic device, I shall quote a passage from the common Eulogy for all Sofia martyrs according to Ms. Slav. CHAI 1521:

Рѡчи се градѣ Гѡфїа прѣмноудрости въ истинѣ тѣзоимѣните. ꙗко такоѡие лоуѣе въ послѣкнїи лѣ ис тѣвѣ истѣкоше многозрачїе. и елико по сподѡлѣ пльти соуѣи, на свѣщнице разума рѡ и видкнїа сеѡвѣ въжїише. Сѡвѣшъ масель прѣлѡжїише нашї. ꙗко да вси въхѡдѣи въ мрѡ страстей захѡдѣшаго слнца. Сѡвѣтомъ невѣрнїи Осїают се, прѣемлюще въ себе хѡ. Сѡвѣтъ ꙗвленїемъ въ ѡкрѡвѣнїи разума дѡвїаннѣки радїи боудѣтъ~

Рѡчи се градѣ многокрасне, и неꙗвленнїи нна ꙗвленїе. много ꙗвѣ запꙗвленїе стрти, иже въ тѣвѣ пролїавшїи се новыи мнѣкѣ крѡвы~

Рѡчи се градѣ дѡимѣните, ꙗко не тѣкмо иже въздѡи млекѡ разума. нѣ и страннїи и пришлѡце тврдѡднїи вѣщи въкѡсѡ блгоуѣта въспїта. Сѡвѡдѡлѣнїи и повѣдою гражѡканы невїе быти тѣ прѣпослѡ. Въ истинѣ въ лѣпотѣ похѡла градѣ иже нѣкогда мѡеиѣ. ꙗко такоѡый стрѡлицемъ сѡвѡкѡспѡелны и сѡгражѡанѣ выѡшен. и ктѡ сѡтъ сїи, прїспе во вѡрѣме сїи ѡтна и мнѡгострѡлнаа изгѡвїити тѣхѣ именѡ:~

³⁸ П. СЫРКУ, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

Another linguistic picture of the city is supplied by a new type of original source for the period under study: the western Bulgarian beadrolls of the 16th–17th centuries. In them, the triple onymy is dropped and only the name Sofia is used. In our study, a special attention is paid to: Boyana bedroll from the 16th–17th centuries⁴⁰; the bedroll part of 26 folia in the so called miscellany from Kokalyane monastery from the first half of the 17th century (№ 368 in the repository of CHAI in Sofia)⁴¹, which has not been published insofar. While the old synodics and dip-tychs contain the names of rulers, ktitors, and ecclesiastics, starting from the 16th century, beadrolls listing the names of lay persons came into use; through them, ordinary Christians expressed their religious identity and their practices related to religious rituals. The structure of beadrolls indicates the connection of beadroll listings to concrete geographical territorial locations. For instance, in the Boyana beadroll the name Sofia holds a place of honor among the names of tsars and patriarchs; its central importance is confirmed by the fact that 39 villages from the Sofia region are mentioned, as well as several neighborhoods of the city itself. The fact that Sofia was an important point on the route of pilgrimage from the Serbian lands to Thessalonica and Mount Athos, contributed to the city's being mentioned in many entries from the period under study. It is understandable that in such not strictly religious books, it would be designated by its most recent name. The compiler of the oldest part of Boyana bedroll, released by the first writing hand, was identified with the Serbian scribe Job of Temešvar, who called himself *странѣи пришлъць*, and shared that he stopped relaxing from the exhaustive journey *влизъ града того Софїа*⁴². The evident trend in the earliest separate beadroll is confirmed from Kokalyane beadroll, where Sofia is not only designated by that single name but the mention of the city becomes a reference for its lively economic activity, as the text lists the names of craftsmen from important Sofia neighborhoods in which the respective craftsmen's guilds were situated. (**ИВАНЪ ДОГАНЦІА 66, Тодоръ Вѣкомановъ 96, Никола Ковачъ 10а, Елчо Ткачъ 11а, Митаръ Терзита, Никола Текицїа, Стоичо Бостанцїа, Лазаръ Чибѣчина 186**). In the 16th century,

⁴⁰ М. Станчева, С. Станчев, *Боянски поменик*, София 1963; И. Гергова, *Боянският поменик като свидетелство за истроията на храма*, [in:] *Боянската църква между Изтока и Запада в изкуството на християнска Европа*, ed. Б. Пенкова, София 2013, p. 48–55.

⁴¹ Б. Христова, Д. Караджова, А. Икономова, *op. cit.*, p. 193; В. Атанасов, *Урвич и Бистрица: Кокалянският манастир и Мала Света гора. Археологическо-исторически бележки*, София 1905; М. Сковронек, *Урвичкият (Кокалянският) сборник и локалният култ на св. архангел Михаил в Кокалянския манастир*, *Рbg 34.3*, 2010, p. 49–85; М. Цибранска-Костова, *Поменалната част на Кокалянския сборник от XVII век през призмата на историческата лексикология*, [in:] *70 години българска академична лексикография. Доклади от Шестата национална конференция с международно участие по лексикография и лексикология, Институт за български език «Проф. Л. Андрейчин»–БАН, 24–25 октомври 2012 г.*, coll. et ed. Л. Крумова-Цветкова, Д. Благоева, С. Колковска, София 2013, p. 563–570.

⁴² М. Станчева, С. Станчев, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

there were namely the craftsmen from Sofia who by their gifts contributed the Kokalyane monastery “St. Archangel Michael” to be restored.

Thus, as early as the second half of the 16th century, in addition to the already familiar basic descriptive topoi (geographical location, historical heritage, Orthodox holiness), the linguistic picture was enriched by the *representation of the actual urban environment*, which was a centre of crafts and commerce, and of multi-ethnic and multi-confessional diasporas. Even the names of persons in the beadroll now linked the population of the city to places of residence in full, organic unity. This confirms the information, known from a number of other sources, that, at the beginning of the 16th century Sofia had completely consolidated its status as the administrative capital of the Rumelia beylerbey and a uniting centre of the surrounding settlements; that it was famed for its economic prosperity and the extraction of ore; that it was a cultural centre comprising various ethnic communities (Bulgarians, Turks, Serbs, Wallachians, Saxons, people from Dubrovnik, and Jews – in fact, it was one of the three largest cities in the Bulgarian lands to have a Jewish population, together with Nikopol and Vidin).

Returning to Matthew the Grammarian, we believe it was not accidental that he praised the virtues of the residents of the “most glorious city of Sredets” and their piety in diligent service to God and the Orthodox faith. In Matthew’s description, economic data are only an accompanying element in the hagiographic model of holiness, and the emphasis is placed on the model itself. In the beadrolls, on the contrary, it is the Christian lay population of Sofia and the vicinity that reproduces the Orthodox religious paradigm and leaves testimonies of its ethnic affiliation through lexical facts regarding its everyday life, livelihoods, religious ritual practices and anthroponymic system.

The notes of scribes and the various marginal material on the leaves of manuscripts from Sofia region bear witness to the use of the same triple nomination, which allows to clear up that the actual civil name Sofia did not contradict to the older names Sredets, or Sardikia, but their use depended on the level of canonicity of the note, the written purposes and the literacy of the person living the note. The Gospel from Dragalevtsi monastery belongs to the earliest data with priest Nicholas’s note from 1469: *ТОГДА ДРЪЖЕЩЕ ПРЪКСТОЛЬ СВЕТИТЕЛСТВА ВЕЛИКЪЕ САРДАКИВЕ МИТРОПОЛИТА КИРЬ СИЛЬВЕСТРЪ*⁴³, from where came that in this way the metropolis was named (so, we have a connotation upon the high status of the described realia). In 1578, priest Peter from the village of Proleša, made a copy of Gospel in the region of Sardikia⁴⁴ (type of connotation from a cleric to the Church diocese). One short inscription from 1658 in a Mineia from the Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methodius” is a real find in terms of description, because it made an expressive metaphors, comparing Sofia with a ship floating in the sea

⁴³ Й. ИВАНОВ, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

⁴⁴ *Писанме да се знае*, p. 66.

of white tents, when the Vizir passed by and “there was a great calamity”⁴⁵. The examples are all too many. I must conclude with an invaluable testimony to the role of historical memory in the creation of the “searched for image”. In 1900 E. Sprostranov noted that an elderly citizen of Sofia had personally told him the legend according to which, before the Turks, there were only three villages – Yana, Boyana, and Poduyane – and that everything else was covered by a lake. This land was called Zerdekia < Sardikia⁴⁶.

In conclusion, it may be said that the material, presented above, which is only part of that provided by Slavic manuscripts, is a reliable source for the study not only of the literature of Sofia and its region but of the city’s history as well. The written word created an image. In 16th century Sofia, the last great achievements of original Bulgarian hagiographic and hymnographic literature appeared, and then declined; an independent literary school was created, and the whole copyist production in the region gravitated around that school – having these facts in mind, we should look upon every surviving text as a verbal semiotic system that carries messages from the past.

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⁴⁵ М. Стоянов, Х. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Софийската народна библиотека*, vol. IV, София 1971, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Е. СПРОСТРАНОВ, *Бележки и приписки от софийските църкви*, СБНУ 22/23, 1906/1907, p. 30.

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Abstract. The paper follows out the way of denomination and description of Sofia town in manuscripts from different genre during the period of the 15th–17th centuries, namely: the original hagiographic and hymnographic works of the men of letters from the 16th century Sofia literary school; the bedrolls; some marginal notes. This type of sources is rich enough not only for shaping the image of the town according to the linguistic evidences it was depicted with, but for making some general conclusions about its place in the so called “linguistic world view” as a semiotic model for approaching the lifestyle, the spiritual culture and the Bulgarian ethnic consciousness during the Ottoman domination. The chosen frame of time is not hazardous. It was a transitory period for both naming process and the creation of a new cultural situation, when the ideological and political dominant of the medieval town (the capital in particular) as an incarnation of the ruler’s institution has been already changed. Moreover, with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the very Byzantine prototype of the town-mother and the spiritual center of the Orthodox world were destroyed. It is a matter of scholarly interest to give an idea on how another, different (new) model of the town was created in the Bulgarian cultural space to replace the past glorious vision, and how it reproduced the tradition. Briefly, how does the text create an image? It is a way to introduce the notion of hierotopy and its language in the original Bulgarian works of the given period.

The specifically Bulgarian material inscribes itself in the common typological frames of the Balkan medieval culture in Ottoman times. The paradigm of holiness and the formation of the holly space require those aspects to be carried out in the light of the complex interdependency between the text, the image and the historical context – a binding triad that will be the base for the attending presentation.

Keywords: Medieval Sofia, original Bulgarian works, hierotopy.

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PRO BESSARIONE POETA¹

Bessarion, a Cardinal Bishop, was one of the most illustrious Greek scholars of the fifteenth century: a church hierarch, theologian, intellectual and a humanist. As a high-ranking member of the clergy, hailing from the Pontic Greek city of Trebizond, the capital of the Empire of Trebizond (founded in 1204), he worked hard to bring about reunion between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church. This is well evidenced by his numerous works devoted to theoretical and practical aspects of reunification between these two Churches. As an expert in ancient Greek philosophy he searched for ways to reconcile the ideas of Plato and Aristotle and performed an exegesis of Platonism in the spirit of Christianity. His philosophical and theological treatises on the aforementioned subject constitute an important part of the literary heritage of the Cardinal. As one of the most learned scholars and humanists of his times, whose purpose was to combine classical and Christian traditions, he founded an intellectual center, the so-called Academy of Bessarion (Accademia Bessarionea) in Rome, which assembled Roman intellectuals of the Renaissance. He himself translated a few notable works of Greek literature into Latin, such as Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. His private library, the biggest in those times, with approximately 900 manuscripts, was bestowed by him to the Venetians. His collection became the foundation of today's Bibliotheca Nazionale Marciana in Venice².

While the philosophical, theological and historical works by Bessarion are now the subject of interest of many researchers in Byzantine studies, representing different scientific fields, his poetic works are not being considered with sufficient

¹ A paraphrase of the famous defense speech by Cicero *Pro Archia poeta*.

² Life and works of Bessarion have been described in a considerable number of biographical books. It suffices to recall here only some of the studies in the field: e.g. A. BANDINI, *De vita et rebus gestis Bessarionis cardinalis Nicaeni. Commentarius*, Romae 1777; H. VAST, *Le cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472). Étude sur la Chrétienté et la Renaissance vers le Milieu du XVe siècle*, Paris 1878; L. MOHLER, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsman*, vol. I–III, Paderborn 1923–1942; L. LABOWSKY, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana*, Rome 1979; G.L. COLUCCIA, *Basilio Bessarione. Lo spirito Greco e l'occidente*, Firenze 2009; J. MONFASANI, *Bessarion Scholasticus. A study of cardinal Bessarion's Latin library*, Turnhout 2012. Cf. also »*Inter Graecos latinissimus, inter Latinos graecissimus*«. *Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen*, ed. C. MARTL, C. KAISER, T. RICKLIN (Pluralisierung & Autorität, 39), Berlin 2013.

attention. There are likely several reasons for this. Above all, poetic works constitute only a marginal part of the corpus of Bessarion's works. From the contemporary epistemic point of view, their value can hardly be affirmed, if we compare their content with the deep tenor found in intellectual's deliberations in his philosophical and theological works. All the poems are occasional in their character; they are limited to funeral themes and to illustrious people of those times³. Moreover, almost all of them⁴ are Bessarion's early writings, which is confirmed by the *Marcianus Gr.* 533 (778), including a compendium of his juvenile works preceded by his autograph⁵. For example, his monody on the death of Manuel II Palaeologus was probably written soon after the emperor's passing in 1425, when Bessarion was about twenty two years old⁶. The monothematic character of such poetry, combined with the characteristics of paradigmatic threnody, make these literary works less attractive for readers – and the research possibilities significantly restricted. The value of Bessarion's poems is called into question because many scholars share the common opinion about his artistic immaturity, related to his young age at the time when he wrote these particular works. Therefore, Bessarion's poetry is not an issue commonly discussed by the experts in the field.

Some of Bessarion's literary works are a testimony of his relations with the court of the rulers of his hometown, Trebizond⁷. After the departure from the city to Constantinople (ca. 1417), the intellectual returned to Trebizond at least once⁸, and stayed there from 1426 to 1427 with the mission to create a common anti-Turkish coalition of the two emperors – John VIII Palaeologus and Alexius IV

³ Thesaurus Linguae Graecae includes the following works by Bessarion: *Monodia in Manuelem Paleologum*, *Monodiae tres in Theodoram Comnenam*, *Versus epitaphii ad imperatricem Theodoram Paleologinam*, *Versus ad duplices togas Manuelis et Helenae Paleologorum*, *Monodia in imperatricem Cleopam Paleologinam*, *Versus epitaphii in imperatricem Cleopam Paleologinam*, *Versus epitaphii in Michaelum Amirutzem*, *Versus epitaphii in Plethonem*.

⁴ *Versus epitaphii in Plethonem* is an exception, as its *terminus post quem* is the approximate date of Plethon's (1452–1454) death.

⁵ See H.-D. SAFFREY, *Recherches sur quelques autographes du cardinal Bessarion et leur caractère autobiographique*, [in:] *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. III, Cité du Vatican 1964, p. 279–292.

⁶ The date of Bessarion's birth is still controversial. The dates proposed by the researchers show a high range and oscillates between 1393 to 1408. The most often repeated date is the 2nd January 1403. See G.L. COLLUCIA, *op. cit.*, p. 3; cf. M. SALAMON, *Bessarion*, [in:] *Religia. Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. II, Warszawa 2001, p. 47. A.-M. TALBOT, *Bessarion*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. I, p. 285 has 1399/1400.

⁷ S.P. Karpov, a Russian scholar of the history of Trebizond, mentions all the works of Bessarion related to his hometown – С.П. КАРПОВ, *История Трапезундской Империи*, Санкт-Петербург 2007, p. 464–465. Bessarion's juvenile works (including the Trapezuntine ones) were described by E.J. STORMON, *Bessarion before the Council of Florence. A survey of early writings (1423–1437)*, [in:] *Byzantine Papers. Proceedings of the First Australian Byzantine Studies Conference, Canberra, 17–19 May 1978*, ed. E. JEFFREYS, M. JEFFREYS, A.M. MOFFATT, Canberra 1981, p. 128–156.

⁸ L. Mohler, publisher of Cardinal's works, hypothesised that Bessarion visited the Empire of Trebizond again in 1436, at the request of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologus due to the planned Council of Ferrara. L. MOHLER, *op. cit.*, Bd. I, Paderborn 1923, p. 54.

Megas Comnenus. On the occasion of the arrival to the Trapezuntine court of the Grand Comneni he composed an *Address*⁹ to the Emperor Alexius IV; subsequently, he created the three monodies for the death of Theodora Comnena. Three consolatory speeches are also associated with the dynasty of Grand Comneni, as they have been written for the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos after the death of his wife Maria Comnena, the daughter of Alexius IV and Theodora¹⁰.

Filippo Maria Pontani, the author of the article *Epicedi inediti del Bessarione*, is one of the few researchers who made an attempt to face and examine these works¹¹, as he analysed the three monodies on the death of Theodora Comnena¹². He examined the visual and graphic aspects of the manuscript with the aforementioned epicedia found in *Marcianus Gr. 533*. He then analysed the content and the artistic style of the poems, putting emphasis primarily on intertextualities and cryptocitations from ancient literary works and from the *Bible*, in order to reach the meaningful conclusion:

Sul piano stilistico, sono da sottolineare l'enfasi delle frasi esclamative e delle interrogative retoriche, che toccato punte di stucchevole intemperanza; e in genere l'effusività, la replica degli stilemi, la manierata organatura di molte frasi e cadenze. Un notevole studio sembra posto nel sostenere il più (talora fino al πνίγος) l'ambito dei periodi, come per una prova di abilità e di padronanza oratoria di frassegio. Indipendentemente dai riscontri puntuali con fonti stilistiche classiche e postclassiche, che non mette il conto di fare, non si può non sottolineare la disinvolta e talora ardita assimilazione che è alla base di questa scrittura; essa non tocca quasi mai la sfera dell'arte, giacché gli epicedi restano sul piano dell'esercizio di scuola e dello sfoggio d'occasione, ma va riconosciuta come qualità positiva d'un retore «umanista»¹³.

The negative opinion given by the Italian researcher on the poetic talent of young Bessarion surely provokes a discussion. We might agree with F.M. Pontani's point of view as far as the meaning of literary incrustations found in monodies is concerned, however the fact that he regards them as the main and basic artistic value of the poems seems at least questionable; but the fact of calling them just 'scholastic exercise and incidental show' is definitely controversial. Pontani's opinion

⁹ CHRYSANTHOS, *Βησσαρίωνος προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα τῆς Τραπεζούντος Ἀλέξιον τὸν Μέγαν Κομνηνόν*, ΑΠΟ 12, 1946, p. 117–130. Cf. E.J. STORMON, *op. cit.*, p. 133–134.

¹⁰ Maria Megale Comnena married Byzantine emperor John VIII in August 1427; he died on 17 December 1439. The consolatory speeches of Bessarion were created no earlier than in 1440. To date, only the first of the speeches has been edited. A. GENTILINI, *Una consolatoria inedita del Bessarione*, [in:] *Scritti in onore di Carlo Diano*, Bologna 1975, p. 149–164. Cf. E.J. STORMON, *op. cit.*, p. 134–135.

¹¹ F.M. PONTANI, *Epicedi inediti del Bessarione*, RSBN 5, 1968, p. 105–121.

¹² Theodora Comnena from the Cantacuzene family, the wife of Alexius IV Megas Comnenus, the Empress of Trebizond in the years 1412–1426.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 108. L. COLLUCCIA shared Pontani's opinion and found the monodies on Theodora Comnena banal, *op. cit.*, p. 18. The polemical attitude is presented by S. RONCHEY, *Bessarione poeta e l'ultima corte di Bisanzio*, [in:] *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo. Catalogo della mostra (Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 27 Aprile – 31 Maggio 1994)*, ed. G. FIACCADORI, Napoli 1994, p. 49.

was probably based on modern aesthetic qualifiers, while the cultural, artistic and intellectual background of the Byzantine Empire in the 15th century was not taken into consideration. In my article I will make an attempt to reinterpret the three monodies on the death of Theodora Comnena and examine them from the formal, compositional and poetical perspective, with an aim of revising this unfair, in my opinion, assessment of Bessarion's poetry¹⁴.

The precise date and chronology in which the discussed epicedia were written is not known. The death of the Empress, on the 12 November 1426¹⁵, should be recognised as *terminus post quem*. Despite apparent spontaneity – ἀντὶ δε τῶν μακρῶν ἐκείνων παιάνων καὶ κροτον, οὓς ἤσαμεθα χθὲς ἔτι καὶ πρώην θρηνεῖν ἀναγκαζόμεθα τήμερον καὶ πενθεῖν¹⁶; τὴν χθὲς μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρώην συνοῦσαν ἡμῖν, νῦν δ' ἐξ ἡμῶν γενομένην¹⁷, typical for this particular literary genre, the poems were not written immediately. The author needed more time to write such long and well-studied works. The circumstances in which the monodies were written are also dubious and need further examination. We may presume that their public presentations, if there were any, took place during court ceremonies on the anniversary of Theodora's death. If the assumption is correct, the hypothesis that the epicedia were written within one or two years after the Empress's passing, but not earlier than in 1426, seems reasonable. The reminiscences of the burial ceremony found in a few loci, but first of all in the passage: ἡ τοῦτου χάριν καὶ πυκνὰ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὴν ἀποκρύπτοντα τύμβον ἐνατενίζων στένεις, ἀναφλεγόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ θερμῶ τὰς παρειὰς δάκρυϊ τέγγων¹⁸ would also attest to the fairness of the conclusions.

The genealogical classification of Bessarion's works is based on the meaning of the word "monody", repeatedly used by the author in his poems' titles: I) μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ εὐσεβεῖ δεσποίνῃ τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος Κυρᾶ Θεοδώρᾳ τῇ Μεγάλῃ Κομνηνῇ¹⁹, II) μονωδία πάλιν ἑτέρα ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ μερικῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παραμυθία²⁰, III) καὶ αὐθις ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἑτέρα μονωδία²¹. The term 'monody' usually referred to a speech in which one person lamented another's death (view held by the modern

¹⁴ The text of the first monody after: A. SIDERAS, *Die byzantinischen Grabreden: Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung*, Wien 1994 (cetera: BESSARION, I), p. 531–536, of the second and the third: IDEM, *25 Unedierte byzantinische Grabreden*, Thessalonica 1990 (cetera: BESSARION, II/III), p. 351–359 and 363–368. In the following references the numbers of the poem, the page and verse are given in notes.

¹⁵ The precise burial place is given by Panaretos in his *Chronicle: Μιχαὴλ Παναρέτου περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν*, ed. O. ΛΑΜΨΙΔΗΣ, ΑΠΟ 22, 1958, p. 81.

¹⁶ BESSARION, I, 531, 15–17.

¹⁷ BESSARION, II, 363, 8–9.

¹⁸ BESSARION, III, 367, 16–18. Other relevant passages e.g. I, 352, 24–25, or III, 366, 16–23.

¹⁹ *Pinax*: ε', H.D. SAFFREY, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

²⁰ *Pinax*: ζ', *l. cit.*

²¹ *Pinax*: ζ', *l. cit.*

Byzantinists)²². The monodies on Theodora Comnena's passing, although presumably²³ written in prose, still represent the features of classical *poesis docta*, as far as their character and poetic style are concerned. These monodies nowadays would be classified as poetic prose. It seems hard to believe that Bessarion, an erudite and an expert on ancient Greek literature, was not aware of the etymological meaning of the word 'monody', uniting both the elements of poetry and music, and applied this term only according to the linguistic habits of his times. While there are no reasons to question the literary genre of the poems, their value shall be estimated by the aesthetic norms typical for the poetry, not only for the rhetoric.

Each of the three epicedia may be regarded as a whole. Each of them contains the elements that are distinctive for the funeral poems – *comploratio* (*lamentatio*), *laudatio*, *consolatio*²⁴, and that makes them typical examples of this particular literary genre. A more detailed presentation of the content of all the monodies would exceed the scope of this article, especially when we deal with texts that cannot be properly described in narrative form. It should be stated that all the monodies follow a threefold compositional scheme: in the beginning and in the end of the poems there are laments and *laudations* of the deceased, the passages in the middle include parenetical strands and have a consolatory role. The whole series make a perfect harmonic triptych structure due to the dominant themes: lamentations and *laudations* in the first and in the third monody and consolation in the second. The compositional symmetry present in each monody in the triptych form is significantly intensified. Such an elaborate structure certainly could not have been accidental. It was thoroughly thought out and laid out, especially since it is said that there was yet another poem on the death of Theodora Comnena. In the *Marcianus Gr.* 533 the three monodies are followed by the phrase: ἡ στίχοι ἠρωϊκοὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ, which means the author did not include the last poem in the cycle of monodies. Unfortunately, the codex in this place is damaged and the poem is unreadable²⁵.

The first monody, full of mourning and the feelings of irreplaceable loss after the death of the Empress, is dominated by sentimental laments. The stylised spontaneity of experiences is demonstrated by many exclamations used by the author to describe these feelings and various rhetorical questions that depict the sense of helplessness and despair. The poem starts with an exclamation: ὦ τῆς ἀτάκτου τοῦ χρόνου φορᾶς, οἶα περιῶν ἡμᾶς περιέπειρε βλάβη, οἶα συμφορᾶ περιέβαλεν!²⁶

²² F.M. PONTANI, *op. cit.*, p. 106; S. RONCHEY, *op. cit.*, p. 48–49.

²³ The specificity of the Byzantine versification systems and the practices of writing manuscripts does not allow to confirm with certainty that we are not dealing with poetry *sensu stricto*; See E. WELLESZ, *Historia muzyki i hymnografii bizantyjskiej*, trans. M. KAZIŃSKI, Kraków 2006, p. 96 and O. JUREWICZ, *Historia literatury bizantyńskiej. Zarys*, Wrocław 1984, p. 82.

²⁴ S. ZABŁOCKI, *Antyczne epicedium i elegia żałobna. Geneza i rozwój*, Warszawa 1965, p. 5–6.

²⁵ F. PONTANI, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

²⁶ BESSARION, I, 531, 4–5.

and ends in a similar way: ὦ συμφορᾶς!²⁷. The noun συμφορά 'unhappiness', appearing in both exclamations, *n.b.* giving the effect of a *ring composition*, synthesises the atmosphere of the monody. The praises of Theodora justify and explain to the collective lyrical subject the bitter feeling of loss and at the same time they are aimed at assuaging the emotions, to counterbalance the violent manifestations of despair. The remarks on the precarious nature of human existence, ephemeral time and inevitable death have the same function in the poem's composition. They are a sort of consolation with its *cacumen* in the middle part of the poem in the form of parenetical reflections on the God's will being done, despite the mortals' lack of understanding.

The motif of *comploratio* also prevails in the third monody, but the forms of despair seem more moderate. The words σιγῇ δακρύσω²⁸ announce the change of the poem's tone. The feeling of despair is substituted here with the sense of sorrow and grief; the theme of the poem is not so much the Empress's death, but rather the fate of her bereft subjects. The praised virtues of the Empress, found among the words of complaint, make the feeling of emptiness even greater, similarly to the first monody. The axis of the symmetrical structure of the poem is found in the words of consolation, in the Christian spirit: for those who live in harmony with Christ, death is not death, but just a departure²⁹.

The second monody significantly differs from the other two, both in size (it is the longest one), as well as in the form of composition and the content. The introductory part of the laments, built on a series of rhetorical questions, smoothly proceeds to the panegyric part about Theodora's virtues and benevolence, constantly demonstrated by unabated despair of her people. Bessarion found his source of consolation in the evangelical story of the crucifixion of Christ and his sacrifice for the good of humanity. The exegesis of the twice cited³⁰ words of Jesus from the Gospel of Matthew: οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω, ἀλλ' ὡς σύ³¹ makes Bessarion convinced that God does not approve of immoderate laments. People cannot comprehend His ideas and decisions, so they should accept them. Theodora's death should be regarded as the act of supreme mercy, because death is not an evil, on the contrary, it makes one free from earthly cares and leads to salvation. In the consolatory apostrophe addressed to the Emperor Alexius IV Bessarion argues that, even though his wife's death is painful for him, he should treat this suffering as if it were a paternal admonishment. Abraham, Job, David proved that the way to sanctity leads through difficulties. Above all, Alexius should follow David's example. I would like to point out that the consolation found in the second monody is

²⁷ BESSARION, I, 536, 24.

²⁸ BESSARION, II, 363, 10.

²⁹ BESSARION, II, 365, 11–12.

³⁰ BESSARION, II, 354, 27–28; II, 355, 6–7.

³¹ Mt 26, 39.

more complex in structure. The parenetical tone of the argument, performed with a dialectical technique of an experienced rhetor, changes in the final part of the monody, in which the *laudation* of the Empress reappears.

The purely poetic elements of the poems should be also taken into consideration. The way in which the author depicts various images and gives them meaning are worthy of deeper analysis. In the second monody Bessarion recalls the motif of Christ's crucifixion, but describes the drops of blood and sweat falling down his face in only a few words³². From the whole story of the Passion of Lord Bessarion chose only one small detail and made it a symbol of the suffering and sacrifice of Christ, as if he tried to spotlight a small part of a much bigger canvas. The 'verbal' picture, reduced to a minimum, leaves additional space for the recipients' imagination, and even more so as the author makes the tormented Jesus speak with words taken from the Gospel of Matthew³³: περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου³⁴, changing at the same time the chronology of the events. According to the Evangelist the words were originally spoken by Jesus to his disciples in the Gethsemane garden before he was apprehended by the Roman soldiers. It is less than probable that Bessarion made a mistake. This part of the poem must rather be considered as intended by the author, especially when we realise the fact that in this part of the monody he quotes the prayer of Christ twice: οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω, ἀλλ' ὡς σὺ³⁵, that we find in the same chapter of the Gospel³⁶. Bessarion's evident parachronism seems to have been treated as a particular technique of poetic collage. It is even more meaningful in the light of the content of the evoked chapters of the Gospel dedicated to the spiritual suffering of Christ. By the way, it is worth noticing that a similar technique was used as early as by Pindar.

A picture painted with equally few words appears in the final part of the second monody, in which Bessarion gives his vision of paradise – the final destination of the Empress Theodora: πρὸς εὐανθήν καὶ ποικίλον καὶ ὄλον ὠραϊσμένον ἀπαγούσης χώρον³⁷. The author creates an image of a typical *locus amoenus*, where the recipients of his poem may see a colour-hued grassland, full of lush vegetation, that sparkles with multi-coloured flowers and stuns them by its wondrous scent. It is worth emphasising here, that the topos of *locus amoenus* derives directly from the times of Homer and has a long poetic tradition³⁸.

³² Ὡς καὶ θρόμβους ἰδρώτων ὡς αἵματος ἐκ τοῦ τιμίου αὐτοῦ προσώπου ρεῖν (II, 354, 23–24).

³³ Mt 26, 38.

³⁴ BESSARION, II, 354, 25.

³⁵ BESSARION, II, 354, 27–28; II, 355, 6–7.

³⁶ Mt. 26, 39.

³⁷ BESSARION, II, 359, 5–6.

³⁸ Cf. e.g. G. SCHÖNBECK, *Der locus amoenus von Homer bis Horaz*, Heidelberg 1962; P. HASS, *Der locus amoenus in der antiken Literatur. Zu Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Motivs*, Bamberg 1998, p. 4 sqq; B.S. HALLER, *Landscape Description in Homer's Odyssey*, Pittsburgh 2007 [Ph.D. diss.];

A particular kind of poetic image is reached in monodies by a stylistic device rooted in archaic Greek poetry, which is called *hypomnesis*. In the first monody Bessarion evokes the image of Theodora and the timbre of her voice as preserved in the memory of the Emperor. There is also another reminiscence of Alexius that is in evident contrast with the previous one: the act of lifting the tombstone, under which the Empress was going to be buried³⁹. Thus, in only these two short sentences Bessarion included a surprising effect of *hypomnesis* – one scene was taken from the life of the Empress and one from her funeral. The memories from the funeral celebrations reappear in the third monody, in which Bessarion describes the procession of lamenting mourners: the Emperor and the officials, women and men, the rich and the poor. Furthermore, all the actions take place in the light of this *damned day* – ὦ τῆς ἀπενκταίας ἡμέρας⁴⁰. The retrospective scenes amplify the number of the means of poetic expression and let the author diversify the conventional elements of *laudatio* and *comploratio* to avoid monotony.

The metaphors, used very moderately by Bessarion, remain within the typical for funeral forms. Such metaphors as e.g. *the depth of misery*, βαθύς κακῶν⁴¹, *to exhaust the grief with tears*, τὴν λύπην ἐκκενῶουν δάκρυσιν⁴², *hateful grave*, πικρὸν σῆμα⁴³, *endless sea of love*, τὸ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας αὐτοῦ πολὺ πέλαγος⁴⁴, *to endure the burden of sorrow*, τὸ φλεγμαῖνον καταστεῖλαι τοῦ πάθους⁴⁵, *the fog of depression covers the eyes*, τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς ἀθυμίας ἀφήρηται ἢ ἀχλύς⁴⁶, *the fog of sorrow*, ἢ τῆς ἀθυμίας ἀχλύς⁴⁷, *to cross the gate of life*, τὰς τοῦ βίου διαπερᾶν πύλας⁴⁸, cannot be perceived as an expression of exaltation, but they rather inform about the sensibility and imagination of a young writer. On the other hand such metaphorical expressions as: *voracious abyss of Hades*, ἢ μάργος τοῦ Ἄδου γαστήρ⁴⁹ or *the bitter advice of the snake and more bitter food from the tree*, ἢ πικρὰ τοῦ ὄφεως συμβουλή καὶ ἢ πικροτέρα τοῦ ξύλου μετάληψις⁵⁰ prove his acquaintance with cultural tradition, his erudition and openness for the symbiosis of spirituality of the pagans and the Christians.

S. SAÏD, *Topos and Topoi*, [in:] *A Companion to Greek Literature*, ed. M. HOSE, D. SCHENKER, Malden–Oxford–Chichester 2016, p. 353–369.

³⁹ BESSARION, I, 532, 22–25.

⁴⁰ BESSARION, III, 366, 16–21.

⁴¹ BESSARION, II, 352, 2.

⁴² BESSARION, II, 352, 3.

⁴³ BESSARION, II, 352, 20.

⁴⁴ BESSARION, II, 353, 22.

⁴⁵ BESSARION, II, 359, 15–16.

⁴⁶ BESSARION, II, 359, 17–18.

⁴⁷ BESSARION, III, 368, 7.

⁴⁸ BESSARION, III, 364, 4–5.

⁴⁹ BESSARION, II, 353, 27–28.

⁵⁰ BESSARION, III, 364, 1–2.

The comparisons, though rare in the texts, are also worth consideration. To give an example: human existence is compared to sailing the sea during calm, when the winds are fair; dangerous; when one strays from the course and ploughs into the rocks⁵¹. Or the Empress, for the goodness of her heart, her mercy and concern about the people, is compared to a bird that embosoms the nestlings with its wing, giving them comfort and safety⁵².

Finally, I would like to refer to the intertextual links as an important element of artistic work, according to the aesthetic norms of *poesis docta*. Their presence and value were appreciated by F.M. Pontani⁵³. The Italian scholar prepared an index of all links, both the apparent ones and the suggested allusions, so enlisting them here would be superfluous. Therefore, I am going to mention only some minor nuances concerning the issue. In the beginning of the first monody⁵⁴ Bessarion refers twice to *Hecuba*, the tragedy by Euripides⁵⁵. It is not a coincidence if we realise that *Hecuba* is a tragedy based on human suffering and mourning for the dead. Bessarion seems to have noticed an analogy between the plot of the Greek drama and the contemporary circumstances. Thus, he referred to the literary experienced recipients of his monody, and with such associations he managed to enhance the emotions that were stated *expressis verbis*.

The second monody can be characterised by diachronic variations of references: to Homer, to the Old and New Testament and finally to John Chrysostom, one of the early Greek Church Fathers. The quotation taken from the *Odyssey*: *But tell me of your family, since you did not spring from a tree or a stone as in the ancient tales*⁵⁶ seems an interesting issue to discuss. These are Penelope's words to Odysseus, she is unaware of the fact that she is talking to her husband. She simply wants to find out who the stranger is and where he comes from. In this context the words have great meaning: *you cannot be from nowhere*. We have literary evidence that this saying was already in proverbial use in the 4th century, but it had a different meaning: *you are not as strong as an oak, neither as tough as a rock*⁵⁷. When Bessarion says: Οὐ μὴν ὥστε καὶ μὴ θρηνεῖν μηδὲ τῆ φύσει χαρίζεσθαι· «οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης» ἐσμὲν τὴν φύσιν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται⁵⁸, he seems to be referring to the latter meaning of this phrase: *we are not strong and tough enough to refrain from despairing*. If we look at the quotation from a broader perspective

⁵¹ BESSARION, I, 533, 22–26.

⁵² BESSARION, II, 352, 12–14.

⁵³ F.M. PONTANI, *op. cit.*, p. 106, 108–110.

⁵⁴ BESSARION, I, 531, 8–9; I, 532, 12.

⁵⁵ EURIPIDES, *Hecuba*, v. 660; 1121.

⁵⁶ HOMER, *Odyssey*, XIX, 163. Orig.: οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἐσοι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης.

⁵⁷ On the semantic transformations of Homer's adages, see H. ZALEWSKA-JURA, *Jak Palladas z Homera żartował*, [in:] *Humor. Teorie – praktyka – zastosowania. Zrozumieć humor*, vol. II.1, Piotrków Trybunalski 2009, p. 177–182.

⁵⁸ BESSARION, II, 354, 4–5.

the first possible meaning is also likely to be accepted *we cannot be from nowhere as we are from here, from Trebizond, just like our Empress*. It was Bessarion's way to combine two different cultural codes: the one rooted in the oldest literature and the contemporary one in the form of a proverb, by pointing out the double meaning of the phrase.

Another Greek concept, that the best thing for a man is not to be born, and if already born, to die as soon as possible, appears in the beginning and in the final part of the third monody⁵⁹ and makes the monody a whole. According to ancient tradition these words were attributed to Silenus, who said them to the Phrygian King Midas, after being seized by the king's servants⁶⁰. The reason why Bessarion made reference to this pagan idea and made it an important element of his composition is a matter to be put under question. Perhaps he referred to Sophocles and his nostalgic third *stasimon* found in *Oedipus at Colonus*, in which the old dramatist, reconciled with the approaching doom, says goodbye to his life⁶¹. It is conceivable then that in Bessarion's opinion the idea *it is better not to be born at all* that appears twice in the poem is a veiled way of expressing his resignation and reconciliation with the fate, which would correspond with the calmer atmosphere of the third epicedium in comparison with the explosion of despair observed in the first poem.

The analyses of the monodies on the death of Theodora Comnena were aimed at pointing out the significant artistic value of the poetry written by young Bessarion. He is certainly a considerable, very sensitive, well read and extraordinarily intelligent author. Moreover, he addressed his poems to elite and erudite recipients. He followed the accepted intellectual and literary norms and wrote his poems in classical Greek, which by then was distorted in everyday use, not to say, degraded. Hence, the sense of artificiality and mannerism may be a natural consequence of the language he used. His poetry was undoubtedly influenced by the rhetorical and intellectual legacy of Hellas, but it also followed the dominant literary trends of those times. Bessarion was fully aware of his readers' tastes, preferences, expectations and artistic sensitivity, and these elements mainly effected and determined the character of his poetry. Despite various customary and cultural aspects of the Byzantine époque, we cannot forget about these circumstances. Bessarion's reception and evaluation in modernity is open to discussion; contemporary readers have other cultural background, literary experiences, different sensitivity and aesthetic perception. Certainly, the group of potential recipients of this poetry with necessary cognitive skills (apart from language competences) is considerably limited when compared to Byzantine times. His poetry may as well be appreciated or undervalued according to subjective tastes, but it must be regarded as a precious cultural artefact of the 15th-century Byzantine Empire.

⁵⁹ BESSARION, III, 364, 3–5; III, 367, 6–8.

⁶⁰ This version of the legend was spread by HERODOTUS (*The Histories*, VIII, 138).

⁶¹ SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus at Colonus*, v. 1224–1227.

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CHRYSANTHOS, *Βησσαρίωνος προσφώνημα πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα τῆς Τραπεζούντος Ἀλέξιον τὸν Μέγαν Κομνηνόν*, ΑΠΟ 12, 1946, p. 117–130.

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КАРПОВ С.П., *История Трапезундской Империи*, Санкт-Петербург 2007.

Abstract. This article discusses the relatively unknown poetry of Bessarion, the future Cardinal. The author argues with a negative opinion of F.M. Pontani concerning the three epicedia on the death of Theodora Comnena. The author analyses the composition, artistic means of expression and intertextual links in order to revise the common opinion in the subject and to prove the presence of literary values in the mentioned poems.

Keywords: Bessarion, Trebizond, Trabzon, Comneni, Theodora Comnena, Byzantine empire, empire of Trebizond

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BOOK REVIEWS

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ZOFIA BRZozowska, *Święta księżna kijowska Olga. Wybór tekstów źródłowych [Saint Olga – Princess of Kievan Rus'. An Anthology of Sources]*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2014, pp. 217.

Zofia Brzozowska is one of the few Polish scholars who study the history Rus and Old Rus culture. She studied history and Slavistics at the University of Łódź; her academic interests are focused on the area of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. During her most recent research she focused on imaginings of *Sophia* as *Divine Wisdom* personified. It ought to be stressed that the author has a considerable experience in translating historical sources of Rus origin. She continually published translations from Old Church Slavonic in the journal "Slavia Antiqua" since 2012. Now, we are receiving her translation of the oldest hagiographical and hymnographic works devoted to the Princess of Kiev, Olga. These sources were created between 11th and 16th centuries, and most of them have not been previously translated into the Polish language.

The translation's author divided her book into two parts. In the first one: *Święta księżna kijowska Olga w świetle źródeł historycznych i tradycji cerkiewnej [Saint Olga, Princess of Kiev, in the light of historical sources and Church tradition]*, p. 9–41 she included two chapters, in which she discussed biography of Olga and the origins and development of her cult. At the beginning of the first chapter (*Olga, księżna kijowska – szkic biograficzny [Olga, Princess of Kiev – biographical essay]*) the author noted that the historical sources relating to Olga are highly problematic. Historiographical works come from three different areas – Old Rus, Byzantine and Western European. They present primarily the political aspects of Olga's activity, and differ in their description and interpretation. Meanwhile, the preserved hagiographic and hymnographic works relate exclusively to her sainthood. In the Slavic folklore tales, in turn, the Princess is presented as cruel and cunning (p. 11). Subsequently, Zofia Brzo-

zowska presented conclusions based on analysing information contained in the *Tale of Bygone Years (Primary Chronicle)*, the oldest Kievan chronicle (from 12th century), in *Novgorod Fourth Chronicle*, and the life from *The Book of Degrees of Royal Genealogy*. The aforementioned sources agree that the Princess came from Pskov or its vicinity, and that she married Igor, the Prince of Kiev. The 15th-century *New Volodymyr Chronicle* offers different information. According to this source, Olga came from Bulgaria. In this case, scholars suspect an error on its author's part: identifying Pskov with the Bulgarian capital, Pliska. Regarding Olga's genealogy, Zofia Brzozowska is inclined to accept the hypothesis that the Princess came from a Varangian background. According to her, the idea is supported not only by the 16th century versions of the *Lives* of the saint, but also the Germanic form of her name, 'Ελγα (Helga), found in the Byzantine sources (p. 12–13). Subsequently, the scholar noted the problematic silence of the sources concerning years 903–945. The only (and laconic) remark about Olga from this period is found in the Byzantine–Rus treaty of 944. It mentions the envoy of the Princess and her son, Svjatoslav, as the heir to the throne (p. 13). Attempts to fill in this silence were made in Church hagiography and Eastern Slavic folklore. Church descriptions Olga is presented as a wise and merciful ruler. The folk tradition preserved her image as a power-hungry woman, who did not hesitate to get rid of her husband. Near the end of the year 945 Prince Igor was murdered by the rebelling Drevlians. The author refers here to the dramatic relation of a Byzantine historian, Leo the Deacon. She then rightly noted that it was only the death of Olga's husband that allowed her to realise her own political ambitions. The Princess was

able to rule independently (p. 14). The sources indicate that her position at the court in Kiev equalled that of the now deceased ruler. Zofia Brzozowska stresses that the Old Rus law allowed a widow to publicly fulfil her dead husband's functions, until she re-married (p. 15). The scholar also noted an interesting aspect of the Old Rus customary law. According to it, anyone who wanted to take over a dead knyaz's power had to marry his widow. This is why Drevlians offered Olga marrying their Prince, Mal. She, however, emphatically rejected the offer, since she wanted to ensure the reign over Kiev for her son (p. 15). On the following pages (p. 16–18) we find a critical analysis of the information relating to the revenge the Princess enacted upon the Drevlians over the murder of her husband. Discussing it, the author noted the interesting aspects of the pagan rites and motifs inspired by Scandinavian sagas. The most important event in the Saint's life was, according to Zofia Brzozowska, her visit to Constantinople and receiving baptism according to the Orthodox rite (p. 19). The author compares the sources (of Rus, Constantinopolitan and West European origins) describing these events, and attempts to settle a number of questions; how many times did Olga visit the Byzantine capital? When did the baptism take place? Was the journey intended to result in a marriage? Eventually, the scholar concluded that the Princess visited Constantinople only once, received baptism there, and along with it the name of Helena. Regarding the date of this event, the scholar agreed with a hypothesis by Alexander Nazarenko that it has taken place in the year 957 (p. 20–25). Based on the account from the *Tale of Bygone Years* chronicle, Zofia Brzozowska believes that while being hosted by the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus, the Princess promised to assign some of her warriors to serve in the Byzantine army (p. 26). On the following pages the scholar devoted her attention to the Christianisation of Rus. The preserved descriptions indicate that Olga made attempts to baptise Svjatoslav and all of the subjects. Furthermore, Church tradition ascribes to her founding of several Christian temples. A liturgical book *The Apostle*, created in the 14th century, claims

she founded in Kiev the Church of Divine Wisdom. Olga could not, however, convince Svjatoslav to convert to Christianity. She also opposed his plans to move the capital to Pereyaslav on Danube. In 968 she endured the siege of Kiev, where she became trapped with her grandsons. She died on 11th of July 969. In 1007 her body was exhumed and moved into the newly build Church of the Tithes (p. 27–29).

In chapter two (*Święta Olga – dzieje i specyfika kultu w Kościele wschodnim* [*Saint Olga – the history and nature of the cult in the Orthodox Church*] – p. 31–40) the scholar focused on presenting the cult of St. Olga in the light of hagiographic sources and Church tradition. Reaching for the oldest preserved hagiographic texts dedicated to the saint, Zofia Brzozowska noted that it would appear that the Princess was venerated as early as in the 11th century. The sources not only describe the miracles that occurred thanks to her intercession, but also note that her body did not decay. In the 11th century, the metropolitan bishop of Kiev, Ilarion, in his work *Praise of Prince Vladimir*, likened the Kievan ruler with the Emperor Constantine the Great, and his grandmother Olga with the Empress Helena. Undoubtedly, in this way he underscored the contributions of Vladimir and Olga to the Christianisation of Rus. He did not, however, go as far as to call them saints, even though, as the scholar notes, in the *Praise of Prince Vladimir* he did refer to the ruler as equal-to-Apostles. In this way he transposed onto the Rus soil the Byzantine idea of the ruler (p. 31–33). Vladimir was sainted probably at the end of the 13th century. The scholar supposes that Olga may have been sainted about a century earlier. Her sainthood was finally confirmed at a council in Moscow in 1547 (p. 35). Another aspect of the cult of St. Olga discussed in this chapter is the official Church iconography. The author brought to attention and interpreted several interesting examples, among them manuscript illuminations, wall paintings, and a portable icon (p. 37–39). Subsequently, she turned her attention to the local cult of St. Olga in Łódź. She presented the history of the founding of the church of St. Olga, which was consecrated on 4th of October 1898. She also attempted explaining the factors

that decided about choosing St. Olga as the patron. According to the author, one of the factors may have been the fact that in 1895 a daughter of Tsar Nicholas II, Olga, was born. Perhaps it was in a gesture of loyalty that the church was dedicated to the patron saint of Tsar's daughter (p. 39–40).

In the second part of the book (*Święta księżna kijowska Olga – wybór tekstów źródłowych [Saint Princess Olga of Kiev. A selection of primary sources]* – p. 44–202) the author listed eight source texts, along with their translations. Each of them is preceded by a brief introduction, informing about the time of creation and manuscript tradition. Furthermore, the Author indicated the most important editions of each of the works, the edition she used in the book and the basic literature on the subject. The texts included here are: *Praise of Olga*, a part of the *Remembrance and praise of Prince of Rus Vladimir* by Jacob the Monk, from 11th century (p. 44–48); the Prologue Life of St. Olga (Southern Slavic), from 12th–13th centuries (p. 50–54); the Prologue Life of St. Olga (from Rus), 12th–13th centuries (p. 56–60); Canon in Praise of St. Olga, ascribed to Cyril of Turov, 12th–13th centuries (p. 61–74); *A word about how Olga had herself baptised*, turn of 14th and 15th centuries (p. 75–80); Life of St. Olga (so-called of Pskov), from the 1560s (p. 82–94); Life of St. Olga (so-called of Pskov, shortened edition), 16th century (p. 95–100); Comprehensive Life of St. Olga, in-

cluded in *The Book of Degrees of Royal Genealogy*, ca. 1560 (p. 102–202).

Each of the texts is accompanied by footnotes. The book is supplemented by a list of abbreviations (p. 203–204), bibliography (p. 205–210) and a subject index (p. 211–217).

The book is a valuable addition to the, rather scanty in the Polish language, collection of the Old Rus texts. Its considerable merit is also the fact that the original texts have been provided along the translations, which enables the readers to verify their (it has to be noted, exceedingly high) quality. It should be noted that the majority of the translated works included in the volume have not been previously translated into Polish.

The discussed book will be, I think, an excellent aid to the didactic process at universities, and will contribute to the development of Polish research on the beginnings of Christianity in Rus. One other aspect of the book deserves attention: the scholar also discussed the history of the Orthodox Church in Łódź, dedicated to St. Olga. One might therefore say that her book will also contribute to the better understanding of Łódź as the city of four cultures, part of which is the heritage of the Orthodox Rus.

I am certain that the work discussed here will find numerous readers, both among the scholars, and wider public interested in the history of Rus.

Andrzej R. Holasek (Łódź)

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ЛЪЧЕЗАР ПЕРЧЕКЛИЙСКИ, Ахтаровият царственик от 1844 година. Текст и изследване [Ahtaroviyat Tsarstvenik. Text and research], Бюлид-инс, София 2013, pp. 184.

Łączesar Perčeklijski's work exhibits all the characteristics of the historical-linguistic trend, which has been consistently popular in the Balkans for years, and which entails describing and publicising the most important monuments of literature. This time, the author took upon himself to focus on the edited vari-

ant of the first Revival-period work to address Bulgarian historiography – *Istoriya Slavyano-bolgarskaya [Slaveno-Bulgarian History]* by Paisius of Hilendar (also known as in Western sources as Paisii Khilendarski; it is worth mentioning that this book, which is without doubt a great contribution to the research on the

reception of Paisius' work, is also the aftermath of a research project to commemorate the 250th anniversary thereof). The work in question is a unique phenomenon – written in the era of the Ottoman “Yoke,” through references to important historical events aimed to praise the Bulgarian nation and its courage, it was an important factor in shaping the consciousness and national identity of the Bulgarians. Paisius' *Istoriya* was an immensely popular work, as evidenced not only by the multiplicity of its copies, but also the fact that relatively quickly (at the end of the eighteenth century) compilations of the original text and other, more or less legendary, content began to emerge. One of them was the literary monument known in scholarly sources as *Ahtaroviyat Tsarstvenik* (*Ахтаровият царственик*), written in 1844 in Veliko Tărnovo by Kănčo Sojanovič Bakal and Stoyančo Penjuvič Ahtar¹.

L. Perčekliyski's monograph consists of two parts. The first one is devoted to the studies on the historical text and includes its description, its position among several other copies from the so-called Rila set, and its graphical and linguistic characteristics. Consisting of 128 sheets, the literary monument is unique in many ways, not only because it is different from other texts in the set in terms of its content (primarily the significantly edited preface and additions in the main text, meticulously listed by the author, after he compared it to a number of other copies, including the Rila copy, Pop Ioan's copy, the

Stara Zagora copy, Grigorovič's copy, and so on), but also because the language (of two copyists) is quite characteristic (especially compared to the Stara Zagora, Rila, and Pop-Ioan's copies). Therefore, it is very fortunate that the text has become the subject of detailed study.

The second part (p. 79–155) consists of the hitherto unpublished text of the literary monument, with principles of editing and a short glossary of archaisms and borrowings. The rules of the edition are clearly defined and consistent, and the few suggested simplifications of spelling, mainly relating to the omission of diacritics marking aspirations and replacing three different types of word stress with a single one (nota bene, the original text does not follow the rules of the Church Slavonic language in this regard) do not compromise the clarity of the publication. It is worth noting that in the footnotes the author adds comments regarding apparent errors in the text and notes its characteristic features. Even though from a technical and aesthetic point of view, the choice of font used in the edition may seem rather disappointing, it must be admitted that the text itself is edited carefully and conscientiously.

The publication is supplemented with a list of abbreviations, a bibliography, and an appendix with colour reproductions of illustrations and selected pages of *Ahtaroviyat Tsarstvenik*.

Agata Kawecka (Łódź)
Translated by Katarzyna Gucio

¹ Cf. Увод, p. 14–15.

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АЛБЕНА ГЕОРГИЕВА, *Фолклорни измерения на християнството. Устни разкази и локална религиозност в района на Бачковския манастир „Успение на Пресвета Богородица” и на Хаджидимовския манастир „Св. Великомъченик Георги Победоносец”* [*Folk Dimensions of Christianity. Oral Narratives and Local Religiosity near Bačkovno Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa and Hadžidimovo Monastery of the Holy Great-Martyr George, the Victory-Bearer*], Просвета, София 2012, pp. 440.

For years Albena Georgieva's scientific research has been focused on the issues concerning Bulgarian folk narrative, such as the typology and its function, as well as its place in culture. The continuity of her scientific interest is confirmed by series of academic publications including the monograph dedicated to the genealogy of non-folktale oral narrative and the process of storytelling: *Етиологичните легенди в българския фолклор* (София 1990) [*Etiological Legends in Bulgarian Folklore*, Sofia 1990]; *Разкази и разказване в българския фолклор* (София 2000) [*Narratives and Storytelling in Bulgarian Folklore*, Sofia 2000], publications of source books such as the anthology of folk legend with a commentary *Когато Господ ходеше по земята. 77 легенди с тълкувания* (София 1993) [*When the Lord Walked the Earth. 77 Legends with Explanations*, Sofia 1993], and several articles published in periodicals, both domestic and abroad.

In her latest work, *Фолклорни измерения на християнството* [*Folk Dimensions of Christianity*], Georgieva once again undertakes the subject of the folk religiosity. The 440-pages-long publication consists of *Introduction*, six chapters, *Summary*, *index of interlocutors cited from unpublished materials*, table of sources, and the subject literature list, *Appendices* containing several texts included in the narrative process, and *Index of basic concepts*. Resources used in Georgieva's study were acquired through interviews and observations of the Bačkovno Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa and the Hadžidimovo Monastery dedicated to the Holy Great-Martyr George, the Victory-Bearer, as well as various places of cult in which the author conducted field studies since the 1970s up till now (for more informa-

tion see the impressive record of Georgieva's scientific researches – p. 11–14).

Georgieva's aim is to track the process of storytelling – “what and how we talk about faith” (p. 14) in communities agglomerated near the cult places significant for the Eastern Orthodox Christianity, along with communities which tend to gather in the places of cult exclusively during the major Christian festivals. Georgieva claims that the content of the stories indicates the occurrence of mutual influences and impacts existing between a community and its surroundings, as well as it constructs and sustains the sense of being affiliated with the place. Suddenly, on the margin of the central issue of the study emerges an argument concerning the significance of the storytelling process in ritual practices – the interpretation of their genesis, beliefs concerning their effectiveness and purposefulness, and, finally, the construction of specified ideological demeanor among the faithful.

The first chapter, *Устни религиозни разкази и фолклорна култура* [*Religious folk narratives and folklore*], p. 23–72, introduces the issue of the “folk Christianity”, a phenomenon defining the result of the centuries-old coexistence, mutual influences and the mutual infiltration of folklore (beliefs and practices) and official religion. Georgieva performs an overview of the terminology of the scientific discourse (*битово, народно, фолклорно християнство*), in order to define the most appropriate one for the undertaken deliberation (*фолклорно християнство, фолклорна религия, популярна религия*), contrasting and rejecting those elements which do not embrace the entirety of the phenomenon (*алтернативна религиозна култура*), as well as those which are

inadequate for the subject she focuses on (*народно християнство, синкретично християнство*) or even illogical in the consideration of the phenomenon (*битово езичество, езическо православие, битово православие*). Furthermore, Georgieva concentrates on the subject of assimilating and practicing Christianity in the local culture, discussing the role of religious oral narratives (*устни религиозни разкази*) mediating in the communication between folklore and the official religion. The author briefly explains her understanding of the concept of folk religious narratives, which, according to her, includes all the stories transmitted in the process of a direct voluntary communication, with plots containing elements (such as images, afterthought, world-views) connected with official religion and with everything that appears to be “extraterrestrial” and inscrutable. Georgieva concisely explains the silhouette of a “local saint” who as a person visible in the collective consciousness of a given community has a considerable impact on the formation and spreading of the miracle stories, oral tradition, and iconographic representation. Georgieva claims that all processes which occur between canonical faith and folk religion are always bilateral; motifs and biblical personae are being adopted by oral tradition which represents certain patterns, cultural characters, etc., resulting in peculiar diffusion of images and ideas.

The second chapter, *Сакралният център и чудесното начало* [*The Holy Center and Miraculous Beginning*], p. 73–107, contains a discussion of the transformation processes fixed in human consciousness, permanent mythological images and the acquisition of pagan rituals by Christian practices and visions. Later on, Georgieva excerpts the threads undertaken by legendary tales from which she forms groups of stories containing various landscape elements that came into existence in non-typical manner. She distinguishes such methods of formation as creation due to saint’s doings, as a result of making a sacrifice, breaking a taboo, as an outcome of a *yunak*, or Bulgarian lords’ actions. This division aims at enhancing the connection between the surrounding nature and

the history of a place of religious cult which the local community discovers while telling a story.

Chapter III, *Сакралното пространство – средоточие на религиозна култура* [*Sacred Space – the Center of Religious Culture*], p. 108–138, focuses on the sacred place as a center of mutual cultural influences. Georgieva presents a series of interesting observations concerning a place where folklore and Christianity officially meet. According to her it is an Eastern Orthodox Church which, to a large extent, remained true to traditional values despite the political and economic permutations. Oral tradition proved to be an assistance, safe haven, and the explanation for the problems of common people. However, the question whether folklore helps to find God remains open. Georgieva externalizes personally with her casual thoughts on the subject of her participation in Eastern Orthodox Church celebrations at the time of implementing a research project. In Chapter IV, *Религиозните разкази* [*Sacred Narratives*], p. 139–202, Georgieva analyzes main thematic circles of non-magical folk prose; these stories focus on the Old Testament or evangelical events, charismatic personae, dreams (prophetic, redemptive, premonitory), prophecies, visions, miraculous salvations and the faith itself.

Chapter V, *Врата като жизнена стратегия* [*Faith as Life Strategy*], p. 203–230, contains personal stories of three of Georgieva’s interlocutors: Kamenka Genova from the Gubeš village, former amanuensis of the Bačkovo Monastery, Slavčo Kišov, and Father Mitrofan from the Bačkovo Monastery, all of whom she met during the fieldwork; faith and practice proved to be a life strategy for them. Georgieva decided to name the subchapters dedicated to a particular character using passages from their interviews or direct references to their statements, which turned out to be quite an interesting effort.

Lastly, Chapter VI, *Поклоничество – пътуване отвъд* [*Pilgrimage – a Journey from the Other Side*], p. 231–294, concentrates on the subject of pilgrimage to “holy” places. Georgieva discusses all components of folk religion (practices, places, objects) connected to the

cult of the local saint including the name day celebration, dedicating a monastery to a given saint which automatically makes it a “living icon”, healing water, remembrance of a sacrifice made, participation in church fairs, and shared dance (*choro*), as well as the fact of being healed through religious pilgrimage. Communities perceive pilgrimages not only as a chance of meeting God, but also the loved ones – close relatives, neighbors, members of the community. Fulfilling the ritual practices, both the official and unofficial ones, gives the opportunity to commune with *sacrum* and to sense the special closeness, equality, togetherness. A pilgrimage may symbolically be called a peregrination to find lost paradise, wherein the paradise represents a particular state of mental peace and reconciliation with the World.

In *Conclusion*, p. 295–306, Georgieva draws several proposals concerning the stories and their plots, as well as the process of creating and passing them on, the meaning and legitimacy of pilgrimages, and other practices.

Annexe, p. 351–437, include eighteen texts with a value of a folklore document to which the author was referring to in her scientific narration. The annexe were recorded by Georgieva herself (sometimes with the help of other researchers) in years 1987–2004, and arranged in chronological order (with the exception of one, which was recorded in the year 1998 and found after the story from the 1999). The texts are written mostly in a form of a dialogue aducing the life stories of clergymen or believers, places and objects considered holy, healings, etc.

The first thought that came to my mind after reading Georgieva’s book was the reflection upon the style of the individual research presentation, not only in regard to the existing literature on the subject, also the foreign-language literature, but foremost the scientific achievements of Georgieva’s colleagues, often considered to be the coauthors of conclusions. Georgieva invokes the names of the coworkers from her Alma Mater, presents their views, borrows their terminology (or openly polemicize with it), always mentioning those who participated in the field work with her. Even though *Фолклорни измерения на християнството*

remains an authorial and thoroughly original publication, one has an impression of “polyphonicness” of the work, which undoubtedly favors the substantiation of the thesis, but also creates a highly positive and professional image of the Sofia folkloristic community which Georgieva is a part of.

The substantive content of the publication is impressive, starting from the introductory theoretical chapter which allows to become sufficiently acquainted with the topic of the study, through the presentation of the results of the field work and textual analysis which leads to conclusions often more universal than the name of a subchapter. The overview of the relations between folklore and Christianity is methodical and based on various sources, therefore it does not ignore any elements of the local religious culture, such as religious tales, the process of their creation and transfer, religious practices, pilgrimages, places and objects of cult. Georgieva metaphorically opens the eyes of a reader; certain the elements which up till now were staying in the shadows, aspects of the storytelling process, using the tale as a method of communication between the believers, and as a treasury of certain truths about the surrounding reality which are significant for a given community and should not be forgotten (or forsaken, when it comes to practices) slowly become visible. From the beginning Georgieva changes the focus from the plots of the stories to the very process of storytelling and the phenomenon which occurs during the storytelling; the folk community is not build, developed, and maintained through one specific story (or even a group of stories), but through the process of storytelling and passing them on.

Religious folk narratives occurs to be a contemporary genre, remarkably active in the process of constructing local tradition. The stories told in various situations and by different people representing distinct social statuses, with various life experiences tend to support, give an example, motivate to take action, and influence the feeling of attachment with a community; for the researcher they constitute a base for the better understanding of the group of believers. As Georgieva concludes, the social groups that

exist and are related to a particular place of cult, where tradition of religious storytelling is still present, prove not to be in need of protection or outside support (as, for example, from the authorities or programs subsidizing the *national heritage*) as its existence is guaranteed by the needs of community so the art of storytelling could flourish and be passed on.

The stories and storytelling support the construction of religious communities and places of cult related to it, for they create a narrative of the Holy center, its beginning and crucial elements of its development. In turn, the threads undertaken by Georgieva legitimize particular elements of landscape; the stories that are considered more obsolete bring back the “traces of nature”, more contemporary ones pass on such subjects as the discovery of a miraculous icon, healing water, building of a monastery, etc., as they focus predominantly on objects. The narration of a fictional event may have a symbolic meaning for the community, but the stories might serve as myths. Some of them provide an explanation and justification for the religious practices (which is highly significant for the original and uncommon actions characteristic for a particular place of cult, such as methods for childlessness from the village of Gorni Voden) which is a matter of great importance for the community youth and foreigners.

However, while I remain greatly impressed by Georgieva's publication I would like to express my doubts concerning it.

In my opinion the clarity of Conclusion might increase if the extractions (p. 295–306) were arranged differently. Bold parts of the text do not always correspond with the content which should expand their meaning, and in several cases they double (cf. *Наративната ситуация в този смисъл е и форма на обучение*, p. 301; and (...) *разказването до голяма степен е и процес на възпитание*, p. 302). Nevertheless, the construction of Conclusion somehow replicates the structure of the publication, therefore, it is not surprising that the extractions which mention the “construction and supporting the community” reiterate, for they refer to various elements forming the local religion:

storytelling, regular practices, knowledge transmission concerning the place of cult, and other.

Another subject about which I have reservations is the division of threads presented on the pages 80–81. The classification criterion here is the landscape element, often of an atypical appearance or behavior, a certain kind of natural environment phenomenon (specific shape of a stone, tint of rock) which occurred due to special circumstances. As far as the ‘водоизточник’ [water source] is a simple criterion to extract, the difference between the ‘природни образувания’ [work of nature] in reference to the stones or rocks which are to remind of breaking a taboo, and ‘природни образувания’ as the tracks of the Saints' activity (according to the cited source stones are also applicable) is not. It seems as the better selection of a classification criterion (for example the cause for the formation of a given landscape's element) would serve as an improvement to the organization of threads into thread groups.

From the point of view of a person always hungry for folkloristic sources I would wish to encounter even more expanded annex together with the attachments. It seems as not every text mentioned in the publication found its way into it, and some of them were introduced only in short passages while their accessibility is limited to the archive of the Institute of Folklore Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Science, remaining hard to reach for the outsiders.

To sum up, Georgieva has managed to make *Фолклорни измерения на християнството* remarkably straightforward by combining the lightness of a professional scientific reasoning with an easily accessible for a literary amateur content, valuable through the interdisciplinary approach, and even more interesting due to the personal reflexions, which the author does not avoid.

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Translated by Małgorzata Tutaj

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ILONA CZAMAŃSKA, JAN LEŚNY, *Bitwa na Kosowym Polu 1389 [Battle of Kosovo 1389]* Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2015, pp. 245.

The battle of Kosovo, June 1389, is one of the more important events in the history of struggle of Christians from Balkan Peninsula with the Turkish aggression. It did, and still does, occupy a special place in the historical consciousness of the Serbs (and others). Militarily, one might argue, it was indecisive. It did not bring a radical change to the contemporary balance of power, or to the mediaeval art of war. What made it stand out, and became the basis for the myths and legends surrounding it, were the deaths of the chief commanders of both of the sides. Lazar Hrebeljanović, the ruler of Serbia, and Murad I, the Turkish sultan, both perished. In the mythology of the battle of Kosovo we find multiple threads: of willing sacrifice, martyrdom and betrayal.

Our knowledge of the battle of Kosovo is not particularly broad, and what is known is uncertain. It was extricated by generations of scholars from sources that not so much describe its course, but rather the majority of them are but elements that create and perpetuate the Kosovan myth. All the more so one should appreciate the effort undertaken by the authors of the work discussed here. They are renowned scholars of the Balkan history – Ilona Czamańska and Jan Leśny (the latter died in 1994). It needs to be noted that the dominant input into the creation of the book came from Ilona Czamańska, who aside from authoring large parts of it also edited and fundamentally supplemented the fragments written in the early 1990s by Jan Leśny.

The work is divided into nine chapters. In the first one: *Źródła i historiografia [Sources and historiography]*, p. 5–32], the sources relating to the battle of Kosovo, of both Christian and Turkish origin, were thoroughly characterised. Chapter II: *Balkany między bitwą nad Maricą (1371) a bitwą na Kosowym Polu (1389) [Balkans between the battle of Marica (1371) and the battle of Kosovo (1389)]*, p. 33–71] is devoted to presenting the situation in the Balkans during the period after the battle of Marica,

where the Serbs were defeated, with a brief presentation of the Turkish expansion since 1352, up to the time preceding the battle of Osman relations.

In chapter III, *Bezpośrednie przyczyny wojny z 1389 roku i koalicje zaangażowane w wojnie [Direct causes of the war of 1389 and coalitions participating in the war]*, p. 73–100], the reasons for the campaign of 1389 and the shape of the Turkish and Serbian coalitions are discussed. It is worth noting the interesting conclusion that Murad's expedition was most likely directed not so much against Lazar, but against Vuk Branković, who ruled Kosovo.

The following chapter IV: *Sztuka wojenna głównych rywali [The art of war of the chief rivals]*, p. 101–121] characterises the methods of conducting warfare, the shape of the military forces and armament of both of the sides.

Chapter V: *Koncentracja wojsk i szlaki marszu [Concentration of the armies and marching routes]*, p. 123–131] is devoted to establishing the places where both armies gathered, and to attempts of establishing their routes to Kosove Polje.

In chapter VI: *Lokalizacja pola bitwy [Location of the battlefield]*, p. 133–142] there are considerations on the place where the battle took place. Aside from the references in the sources, prof. I. Czamańska conducted investigation *in situ*, who concluded the battle took place over a stretch of about 20 km.

Chapter VII: *Przebieg bitwy [Course of the battle]*, p. 143–155] is devoted to the progress of the battle, and ends in a point of essential importance: that its outcome has to be considered indecisive. The following chapter VIII: *Skutki bitwy kosowskiej [The consequences of the battle of Kosovo]*, p. 157–165] includes an important conclusion that the battle did not have major effects on the Serbian side, and the peace concluded in 1390 did not make it a Turkish vassal.

The final chapter VIII: *Tradycja i mitologia bitwy na Kosowym Polu [Tradition and my-*

thology of the battle of Kosovo, p. 167–196] is an interesting study of the birth and development of the Kosovan myth, perhaps the most important repercussion of the battle of Kosovo, strongly present in the consciousness of the contemporaries.

The work is supplemented by maps (p. 197–200), illustrations (p. 201–214), bibliography (p. 215–228), index of geographical (p. 229–234) and personal (p. 235–243) names, and a table of contents (p. 245–246). The book was prepared on the basis of the complete body of sources, with the use of vast secondary literature¹. It is an original work that gives a full,

¹ The work might be considered somewhat lacking due to omission of certain Bulgarian works (e.g. П. ПАВЛОВ, И. ТЮТЮНДЖИЕВ, *Османските турци и краят на средновековна България*, Велико Търново 1991; ИДЕМ, *Българите и османското завоевание (краят на XIII–средата на XV в.)*, Велико Търново 1995; or Polish (e.g. M. SALAMON, *Bizancjum i Bułgaria wobec ekspansji tureckiej*

multi-faceted picture of both the battle itself, and its significance. It was written in a clear and concise manner, in a way that is going to attract both professionals and a wider circle of readers.

Mirosław J. Leszka (Łódź)

Translated by Michał Zytka

w dobie bitwy na Kosowym Polu [in:] *600–lecie bitwy na Kosowym Polu*, ed. K. BACZKOWSKI, Kraków 1992, p. 29–43; K. MARINOW, *Problem zdobycia Tyrnowa przez Turków Osmańskich w literaturze naukowej oraz w świetle źródeł pisanych i archeologicznych*, Mars 17, 2004, p. 3–23; ИДЕМ, *Wybrane problemy upadku Tyrnowa*, AUL.FH 80, 2005, p. 39–160). These works could have enriched not so much the image of the battle itself, but of certain threads examined in the book (e.g. Bulgarian-Turkish relations, the reasons why no serious anti-Turkish coalition emerged in the 14th century).

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ПРЕДРАГ КОМАТИНА, Црквена политика Византије од краја иконоборства до смрти цара Василија I [Church Policy of Byzantium from the End of Iconoclasm to the Death of Emperor Basil I], Византолошки институт Српске академије наука и уметности, Посебна издања, књига 43, Београд 2014, pp. 382.

The book by Predrag Komatina, a Serbian scholar of the young generation, is devoted to the Byzantine religious policy during the time between its final departure from iconoclasm (843) and the death of Emperor Basil I (886). This period of over forty years is characterised by many interesting and significant phenomena in both the internal life of the Byzantine Church, and its relations with the outside world. It is worth reminding here that this is the time when the mission of Constantine and Methodius to the Great Moravia happened, and the time when Bulgaria was Christianised.

The book is divided into three main parts. In the first one: *Поново устоличено православје [Orthodoxy Re-enthroned] (843–856)*, p. 27–102 the author describes the situation of the Byzantine Church during a difficult pe-

riod of resolving the situation with iconoclasm, and bringing stability to the new, Orthodox order. Part two: *Експанзија византијске цркве [The Expansion of the Byzantine Church] (856–867)*, p. 103–224, is devoted to the functioning of the Byzantine Church during the reign of Emperor Michael III. Throughout the most of this period a considerable role in ecclesiastical affairs was played by the patriarch of Constantinople, Photius. It was Michael III and Photius who were behind sending the mission to the Great Moravia and the beginning of Christianisation of Bulgaria. In the third part of the book: *Царева црква [The Emperor's Church] (867–886)*, p. 225–354, the author presents the Byzantine ecclesiastical policy during the reign of Basil I. The patriarchs at the time were first Photius, followed by Ignatius, and

finally Photius again after Ignatius' death. The clash between Constantinople and Rome (won by the former) over the affiliation of the Bulgarian Church was one of the events that occurred during this period. The book is supplemented by: a list of abbreviations (p. 9–21), foreword (pp. 22–26), summary in English (p. 355–366) and an index (p. 367–382).

The author presented the changes that occurred in the Byzantine Church during 843–886 in a competent and comprehensive manner, much like the relations between the Emperor and the Constantinopolitan patriarch, and Byzantine missionary activity. He grounded his work in the full source base that he keenly studied. Some doubts may be raised by the use of secondary literature, however. Among the works listed by Predrag Komatina I could not find, for example, works by Tadeusz

Wasilewski¹, Daniel Zimann² or Ivan Božilov³, most important when considering the matter of Christianisation of Bulgaria.

Mirosław J. Leszka (Łódź)
Translated by Michał Zytka

¹ T. WASILEWSKI, *Bizancjum i Słowianie w IX wieku. Studia z dziejów stosunków politycznych i kulturalnych*, Warszawa 1972.

² D. ZIEMANN, *Vom Wandervolk zur Großmacht. Die Entstehung Bulgariens im frühen Mittelalter (7. bis 9. Jh.)*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2007; IDEM, *The rebellion of the nobles against the baptism of Khan Boris (865–866)*, [in:] *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, vol. II: *Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans*, ed. J. HENNING, Berlin–New York 2007, s. 613–624; IDEM, *Between Authoritarianism and Consensus. Domination and the Role of Nobility in the First Bulgarian Realm (7th – late 9th Century)*, *BMD* 2, 2011, p. 373–397.

³ И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българската архиепископия XI–XII век. Списъкът на българските архиепископи*, София 2011.

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ADRIAN SZOPA, *Flavius Merobaudes. Wódz i poeta z V wieku [Flavius Merobaudes. General and Poet from the 5th century]*, Wydawnictwo AVALON, Kraków 2014, pp. 240.

The presented book was written by Adrian Szopa, an assistant lecturer at the Department of Ancient History, the Institute of History, the Pedagogical University of Cracow. His research concentrates on the period of late antiquity, especially such topics as Latin literature and the role of the barbarians in the late Roman Empire. The book is the author's first, and it presents the life and works of Flavius Merobaudes, a 5th century Roman soldier, statesman and a poet. He was closely affiliated with Aetius, a powerful general of the West and one of the most important figures of these times. Merobaudes was also a renowned poet, well known and liked in his times, however, unfortunately only two panegyrics and five shorter poems survived into our times. It is the first monograph in Poland tackling that topic, however it follows the author's long-standing interest in that person, which was shown in his MA thesis about

the panegyrics of Merobaudes and several articles also exploring similar subjects¹.

The book begins with a preface (p. 11–19), and the main part is divided into four main chapters. The first one, *Świat Flawiusza Merobaudesa – Cesarstwo Rzymskie w latach 395–455* [*The World of Flavius Merobaudes – Roman Empire in Years 395–455*, p. 21–32], presents a brief overview of political history of the Roman Empire in years 395–455. The following one, *Flawiusz Merobaudes [Flavius Merobaudes]*, p. 33–67, deals with the life of Merobaudes, his origins, education, and later career with special emphasis on such things as his relationship with Aetius, received honours and dignities, and political activity.

¹ *Notitia Dignitatum – „najbardziej rzymski z dokumentów”?*, *AUPC.SH* 8, 2009, p. 183–191; *Flavius*

The next chapter, *Literatura przełomu IV i V wieku* [*The Literature of the Turn of the 4th and the 5th Century*, p. 69–110], contains an overview of the most prominent authors, their works, and the characteristic traits of literature in the late antiquity. While this part certainly serves as an important introduction to the later analysis and helps the reader understand the intellectual environment of the epoch in which Merobaudes wrote, the author takes a very broad approach, trying to condense two centuries of the history of literature in just a couple of pages and one might wonder if passages concerning Ammius Marcellinus or earlier Christian authors are relevant to the topic of the dissertation.

In the last chapter, *Twórczość Flawiusza Merobaudes* [*The Works of Flavius Merobaudes*, p. 111–197], the author proceeds to present Merobaudes' works and their characteristics. Quite surprisingly this chapter contains also a brief overview of the history of panegyrics, with special emphasis on the most prominent

writer in this genre, Claudian, which, while certainly important due to Merobaudes' activity in this field, belongs probably in the aforementioned introductory chapters. The author then proceeds with a thorough analysis of both Merobaudes' panegyrics, contemplating their meaning as well as historical background of their writing, and technical difficulties with their interpretation, due to their incompleteness. The following parts deal with Merobaudes' poetry, four *Carminæ* and the poem *De Christo*. The text is closed by the conclusion (p. 199–200).

In addition to that, the book also contains appendices with all of Merobaudes' works in Latin (p. 201–215) and also their translations into Polish (p. 217–232). The book is concluded with a bibliography (p. 233–240).

The author's effort to present a curious persona of Flavius Merobaudes, a soldier, politician, but also a poet, worthy of a praise. His task was not easy, as the sources are scarce and incomplete, yet the author managed to deliver a satisfactory narrative. Overall, it is a valuable study of a topic, that did not get almost any coverage in Polish literature up to this point, and it can be noted, that despite its problems, it is a valuable entry into the historiography of the late Roman Empire and it gives promise for the author's future works.

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SZYMON OLSZANIEC, *Prefektura praetorio Italii, Illyrikum i Afryki (312–425 n.e.)* [*Pretorian Praefecture of Italy, Illyricum and Africa (312–425 A.D.)*], Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2014, pp. 323.

The presented book was written by Szymon Olszaniec, a renowned Polish researcher of the history of the of the late Roman Empire and early Byzantium from the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. He is particularly interested in the social history and the administrative system of the Empire and

is already an author of numerous works in this field¹. The presented book follows that pat-

¹ SZYMON OLSZANIEC is the author of following books: *Julian Apostata jako reformator religijny*, Kraków 1999; *Comites consistoriani w wieku IV. Studium prozopograficzne elity dworskiej cesarstwa rzymskiego 320–395 n.e.*,

tern, describing the office of *praefectus praetorio* of Italy, Illyricum and Africa in the years 312–425 AD.

The book starts with the preface (p. 9–12) and its main body consists of two parts, first one, *Powstanie urzędu PPO Italii i jego struktura* [*The establishment of the office of PPO of Italy and its structure*, p. 13–103], dealing with the origin of *praefectus praetorio* and the structure of the office. It is thoughtfully divided into short chapters, each concentrating on a different aspect of the topic. First one presents the situation in the times of Diocletian, the second analyses the reforms of the office by Constantine. The third chapter presents the insignia of *praefectus praetorio* of Italy, while the fourth concentrates on the hierarchy of the offices in the Empire, and the place of the aforementioned in the Imperial system, while also exploring the social status of the people who held that post. The fifth characterizes the obligations and duties of *praefectus praetorio* of Italy, and also the benefits that came with this title. The sixth describes the territories of the prefecture, with the special emphasis on the case of Illyrian provinces, while the seventh analyses the problems of the prefects' residence and his relationship with the

emperor. The eighth, the last one, presents the internal structure of the office.

The second part of the book, *Kompetencje i zakres władzy prefekta praetorio Italii* [*The Prerogatives and Range of Competence of Praefectus Praetorio of Italy*, p. 105–273], concentrates on the authority of the prefect's office. The first chapter presents the role of the prefect in the legal system and in keeping the public order. The second explores the problem of taxation, tribute, and other civic obligations called *munera* that were under prefect's jurisdiction. The third deals with his relationship with local municipal structures such as *curiae* and *corporata*. This part of the book finishes with the conclusion (p. 275–279).

In addition to that, the book also contains an appendix with a list of legal acts directed to *praefectus praetorio* of Italy (p. 281–292), bibliography (p. 293–307), a summary in English (p. 309–314), and index of names (p. 315–323).

The book offers a detailed overview of the office of *praefectus praetorio* of Italy. The author approaches the topic from various perspectives, not only focusing on describing the position of *praefectus praetorio* of Italy in the administration of the Empire, but also analyzing its social and political aspects. The analysis is thorough and detailed, and the additional strength of the book is that the further problems, that don't directly fit into narrative are tackled in the extensive footnotes, so the book has much larger scope than it may seem at first glance, and no dilemma goes unaddressed.

Overall the book proves the author's highest expertise in the field and makes for an invaluable entry into Polish historiography of the late Roman Empire. We can only urge the author to consider publishing his findings in English as well, so they may reach broader, international audience.

Lukasz Pigoński (Łódź)

Toruń 2007; *Prosopographical Studies on the Court Elite in the Roman Empire (4th century AD)*, trans. J. WELNIAK, M. STACHOWSKA-WELNIAK, Toruń 2013; and articles: *Walentyńnian i senatorowie – procesy w Rzymie w latach 368–374*, [in:] *Crimina et mores. Prawo karne i obyczaje w starożytnym Rzymie*, ed. M. KURYŁOWICZ, Lublin 2001, p. 129–142; *Sopatros von Apamea – ein neuplatonischer Philosoph am Hofe von Konstantin*, [in:] *Society and Religious Studies in Greek and Roman History*, vol. I, ed. D. MUSIAŁ, Toruń 2005, p. 108–122; *Comes Orientis Zivil- oder Militarbeamter*, [in:] *Society and Religious Studies in Greek and Roman History*, vol. II, ed. D. MUSIAŁ, Toruń 2005, p. 108–122; *Eine Art Talleyrand – Gajusz Cejoniusz Rufiusz Woluzjan i meandry polityki personalnej rzymskich imperatorów przelomu III/IV w.*, [in:] *Byzantina Europaea. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, ed. M. KOKOSZKO, M.J. LESZKA, Łódź 2007, p. 457–468; coeditor: *Spółczesność i religia w świecie antycznym. Materiały z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej (Toruń, 20–22 września 2007)*, ed. S. OLSZANIEC, P. WOJCIECHOWSKI, Toruń 2010.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> , vol. I–LXIII, Paris 1863–1940
AAf	Antiquités africaines
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACO	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. SCHWARTZ and J. STRAUB, Berlin 1914–
ACr	Analecta Cracoviensia
AEMA	Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi
AfB	Africana Bulletin
AI	Annales islamologiques
Archeo	Archaeology
ArtB	The Art Bulletin: a quarterly published by the College Art Association of America
ASP	Archiv für slavische Philologie
AUL.FH	Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica
AUPC.SH	Acta Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Historica
B	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines
BAB	BABESCH. Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, earlier Bulletin Antieke Beschaving
BAus	Byzantina Australiensia
BBg	Byzantinobulgarica
BBOM	Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs
BCMA	The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BHR	Bulgarian Historical Review/Revue bulgare d'histoire
BIHB	Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome
BMag	Burlington Magazine
BMd	Bulgaria Mediaevalis
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

Bsl	Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines
ByzS	Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
C.YTCS	Cosmos: The Yearbook of the Traditional Cosmology Society
CAR	Cahiers archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et Moyen âge
CC.SG	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series graeca</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae</i>
Chi	Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
COR	Cahiers d'orientalisme
CRe	Christian Researches
DMi	Damaszener Mitteilungen
Dia	Dialogos: Hellenic Studies Review
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EB	Études balkaniques. Revue trimestrielle publiée par l'Institut d'études balkaniques près l'Académie bulgare des sciences
ECEEMA	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450
EME	Early Medieval Europe
ET.SP	Études et travaux. Studia i prace. Travaux e Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie des Sciences Polonaise
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
FBHPJS	<i>Fontes Byzantini Historiam Populorum Jugoslaviae Spectantes/Визан-тијски извори за историју народа Југославије</i> , vol. II, ed. et trans. B. FERJANČIĆ, Beograd 1959.
FBR	Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte
FGHB	<i>Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae/Грџици извори за българската история</i> , vol. III, ed. I. DUJČEV et al., Serdicae 1960; vol. IV, ed. I. DUJČEV et al., Serdicae 1961; vol. V, ed. G. CANKOVA-PETKOVA et al., Serdicae 1964; vol. VI, ed. I. DUJČEV et al., Serdicae 1965; vol. VII, ed. G. Cankova-Petkova et al., Serdicae 1968.
FLHB	<i>Fontes latini historiae bulgaricae/Латински извори за българската история</i> , vol. III, ed. I. DUJČEV et al., Serdicae 1965.
GAMAR	Gdańsk Archaeological Museum African Reports
Ge	Germania

Ges	Gesta
GOTR	Greek Orthodox Theological Review, The
<i>HSNPhL</i>	<i>Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature</i>
HTR	The Harvard Theological Review
ITQ	IrishTheological Quarterly
JAAS	Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies
JCSSS	Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies
JEaCS	Journal of Eastern Christian Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
K	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
Ku	Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service
LN	LiterNet Online Journal
MChr	Medieval Chronicle
<i>MGH.E</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae</i>
Mil	Millennium. Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr./Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.
MSM	Michigan Slavic Materials
Muq	Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. KAZHDAN et al., vol. I–III, New York–Oxford 1991
OM	Oriente Moderno
PB	Poikila Byzantina
Pbg	Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> , Series graeca, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1857–1866

PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> , Series latina, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1844–1880
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. I, ed. A.H.M. JONES, J.R. MARTINDALE, J. MORRIS, Cambridge 1971; vol. II, ed. J.R. MARTINDALE, Cambridge 1980; vol. III, ed. J.R. MARTINDALE, Cambridge 1992
PNH	Przegląd Nauk Historycznych
PO	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. T. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1950–
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. G. WISSOWA, W. KROLL, Stuttgart 1894–1978
REB	Revue des études byzantines
RIEB	Revue internationale des études balkaniques
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien
RRei	Rechtshistorische Reihe
RSBN	Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici
SBO	Scripta Biblica et Orientalia
S	Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCer	Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-Eastern Europe
SeS	Scripta & e-Scripta
SKBHS	Sprawozdania Komisji do badania historii sztuki w Polsce
Slā	Slavia
SMer	Slavia Meridionalis
SMSB	Studia mediaevalia Slavica et Byzantina
SPBS.P	Society for Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications
SR	Slavistična revija
SRev	Slavic Review
Star	Starine, na sviet izdaje Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb
Sy	Syria. Archéologie, art et histoire

TM	Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines
TRW	Transformation of the Roman World, The
USS	U Schyłku Starożytności. Studia Źródłoznawcze
WSA	Wiener Slawischer Almanach
ZNUJ.PH	Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne

* * *

ΑΠο	Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου
ΕΜΣ.ΙΜΧΑ	Ἐταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἴδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἴμου

* * *

АДСВ	Античная древность и средние века
ББВ	Библиотека Българска вечност
БЕ	Български език
БК	Български книжици
Бог	Богословие
Бс	Берлинский сборник
БСт	Български старини
ВАИ	Вестник археологии и истории
ВВ	Византийский временник
Век	Векове
ВЯ	Вопросы языкознания
ГБ	Гістарычная Брама
ГРИМП	Годишник на Регионален исторически музей – Пловдив
ГРЦР	Государство, религия, церковь в России и за рубежом
ГСУ.БФ	Годишник на Софийския университет. Богословски факултет
ГСУ.ИФФ	Годишник на Софийския Университет. Историко-Филологически факултет
ГСУ. НЦСВПИД	Годишник на Софийския Университет” Научен център за славяно-византийски проучвания „Иван Дуйчев”
ГСУ.ЮФ	Годишник на Софийския университет. Юридически факултет
ГСУД	Гласник српског ученог друштва
Доб	Добруджа

ЕЛ	Език и литература
Епо	Епохи
ЖМНП	Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения
ЗИК	Зборник историје књижевности. Одељење језика и књижевности
Зог	Зограф
ЗРВИ	Зборник Радова Византолошког Института
ИБ	Историческо бъдеще
ИБИД	Известия на Българското историческото дружество
ИИБЕ	Известия на Института за български език
ИНМБ	Известия на Народния музей-Бургас
ИП	Исторически преглед
Исто	Историја/Journal of History
ИЧ	Историјски часопис
Кир	Кирилометодиевистика
КСта	Киевская Старина
ПИ	Проблеми на изкуството
ПМи	Правна мисъл
ПКу	Памятники культуры
Род	Родина
СБАН	Списание на Българската академия на науките
СБНУ	Сборник за народни умотворения
СЛ	Старобългарска литература
Слав	Славяноведение
СНУНК	Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина
СОРЯС	Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук
ТКШ	<i>Търновска книжовна школа, т. V, Паметници. Поетика. Историография и междуелико Търново, 6–8 септември 1989 г., ed. Г. Данчев, Велико Търново 1994; т. VII, Търновската книжовна школа и християнската култура в Източна Европа. Седми международен симпозиум Велико Търново, 8–10 октомври 1999 г., ed. Г. Данчев, Велико Търново 2002.</i>
ТОДЛ	Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы Академии наук СССР

УБ	Универзитетска библиотека
ХВ	Христианский Восток
ЦСту	Црквене студије
ЧИОИДР	Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете

**The full list of abbreviations may be found at:
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GUIDELINES FOR THE AUTHORS

1. Sources should be cited as follows:

Theophanis Chronographia, AM 5946, rec. C. DE BOOR, vol. I, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 108, 5–7.

THEOPHANES, AM 5948, p. 109, 22–24.

EUNAPIUS, *Testimonia*, I, 1, 19–20, [in:] *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. II, ed. et trans. R.C. BLOCKLEY, Liverpool 1983 (cetera: EUNAPIUS), p. 13–14.

Number of the book should be given in Roman numerals. Sources with singular structure are cited only in Arabic numerals. Pages are to be cited only when verses are counted on every page separately.

– **with the same source cited subsequently the shortened version (signalized in the first use), and not ‘*ibidem*’ should be used, e.g.:**

²⁵ ZONARAS, XV, 13, 11.

²⁶ ZONARAS, XV, 13, 19–22.

2. Books of modern scholars should be referenced as below:

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.

²³ G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

²⁴ A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 123.

²⁵ G. OSTROGORSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²⁶ A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches...*, p. 44.

3. Articles and papers should be mentioned in the notes as:

L.W. BARNARD, *The Emperor Cult and the Origins of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, B 43, 1973, p. 11–29.

P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sebasto Grégoire Pakourianos*, REB 42, 1984, p. 5–145.

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Numbers of fascicles are cited only if pages are counted separately for every volume within a single year.

4. Articles in festschrifts, collections of studies etc. are cited as below:

M. WHITBY, *A New Image for a New Age: George of Pisidia on the Emperor Heraclius*, [in:] *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków in September 1992*, ed. E. DĄBROWA, Cracow 1994, p. 197–225.

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 the web pages or sources available in the internet:

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. СПЕСК, [rec.:] *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History / Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum...* – BZ 83, 1990, p. 471.

The footnote number should be placed before the punctuation marks.

In all of the footnotes only the conventional Latin abbreviations should be used to literature both in Latin and in Cyrillic alphabet. These are:

cetera:	<i>ibidem</i>	rec. [here: <i>recensuit</i>
cf.	IDEM/EADEM	/ <i>recognovit</i>]
col. [here: <i>columna</i>]	IDEM/IIDEM/EADEM	[rec.:] [here: <i>recensio</i>]
coll. [here: <i>collegit</i>]	[in:]	s.a. [here: <i>sine anno</i>]
e.g.	<i>l. cit.</i>	s.l. [here: <i>sine loco</i>]
ed.	<i>op. cit.</i>	sel. [here: <i>selegit</i>]
et al.	p. [here: <i>pagina</i>]	sq, sqq
etc.	<i>passim</i>	trans.
		vol.

References to the Bible are also used in typical Latin abbreviations.

Gn Ex Lv Nm Dt Ios Idc Rt 1Sam 2Sam 1Reg 2Reg 1Par 2Par Esd Ne Tb Idt Est Job
Ps Prv Eccle Ct Sap Eccli Is Ier Lam Bar Ez Dn Os Il Am Abd Ion Mich Nah Hab
Soph Ag Zach Mal 1Mac 2Mac
Mt Mc Lc Io Act Rom 1Cor 2Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1Thess 2Thess 1Tim 2Tim Tit
Philm Heb Iac 1Pe 2Pe 1Io 2Io 3Io Ids Apc

Greek and Latin terms are either given in original Greek or Latin version, in nominative, without italics (a1), or transliterated (a2) – italicized, with accentuation (Greek only)

(a.1.) φρούριον, ιατροσοφιστής

(a.2.) *ius intercedendi, hálme, asfáragos, proskýnesis*

For papers written in English, the classical names and surnames should be Anglicised, and we prefer the surnames at least Latinized, if a separate English version does not exist, thus

Theodore, not Theodorus or Theodoros

Aristotle, not Aristoteles or Aristotélēs

Constantine, not Constantinus or Konstantinos

John II Comnenus, not Ioannes Komnenos

Helena Cantacuzena, not Elene Kantakouzene

George II Xiphilinus, not Georgios Xiphilinos etc.

The same applies to the names of medieval European monarchs. Geographical names should be rendered in conventional English versions, thus

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Byzantium, not Byzantion

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Limnae, not Limnai or Limni.

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