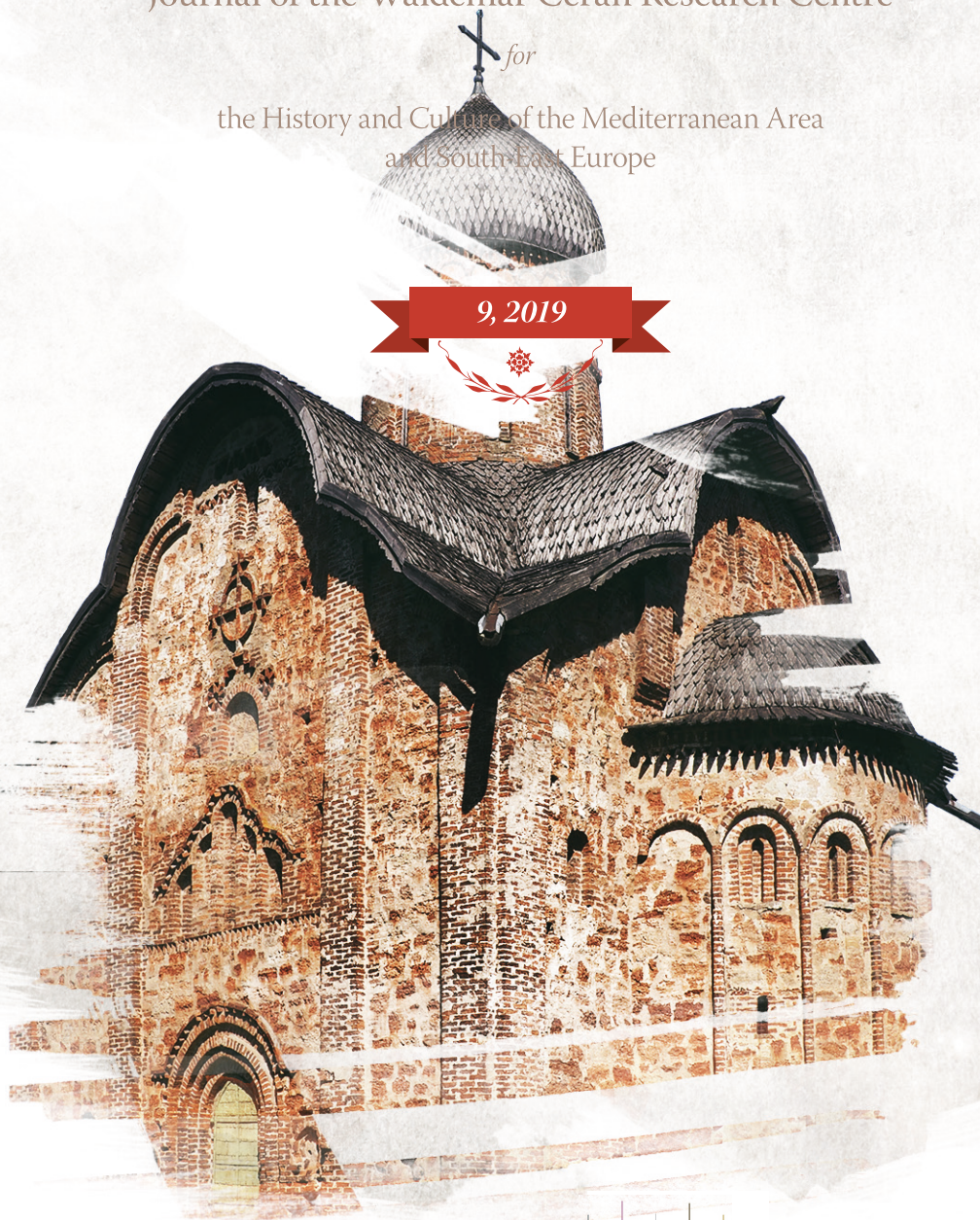


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Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre

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**ORTODOSSIA – ETERODOSSIA. LO SPAZIO SLAVO DI FRONTE
ALLE DIVISIONI DELLA CRISTIANITÀ DAL MEDIOEVO A OGGI
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**SLAVIC SPACE FACING THE DIVISIONS OF CHRISTIANITY FROM
THE MIDDLE AGES TO TODAY, NAPLES, 22-23 NOVEMBER 2018**



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INNOCENT III AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE: ORTHODOX, HETERODOX, OR HERETICS?*

The pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1215) was one of the most significant in the history of the medieval Roman Church¹. Among the many achievements of Innocent, we may certainly list the convocation of the fourth Lateran council, the organization of two crusades, the careful handling of the imperial succession in the West, a redefinition and modernization of the pontifical administrative structure, a renewed missionary activity in the pagan lands of North-eastern Europe and, concerning more specifically the theme of the present meeting, great efforts towards the unification of the Western and Eastern Church, especially after the Fourth Crusade and the establishment of a Latin empire in Constantinople, and the containment or, if possible, the eradication of any discordant voice within Christianity, either clearly heretical or simply heterodox. South-eastern Europe was one of the areas in which he directed his activities with greater energy. He was very proud of the results he obtained: in a letter sent on 21 January 1205 and addressed to the Latin clergy of Constantinople, he stated that

wherever I have cast my nets, according to the word of God, I have gathered, together with my brothers, a great abundance of fish, either in Livonia, converting the pagans [...] either in Bulgaria and Vlachia, bringing back to unity those who had strayed².

* I wish here to thank the organisers of the International Conference “Orthodoxy-Heterodoxy. Slavic space facing the divisions of Christianity from the Middle Ages to today”, held in Naples on 22–23 November 2018, where the first draft of this paper was originally delivered, and the anonymous reviewers whose suggestions help me improve the final version of the text.

¹ On Innocent III see especially J.C. MOORE, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216). To Root up and to Plant*, Leiden 2003; *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale (Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998)*, vol. II, ed. A. SOMMERLECHNER, Rome 2003.

² *sed ubi ego in verbo Dei laxavi rete, conclusimus ego et fratres mei piscium multitudinem copiosam, sive in Liuonia convertendo paganos [...] sive in Bulgaria et Blachia reducendo divisos ad unitatem: Die Register Innocenz' III, 7. Pontifikatsjahr, 1204/1205: Texte und Indices*, ed. O. HAGENEDER et al., Vienna 1997, p. 355.

While the traditional view of Innocent had usually been that of a pontiff exclusively preoccupied with establishing a tight control on every aspect of the Church, including the promotion and the management of the crusades, more recent and balanced studies have pointed out that, while indeed a careful and scrupulous organiser, and a cunning politician firmly persuaded that the bishop of Rome had indeed the right to be considered the leading figure of the universal Church, his position on many issues, especially on crusade organization and the fight against heresy, was quite pragmatic and, when necessary, subject to evolution and change³. This is particularly evident when analysing his involvement with the politics and the religious organization of South-eastern Europe; such an analysis may provide an important contribute towards a better understanding of the general features of his pontificate, especially because his interest for the region, and the activity of his legates therein, are usually neglected in the scholarly literature not originating in Eastern Europe.

In the last quarter of the 12th century the political landscape of the region, previously more or less tightly controlled by the Byzantine empire, had changed radically. Both Serbia and Bulgaria had been able to secure their independence, profiting from a series of favourable circumstances. Both states were in need of international legitimization, something that, for obvious reasons, would not come from Constantinople which considered their territories a part of its domains, and their leaders as rebels. At the same time Innocent III, thoroughly involved in the organization of the Fourth Crusade and engaged in an acrimonious polemic with the patriarch of Constantinople regarding the union of the western and eastern Churches⁴, was looking for every available opportunity to persuade, or compel, the Byzantine empire to cooperate. Attracting within the Roman influence those states, recently formed and still looking for some external authority to support them, would allow the pontiff to increase the diplomatic pressure on Constantinople, further isolating it within a constellation of hostile polities, and to intervene

³ J. BIRD, *Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath*, [in:] *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis...*, vol. I, ed. A. SOMMERLECHNER, p. 503–524 (especially p. 503–504: *Innocent's initiatives in these areas were not necessarily attempts to monopolize the control of the crusade or use it as an instrument of papal 'plenitudo potestatis' against local churches and secular powers [...] Innocent's policy [...] was not a prescient, comprehensive and inflexible program, but evolved during his pontificate as part of a dialogue with his former masters and fellow students at Paris, the laity, the episcopate, and the military leaders of the crusade*); R. KAY, *The Albigensian Twentieth of 1221–3: an Early Chapter in the History of Papal Taxation*, *JMH* 6, 1980, p. 307–311; J.M. POWELL, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221*, Philadelphia 1986, p. 89–106.

⁴ See A. PAPADAKIS, A.M. TALBOT, *John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: an Unpublished Correspondence*, *Bsl* 33, 1972, p. 26–41; J. SPITERIS, *La critica bizantina del primato romano nel secolo XII*, Rome 1979, p. 248–299, 324–331; G. FEDALTO, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente*, vol. I, Verona 1981, p. 283–285; J.M. POWELL, *Innocent III and Alexios III: a Crusade Plan that Failed*, [in:] *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. I, ed. M. BULL, N. HOUSLEY, Cambridge 2003, p. 96–102.

in the ecclesiastic organization of a region in which, with the exclusion of the Adriatic littoral, Rome traditionally did not enjoy a particularly strong presence.

Consequentially, Innocent III showed a great interest for three areas in particular: Dioclea, Bosnia and Bulgaria. The first two regions were under the jurisdiction of the crown of Hungary, which will be excluded from this survey because of its generally orthodox position and its obedience to Rome. The empire of Constantinople will be excluded as well, since the relations between the pope and the patriarch, and the confusion brought forth by the Latin conquest of Constantinople would necessitate a treatment that would go well beyond the chronological limits set for this paper.

It is possible to follow the moves of Innocent and of his interlocutors thanks to the large amount of correspondence preserved in the pontifical registers. The collection is incomplete and not homogeneous, and it records only about one fifth of Innocent's correspondence, often in abridged form: this limit notwithstanding, it is an extremely useful source for the study of the relations between Rome and South-eastern Europe during his pontificate. In the pontifical letters, not only in those addressed to the geographic area under scrutiny, religious and political issues are intertwined: however paradoxical it may seem, the political undertones appear to be prevalent. After all, besides being the primate of the Roman Church, Innocent was also a head of state and his concerns were not only of a religious nature, especially in an area yet to be brought under the influence of Rome. His legates, who received the mandate *to uproot and tear down, to build and to plant*, according to one of the biblical quotation that Innocent was most fond of⁵, knew well that their jurisdiction was not exclusively limited to religious issues.

The first documented contact between Innocent III and South-eastern Europe dates back to January 1199. Vukan, the firstborn son of the Grand Župan of Serbia Stefan Nemanja, was engaged in a conflict with his brother, also called Stefan, and asked for the assistance of the Hungarian king Imre. Maybe following the advice of the king, or maybe of his own decision, Vukan sent a letter to Rome, asking for the protection of the pope and for a legate to be sent in his lands. The registers record the obliging answer of Innocent⁶, who saw the possibility to gain a useful ally on the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea and to expand the influence of Rome in the region. The pope sent to Vukan's court the chaplain John of Casamari⁷, in what would be the first of a long series of missions that will bring him, in the following years, to Constantinople, Bosnia, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

⁵ Jer. 1, 10 (*Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna, ut evellas et destruas et disperdas et disripes et aedifices et plantes*).

⁶ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 1. Pontifikatsjahr, 1198/1199: Texte*, ed. O. HAGENEDER, A. HAIDACHERT, Graz-Köln 1964, p. 759–760.

⁷ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 1. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 758. On Casamari and his activity see *Giovanni da Casamari in Dalmazia e Bosnia*, ed. N. VESELIC, Rome 2019; R. ELZE, *Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ZSSR.KA 36, 1, 1950, p. 145–204 (here, p. 181–183); N. KAMP, *Kirche und Mon-*

Once landed in Antivari, John was able to examine thoroughly the region and took care of the situation of the local clergy, which in many ways did not appear to be, and was in fact not, in accordance with the ecclesiastical dictates. It is not possible to speak of a heterodox attitude of the Diocesan Church, and it does not seem that in the region had existed any manifest heresy, which would have been reported to the pope and would have elicited a very different response from John. However, the discipline and the customs of the local clergy were very lax, something that can be understandable in an isolated province which had been subjected in the past to the influx of both Rome and Constantinople. With his usual energy, John of Casamari worked hard and, in the end, successfully: the local clergy gathered in a council and drew up a document in which it recognized the errors pointed out by John, and promised to correct them⁸.

Besides some procedural matters regarding the division of tithes, the correct procedure for the ordination of priests and the punishment to be imposed on those who violated the seal of confession or were guilty of simony, things therefore not necessarily connected to heterodox beliefs or practices, what according to John had to be reformed with the maximum care and urgency was the marriage of priests, which appeared quite widespread and was probably a consequence of the influx of eastern Christianity. The solution proposed by the legate, and forcefully accepted by the local clergy, was necessarily severe: the prelates who had contracted matrimony before receiving the ecclesiastical ordination were to leave the Church, unless their wives swore an oath of chastity in the presence of the local bishop. If, on the other hand, the matter was more simply that of a 'more uxorio' concubinage, without a proper marriage, the guilty prelate would be divested unless he did a suitable penance for his misdeeds. Finally, the prescribed shaving and tonsure was not observed by the ecclesiastics, and there seemed to be some kind of laxity when dealing with the thorny issue of marriage between blood relatives: again, rather than a proof of heterodoxy, it would be more appropriate to consider those issues as the consequence of a widespread ignorance of the canons, arising from the relative isolation of the ecclesiastical community and not from a conscious decision to deviate from the norms.

Much more interesting is the mention, contained in a letter sent by Vukan to Innocent, of a proper heresy that, according to the Serbian ruler, was spreading throughout Bosnia⁹. In an alarmed tone, Vukan reported that at least ten thousand people were openly practicing it, and that among them there were Kulin,

archie im staufischen Königreich Sizilien. Prosopographische Grundlegung: Bistümer und Bischöfe des Königreichs 1194–1266, vol. I, Munich 1973, p. 18–20; W. MALECZEK, *Papst und Kardinalkolleg von 1191 bis 1216*, Vienna 1984, p. 340.

⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 2. Pontifikatsjahr, 1199/1200: Texte*, ed. O. HAGENEDER et al., Rome–Vienna 1979, p. 326–330. The letter was sent to Innocent III by archbishop John of Antivari, and contains the charter signed by the local clergy in the presence of the papal legates (p. 327–330).

⁹ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 2. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 323–325.

the *ban* of the region, his wife and his sister, the widow of the deceased count of Chelm, in Herzegovina. Since the Bosnian land was subjected to the authority of the king of Hungary, he had ordered the Bosnian clergy to send some representatives to Rome and ask for the judgement of the pope: but they had presented him false letters in which it was written that the pontiff had approved their rule¹⁰. It is unclear what Imre did at this point, but Vukan suggested to Innocent to write and exhort him to eradicate them from his kingdom. Preoccupied, Innocent did so on 11 October 1200¹¹.

The character of this supposed heresy (more correctly, non-conformity), often and superficially associated to bogomilism, is one of the most important problems of the history of medieval Bosnia¹². The term 'bogomilism' is never mentioned, either by the pope or by his correspondents; on the other hand, the situation in Bosnia was clearly labelled *heresis*, and in some instances even *catharorum heresis*¹³, a sign that the pope and his legates considered it equivalent to the heresies spreading in the West at the same time. It is hard to ascertain whether this was a simplification, an exaggeration, a misunderstanding, or the truth. In the letter written to Imre, the sanctions that Kulin, under his supervision, should implement against the Bosnians were the same listed, on 25 April 1199, in the famous 'Vergentis in senium' decretal addressed to the clergy, the consuls and the people of Viterbo¹⁴: after two admonitions, those persisting in their heretic beliefs and those who protected or sheltered them should be banned from holding public offices and expelled from city councils; they could not participate in any election,

¹⁰ *Illi autem simulatis litteris redierunt, dicentes a vobis concessam sibi legem: Die Register Innocenz' III, 2. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 325.

¹¹ *Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. I, ed. A. THEINER, Rome 1836, p. 12–13; *Acta Innocentii PP. III (1198–1216)*, ed. T. HALUŠČYNSKYJ, Vatican City 1944 [= PCR CICO.F, 3.2], p. 209; *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, vol. I, ed. A. POTTHAST, Graz 1957, n. 1142.

¹² For a survey of the most recent historiography about the Bosnian 'heresy', see D. DAUTOVIĆ, *Crkva Bosanska: moderni historiografski tokovi, rasprave i kontroverze (2005–2015)*, HTra 15, 2015, p. 127–160. See also Z. ŠTIMAC, *Die bosnische Kirche. Versuch eines religionswissenschaftlichen Zugangs*, Frankfurt 2004; *Fenomen "krstjani" u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu*, ed. F. ŠANJEK, Sarajevo–Zagreb 2005; G. BARABÁS, *Heretics, Pirates, and Legates. The Bosnian Heresy, the Hungarian Kingdom, and the Popes in the Early 13th Century*, SNPP.SM 9, 2017, p. 35–58; J.V.A. FINE, JR., *The Bosnian Church. A New Interpretation*, New York 1975, p. 121–134. For the traditional interpretation of the Bosnian Church as influenced by bogomilism, see J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650–c. 1450*, Manchester 1998, p. 47–48. On the general history of Bosnia during this period see E. FILIPOVIĆ, *Bosansko kraljevstvo. Historija srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, Sarajevo 2016, p. 49–65.

¹³ See, for instance, *Die Register Innocenz' III, 5. Pontifikatsjahr, 1202/1203: Texte*, ed. O. HAGENEDER et al., Vienna 1993, p. 218: *dampnata Catharorum heresi*.

¹⁴ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 2. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 3–5. The measures to be taken against the local heretics are listed on p. 4, and are integrally reproduced in the letter written to Imre. On this decretal, see O. HAGENEDER, *Studien zur Dekretale "Vergentis"* (X. V, 7, 10): *Ein Beitrag zur Häretikergesetzgebung Innocenz' III*, ZSSR.KA 49, 1963, p. 138–173.

give testimony in a process, make a will or receive any inheritance. If they were lawyers or notaries, all the documents redacted by them were to be considered null and void. If those sanctions would not convince them to retract their beliefs, they would be anathemised, all their belongings would be impounded, and they would be exiled. Should Kulin neglect or fail to enforce those measures against the heretics, Imre had the right to confiscate his properties and his land: the same authorization would be given in 1208 to Philip Augustus of France, regarding the lands of Raymond VI of Toulouse, in a more explicit, structured, and rhetorically elaborate way¹⁵. The allegations about Kulin's own heterodoxy were more detailed and specific than the rumours reported by Vukan: Innocent had been informed that many heretics, exiled from Split and Trogir, had found shelter in Bosnia where Kulin *offered to their iniquity not only a safe haven but also a manifest help, and exposing himself and his land to their perversity honoured them as Catholics, and even more than Catholics, calling them Christians for antonomasia*¹⁶.

While those accusations and this list of sanctions are not enough to establish without a doubt that a heresy was developing in Bosnia, Kulin was quick to exculpate himself once he was informed of the irritation of Innocent, probably fearing more the Hungarian intervention than the ecclesiastical sanctions. The pope reported Kulin's conciliatory attempt in a letter sent on 21 November 1202¹⁷, addressed to the archbishop Bernard of Split and John of Casamari, who was in Croatia as well after having returned from a mission to Constantinople¹⁸, and was probably inspecting the land to ascertain whether the local clergy had complied with the instructions received. According to Innocent, Kulin

excusing himself, answered that he believed that they were not heretics but Catholics, and that he was ready to send to the Apostolic See someone of them as their representative, to expose to us their faith and conduct, so that according to our judgment they would be confirmed in good and diverted from evil, because they want to unwaveringly observe the doctrine of the Apostolic See¹⁹.

¹⁵ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 11. Pontifikatsjahr, 1208/1209: Texte und Indices*, ed. O. HAGENEDER, A. SOMMERLECHNER et al., Vienna 2010, p. 35–37, sent on 10 March 1208.

¹⁶ *iniquitati eorum non solum tutum latibulum, sed et praesidium contulit manifestum, et, perversitati eorumdem terram suam et se ipsum exponens, ipsos pro catholicis, imo ultra catholicos honoravit, vocans eos antonomastice Christianos: Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium...*, p. 13.

¹⁷ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 5. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 218–219.

¹⁸ The mission was fruitless, not because of John's shortcomings as a legate but due to the irreconcilable positions of Innocent III, John Camaterus and Alexios III. The letters sent by Innocent to the patriarch and the emperor, and delivered by John of Casamari, are recorded in *Die Register Innocenz' III, 2. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 382–389 (to Camateros), p. 394–397 (to Alexios). In both letters, John of Casamari is mentioned as 'virum providum et discretum' (p. 389, 397).

¹⁹ *Ipse vero semetipsum excusans respondit, quod eos non hereticos sed catholicos esse credebat, paratus quosdam eorum pro omnibus ad sedem apostolicam destinare, ut fidem et conversationem suam nobis exponerent, quatinus nostro iudicio vel confirmarentur in bono vel revocarentur a malo, cum apostolice sedis doctrinam velint inviolabiliter observare: Die Register Innocenz' III, 5. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 218.

The delegation had reached Rome, asking for a legate to be sent in Bosnia to examine the situation, *uprooting and planting what he, according to God, will recognize that must be uprooted and planted*²⁰. Since the purpose of the pope, quoting Ezekiel 33, 11, was not the death of the sinner but his conversion, Innocent decided to send to Bosnia John of Casamari and the bishop of Split so that

if you find among them things reeking of heretical wickedness and contrary to the righteous doctrine, you will bring them back on the right path according to the precept of the faith. And if someone will not comply with your admonishments and commands, proceed against them without appeal, according to the measures we have taken against the heretics²¹.

John of Casamari, just as he did in Dioclea, carried out his mission with admirable zeal and energy. On 10 June 1203 he wrote to Innocent regarding “*illorum quondam Patarinorum in Bosna*”, assuring him that the matter had been addressed successfully²². He informed the pope that the whole Bosnian territory was under the jurisdiction of only one bishop, who had recently died: it would be wise to send someone from Rome, and to divide the region in four or five bishopric. But most importantly, he attached a document signed by the Bosnian clergy and by Kulin, in which they declared themselves ready to accept the deliberations of the pope regarding the ecclesiastical organization of the lands of Bosnia²³. Although, as it will presently become evident, the local clergy did indeed exhibit some peculiar customs, in the declaration there are no mentions of heretical practices that could be connected to the patarene heresy, if not very vaguely. After a formal recognition of the authority of the Roman Church, the signatories swore:

in all churches we will have altars and crosses; we will certainly read the books of the old and of the new testament, as the Roman Church does. In every place we will have ministers, who at least on Sundays and on high days will celebrate mass according to the ecclesiastic orders, hear confessions and assign penitences. We will have graveyards near the churches, where we will bury our brothers and the wayfarers, should they die there. At least seven times a year we will receive the body of the Lord from the hands of a minister [...] We will observe the fasting prescribed by the Church, and we will keep the traditions providentially established by our predecessors. Without doubt, the women who belong to our religion will be separated from

²⁰ *evellens et plantans, que secundum Deum evellenda cognoverit et plantanda: Die Register Innocenz' III, 5. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 219.*

²¹ *Si qua vero inveneritis inter eos, que sapiant hereticam pravitatem et sane adversentur doctrine, ad viam veritatis secundum fidei regulam reducat. Quodsi forsitan monitis et mandatis vestris noluerint acquiescere, vos in eos appellatione remota secundum constitutionem, quam edidimus, adversus hereticos procedatis: Die Register Innocenz' III, 5. Pontifikatsjahr, l. cit.*

²² *Die Register Innocenz' III, 6. Pontifikatsjahr, 1203/1204: Texte und Indices*, ed. O. HAGENEDER et al., Vienna 1995, p. 229–231. The quotation is from p. 230. On his activity in Bosnia see I. MAJNARIĆ, *Papinski kapelan Ivan od Casamarija i bilinopoljska abjuracija 1203. Papinski legat koji to u Bosni nije bio?*, RZav 50, 2008, p. 1–13.

²³ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 6. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 231–233.*

the men in the dormitories and in the refectories, and no brother will be allowed to meet one of them alone, so that a sinister suspicion may arise. Furthermore, we will not accept a married man or woman, if they will not both convert and promise continence by mutual consent. We will celebrate the saints' festivals as ordained by the holy fathers, and we will not welcome to live among us any notorious manichaeon or any other heretic. And, just as we are distinguished from the laity by our life and behaviour, in the same way we will be separated by the manner of our clothes; because the clothes will be closed, uncoloured, and long to the heels. Moreover we will not call ourselves Christians, as we have done until now, but brothers...²⁴

Imre, in a letter sent to Innocent probably in September 1203, added more details²⁵. In the presence of the Hungarian king and of the archbishop of Kalocsa, Kulin had solemnly sworn not to receive any heretic in his lands, under a penalty of one thousand silver marks. One half of the sum would be given to Imre, the rest to Rome.

Judging from the errors that the Bosnian clergy swore to correct, its situation before the intervention of John of Casamari (who, as noted before, qualified them as 'Paterenes') certainly appears unorthodox, and bordering heresy in some points. Yet, John did not point out any doctrinal fallacy in the Bosnian Church: evidently, he believed that the fundamental tenets of the Christian religion were well grounded, and did not need any major intervention from Rome. Before returning to Italy, he was asked to fulfil a last mission. While he was busy with the affairs of Bosnia, Innocent had entered into negotiations with the Bulgarian tsar Kalojan, who assumed the throne in 1197, and in the spring of 1203 John of Casamari was sent in the Bulgarian capital, Tärnovo²⁶.

²⁴ *In omnibus autem ecclesiis habebimus altaria et cruces; libros vero tam novi quam veteris testamenti, sicut facit ecclesia Romana, legemus. Per singula loca nostra habebimus sacerdotes, qui Dominicis et festivis diebus ad minus missas secundum ordinem ecclesiasticum debeant celebrare, confessiones audire et penitentias tribuere. Cimiteria habebimus iuxta oratoria, in quibus fratres sepeliantur et adventates, si casu ibi obierint. Septies in anno ad minus corpus Domini de manu sacerdotis accipiemus [...] Ieiunia constituta ab ecclesia observabimus et ea, que maiores nostri provide preceperunt, custodiemus. Femine vero, que de nostra erunt religione, a viris separate erunt tam in dormitoriis quam in refectoriis, et nullus fratrum solus cum sola confabulabitur, unde possit sinistra suspicio suboriri. Neque decetero recipiemus aliquem vel aliquam coniugatam, nisi mutuo consensu continentia promissa ambo pariter convertantur. Festivitates autem sanctorum a sanctis patribus ordinatas celebrabimus et nullum deinceps ex certa scientia Manicheum vel alium hereticum ad habitandum nobiscum recipiemus. Et sicut separamur ab aliis secolaribus vita et conversatione, ita etiam habitu secernamur vestimentorum; que vestimenta erunt clausa non colorata, usque ad talos mensurata. Nos autem decetero non Christianos, sicut hactenus, sed fratres nos nominabimus...: Die Register Innocenz' III, 6. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 232.*

²⁵ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 6. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 361–362.*

²⁶ The bibliography on the Second Bulgarian kingdom (or empire, as it is sometimes called) from its establishment to the rule of tsar Kalojan (1197–1207) is very extensive. Among the most comprehensive surveys, see especially A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)*, Leiden 2017, p. 29–174; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, София 1994, p. 27–68. On the correspondence between Innocent III, Kalojan and the archbishop of Tärnovo Vassili, see И. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Препииската*

The first contact with Bulgaria dated back to the period between the end of 1199 and February 1200, by initiative of the same Innocent who, as said before, was trying to extend as much as possible the network of his allies to isolate Constantinople and force the reluctant empire to participate in the crusade. Innocent sent in Bulgaria Dominic, “archipresbyterum Grecorum” of Brindisi, in order to establish relations with Kalojan and ascertain his willingness to cooperate with Rome²⁷. At least in the beginning, however, Kalojan’s disposition towards Rome was not benevolent. Dominic was detained for a long time, until, in the end of 1202, the Bulgarian tsar finally decided to answer in a conciliatory tone²⁸. An agreement with Rome would indeed benefit Bulgaria. While the country was part of the Orthodox community, Kalojan needed to obtain from a recognized authority the legitimisation of his royal rank, in order to be considered by his generally hostile neighbours as the tsar of an independent polity, and not a usurper who had seceded from the Byzantine empire and whose lands did not actually belong to him. The royal status of his predecessors, his brothers Peter and Asen, had not been formally recognized by the empire or by Hungary, and both polities were laying claims to the Bulgarian territory, or to parts of it. The ecclesiastical situation of Bulgaria was also very complicated. After the secession in 1185, the new kingdom reinstated the autonomy of the Bulgarian Church from the patriarchate of Constantinople: but the archbishop of Tŕrnovo Vassili, who had crowned Kalojan and his predecessors, had been elevated to his rank in an uncanonical way, and his authority was not recognized by the Byzantine clergy²⁹. The intervention of Innocent III could solve this issue as well, and the kingdom of Bulgaria would be able to recover both his political and ecclesiastical autonomy “as it had been in the past”³⁰, to quote the words of Niketas Choniates.

So, after the initial misunderstandings the relations between Rome and Tŕrnovo became friendly and collaborative, favoured by the political advantages that both parties could gain. Apart from some very formal professions of obedience, Kalojan made it clear that his desire was to receive a royal crown and the canonical sanction for the autocephaly of the Bulgarian Church³¹, and some diplomatic

на папа Инокентий III с българите. Увод, текст и коментар, ГСУИФФ 38, 3, 1942, p. 71–116; F. DALL’AGLIO, *Innocenzo III e i Balcani. Fede e politica nei ‘Regesta’ pontifici*, Napoli 2003.

²⁷ *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, 2. *Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 486.

²⁸ *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, 5. *Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 224–226.

²⁹ *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. G. PRINZING, Berlin 2002 [= *CFHB*, 38], p. 50, 423–424; Б. НИКОЛОВА, *Устроителство и управление на българската православна църква, IX–XIV век*, София 1997, p. 196–198; I. TARNANIDIS, *Byzantine-Bulgarian Ecclesiastical Relations during the Reigns of Ioannis Vatatzis and Ivan Asen II, up to the Year 1235*, *Cyr* 3, 1975, p. 28–52 (here p. 28, 41, 45–47).

³⁰ ὡς πάλαι ποτὲ ἦν: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.-L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin–New York 1975 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 11], p. 371.

³¹ *Inprimis petimus ab ecclesia Romana, matre nostra, coronam et honorem tamquam dilectus filius, secundum quod imperatores nostri veteres habuerunt: Die Register Innocenz’ III*, 5. *Pontifikatsjahr*,

assistance against Hungary and against his new and troublesome neighbour, the Latin empire of Constantinople³². Innocent, for the motivations we have already examined, was glad to oblige him. Again, as in the cases of Serbia and Bosnia, the complete lack of any discussion about Christian doctrine is striking, since from the point of view of the pontiff Bulgaria should have been considered at least heterodox, and before accepting its subordination to Rome many measures should have been taken to ensure a strict adherence to the principles of Roman Catholicism. Still, the only issue discussed at length by Innocent and Vassili was the anointment of the clergy and of the sovereign, a matter held in very high regard by the pope and argued with an impressive display of patristic erudition³³. Also, the pope did not accept to elevate the rank of Vassili to that of patriarch: Vassili had to content himself with the title of primate of the Church of Bulgaria and Vlachia since, according to Innocent's explanation, *primate and patriarch mean almost the same thing*³⁴. Vassili made no objections, as did the rest of the Bulgarian clergy who, generally speaking, accepted the union with Rome without complaining, although the lack of Bulgarian sources leaves this point open to debates.

If the two points quoted above were the only theological matters discussed between Innocent and Vassili, one might well wonder how strict the obedience of the Bulgarian Church to the rules set by Rome had been, and if it is possible to consider it orthodox, in the sense that the Roman pontiff would have attached to the word. Moreover, it is questionable whether Innocent was really interested in any discourse of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and possibly of heresy as well, when political concerns, rather than religious, were the main focus of his considerations. Among many other things, Innocent III is remembered, and with good reasons, as having been extremely stern against non-conformity within the Church, which he saw as necessarily united under the authority of the pope. Yet,

p. 225 (sent at the end of 1202); *Et rogo per orationes beati apostoli Petri et per sanctas orationes tuas, ut tu mittas cardinales [...] ut me coronent in imperatorem et in terra mea faciant patriarcham: Die Register Innocenz' III, 6. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 235 (sent in June 1203).*

³² *Et de confinio Hungarie, Bulgarie et Blachie relinquo iudicio sanctitatis tue, ut dirigas negocium istud recte et iuste [...] Sciat autem sanctitas tua, quoniam V episcopatus Bulgarie pertinent ad imperium meum, quos invasit et detinet rex Hungarie: Die Register Innocenz' III, 7. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 20 (sent after 8 September 1203); Scribo atque vobis et de Vngaro, quoniam imperium meum non habet aliquam societatem regionum vel aliquam rem cum eo necque ei nocet, immo ipse parvipendit et nocet regionibus imperii mei [...] Et scribat ei sanctitas vestra, quatinus distet a regno meo [...] De Latinis quoque, qui Constantinopolim introierunt, scribo sanctitati vestre, ut eis scribatis, quatinus distent ab imperio meo et sic imperium meum nullum malum eis facit neque ipsi nobis parvipendant: Die Register Innocenz' III, 7. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 410–411 (sent between 8 and 15 November 1204).*

³³ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 7. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 9–13.*

³⁴ *Fraternitatem tuam scire volentes, quod apud nos hec duo nomina, primas et patriarcha, pene penitus idem sonant, cum primates et patriarche teneant unam formam, licet eorum nomina sint diversa: Die Register Innocenz' III, 7. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 7.*

in South-eastern Europe his supposed intransigence does not seem to have been exercised with the same energy displayed in other countries. On the contrary, his actions and deliberations appear extremely cautious, if not downright hesitant, beyond the obvious statements of principle and the binding legal norms which regulated the life of the Church, and that had to be enforced without reservations. This behaviour has some logical explanations. South-eastern Europe was an area in which the presence of the Roman Church was not firmly rooted, and were the number of its enemies far outnumbered that of his allies or subordinates. The local kingdoms had to be convinced to join the cause of Innocent, and some concessions and a modicum of leniency were to be expected in such an important strategic area, especially when a crusade was on its way and the Byzantine empire seemed unable to mount up a resolute opposition to Innocent's offensive. The prospect of finally uniting the Eastern and the Western Church surely persuaded the pope to allow a modicum of heterodoxy in his new subjects, and avoid the danger of alienating them with an excessive severity. A significant proof of this attitude came shortly after the battle of Adrianople of 14 April 1205, where the Bulgarian army inflicted a crushing defeat upon the newly established Latin empire of Constantinople and captured its emperor, Baldwin of Flandres and Hainaut. Innocent, informed of the events through a letter written to him on 5 June 1205 by Henry, Baldwin's brother and regent of the empire³⁵, and so worried that the enmity between the Latins and Bulgaria could compromise the future expeditions to the Holy Land that he decided to organize a crusade to aid the empire³⁶, tried to reconcile the enemies and wrote to Kalojan and Henry: but he addressed the two sovereigns in a very different way. The letter sent to Henry is brief and dry, a dispatch more than a letter:

we order your nobility [...] that, since you are diligently striving for the liberation of your brother, you establish a true and firm peace with our dearest son in Christ Kalojan, the illustrious king of the Bulgarians and the Vlachs, so that a true and faithful friendship will pursue between the Bulgarians and the Latins. We write in brief, because the matter must be addressed with deeds more than words.³⁷

³⁵ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 8. Pontifikatsjahr, 1205/1206: Texte und Indices*, ed. O. HAGENEDER, A. SOMMERLECHNER et al., Vienna 2001, p. 239–243.

³⁶ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 8. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 238–239, sent on 16 August 1205 to *Universis Christi fidelibus ad succursum Terre sancte volentibus Constantinopolim proficisci*. Very few soldiers did actually reach Constantinople in the following years: for the organization of this ineffective crusade see N. CHRISISS, *Crusading in Frankish Greece. A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204–1282*, Turnhout 2012, p. 24–29.

³⁷ *Nobilitati tue [...] mandamus, quatinus ad liberationem fratris tui diligenter intendens veram et firmam pacem stabilias cum karissimo in Christo filio nostro Kaloioh(ann)e, rege Bulgarorum et Blachorum illustri, ut inter Bulgaros et latinos fidelis et stabilis amicitia decetero perseveret. Breviter scribimus, quia opus est magis opere quam sermone: Die Register Innocenz' III, 8. Pontifikatsjahr*, p. 243–244 (sent around 16 August 1205).

The tone of the letter addressed to Kalojan is much more conciliatory, although Innocent tried to scare the Bulgarian sovereign announcing that the empire would soon receive reinforcements from the West and from Hungary:

By virtue of that special benevolence, with which we glorified you among all the Christian princes, we love you to the point that we actively aspire to your advantage and honour [...] Therefore we suggest and counsel in good faith to your serenity that, since you are said to be keeping prisoner Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, you think of your own good, and through his liberation you establish a true and firm peace with the Latins.³⁸

Probably, however, Baldwin was already dead before the letters reached their recipients, and possibly even before Innocent was informed of the battle of Adrianopolis. Henry tried to present Kalojan and his successor Boril as enemies of the Church and of the Christian faith altogether, asking for reinforcements and considering the military operations aimed at defending the empire as the equivalent of a crusade against the enemies of Christianity. Already in the letter he sent to Innocent in June 1205, Henry had insinuated that Kalojan's disposition towards the Christian faith was ambiguous, because he was organising an alliance with the Turks and *with other enemies of the cross of Christ*³⁹. In the following year, in a letter sent in September 1206 to his brother Godfrey⁴⁰, he repeated the concept in a much more explicit way, calling Kalojan *sancte crucis inimico* (enemy of the holy cross), *crucis inimicus* (enemy of the cross), and *curiae et sancte romane ecclesie inimicus* (enemy of the curia and of the holy Roman church)⁴¹. Apparently, Innocent was not convinced. In the last letter he wrote to the Bulgarian tsar on 24 May 1207, he invited him again to make peace with the empire and, while the general tone is indeed colder, he continued to express benevolence towards him, hoping for a rapprochement between Bulgaria and the Latins⁴². Finally, the Bulgarian clergy was dutifully invited to the Fourth Lateran Council, a certain proof of the fact that the country was still regarded as Christian and obedient to Rome.

³⁸ *Ex illa gratia speciali, qua te glorificavimus inter omnes principes christianos, usque adeo te diligimus, ut ad tuum comodum et honorem efficaciter aspiemus [...] Quocirca serenitati tue suggerimus et consulimus recta fide, quatinus, cum Balduinum, Constantinopolitanum imperatorem, dicaris tenere captivum, ita tibi provideas, ut per liberationem ipsius veram et firmam pacem facias cum Latinis: Die Register Innocenz' III, 8. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 237 (sent around 16 August 1205).*

³⁹ *Confederationem ipsius cum Turcis et ceteris crucis Christi inimicis: Die Register Innocenz' III, 8. Pontifikatsjahr, p. 242.*

⁴⁰ The letter to Gottfried is edited in G. TAFEL, G. THOMAS, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, vol. II, Amsterdam 1964 [repr.], p. 38–42. It was sent in copy to Innocent as well.

⁴¹ G. TAFEL, G. THOMAS, *Urkunden...*, vol. II, p. 38, 39, 42. "Curiae" is an emendation suggested by G. Tafel and G. Thomas, but the text may well be "crucis," repeating the formula already used by Henry in his invective against Kalojan.

⁴² *Die Register Innocenz' III, 10. Pontifikatsjahr, 1207/1208: Texte und Indices*, ed. R. MURAUER, A. SOMMERLECHNER et al., Vienna 2007, p. 112–113.

This very short survey of Innocent III's politics in South-eastern Europe cannot lay claim to exhaustiveness. Its purpose, and hopefully its merit, was to remind the reader, but especially the writer, that while it is indeed tempting to consider declarations and actions as the same thing, it is necessary to vet them carefully, to avoid mistaking simple words, however heartfelt and sincere, for the truth of the matter. Innocent's legislation against the heretics was indeed severe, and the problem concerned him very much. Yet, as the skilled politician he was, when he had to choose between reasons of State and stubborn obedience to his principles, he was more than willing to negotiate.

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Abstract. In the beginning of the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216) the necessity of creating a large coalition for a better organization of the Fourth Crusade convinced the pope to establish diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and Serbia, and to support Hungarian expansion in Bosnia. His aim was to surround Constantinople with a ring of states loyal to the Roman Church, thus forcing the empire to participate in the crusade. In order to achieve this result, Innocent was more than willing to put aside his concerns for strict religious orthodoxy and allow the existence, to a certain extent, of non-conforming practices and beliefs in the lands of South-eastern Europe. While this plan was successful at first, and both Bulgaria and Serbia recognized pontifical authority in exchange for political legitimization, the establishment of the so-called Latin empire of Constantinople in 1204 changed the picture. Its relations with Bulgaria were extremely conflicted, and the threat posed by Bulgaria to the very existence of the empire forced again Innocent III to a politics of compromise. The survival of the Latin empire was of the greatest importance, since Innocent hoped to use it as a launching point for future crusades: yet, he tried until possible to maintain a conciliatory politics towards Bulgaria as well.


Keywords: Church studies, crusade studies, medieval Bulgaria, Latin Empire of Constantinople, medieval Bosnia, medieval Serbia, medieval heresies, Innocent III

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SAINT METHODIUS: LIFE AND CANONIZATION

Nowadays, we have access to a lot of research on the lives and deeds of St. Cyril and St. Methodius. Nevertheless, we cannot claim to know either all or even almost all facts around their lives and work. Besides, there is significant discrepancy between our knowledge about St. Cyril and the things we know about St. Methodius, and this imbalance is not accidental. The main sources for the lives and work of the holy brothers – or at least those among them that we may consider credible enough – are dated from their contemporary or near-contemporary times and can be grouped into two categories:

1. The so-called ‘documents’ are written in Latin and belong to the epistolary genre. Among these are papal letters and the letter of Anastasius the Librarian to Gauderich, the Bishop of Velletri.

2. *Vitae*, panegyrics and services required to celebrate the religious feasts of the saints, are written in Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian). This second group, unlike the first one, could have emerged only after the death and the subsequent canonization of the saint. Moreover, these are religious literary works that must follow the standard requirements of the respective genres, and the information that they contain, should be analyzed in the light of these preconditions.

We must add here that the close association of Constantine Cyril with the cult of St. Clement, the Pope of Rome, is related to the appearance of an important literary work written in Latin, known as the Italian Legend, which is the last part of the *vita* of St. Clement and contains a narrative about finding St. Clement’s relics by St. Cyril in Kherson and their transfer to Rome. The life story, however, is built upon a much extensive plot, and St. Cyril the Philosopher is a main protagonist. Taking into account the content, some scholars consider the Italian Legend the Latin *vitae* of St. Cyril. However, this assumption could be applied to its content only and not to the form or functions of the text which do not correspond to the characteristics of the *vita* as religious literary genre. Here, we have to highlight that Methodius also appears in the Italian Legend, with a mention of his ordination as a bishop.

The papal letters feature several pivotal moments, mostly related to Methodius' bishopric (the symbol of faith, liturgical language, his trial and restoration), and shed some light on specific moments without painting the whole picture which can be usually found in the vitae. The scope and accuracy of the information that is found in the vitae, undoubtedly, depends on the period of canonization of each of the brothers – the conditions differ a lot between the two.

First, we have to emphasize that in the first centuries of its existence, the Christian church had no specific process to declare someone a saint, and the so-called canonization was rather a spontaneous unregulated act. This situation continued until the end of the 10th century for the Roman Catholic Church (the first canonization (by a Pope) that followed a specific procedure was the one of St. Ulrich Habsburg in 993). For the Orthodox Church, this period extended until the second half of the 14th century when St. Gregory Palamas became the first saint, whose sainthood was specially argued and subsequently accepted by a Church Council.

With this in mind, we cannot expect any official act of proclamation either for Cyril or for Methodius, and the lack of a clear, regulated and universal procedure considerably complicated the situation. Therefore, the inclusion of their names in the synaxarion was of utmost importance. Their names are found in the Codex Assemanianus, a gospel of the 10th century (Cyril on the 14th of February, f. 142b; Methodius, on the 6th of April, f. 142b). The texts used for the proclamation and establishment of their cult were of overriding significance. The vita is the first testimonial text and the first step towards canonization. Then, for establishing the cult, a panegyric and a service are needed. The existence of these texts is a reliable proof for a canonization in effect.

Considering all testimonials available, Constantine Cyril had immediately shined as a saint. We know where he was buried, to the right of the altar as seen by the narthex, in the Basilica of Saint Clement in Rome. According to the Italian Legend, miracles started immediately happening at his tomb, and according to the letter of Anastasius the Librarian, dated before 882, his vita was already in the process of composing – most probably the *Extensive Vita of Cyril*, as it is known nowadays.

This was not the Methodius' lot, though. We do not know where he was buried – the place is not mentioned anywhere. His death was followed not by miracles but by a cruel persecution against his heritage and his disciples, with the youngest ones being sold at the slave market in Venice. The elders were first thrown into prison and then eventually expelled from the country. As claimed by Krassimir Stantchev and Anna Vlaevska-Stancheva¹, for the Roman Catholic Church Methodius not

¹ К. СТАНЧЕВ, А. ВЛАЕВСКА-СТАНЧЕВА, *От еретик до светец: еволюция на методиевия образ в западната традиция*, [in:] *Проблеми на Кирило-Методиевото дело и на Българската култура през IX–X век*, ed. Б. ВЕЛЧЕВА, Е. ДОГРАМАДЖИЕВА, С. НИКОЛОВА, Г. ПОПОВ, С. БЪРЛИЕВА, София 2007 [= КМс, 17], p. 691–692.



Translation of relics of St. Clement, part of the 11th-century fresco from the Basilica of San Clemente, Rome

only had not immediately shined as a saint, but after his death, at the end of 885, the new Pope, Stephen V, accused him of inconsistency of faith, violation of oaths and tolerance to prejudice, and forbade the Slavic language liturgy under threat of excommunication. About 40 years later, Pope John X instructed the bishop of Split, Dalmatia, not to succumb to the doctrines of Methodius which were not found in the books by the holy fathers, and forbade the appointment of Slavic priests. In 1061, Pope Alexander II confirmed the edicts of the Church Council of Split in 1059/1060 in which Methodius, who had already been called heretic, was mentioned as the inventor of the Slavic letters and founder of a false teaching against the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church.

Considering all this, it is not surprising to find an 11th century fresco in the narthex of the Basilica of Saint Clement in Rome, which depicts the transfer of the relics of St. Clement St. Cyril and St. Methodius are depicted as two Eastern monks on both sides of the Pope, who is identified in the inscription as Nicholas I (in fact this is Adrian II). However, only one of the two has a nimbus over his head, which confirms that in the 11th century in Rome Methodius was not considered a saint.

In the West, the joint cult of the two brothers was established much later, in 1345, with the edict of Charles IV, the Emperor of the Sacred Roman Empire, which established the famous Benedictine Emmaus Monastery in Prague. The edict is based on a mixture of the Dalmatian Legend of St. Jerome as the creator of the Glagolitic alphabet, and the Czech Legend of Cyril and Methodius that is reflected in the so-called Christian Legend. In 1880, Pope Leo XIII promulgated them as Apostles of Christianity; 100 years later, Pope John Paul II proclaimed them co-patrons of Europe along with St. Benedict. In other words, for the 11th century Roman Catholic Church, Methodius was not a saint, but rather a heretic and he would not be introduced into the list of saints until the 14th century.

On the other hand, we have the *Extensive Vita of St. Methodius*, a panegyric dedicated to the two brothers (for the 6th of April, the feast day of St. Methodius), and a service dedicated to Methodius, all written in Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian). These are early texts, no doubt composed before 12th century, as their oldest copies are dated in the 12th century. Hence, we have to determine their occurrence in time and space.

In the first texts written in Slavic in Bulgaria we can observe the change in the treatment of Methodius as opposed to that of Cyril.

In the Codex Assemanianus, on f. 142b, Cyril is referred to as ‘saint’ (сѣааго оца на кѹрила философа) while Methodius is ‘Reverend Bishop of Great Moravia and brother of the Reverend Cyril the Philosopher’ (и па оуспенѣ рѣнаа оца наго мѣоодіа. архпа въшнааа моравѣи. вѣа рѣго кѹрила философа).

In the treatise *O pismenex* (*On the Letters*) dated ca. 893, there is the following statement:

аще ли въпросиши словѣньскыа боукара глагола кѣто въи писмена сътвориа естъ ли кѣнигы прѣложиа. то вси вѣдаатъ и отъвѣщаваще рѣжѣтъ. свѣагыи константинъ философъ нарицаеагыи кѹриа. тѣ наагы писмена сътвори и кѣнигы прѣложи. и мѣоодии братръ его. сѣатъ бо еше живи иже сѣатъ видѣли ихъ.

If you ask the Slavic students, saying, “Who has created the letters and translated the books for you?”, (they) all know and answer, “Saint Constantine the Philosopher, called Cyril, and his brother Methodius; those who have seen them, are still alive”.

This fragment attests for the obvious difference in the treatment between the two – only Constantine is a saint.

The same attitude is attested in the Prologue to the translation of the *Fountain of Knowledge* of John of Damascus made by John the Exarch – the text is known as *Nebesa* (“Heaven”) in the Slavic literary tradition. Donka Petkanova² was the first to observe this difference. John the Exarch confessed in the *Prologue* that he had made the translation on the explicit insistence of the monk Dox, the brother of Prince Boris, most likely in the 890s.

пѠнъ же оубо свѣтъиѡ чловѣкъ божии константинъ философъ рѣкжъ мнѡгогы трѡуды приа. стрѡа писмена словѣньскыиѡхъ кънъиѡгъ и отъ евангелїа и апостола прѣлагаа изборъ. юликоже достоиже живѣы въ мирѣ семь тьмьнѣиѡ толикоже прѣложжъ. прѣстѣпи въ бесконьца и свѣтъ приа дѣлаъ своиѡхъ мьздѡ. съ ниѡи же съи и оставлѣ ѡго въ житии семь великыѡ божии архїепископѡ методїи братрѣ ѡго прѣложи въса оуставныѡа кънъиѡгы шестѣ десѣтъ отъ елїнъска ѡзыка. иже юсть грѣчьскъ. въ словѣньскъ... онъ бо шестѣ десѣтъ прѣложилъ еѡаше оубже методїи ꙗкоже слышашъ.

Because the holy man of God, Constantine the Philosopher – I tell you – worked hard to create the letters for the Slavonic books and to translate a selection from the Gospel and the Apostle until he could, while living in the present dark world; he translated that much and entered the endlessness and light and accepted the reward for his deeds, being with them, and left the great Archbishop of God, Methodius, his brother, in this world. He translated all the rest 60 books from the Hellenic language, i.e., Greek, into Slavonic... those 60 books Methodius had already translated, as I heard.

We may assume that his disciples played a significant role in the process of establishing the cult of Methodius, and from the very beginning the recognized holiness of his younger brother had supported their striving. After the tragic events of 885, marked not only by the death of Methodius, but also by the cruel persecution of his disciples and his teaching in Moravia, they found safe haven and favorable conditions to continue with their work in Bulgaria.

The structure of the service for the feast day of Methodius, which was probably a collective work by his disciples, includes two canons with the following acrostics:

1. ДОБРО МЕТОДИЕ ТѦ ПОИЖ КОНСТАНТИНЪ (*Good, Methodius, I sing to you, Constantine*). (This reading of the acrostic which is widely accepted today, was offered by D. Kostić³).

2. ГАЗЪ (І АЗЪ) К(Л)ИМ (Х)В(А)ЛНАМИ ПІСНАМИ П(О)ИЖ АР(Х)ІЕР(ЕТА) МІЕТО(А)НІА ([And] I, Clement, with glorious songs, chants for the archpriest Methodius).

² Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, *Старобългарска литература*, vol. I, София 1986, p. 112.

³ D. KOSTIĆ, *Бугарски епископ Константин – писац службе Методију*, Bsl 7, 1937/1938, p. 189–211.

The first acrostic has been known since 1936 when it was first discovered by J. Pavić⁴, who offered a slightly different reading. The canon is found in a service, found in two Bulgarian parchment manuscripts from the end of the 13th century that are associated with the Bulgarian Monastery of Zograph on Mount Athos. These are two menaia: one is known as the Menaion of Dobrian (also Zograph Menaion), kept nowadays at the library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petersburg (BRAN, f. 31, the main collection); the other is the so-called Menaion of Dragan, with an unknown location as of today.

The second acrostic was deciphered in 2001 by Georgi Popov after Moshkova and Turilov had discovered the text of the canon and other stichera of the service in the manuscript no. 156 of the Chludov Collection at the State Historical Museum in Moscow (Chludov 156), and published them in 1998. The two authors had found the acrostics and managed to decipher more or less the second part but without the name of the author. However, they assumed that the alleged author might have been St. Clement of Ochrid on the basis of the stylistic similarities between this text and some of his known works. This is the only manuscript that contains the text – it is a menaion for the period of March – August, dated ca. the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, Serbian redaction⁵.

The two canons show the devotion to the cult of Methodius by Bishop Constantine of Preslav, who was among Methodius' disciples, and Bishop Clement of Ochrid, who was a disciple of the two brothers. They are the first two bishops of the Slavic language in Bulgaria that had been supported by the Bulgarian kingdom in establishing the cult in Slavic language. Moreover, as the scholars have already proved in the last decades, they are the two most famous authors working in Bulgaria at the end of the 9th century who had also collaborated on various literary projects of great scope and significance. In his convincing study, G. Popov proved that the two canons might have been part of a single service, jointly co-authored by the brothers' disciples, with the other stichera remaining anonymous according to the contemporary literary tradition. The affiliation of the two canons to a single service is also based on the voice harmony: the second voice in the canon of Constantine and the sixth voice in the canon of Clement. In the manuscripts, these canons are accompanied by a group of shared stichera, which is a sign that a large original shared text might have existed⁶.

It is interesting that the title of the service in the Menaion of Dobrian states: **ПАМЯТЬ ПРЕПОДОБНАЕГО МЕТОДИЕ ОУЧИТЕЛЕ СЛАВЕНЬСКОУ АЗЪКУ** (In the Memory of the Reverend Methodius, Teacher of the Slavic People), while the service

⁴ J. PAVIĆ, *Staroslovenski pjesnički kanon u čast sv. Metodija i njegov autor*, BSm 24, 1936, p. 59–86.

⁵ The text in Chludov 156 is given acc. to http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_120 [7 I 2019], and the text in Dobrian follows the publication in: Т. СЛАВОВА, И. ДОБРЕВ, *Collection of Old Bulgarian Texts*, София 1995, p. 86–90.

⁶ Г. ПОПОВ, *Службата за славянския първоучител Методий в Хлудовия миней 156*, СЛ 32, 2001, p. 14–20.

of Cyril has the title of *ПАМЯТЬ СВАТАЕГО КҮРИЛА ФИЛОСОФА ОУЧИТЕЛѢ СЛАВѢНСКОУ АЗЫКОУ* (In the Memory of Saint Cyril, Teacher of the Slavic People). In the text, Cyril is most often recognized as ‘saint’. However, in the addresses to Methodius in the service dedicated to him, ‘saint’ is not the most common address:

I. Anonymous stichera

1. Beginning

1^a sticheron in Dobrian: *САТТИТЕЛЮ МЕТОДИЕ*

1^a sticheron in Chludov 156: *МЕТОДИЕ БЛАЖЕНЕ* = 2^a sticheron in Dobrian

2^a sticheron in Chludov 156: *МЕТОДИЕ; ОТЬЧЕ МЕТОДИЕ* = 3^a sticheron in Dobrian

3^a sticheron in Chludov 156: *СТѢ ВО МЕТОДИЕ*

Troparion (тропáριον) in Dobrian after 3^a = sticheron (also in some menologia): *САТАЕГО ТИ ОУЧЕНИКА ОТЬЦА НАШЕГО*

2. Anonymous sticheron after 3^o song of the canon of Constantine and the canon of Clement: *МЖДРА ОУЧИТЕЛѢ МЕТОДИЕ* (Chludov 156 = Dobrian); *БЛАЖЕНЕ* (Chludov 156 = Dobrian)

3. Anonymous sticheron after 6^o song of the canon of Constantine (Dobrian)

Kontakion: *БОЖЕСТВЕНА И ВЪБРНА МЕТОДИѢ; ПАСТЫРѢ ВЕЛИКАЕГО СЛОВѢНОМЪ СЛУЖИТЕЛѢ ЧЕСТНА ПРОГОНИТЕЛѢ ЕРЕСИ*

Oikos: *ПАСТЫРѢ ЧЕСТНА; МЕТОДИЕ САТТИТЕЛЮ*

4. Anonymous sticheron after 9^o song of the canon of Clement (Chludov 156):

ОТЬЧЕ МЕТОДИЕ;

БГО БЛЖНЕ;

БГО БЛЖНЕ ОТЬЧЕ МЕТОДИЕ;

СТЕ ОТЬЧЕ МЕТОДИЕ;

БЛЖНЕ

II. Canon of Constantine of Preslav (Dobrian):

Song 1^a: *ДА САТТИТЕЛѢ ТИ ВЪСХВАЛЖ МЕТОДИѢ; ОТЬЧЕ; ОУЧИТЕЛЮ МЕТОДИЕ*

Song 3^a: *ПРЕСЛАВНЕ... МЕТОДИЕ; МЕТОДИЕ САТЕ*

Song 5^a: *МЕТОДИЕ САТТИТЕЛЮ; ОТЬЧЕ... САТЕ*

Song 6^a: *САТЕ... СЛАВЪНЫИ МЕТОДИЕ; САТТИТЕЛЮ*

Song 7^a: *О ВАЮ САТАѢ... КИРИЛЕ САТЕ И МЕТОДИЕ; БЛАЖЕНЕ* (2 occurrences); *САТЕ*

Song 8^a: *ТАКЛОМЕНИТЪ САТЕ МЕТОДИЕ ТЫ БЫСТЪ; СЛАВНЕ ОУЧИТЕЛЮ ПРЕМЖДРЕ; АРХИЕРЕИ ТЫ БЫСТЪ; БЛАЖЕНЕ... РЖКАНА СИ САТЪНИМА*

Song 9^a: *БЛАЖЕНЕ; САТТИТЕЛЮ; САТАѢ... КИРИЛЕ ПРЕПОДОБНЕ МЕТОДИЕ САТТИТЕЛЮ; ОУЧИТЕЛЮ САТЕ*

III. Canon of Clement (Chludov 156):

Song 1^a: *БЛАЖЕНЕ*

Song 3^a: *ПРИСНОБЛАЖЕНЕ СТЕ*

Song 4^a: *БЛАЖЕНЕ МЕТОДИЕ* (2 occurrences); *ПРЕБЛАЖЕНЕ*

Song 5^a: БЛЖЕ; ПРЪБЛЖЕНЕ; ТАКО ТЪИ ВЪ СЪВЪХЪ СЪТИТЕЛЬ БЛАЪ СМ МЕТОДИЕ

Song 6^a: БЛЖНЕ

Song 7^a: СЪЕ

Song 8^a: ОУЧИТЕЛЮ; БЛЖНЕ МЕТОДИЕ

Song 9^a: БЛЖЕ (2 occurrences); СЪЕ (2 occurrences)

In the anonymous stichera, the words БЛАЖЕНЪ 'blessed' and ОТЬЧЕ 'father' are of the same frequency, with 5 occurrences of each, along with 3 occurrences of СВАТТИТЕЛЬ 'bishop', and 2 occurrences of ПАСТЪРЫЪ 'shepherd' – both belonging to the same semantic group; there are 3 occurrences of ВЪРЪНЪ 'faithful' ('faithful servant', 'faithful shepherd') and 2 mentions of СВАТЪ 'saint' (СВАТАЕГО ТИ ОУЧЕНИКА ОТЬЦА НАШЕГО and СЪЕ ОТЬЧЕ МЕТОДИЕ). In Clement's work, there is an overall dominance of БЛАЖЕНЪ 'blessed' – 11 mentions against 4 of СВАТЪ 'saint' (two in the last song), 1 occurrence of СВАТТИТЕЛЬ 'bishop' and 1 occurrence of ОУЧИТЕЛЬ 'teacher'. Constantine of Preslav seems to prefer wordier addresses to Methodius, frequently using two-word phrases. In his work, we find: СВАТЪ (6 occurrences), СВАТТИТЕЛЬ (5 occurrences), БЛАЖЕНЪ 'blessed' (4 occurrences), ОУЧИТЕЛЬ 'teacher' (3 occurrences), СЛАВЪНЪ 'glorious' and its derivatives (3 occurrences), and ОТЬЧЕ 'father' (2 mentions).

Regardless of the personal preferences of the authors and the changes that could have been made in the process of copying the text – both Chludov and Dobrian are dated at the end of the 13th century at the earliest – it is evident that БЛАЖЕНЪ 'blessed', with 20 occurrences in the service, is the most used term. The use of СВАТЪ 'saint' is typical for the work of Constantine of Preslav, which is also the only one to introduce, twice, the two brothers as saints, in dualis: in 7 song (о ваяу СВАТАЪ... КИРИЛЕ СВАТЕ И МЕТОДИЕ), and in 9 song (СВАТАЪ... КИРИЛЕ ПРЪПОДОВЕНЕ МЕТОДИЕ СВАТТИТЕЛЮ).

In the light of the evidence discussed above, it is highly unlikely that a service dedicated to Methodius (with canon of Clement of Ochrid) had been written in Moravia, and that a two-canon service had been composed in Bulgaria for the first anniversary of his death⁷. On the other hand, the second claim of Moshkova and Turilov that the canonization of Methodius was associated with the early period of the activity of his disciples in Bulgaria cannot be disputed⁸.

It is obvious that in these first years, there was a difference, and while the cult of Methodius was in the process of establishment, Cyril had already been recognized as a saint with an established religious tradition, and his figure was used in support of the holiness of his older brother, born later for eternal life.

⁷ The first claim is defended by L. МОШКОВА and A. ТУРИЛОВ (Л. МОШКОВА, А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Моравские земле велеи гражданин (неизвестная древняя служба первоучителю Мефодию)*, Слав 4, 1998, p. 14), and the second – by G. РОРОВ (Г. ПОПОВ, *Службата...*, p. 16–17).

⁸ Л. МОШКОВА, А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Моравские замле...*, p. 15.

Thus, at the beginning of the commemoration of Methodius, when there was no panegyric dedicated to him, the gap had to be filled by a panegyric dedicated to Cyril but moved to April 6, as attested in the Codex of Sevastian, a Bulgarian manuscript from the beginning of the 14th century. Later no panegyric of St. Methodius appeared, as one could expect, but a shared panegyric which was dedicated to the two brothers to set the path to their joint cult.

Thus, the beginning of the cult of Methodius in Bulgaria can be traced back to the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century, after the treatise *On the Letters* and after the translation of the *Nebesya* by John the Exarch – and with much certainty at the time of Constantine of Preslav and Clement of Ochrid (+916).

We do not know when the *Extensive Vita of Methodius* had been written in the preparatory stage to the procedure for the canonization. Its structure differs a lot from the typical structure of the genre – it seems to be composed of two unequal parts, one is disproportionately long and introduces the theological content and the church history, and the other sums up the life of the saint but leaves much more questions than is expected for a contemporary saint. We do not know at what age he died and when he was born. We learn that he was the elder brother of Cyril, or one of his elder brothers – the *Vita* does not cover this story, but he could have been neither the first nor the third son in the family. There is also not much information about his childhood, nor about his education. The second chapter of the *Vita* mentions his appearance to correspond to what was expected based on his origin, and his intellect, as the intellectuals of the city were happy to debate with the young man.

The author of the *Vita* did not mention anything about his life as a family man before his retiring to a monastery. The information that he had been married and had children is included in 1^a song of the canon of Constantine of Preslav. We can be relatively sure that this information is true not only because the author was a disciple of Methodius and might have had known facts that had been little known to others but also because nothing in the genre implies the need of such information. We know from the *Vita* that at that time he was a governor of the Slavic region in the Byzantine Empire, before being appointed abbot of an important monastery. However, his obedience to his younger brother during the two missions they shared was repeatedly highlighted; while he was still alive, Methodius discreetly remained in the background which is rather strange for a man who was a governor, then an abbot, and later ordained as bishop by the Pope. One may assume that the author of the *Vita* had chosen this position intentionally in order to highlight his holiness by emphasizing the harmonious relationship with his widely recognized brother who was a saint.

It really seems that his active work commenced only after Cyril's premature death. His organizational and intellectual achievements in the sixteen years after Cyril's death, were so impressive that we can assume that without him the shared

goal would not have been successfully accomplished. It is almost impossible to imagine the difficulties of translating the Old Testament, without dictionaries and earlier models – and Methodius had accomplished this for 6 or 8 months. The same is true for the translation of the legal text of Nomocanon, with all the associated difficulties in terminology.

The Glagolitic alphabet is the true achievement of Cyril, and the same can be said of the first translations in a language without any literary tradition. But if it were not for Methodius' methodical strive and good deeds, none would have had a future. Methodius succeeded in creating a critical mass of translations and educated disciples. Accordingly, the written Slavic language was able to outlive all the vicissitudes following his death.

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Abstract. The article discussed the time and place of the canonization of Methodius and the difference in the treatment he received in the Roman Catholic Church and in the Bulgarian Church. The study highlights the overall distinct treatment of the two brothers while tracing the changes in the attitude to Methodius as opposed to that to Cyril in the first texts written in the Slavonic alphabet, in Bulgaria. Two canons and anonymous stichera from the service on the feast day of Methodius indicate that his disciples played a significant role for establishing the cult of Methodius. In the earlier years, there was a difference – the cult of Methodius was in the process of establishment, while Cyril had already been recognized as a saint whose cult was supported by an established tradition and whose figure had been used to support the holiness of his elder brother, later born to eternal life. The study also determines the time of the beginning of the cult of Methodius in Bulgaria at the end of

the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, after the treatise *On the Letters* and after the translation of the *Nebesa* ("Heaven") by John the Exarch in Old Bulgarian, most likely at the time of Constantine of Preslav and Clement of Ochrid.


Keywords: St. Methodius, St. Cyril, cult of saints, canonization, Bulgaria

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THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC VERSION OF EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS' PANARION IN THE EPHRAIM KORMCHAYA (THE 12TH CENTURY)

The *Panarion*, a treatise on heresies, belongs to the series of dogmatic and polemical works which resulted in the establishment of Epiphanius' deserved reputation as a diligent defender of the Orthodox faith, who was incardinated in the ancient formalist doctrine of Nice, and a "hunter of heresies". Appearing together with different passages in the first Old Church Slavonic text of the period of the already Christian empire of Simeon the Great, in a time of great social controversies, the treatise was rapidly spreading in the whole Orthodox-Slavic world, mostly due to its fervent defense of the simple faith.

It is not a coincidence that some chapters of this monumental work can be found in the last part of the code that contains the most ancient translation of the *Syntagma in XIV Titles*, known as *Efremovskaya kormchaya*. The most ancient code of *Syntagma* (Moscow, GIM, Sin 227) was copied by a scribe named Ephraim in Novgorod at the beginning of the 12th century. Although it had been first concisely catalogued by Undol'skij¹, its importance as a valuable document of Slavic patrimony was noticed by I.I. Sreznevskij, who carried out an analytical description of its content comparing it to two further copies, one of Solovetsky monastery and other of Svyato-Toitsky monastery². In 1906–1907 V.N. Beneshevich published a scientifically exemplary Slavonic edition with a parallel Greek text³. Inexplicably, however, the precious manuscript would remain out of the Slavists' interest for a long time. Thus, even today, it is becoming a subject of profound linguistic analysis and is receiving the attention it has always deserved. Some researchers, such

¹ В.М. Ундольский, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской патриаршей библиотеки*, Москва 1867 [= ЧИОИДР, 2.3], p. 38–44.

² И.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Обозрение древних русских списков Кормчей книги*, Санкт-Петербург 1897, p. 15–46.

³ *Древнеславянская кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, vol. I.1–3, ed. В.Н. БЕНЕШЕВИЧ, Санкт-Петербург 1906–1907.

as F.I. Buslaev and V. Jagić, used to assume the Bulgarian origins of the *Syntagma*'s translation, while others, including A.S. Pavlov, A.I. Almazov, S.P. Obnorski, or R.G. Pikhoya supported the hypothesis of an Old Russian translation, carried out by Bulgarian intellectuals in the Kyevean Rus under the rule of prince Yaroslav the Wise (1015–1054). The hypothesis about the original East Slavonic translation is still supported by Russian scholars. Still unconvincing are claims by some of them that the presence of single primordial Russianisms in the text of the *Kormchaya* may indicate the existence of a translation in Russian, which is proved by the fact of introducing juridical East Slavic terms in places in which the Slavonic Ecclesiastical terminology was not sufficient to render the Greek language. Moreover, this assumption would tally with the historical realities, as *apparently, in Bulgaria, there was no need for Slavonic canonical stories, since the Greek texts were used. On the other hand, Russia, after its conversion to Christianity, required codes of Ecclesiastical Law*⁴.

It was only in the last decade that Russian Paleo-Slavist Kirill Maksimovich presented incontrovertible evidence of the Bulgarian Preslavian origins of the text: the first original translation might have been made at the Literary Centre of Preslav, in the first half of the 10th century⁵. The scholar claims that the translation of the *Byzantine Syntagma in XIV Titles* should be linked to Bulgaria and he also admits the possibility of the successive editorial interventions in Old Russian, hence the presence of Russianisms in spelling and lexicon, including the “*сoкaнiе*” typical of the Novgorod's dialect. Valid arguments that should be considered while hypothesizing about the localization of the translation include the numerous phonetic and lexical Bulgarianisms in the literary language and the dialect of Preslav, such as *вѣхъма* ‘all, totally’, *чисма* ‘number’, *чиститѣль* ‘priest’, *чъваньць* ‘vase’, *цата* ‘small coin’, forms without *l*-epenthetic, confusion between the nasals, traces of the Glagolitic script in the spelling, etc. Only in Bulgaria of Simeon the Great could the translator have correctly used complicated theological terms, such as *съставъ ѱлѡстасис, сжъствѡ оѡсiа* in full compliance with the literary tradition dating back to the translations of a Bulgarian, John the Exarch. All the elements of the language mentioned above, regionally marked, evidently point to the Bulgarian prototype.

⁴ Сф. А.А. Турилов, Б.Н. Флоря, *Христианская литература у славян в середине X – середине XI в. и межславянские культурные связи*, [in:] *Христианство в странах Восточной, Юго-Восточной и Центральной Европы на пороге второго тысячелетия*, ed. Б.Н. Флоря, Москва 2002, p. 398–459, 407–409, 436–438; А.А. Пичхадзе, *Переводческая деятельность в домонгольской Руси. Лингвистический аспект, Рукописные памятники Древней Руси*, Москва 2011, p. 18–24.

⁵ К.А. Максимович, *Древнерусская Ефремовская кормчая XII в.: локализация перевода в связи с историей текста*, [in:] *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка*, ed. А.М. Молдован, А.А. Плетнева, Москва 2006, p. 102–113.

In 2010 K. Maksimovich and L. Burgman published a complete Greek-Slavic index based on the *Kormchaya*, one Greek-Slavonic and another Slavonic *a tergo*⁶. The index contains a total of 6,170 lexemes, out of which around 1,800 were not registered even in the authoritative dictionary of Prague. The index not only opens up a wide range of opportunities for researchers of translations of Slavonic literature and historians but also offers a useful *instrumentum studiorum* for the reception and fortunes of the Byzantine cultural patrimony in the Slavic territories.

The Old Church Slavonic version of the collection of heresies extracted from the dogmatic and polemical treatise, Epiphanius of Salamis' *Panarion*, was inserted precisely in the last part of the *Kormchaya* (ff. 249r–275v of the code; p. 644–706 of the Beneshevich edition). In the history of theology, Epiphanius occupies a position of prominence among the great heresiologists. He is at the end of a long heresiologic line, which was started in the 2nd century by Justin Martyr, the author of the earliest *Anti-Heretical Treatise*, and continued by Irenaeus of Lugdunum (*Adversus haereses*) and Hippolytus of Rome (*Syntagma Against Heresies*). The subsequent heresiologists, such as Philastrius of Brescia, the author of *Diversarum Haereseum Liber* (called for brevity *De Haeresibus*), used his work as a model⁷. In the following centuries, different authors tended to insert in their works the lists, of different length, of heresies and schisms. The title of *Panarion* denotes a box of medicines, κιβώτιον ἰατρικόν, which contains remedies against pangs and mortal stings, an antidote against the venom of the errors in the doctrine of faith. It can be seen as a monumental compendium of the former heresiologic literature and, at the same time, a precious container of documents and texts, not only heretical, abounding in citations of the works which survived only thanks to this source. We are dealing with a true “first-aid manual” created with the aim of the protection of Orthodoxy and as a very successful guide for the faithful, from the period of the first Old Slavonic texts.

The importance of Epiphanius's treatise against the heresies in the First Bulgarian Empire of Boris and Simeon is proved by the fact that some fragments of the treatise had already been inserted in the *Miscellany of Sviatoslav/Simeon* of 1073⁸: f. 137a14–140a17: **Стѣго Юѡпифана отъ понарии**; f. 167b22–167d5: **Стѣго Юѡпифанѡна от парии**; f. 216c24–216d: **Юѡпифаниѡво ѡ понари**.

As mentioned before, its notoriety is related to a list of eighty heresies, sects and schisms, described with a view to preventing their diffusion. Epiphanius insists on the number of eighty schisms, drawing his idea from the *Song of Songs*

⁶ K. MAKSIMOVICH, *Das byzantinische Syntagma in 14 Titeln ohne Kommentare in albulgarischer Übersetzung. Slavisch-griechisches, griechisch-slavisches und rückläufiges (slavisches) Wortregister*, vol. I–II, Frankfurt am Main 2010 [= FBR, 27].

⁷ Cf. B. MONDIN, *Storia della Teologia. Epoca patristica*, vol. I, Bologna 1996, p. 319–324.

⁸ Сѡмеонов сборник (по Светославовѡя препис от 1073 г.), vol. I, *Изследвания и текст*, София 1991; vol. II, *Речник-индекс*, София 1993; vol. III, *Грѣцики извори*, София 2015.

(6, 8–9) and distinguishes from the only real Christ’s Church – the “Queen” and “Bride” of the King of Heavens – first, “sixty queens” (ἑξήκοντα βασίλισσας), that is sixty generations of men legitimate from Adam to Christ, who prepared His advent and the parousia of His Church, and, secondly, “eighty concubines” (ὀγδοήκοντα παλλακαί), namely eighty different heresies (αἱρέσεις), which appeared in the period of the queens of Christ before his Accession, or after it (Haeresis LXXX, Contra Massalianos, 10)⁹. The frame of the *Panarion* (introduction and its end) identifies the eighty concubines from the *Song* in the heresies since they were not faithful to the conjugal unity with God. As the concubines are women “φελέγεσθα”: women (φελέγ) in half (ἔσθα), the heresies are also *partially true, incomplete and, thus, deceptive* (Expositio Fidei, 4)¹⁰.

The classification of the eighty heresies follows a rigorous order in three books, grouped in seven volumes of various dimensions, divided according to the chronological criterion. Also here an allusion to the Old Testament can be observed: Solomon was endowed with a proverbial sense of order and justice, which he introduced both in the administration of his house and the state. On the other hand, when he married the daughter of the Pharaoh, he had already had sixty queens and eighty concubines¹¹. In this manner, Epiphanius presents twenty heresies that come from the period before the incarnation of Christ and another sixty from the Christian period. Among the eighty he also includes five Pre-Christian – Barbarism, the Scythians, Hellenism, Judaism, Samaritanism – which he even calls “the mothers of heresies” (μητέρες αἱρέσεων). It is worth pointing out that when the author talks about the Pre-Christian period, the concept of heresy is probably used in the neutral sense of the “religious state of humanity”.

The First book of *Panarion* consists of three volumes and a total of forty-six heresies which include descriptions of the respective doctrines they share:

In the First book, there are twenty heresies listed, all prior to the incarnation of Christ, starting from the five so-called “mothers of heresies”. The four heresies of Pythagoreans (also called Peripatetics), the Platonists, the Stoics, and the Epicureans were derived from Hellenism. Although among the Greeks the term heresy had at times a neutral meaning for all these spiritual currents (or philosophical schools), with Epiphanius, it started to acquire the sense of an inaccurate succession of the model of revealed righteous faith. Between the Judaic Law and the

⁹ EPIPHANIUS CONSTANTIENSIS IN CYPRO EPISCOPUS, *Adversus Octoginta Haereses, Panarium*, [in:] PG, vol. XLII, col. 1076–1077 (cetera: EPIPHANIUS CONSTANTIENSIS, *Adversus*); Italian translation: EPIFANIO, *Panarion*, ed. G. PINI, vol. I, Brescia 2010; vol. II, Brescia 2012; vol. III, Brescia 2017. Complete translation in Russian: *Творения святых отцев, Творения св. Епифания Кипрского*, vol. XLII, pars 1, 1863; vol. XLIV, pars 2, 1864; pars 3, 1872; vol. XLVIII, pars 4, 1880; vol. V, pars 5, 1882.

¹⁰ EPIPHANIUS CONSTANTIENSIS, *Adversus*, [in:] PG, vol. XLII, col. 1083–1084; EPIFANIO, *L’Ancora della fede*, trans., praef. et ed. C. RIGGI, Roma 1993, p. 14.

¹¹ 3Reg 11, 3. Cf. A. BIANCHI-GIOVINI, *Sulla Storia Universale di Cesare Cantù*, Milano 1846, p. 290.

incarnation of Christ, eleven heresies were presented, out of which seven were Judaic (the Scribes, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Osseans, the Nazarenes, the Hemerobaptists, the Herodians), and four Samaritan (the Goroteni, the Sebuei, the Essenes, the Dositheni). Therefore, the number of those born after the Law of Judaism and Samaritanism stands at eleven. The total number of all the heresies created before the Incarnation, from Adam to the Advent, reaches twenty.

The polemic zeal of Epiphanius is concentrated, in reality, mostly on the heresies that appeared after the arrival of Christ, those which, although called "domestic" (οικειακοί), remain "illegitimate children" (νόθοι), born out of "mixed marriages" and seen as "evil enemies" (δεινοί ἐχθροί) of the Church, as they *do not belong to the real faith of the Apostles of the Lord*. For Epiphanius, any Christian heresy is an "evil faith" зълѡвѣрнѣ (κακοπιστία), which is worse than "no faith at all" нѣвѣрнѣ (ἀπιστία), since the non-believer can be cured by the acceptance of the real faith. The зълѡвѣрнѣ, on the other hand, cannot be healed. The heresies lost the truth – the right path – by deviating "towards the right or left" of "the royal road", followed by the Church, and they wander in profound delusion without any particular destination (Haeresis LXIX, Contra Ariomanitas, 2)¹².

Therefore, there are sixty heresies of the Christian period, from the incarnation of Christ to the Empire of Valens and Gratian, classified by Epiphanius as follows:

In the Second volume, there are thirteen Gnostic heresies, i.e. the Simonians, the Menanders, the Satornils, the Basilideans, the Nicolaitans, the Gnostics, (also called the Stratiotics or the Fibionites, by some called the Secundianits, by others the Socratians or the Zacchaei, and still by the others the Coddians or the Borborites) the Carpocrateans, the Cerinthians or Merinthians, the Nazarenes, the Ebionites, the Valentianists, the Secundians (joined by Epiphanius and Isidore), the Tolomeonits.

In the Third volume, there are another thirteen Gnostic heresies: the Marcosians, the Colorbasi, Heracleonites, the Ophites, the Cainites, the Sethians, the Archontics, the Cerdonians, the Marcionites, the Lucianists, the Apelleans, the Severities, the Tazianeī (Tatiani), the Enkratites.

The Second book consists of two vast volumes.

The First book contains eighteen heresies: the Montanists, the Phrygians or the Tascodrugites, the Pepuzians or the Priscillianists or the Quintilians, joined by the Artotyrites, the Quartodecimans (who celebrate the Pasch always on the same day of the year), the Alogians (who repudiate the Gospel and Apocalypse of John), the Adamites, the Sampsaeans or Elcesaites, the Theodosians, the Melchizedezians, the Bardesanists, the Noetians, the Valesians, the Cathars (in Rome called the Montanists), the Angelics, the Apostles or the Apotactites, the Sabellians, the imprudent Origenists, the Origenists, disciples of Adamantius.

¹² EPIPHANIUS CONSTANTIENSIS, *Adversus*, [in:] PG, vol. XLII, col. 728.

In the Second volume, there are four heresies of the followers of Paul of Samosata (the Paulicians), the Manicheans or the Acuanites, the Heraclites, the Milesians (the schismatics of Egypt), the Arians or the Ariomanits.

The Third book consists of two volumes.

In the First volume, there are seven heresies: the Audians (rather schismatic than real heretics), the Photinians, the Marcellians, the Semi-Arians, the Pneumatomachians, who blasphemed the Holy Spirit, the Aerians, the Aetians or the Anomoeans. Epiphanius refers with particular polemic zeal and attention to details of the doctrine of Antiochian deacon Aetius, who, together with his disciple Eunomius, had founded the extreme wing of the Arian party of the Anomoeans.

In the Second volume, there are four heresies: the Dimoerites, who did not fully acknowledge the humanity of Christ; the Apollinarians, who deny the virginity of Saint Mary (who after a generation united with Joseph), also called the Antidicomarianites, who, in Her name, celebrate the offer of rusk or *kollira* and, in consequence, are called the Collyridians, the Messalians (joined by the Martyrianites of Greek origins, the Euphemites, and the Satanians). The inventory of eighty heresies is completed with the doctrine of the Messalians, cited at the end.

The *Panarion* was composed by Epiphanius between 374 and 377. Over the following centuries, the biblical importance – the precise doctrinal sense – of the number of heresies was lost. In Byzantium, the abbreviated variants of the treatise were diffused. In time, other dogmatic-polemical texts were interpolated and, above all, various lists of heresies attributed to Epiphanius himself. Beneshevich identified four Greek codes, of which the Old Church Slavonic translation was made, representing three Greek editions: the principal Vallicell. F.47 of the 10th century, two codes of Patmos (Patm. 172 and Patm. 173) of the 9th century, and another Vallicell. F.10 of the 10th century. The choice of the code Vallicell. F.47 would have been determined by the fact that the Old Church Slavonic version represents the synthesis of the lexicon of all the three Greek editions¹³. According to Maksimovich, it cannot be ruled out that it was the consequence of the collation of the *Syntagma in XIV Titles* performed in Bulgaria, based on Greek codes of different editions¹⁴. In this principal Greek code, the number of the heresies listed from the Greek text and translated from the Slavic text is 103.

In the *Kormchaya of Ephraim*, the treatise opens directly with the presentation of heresies: БЛАЖЕНАГО ЕПИФЪНІА • И ЕППА КЪПРЬСКАГО ПОВѢСТЬ ВЪСКОРЪ НАПИСАНЪИХЪ ЕРЕСЬ ВЪСѢХЪ • РЕКЪШЕ ПОВЕЛѢНИИ АРЭСЕИС ЫТОИ ДОУМЪТА. In comparison with the integral text of the *Panarion*, the more recent versions from which the Slavic version originates lack the following: a preface, synopsis at the beginning and at the end of every volume, and the final discourse which closes the treatise, entitled *Discourse in defense of the right faith and truth, represented by the*

¹³ В.Н. БЕНЕШЕВИЧ, *Древнеславянская кормчая...*, р. III–IV.

¹⁴ К. МАКСИМОВИЧ, *Das byzantinische Syntagma in 14 Titeln...*, vol. I, p. XXIV.

saint Church, Catholic and apostolic. In his text, Epiphanius synthesized the fundamental points of the Orthodox Catholic doctrine – the Trinity, the incarnation of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, the Final Judgement – and the institutional principles which govern the Church – the liturgy, reunions, fasting, celebrations, the life of the believers and of the monks, the prescriptions of everyday life. Despite its synthetic character – or perhaps by its virtue – the *Panarion* remains the most complete treatise on heresies which the Fathers' era produced. General form in which every heresy is described usually comprises four parts: a short notice on the relation of the heresy with the already mentioned ones, followed by a brief presentation of common beliefs; a broader and detailed confutation of the respective doctrine, including arguments taken from the Scriptures and *reductio ad absurdum* of their beliefs; a comparison of the heresy with a repugnant animal, in the majority of cases a snake.

After the detailed description of the eightieth doctrine of the Massalians in the text of the *Kormchaya*, there is a long chapter inserted taken from their sacred instruction, entitled ГЛАВЫ ПОВЕЛѢНІИ МАСАЛИНСКЫИХЪ ЗЪЛОЧЪСТИВААГО ВЪЗРАТЪ ОТЪ КЪНИГЪ ИХЪ, together with a broad and meticulous discourse on the refutation of their doctrine and behaviours, from f. 260v to f. 263r (p. 671–676 of Beneshevich).

It would be appropriate to ask why the Byzantine compilers showed such great interest in the doctrine and behaviour of the Messalians. One possible explanation could be that the followers of the neo-Messalian ideas still survived in the Balkan Peninsula at the time when the Greek codes were written. The continuity between the old and the new Messalians may have been a consequence of the deportations, in the 10th and 11th centuries, of the Anatolian populations to Thrace and some Messalians to Macedonia¹⁵.

The presentation of the teaching of the heresy, shared by the Messalian priests, continues from f. 263r to f. 264r, together with an additional fragment derived from the writings of Theodoret, which was identified with precision: it corresponds to the whole chapter X of the IV Book of *The Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret*. Theodoret, the bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria, was a literary master of the Antiochene party and a tireless defender of the most Orthodox expression of faith. This prolific writer lived in the turbulent decades of the Third and the Fourth ecumenical councils, in Efez (431) and Chalcedon (451), during which many important doctrinal issues (including the principal Christological dogmas) were discussed with quite a few consequences. As the protector of the Antiochene tradition and the opponent of Cyril, the powerful patriarch of Alexandria, Theodoret left a fascinating legacy. His biography demonstrates that he actively

¹⁵ Some testimonies of the vitality and propagation of the heresy in the historical sources, in I. DUJČEV, *I bogomili nei paesi slavi e la loro storia*, [in:] *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, vol. I, *Saggi di storia politica e culturale*, Roma 1965, p. 251–282, 265sqq.

participated in the heated dogmatic and politico-ecclesiastical fights of the 5th century. Much as he shared the Nestorian dualism, in the theological debate, he represented its moderate trend. He composed his *Ecclesiastical History* of apologetic and polemical inspiration, in five books, between 444 and 449, eighty years after Epiphanius' *Panarion*¹⁶.

Theodoret was a well-known writer among the Bulgarian intellectuals already at the beginning of the 10th or maybe even at the end of the 9th century. In the First Bulgarian Empire, the Christian missionaries had to deal with various religious movements, in a state where there was no unity of faith. Slavic paganism was opposed by the paganism of the Proto-Bulgarians, while among the representatives of the most ancient population of the Balkanic territories traces of Gnosticism and other similar movements had survived. In this complicated historical reality, in which heretical movements were growing, Theodoret was one of the most frequently translated authors. For instance, in the translation of the work of John the Exarch *An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (in the Old Church Slavonic tradition known as *Theology* or *Heavens*), John the Exarch includes at the end of chapter 49 (ω β'ϷϷϷ) the preface *About Faith* to the apologetic work by Theodoret of Cyrillus *A Cure of Greek Maladies* (*Graecorum affectionum curatio*). In Preslav, *A Compendium of Heretical Mythification* (*Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, cf. Gr. Αἰρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἐπιτομή) was also known. In the compilation of Hexaameron, based on the writings of Basil the Great and Severian of Gabala, the Bulgarian writer again turned to Theodoret, using in the prologue to his work long fragments of the same composition. In the *Miscellany of Sviatoslav/Simeon* from 1073, there are twelve fragments of Theodoret's various writings. Some scholars claim that the heresy of Messalians is, in part, at the foundation of the Bogomilist sect, well known during the period of decadence of the Greek empire¹⁷. The Byzantine priests, among whom the heresy was also sometimes popular, contributed to the influence of the Messalian ideology on the Bogomils¹⁸.

After Theodoret's fragment in the part added to the list of heresies, the germs of three heresies are revealed (81, 82 and 83), and dissimulated in the doctrines of the Nestorians, the Eutychians, and the schismatic Monophysitists. In the

¹⁶ Cf. the edition of THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXII, col. 881–1280, the English translation http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0393-0457,_Theodoretus,_Historia_Ecclesiastica,_EN.pdf. The English translation of various writings of Theodoret in I. ΠΑΣΤΟΡΙ-ΚΥΡΙΑΝ, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, New York 1996 [= ECF].

¹⁷ Cf. A. RIGO, *Messalianismo = Bogomilismo. Un'equazione dell'eresiologia medievale bizantina*, OCP 56, 1990, p. 53–82.

¹⁸ Cf. D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948 [repr. New York 1978], cap. III; A. RIGO, *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili. Le accuse di Messalianismo e Bogomilismo rivolte agli esicasti ed il problema dei rapporti tra Esicasmo e Bogomilismo*, Firenze 1989 [= OV, 2].

Old Church Slavonic version, the aforementioned part is always attributed to Epiphanius and indeed constitutes a continuation of his long list of heresies.

Speaking of the heresies of the Monophysitists and the schismatics of Egypt, the author engages in an aggressive and accusatory discourse against Severus, a Monophysitic theologian, the Patriarch of Antioch in the first half of the 6th century, who had elaborated the theory of monoenergetism (incarnation as the only hypostasis), and against his supporter John Philoponus. From f. 265v to f. 270v (p. 682–695 of Benesheвич), there were three fragments added (one of chapter IV and two of chapter VII) from the work of Alexandrine philosopher John the Grammarian and Tritheit, called *The Laborious*. The Slavic translator gives the epithet Φιλόπονος to the letter, but not without a certain dose of sarcasm – вѣсочіе проудивѣи сѧ иванѣ безбожнѣи трифѣитѣ. According to some sources, it was John who had self-attributed the title of the Grammarian (Γραμματικός), maybe because he taught grammar in Alexandria, but his opponents called him *Tritheit*, as he founded the sect of Tritheism. He was, in all probability, the most influential Byzantine philosopher in non-theological area, but also both an authoritative and controversial theologian. He belonged to Severus' and Non-Chalcedonian group, and in the 6th century, he was the principal theorist of Tritheism, one of the three biggest trinitarian doctrines, in which God expresses himself in three non-consubstantial persons related to the divine triad, being in practice not the triune God, but three different divine Persons.

John Philoponus remained faithful to the Aristotelian concept and his work *The Arbiter* (ὁ Διατητής, cf. Lat. *Arbitrator* or *Umpire*) is no exception. However, its Slavonic version, called **ЗАКОНЬНИКЪ**, attributes to it a Christology of rather Monophysitic nature – with the consequent difficulties in the reconciliation of the original structure of the work with the Neoplatonist approach to the problem of the dualistic nature of Christ – to such an extent that his thesis moves into heretical positions, already condemned during the Council of Constantinople in 680–681. The Greek original of *The Arbiter* was lost and its text is preserved only in the Syriac version, published with an English translation¹⁹. The fragments cited in the Byzantine codes and interposed in the Slavonic version of the *Kormchaya* remain the unique testimonies of the authentic work of the Alexandrine writer.

The first text of John Philoponus taken from the *Kormchaya* comes from chapter IV of *The Arbiter*, and is entitled **ЗАКОНЬНИКЪ ὁ Διατητής Ο Ἰεστῆστωβѣ и сѣсѣтавѣ** Περὶ φύσεως καὶ ὑποστάσεως, f. 265v. The second is chapter VII, with the presentation of the beliefs of Tritheism, f. 265v–269v. The third is taken from the same chapter, f. 269v–270v.

¹⁹ *Opuscula monophysitica Ioannis Philoponi*, ed. A. ŠANDRA, Beirut 1930. Cf.: L.S.B. MACCOLL, *John Philoponus: Egyptian Exegete, Ecclesiastical Politician*, [in:] *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, Aldershot 1993, p. 211–220; B. LOURIE, *John Philoponus, On the Bodily Resurrection*, Scri 9, 2013, p. 79–88.

It is followed by f. 270v–272v (p. 695–699 of Beneshevich) with the description of the heretical sects 84–98 up to emperor Heraclius (575–641).

From f. 272v to f. 274v, the list of the heresies of the Empire of Heraclius continues up to more recent times “as it was written later”. These are (99–101) the Monothelites, the Ethicoproscptes, and the Hagareans, called Ishmaelites or Saracens.

The list concludes with the last two heretical sects mentioned in f. 274v to f. 275v, namely the Iconoclasts or Timoleons and the Aposchists, the description of which was taken from the writings of Nicephorus I (758–828), the patriarch of Constantinople (806–815) and an active opponent of Iconoclasm. Numbers 102–103 are recorded only in the Greek text and are missing in the Slavonic version.

Thus, the number of heresies registered by Epiphanius reaches 103. As more than a third were indicated under two or even more names, the total number is 140 different denominations.

At this point, I have undertaken a preliminary study of the lexicon of the *Panarion* and other treatises against heresies, in which 140 terms appearing in various heresies are considered, using two different approaches: grammatical and semantic. On that basis, 15 ethnonyms and eponyms, 60 terms of anthroponymic character formed on the basis of the names of heresiarchs and derived adjectives, 30 calques from Greek, and 35 compounded terms were identified.

It should be said by way of introduction that the Old Church Slavonic translation of the *Kormchaya of Ephraim*, although homogeneous only at intervals, stands out for its extreme literarism²⁰. The diligence in transmitting Greek terms with precision at any cost leads to a huge number of unjustified semantic calques and the result is a text lacking in coherence between the parts of the same sentence.

The ethnonyms are related to different tribes and communities which inhabited the ancient and medieval worlds. Some of the 15 ethnic groups mentioned go back to the biblical period and some are contemporary with Epiphanius. It is worth noting that the Greek ἔθνος was rendered as поганѣни and Ἐθνόφρων with поганомысльнѣни.

There are duplicates of some of the ethnonym forms: one word follows the Greek original, while the other is a solution chosen by the translator or editor. There are three ethnonyms for the ancient Jewish people – the most frequent one is иудѣи, иудѣи Ἰουδαῖος, иудѣиство Ἰουδαῖσμος, followed by жидове е еврѣи, евреи ἑβραῖοι. The 101st heresy was founded by Hagareans, descendants of Hagar, the concubine of Abraham, with the clarification that they are called Ishmaelites or Saracens, after Sarah, the legitimate wife of Abraham: агьраньхъ. Иже измаилите глѣутьса. Срацины же наричють тако ѿ Сары наречены.

²⁰ The literalism is the most characteristic feature of the entire Slavonic text of the *Kormchaya*, cf. А.А. Пичхадзе, *Переводческая деятельность в домонгольской Руси...*, p. 23–24.

Nearly half of the terms denominating heresies are non-translated Grecisms: nouns and adjectives, anthroponyms derived mostly from the names of heresiarch founders of different sects of identical names. I would like to cite some particular cases of the anthroponyms which instead were translated into Slavonic since they indicated the foreign terms unknown to the translator.

A noteworthy example is the heresy of the Carpocratians, a Gnostic school founded by Carpocrates of Alexandria, Neoplatonic philosopher and Egyptian preacher of the Greek language, who wanted to unite Christianity with Pagan philosophy, and who is known thanks to the writings of Irenaeus²¹. Carpocrates believed that every man, through metempsychosis, can have the powers of Jesus. Once this stage is reached, the soul can liberate itself from the oppression of rebirths, and again climb up the seven heavens dominated by the demons which created the world, in order to reach the Father. In the Slavonic text, Carpocrates was denominating **Плододръжъць** the sect **Плододръжъци**, an exact translation of two parts of the compound and a perfect calque from Greek.

The sect of the Cerdonians, founded by Cerdo of Eraclea, probably also unknown to the translator, was rendered literally with the calque as **Приобрѣтъници**, while the name of the heresiarch is **Къръдонъ**. Cerdo was a follower of Simon Magus and moved from Syria to Rome in the times of bishop Hyginus. He preached two opposite principles: he claimed that Christ was not born and, thus, because of not having the real body, his crucifixion was unreal. He also rejected the resurrection of the dead and the Old Testament²².

The Acuanites, the Palestinian heretics, appeared in the 3rd century. They were the followers of Acuas, a disciple of Manete of Persia, and they shared the doctrine of the Manicheans. The name "Acuanites" is simply derived from the proper name Acuas, their founder, a veteran who arrived from Mesopotamia and Eleuthropolis in the times of Aurelian's Empire. According to their creed, there were two divine princes: one was the creator of Good and was called "Light", and the other created Evil and used the name of "Darkness". The Acuanites worshipped the moon and the stars, prayed to demons, disavowed the Testaments, and claimed that Christ appeared as a phantom and his death was fictional²³. Ignoring their doctrine and the name of their founder, the Slavonic translator renders the term as a noun derived from ἀκούω, 'hear', so **слоухъльньници** < ***слоуховъници**, Sg. ***слоуховъникъ** 'hearing'.

In order to adapt a complex terminology, it was preferred to annotate, in various cases, the lexemes of oriental or Greek origins and, in this process, the Slavonic

²¹ N.S. BERGIER, *Dizionario enciclopedico della teologia, della storia della Chiesa, degli autori che hanno scritto intorno alla religione, dei concilii, eresie, ordini religiosi ecc.*, vol. II, Venezia 1828, p. 62–63.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 146.

²³ G. MORONI, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, vol. XLI, Venezia 1846, p. 120.

version nearly always follows the Greek text. It is one of the techniques of adjustment of the text originating from a Bulgarophone environment, through interpretative supplements (glosses). In the explanation of the Greek term, the translation is usually free as a rule. In this regard, see the following examples: the Pythagoreans are called Peripatetics *Πυθαγορικὸι ἤτοι Περιπατητικοὶ*; the Samaritans *σαμαριτῶν προχοδῶντες ἢ Ἰσσεύριμα ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ Σαμαρείται μέτοικοι*; the Pharisees *Φαρισαῖοι, οἱ ἐρμηνευόμενοι ἀφορισμένοι*; the Sadducees, the name is related to the Hebrew verbal form *Sadaq*, which means ‘be right’ *σαδοῦκει σὺν σαδουκαῖοις*; the Essenes or Osseans *οἱ Ἐσσηνοὶ, οἱ δὲ ἰταμῶτατοι ἐρμηνεύονται*; the Nasareans *νασαρηνοὶ, οἱ ἐρμηνεύονται ἀφηνιασταί*; the Apostles *ἀποστολιστῶν ἢ μετῶντων Ἀποστολικοὶ οἱ καὶ Ἀποτακτικοὶ*; the Origenists, who take their name after Origen, commit nefarious acts and give up their bodies to corruption, doing the unspeakable things, and, thus, are also called *οἱ Ὀριγενιστῶν ἢ ἀνομιῶντων Ὀριγενιστῶν*; the Messalians (or Messalians, in Aramaic *mēssalīn* ‘prayerful’), an ascetic Christian movement from Asia Minor, deriving from the Martirianites of the Greek origin, as well as the Euphemians and the Satanions: *μεσσελιῶν ἢ ἐκστασιῶν Μοιραίων ἢ ἐκστασιῶν*... *οἱ λεγόμενοι Εὐφημίται καὶ Μαρτυριανοί*.

In Eriphanius’ text, there are twelve calques of the names of heresies which were not glossed, being the most widespread and well-known in the Christian world. In some cases, the translators – or the editors – most likely went after an expressive effect, and were thus driven by a rather precise stylistic intention.

There are four different Greek names of heresies which were rendered under the same lexeme *ἠεροῦσιμοι*: the Gnostics, *Γνωστικοὶ*; the Noetians, the followers of Noetus, *Νοητιανοί*, the Gnosimachi, *Γνωσιμάχοι*, who, contrary to the Gnostics, did not love works of science, reflection or meditation; the Agnoetae, the followers of the Christological doctrine of Alexandrian monophysite deacon Themistius (the 6th century, from Gr. ἀγνώτης, “one who does not know”), heretics who did not accept the omniscience of Christ as a man²⁴, *ἠεροῦσιμοι ἢ ἠεροῦσιμοι*, *ἠεροῦσιμοι* ἢ *ἠεροῦσιμοι*.

Other calques of Greek terms expressed with simple lexemes are: the Scribes, *ἠεροῦσιμοι ἢ ἠεροῦσιμοι*, *ἠεροῦσιμοι*, *ἠεροῦσιμοι*; the Ophites *Ὀφίται*; the Archontics, *Ἀρχοντικοί*, *ἠεροῦσιμοι*; the Encratites *ἠεροῦσιμοι*, *ἠεροῦσιμοι*; the Alogi, who rejected the the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse *ἠεροῦσιμοι*, *ἠεροῦσιμοι*; the Cathars *ἠεροῦσιμοι*, *ἠεροῦσιμοι*; the Apollinarists, whose creed was based on the notion that the humanity of Christ

²⁴ A. VACANT, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. I, Paris 1909, p. 585–596.

was not total; the Diatomites, mentioned by John of Damascus, who considered the body of Christ separated from his soul²⁵ **Раздѣльници**, Διατομίται; the Euchites **Молитвъници**, Εὐχίται; the Euphemites **Хвалъници**, Εὐφημίται; the Mar-tirians **Послоушьници**, Μαρτυριανοί; the Ichetes (Icetes) **Мольбъници**, Ἰκεταῖοι.

When it comes to the compound lexemes in the text of the *Kormchaya of Ephraim*, it should be noted that the only pertinent study undertaken to date was published in 1966 by Russian paleoslavist L. Vyalkina²⁶. She found 430 compounds used 1,050 times during the work on the Beneshevich edition. In my study on the *Panarion*, I have discovered that missing from Vjalkina's list of compounds is a series of lexemes, such as **доушевногаденіе**, **доушегадиѣ**, **плѣтогаденіе**, **прѣж-девареніе**, **благочиненіе**. Nowadays, with resources such as the complete *Wort-register* of Maksimovich and Burgman, a list of the compounds can be specified in greater detail. Another, more generic study on the formation and the stylistic function of the compounds in the Old Russian texts from the 12th century was undertaken by S. Averina²⁷. Two groups of compounds can be identified there: one is structural calques with exact correspondence to the Greek model, while the rest is formally independent from the corresponding Greek formations. One cannot avoid the impression that the translator searched for a major formal parallelism to the Greek text. It follows that the compounds were created for stylistic reasons, and as a result of a specific and clearly detectable technique of translation used in the Slavonic text.

Богодавъци, Δοσίθεοι; **Плододръжци**, Καρποκρατιανοί; **Коловрътъци**, Τασκο-δροῦγοι, Τασκοδροуγίτοι; **Хлѣвосъръници**, Ἀρτοτυρίται; **Четвърнадесѣтъници**, Τεσσαρεσκαδεκατίται (those who celebrate Easter always on the same day of the year); **Самописане**, Σαμψαῖοι; **Споудотворьци**, Ἀρρητοποιοῦντες; **Ярианеистовъ-ници**, Ἀρειομανῖται; **Наполынечистии**, Ἠμιάρειοι; **Доуховорьци**, Πνευματομάχοι; **Дѣвочастъници**, Δμοιρίται; **Содупостатомарининци**, Ἀντιδικομαριαμίται; **Сковропечъци**, Κολλυριδιανοί; **Юдиноюестъствъници**, Μονοφυσῖται; **Нетьлѣночаини-ци**, Ἀφθαρτοδοκῖται; **Сльньцепрѣвратъници**, Ἠλιοτροπίται; **Мрътведоушьници**, Θνητοψυχῖται; **Колѣнонепрѣклонъници**, Ἀγονοκλίται; **Богооукоръници**, Θεοκατα-γνώσται; **Хръстораздроушьници**, Χριστολύται; **Поганомысльници**, Ἐθνόφρονες; **Обычаюпрѣтъчыници**, Ἠθικοπροσκόπται; **Кривосъказъници**, Παρεμηνευταί; **Єдиновольници**, Μονοθελίται; **Самопрѣтъчыкателе**, Αὐτοπροσκόπται; **Звѣро-лютъчи**, Θυμολέοντες; **Хръстіаноглагольници**, Χριστιανοκατήγοροι; **Иконо-развица**, **Иконоразвиць**, **Иконоразвителе**, Εἰκονοκλάσται.

²⁵ *Supplemento al Dizionario Tecnico-Etimologico-Filologico*, ed. M.A. MARCINI, Milano 1841, p. 78.

²⁶ Л.В. ВЯЛКИНА, *Сложные слова в древнерусском языке в их отношении к языку греческого оригинала (на материале Ефремовской кормчей)*, [in:] *Исследования по исторической лексикологии древнерусского языка*, Москва 1964, p. 94–118.

²⁷ С.А. АВЕРИНА, *Сложные слова в языке XII в.*, [in:] *Древнерусский язык домонгольской поры. Межвузовский сборник*, ed. В.В. КОЛЕСОВ, Ленинград 1991, p. 163–173.

The evidence of assimilation, or rather adjustment, of some of the complex Greek models is the rendition, in the Slavonic translation, of simple Greek lexemes in the form of compounds.

One of simple Greek lexemes, Κολλυριδιανοι, was translated with a Slavonic compound **Сковропечъци, Сковрадопечъци**, which was in turn translated as “those who in the name of Mary offered the sacrament of Eucharist in the form of rusk (Κολλυρίς ‘сковрада’) and cheese”. Only in one case is a compound from Greek interpreted with an entire syntagm: **Ἡμεροβαπτισται Χρῆστασιши са вса дни**.

The compounds with the first component **само-** translate Gr. αὐτο-, while those with **едино-** translate Gr. μονο-: for instance **Самопрѣтъкателье** from Gr. Αὐτοπροσκόπται, **Єдиновольници** from Gr. Μονοθελῆται, **Єдиноєстьствъници** from Gr. μονοφυσῖται.

Words with the negative particle **не-** **Неразумьници, Непокоривъци** and with the preposition **вс-/вез-** **Бесловесъни** are not considered compounds.

An example of a compound semantic calque is the term **нетлѣнньночаниници** from Gr. Ἀφθαρτοδοκῆται, from ἄφθαρτος **нетлѣнньнъци** and **чаници**, the doctrine of which was a continuation of monophysitism and appeared around the year 365. Its propagator, monophysite bishop Julian of Halicarnassus (beginning of the 6th century) claimed that the body of Christ, incorruptible and unperturbed, could not have been subject to death and decay. The heresy affirmed aphantism – the idea that the body of Christ is incorruptible despite the Incarnation – and docetism – from Gr. δοκεῖν ‘appear’, the idea that the Incarnation of the Word was only apparent since it was impossible for God to assume a material and corruptible body. His followers, through hunger, thirst, and sacrifice, wanted to participate in the passion of Christ²⁸. This heresy may have been known in the Bulgarian environment, thanks to the Greek sources. The Boril’s Synodikon of Orthodoxy, in the 13th century, directs its anathemas also against these (**Иже сѣна бѣжѣа нетлѣннѣ плѣтъ ѿ прѣчистѣхъ дѣѣи Бѣжѣ приѣмша наричеть, анафема:—ѣ**)²⁹. Two centuries later, also in the Constantine Manasses Chronicle, in the episode in which the last Roman emperor Justinian inclined toward the doctrine of the Aphtartodocets, they are described with a gloss, intended to explain their doctrine only in the Slavonic text: **сирѣчь нетлѣннѣимнѣциихъ**³⁰.

An original and particularly interesting performance on the interpretation of the Greek terms formed with the use of Slavic compounds is the description of the 53rd heresy of the Sampsaens, the Judaizing Gnostics, also referred to as Elcesaites or Elkasaites, who lived in Arabia, in the vicinity of Palestine, across

²⁸ *Dizionario delle origini, invenzioni e scoperte nelle arti, nelle scienze, nel commercio, nell’agricoltura ecc.*, Milano 1831, p. 1055.

²⁹ И. Божилов, А. Тотоманова, И. Билярски, *Борилев синодик. Издание и превод*, София 2010, 23v, 11–13, § 84.

³⁰ В. Велинова, *Среднобългарският превод на Хрониката на Константин Манасий и неговият литературен контекст*, София 2013, p. 159–160.

the Dead Sea, and were deceived by the ideas of false prophet Elksai³¹, during the reign of emperor Trajan (98–117). Despite his Jewish origin, Elkhasai did not follow the Jewish Law, and his ideas constituted a syncretic combination of Hebrew and Christian elements combined with pagan-naturalistic components. Epiphanius calls his followers Σαμψαίοι οἱ καὶ Ἐλκεσσαίοι, from Hebrew sames or schemech 'the sun', as they believed that the prayer should follow the course of the sun from the east to the west. In the Slavic text, it is rendered in an expressive way, by defining Elkhasai's followers *самописане*. It can be presumed that the translator did not know the term and resorted to the interpretation from the popular etymology in order to adapt the Greek term. Nevertheless, since the description of the 30th sect of the Ebionite community attests also the derived adjective *самъсинскъин*, Gr. Σαμψαῖος, it is much more probable that in the translation, the Greek term is a transliteration (cf. another transliterated word *самъписихин*, Gr. Σαμψύχος within the same code) from **самълъпъсанинъ*, -не, and only subsequently called for redaction or reconsideration. Another argument for assuming that the form of *самописане* was not in the original translation, but appeared at a later stage, is that in our text, in most cases, the first component *αὐτο-* of the Greek compounds is translated in Old Church Slavonic with *само-*. It should not be ruled out that the subsequent editors of the Panarion knew the Gnostic doctrine and tried to describe its essence more adequately. The Sampsasens, in fact, did not accept either Testament and preached that the nature of Christ was purely human. Christ would appear in the world as Adam, and then another time as a prophet. They rejected the existence of prophets and Christian apostles and, obviously, apostle Paul and all his writings. They described the Holy Spirit as a woman and based their doctrine on their own scriptures attributed to their founder, Elkhasai, hence the name of their sect, *самописане*, "those who have (believe in) their scriptures".

A similar way of etymologizing the Greek terms in the Slavic linguistic environment can also be found in the name of the Barsanians, Barsanuphians or Semidulites, an Alexandrian and non-Chalcedonian separatist group, which separated itself from the Monophysitism. Since they rejected the holy communion of their patriarch, they were also known as Ἀκέφαλοι (Aképhaloi, without head). According to Timotheus I, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Barsanuphians were probably named after their founder, the Bishop Barsanuphius, an Egyptian anchorite, a native of Palestine, who was nominated bishop anti-canonically. His nonconventional and unusual mysteries are described in detail in the article about the 86th heresy. The Barsanuphians rejected the divine Eucharist and shared the errors of the Gaianites and the Theodosians, the followers of two rival Alexandrian patriarchs, Gaianas and Theodosius, concerning the admission of incorruptibility. They performed their sacraments with the use of the finest flour of ground grains, Gr. σμίδαλις (simnel), brought by Dioscorus, touched with the fingertips

³¹ N.S. BERGIER, *Dizionario enciclopedico della teologia...*, vol. II, p. 312–313.

and put into their mouths as the sacrament of communion. As John of Damascus reports, they perceived the flour as sacred and venerated it as the most precious gift. Because of this particular characteristic, they were called the Semidulites: *варѣсановѣтанѣ иже и моченици*, *Βαρσανουφίται οί καί Σεμιδαλίται... мочкоу во прилагають. ѿ диоскора оубо принесенъимъ. и краинимъ пьрстѣмъ прикасающеѣ ѡкоушають мочкы*. In all probability, in the original translation in Old Church Slavonic, the word *мжчъници* is derived from noun *мжка* 'flour', Gr. *Σεμίδαλις* with the suffix *-никъ*. Ignoring the rite of heretical Semidulites, in the following writings, probably produced in the monasteries of Novgorod, the writer rewrote the form as *моченици* 'martyrs'.

A very significant element of the translation for the literary culture is a restitution of the term Tascodrugites in Slavonic: *Коловрътъци*. In reality, this was all about the Montanist heretics, who appeared in Phrygia in the late 2nd century. They superstitiously carried a little cane and put a finger on the nose and mouth during their prayers in order to impose silence on their spectators. They were called the Tascodrugites – from the Phrygian words *tasco* 'cane' and *druque* 'nose'. The Greeks gave them the name of Patalovinchites and the Latins of Passilanosones, which had the same meaning. In the Panarion, Epiphanius describes their doctrine as follows: they accept two Testaments, and they believe in other prophets – Montanus and goddess Prisca. However, the Slavonic term demonstrates more profound knowledge of their spiritual rites, of which no mention is made in the treatise: thrown in a frenzy in the guise of Bacchus followers, they danced in their temple around a barrel, pretending that it was full of mystic wine³². It can be hypothesized that the translator had some information about their doctrine taken from the Byzantine sources. It is because of those particular ritual dances that the Slavonic intellectual calls them *Коловрътъци*, 'those who dance in the circle'.

A large number of compounds influences the style of the entire composition and complicated syntactic structure of the text. The compounds turn out to be formed from nouns and adjectives, verbs and adverbs, and they certainly increase the expressiveness of the discourse. We can notice an intent of the translator to convey faithfully the grammatical form of the calques, for instance: *Въздръжъници*, *Въздръжателе*, *Ἐγκρατῖται* for the noun *Enkratites*, but for the participle *Ἐγκρατευόμενοι въздръжашии сѣ*. The only error which can be observed concerns the term 'schismatic' referring to the Egyptians: *Ἐϋπύττιанѣ иже и образъници* cf. in the Greek text *Αἰγυπτιανοί οί καί σχισματικοί*.

A preliminary lexicological study of the Old Church Slavonic text of Epiphanius and his other two texts reveals a formation of their translators in the context of a clearly Bulgarian tradition of Simeonian period. Within the limits of the canons imposed by the code of the (polemical) religious literature of the time,

³² C.-L. RICHARD, *Biblioteca sacra ovvero Dizionario universale delle scienze ecclesiastiche*, vol. XVIII, Milano 1837, p. 399.

the Slavonic version demonstrated a conspicuously autonomous character. It provides precious information about its literary as well as religious mentality and techniques of translation, thanks to the efforts made by the translator (or editor) in order to make the complicated and often unknown Byzantine dogmatic terminology accessible to the Bulgarian public.

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Abstract. The *Panarion* treatise is a dogmatic and polemical writing that earned Epiphanius his well-deserved reputation of a zealous defender of the Orthodox faith and a “hunter of heresies”. Its list of heresies was translated into Church Slavonic during the 1st Bulgarian Empire at the time of tsar Symeon and quickly spread throughout the Slavic-Orthodox world. It is a part of the oldest Slavonic version of *Syntagma* of XIV titles without any commentary (*Syntagma XIV titulorum sine scholiis*),

called *Efremovskaya Kormchaya*. It is a monumental compendium of the centenary heresiological literature, and is the most complete treatise on heresies that the age of the Fathers left us. The paper presents a description of the three books and seven volumes of the *Panarion* with a list of eighty heresies, sects and schisms – twenty heresies before the incarnation of Christ and sixty of Christian times. Within the work attributed to Epiphanius, a chapter of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodoret of Cyrus and two other chapters of the theological-philosophical work *Arbiter* or *Umpire* by Joannes Philoponus have been identified. A number of 103 heresies was revealed, all of them ascribed to Epiphanius. It is presented as a preliminary study of 140 terms used by an anonymous Slavic translator. To the various lexemes, two different criteria have been applied: grammatical and semantic. The research determines 15 ethnonyms and eponyms, 60 anthroponyms formed on the names of the heresiarchs, 30 calques from Greek and 35 compounds. Among the latter, two distinct groups have been distinguished: structural calques, exactly corresponding to the Greek models, and “neologisms”, formally independent of the Greek formations. Adaptation to the original Bulgarian linguistic system was achieved by the translator (or the editor) by using interpretative supplements, i.e. glosses. It is assumed that the translator's primary objective was to remain as faithful as possible to the Greek original. It turns out that the translator showed excellent knowledge of the complex Greek models of word formation and exceptional skills in adapting them to the Palaeoslavonic linguistic system. The compound lexemes were created for stylistic reasons and are a result of a specific translation technique.


Keywords: Efremovskaya Kormchaya, Epiphanius of Salamis, Panarion, heresies, word formation, calques, compounds

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RUMANIAN SLAVIA AS THE FRONTIER OF ORTHODOXY THE CASE OF THE SLAVO-RUMANIAN TETRAEVANGELION OF SIBIU

In the *Tetraevangelion* also known as the *Slavo-Rumanian Evangeliarion of Sibiu*¹, the slow sunset of the Slavonism seems to face the dawn of the Rumanian literary tradition. Not only is it the earliest extant text in Slavonic and Rumanian languages, but it is also the earliest provided with parallel bilingual transcription, and the only version of the Gospels printed in such a form, at least in the 16th century².

Regardless whether it originally contained all four – or just three – Synoptic Gospels, only two fragments of the SRT are preserved today, both from the Gospel of Matthew:

1. the more extensive one (ff. 1^r–117^v, Mt 3, 17 – 27, 55), in the *Saltykov-Ščedrin* Library in Saint Petersburg³;
2. the shorter one (ff. 36^v–37^r, Mt 12, 12–28), in the Orthodox Church of Oiejdea (Alba Iulia), where it was discovered in the 1970s⁴.

¹ *Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu (1551–1553)*, ed. E. PETROVICI, L. DEMÉNY, București 1971 (cetera: SRT).

² Cf. G. MIHĂILĂ, *Textele bilingve slavo-române și unele aspecte ale studiului calcului lingvistic*, [in:] *Contribuții la istoria culturii și literaturii române vechi*, București 1972, p. 236–244, esp. 241. For a critical up-to-date overview on the SRT, cf. I. GHEȚIE, A. MAREȘ, *Originile scrisului în limba română*, București 1985, p. 337–342; E. PAVEL, *Textul evanghelic în cultura românească*, LR 66, 1, 2012, p. 30–31.

³ Cf. L. DEMÉNY, *Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu – Prima tipăritură în limba română cunoscută pînă azi*, [in:] SRT, p. 22–98.

⁴ Cf. E. MĂRZA, *Un fragment din Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu (1551–1553)*, LR 27, 2, 1978, p. 173–175 (= *Explorări bibliografice*, Sibiu 2008, p. 14–16).

Only a handful of fragments of the indirect tradition of the SRT were identified in *Codicele Bratul*⁵, a Slavo-Rumanian intercalated miscellaneous text, which contains – among other texts – parts of the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels, copied perhaps in Southern Transylvania and dated 1559–1560 by Pop Bratul, the copyist himself⁶.

While the Slavonic text – late and “peripheral” – has been almost entirely overlooked by Slavists, the parallel Rumanian one used to arouse a certain interest among Rumanists, especially after it was discovered, about half a century ago, that it was the earliest preserved printed text (the *Catehism luteran de la Sibiu*, printed in 1544 and considered to be the earliest, has not survived)⁷.

Actually, the SRT has to be considered as a bilingual text, an icastic metaphor for a multiple frontier – linguistic, but also chronological, geographic and cultural – by which our text is crossed and obviously defined.

Since it came out of the printing press in Sibiu between 1551 and 1552–1553, the SRT contains the earliest preserved Rumanian translation of the Gospels, made probably after 1526 (assuming the translation, as well as the printing of the SRT, was of Lutheran origin indeed). The SRT print followed shortly the appearance of the first writings in Rumanian vernacular and signed the beginning of the slow decline of Slavonism, a process which had to span more than one century. In fact, it was not before the 18th century that Rumanian became the official language of the Church, State, and written culture, replacing Church and chancery Slavonic.

The translation and the final edition of the Rumanian text took place, respectively, in Banat or Moldavia and Transylvania, that is on the frontier between the Orthodox East with its Byzantine-Slavic tradition, and the Catholic or Reformed Latin West.

In the mid-16th century, the majority of Rumanians formed still part of the so called *Slavia Orthodoxa*: Rumanian Orthodoxy was firmly based on the primacy of the Church Slavonic, which, while not implying any official ban on using vernacular as the language of worship or in the Scripture, did not encourage it

⁵ Cf. *Codicele Bratul*, ed. A. GAFTON, Iași 2003 (cetera: CB) (= <http://media.lit.uaic.ro/gafton/txt/text> [26 IX 2016]).

⁶ Gheție and Mareș observed the following correspondences in the fragments of Mt 26, between CB and SRT: vv. 7, 14–8, 20 and 24 – SRT ff. 105^R_{11–13}, 105^V₁₆–106^R_{5,10–14}, 106^V_{1–2}; CB ff. 440_{16–19}, 441_{1–20}. Cf. I. GHEȚIE, AL. MAREȘ, *Originile scrisului...*, p. 336–357 and G. MIHĂILĂ, *Primul manuscris românesc pre-coresian datat: Codicele Popii Bratul din Brașov (1559–1560) și sursele sale*, [in:] *Studii de lingvistică și filologie*, Timișoara 1981, p. 64–71.

⁷ In 1965, access to the microfilm with the entire text and unprecedented flowering of paleographic and philological studies revolutionized the knowledge of the SRT, that had achieved little progress since 1891 (the printing had been dated back to 1580, assuming the 1579 Slavonic Tetraevangelion of Coresi as a *terminus a quo*). About the progress occurred in dating the SRT since the middle of the 1960s, cf. I. GHEȚIE, [rec.:] *Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu 1551–1553...* – SCL 23, 6, 1972, p. 664–670 (esp. p. 666–667).

either, rightly claiming that it contributed to the spread of heresies⁸. In this regard, the printing of the Slavo-Rumanian Tetraevangelion represented a formal compromise between the Lutheran proselytism, which almost certainly inspired the Rumanian translation, and the Slavonic tradition.

However, the same necessity for such a compromise indicates that a cultural boundary continued to exist between the two parallel texts of the SRT, and that the Rumanian text (or rather the biblical use of Rumanian vernacular) was still beyond it.

Bearing in mind that the contrast between the Latinity of language and the Slavonicity of rite was just starting to emerge, the fact that, in the 16th century, a number of texts appeared featuring parallel or alternated Rumanian and Slavonic, may be explained in two ways:

1. Slavonic was less and less known and had to be translated not so much for the faithful, as for the uneducated Orthodox clergy (especially in Transylvania, where Orthodoxy was discriminated and consequently no stable Orthodox hierarchy existed at that time)⁹;
2. at most, the Rumanian text could integrate the canonical one in Slavonic, although its use was not allowed in the liturgy¹⁰.

As a consequence, the Church Slavonic was itself beyond a linguistic boundary, though it had, apart from its liturgical, sacral value, a kind of identitarian value: throughout the Middle Ages and later, the spiritual and linguistic communion (Slavonism) with the Orthodox Slavs were the principal, if not the unique mainstay of the Rumanian identity, especially in those frontier areas where Rumanian Orthodoxy was exposed to Catholic or Protestant proselytism¹¹. Only thanks to the Union with Rome accepted by the majority of the Orthodox Church of Transylvania (1698–1700) and the consequent emergence of the “Latinist School”, the Romanity by descent and the Latinity by language would play such a role¹².

⁸ Significantly, still in 1698, the instructions of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to the Neo-Metropolitan of Transylvania, Athanasiu, indicated church Slavonic and Greek as the sacred languages to be used in the Orthodox liturgy and in the comments on the Scripture, restricting the use of Rumanian to sermons – if addressed to Rumanians, and reading of the Gospels, but the latter only in the first 1688 official translation (the so called *Bible of Bucharest*). Cf. *Acte si fragmente latine romanesci pentru istori'a Beserecei romane mai alesu unite, edite si anotate*, ed. T. CIPARIU, Blasiu 1855, p. 243–244.

⁹ Cf. C. ALZATI, *Terra romena tra Oriente e Occidente. Chiese ed etnie nel tardo '500*, Milano 1981, p. 89–98, 99–105.

¹⁰ Cf. G. MIHĂILĂ, *Textele bilingve...*, p. 233–245, esp. 244.

¹¹ Cf. C. ALZATI, *Terra romena...*, p. 89–90.

¹² Cf. L. VALMARIN, *La latinità dei rumeni come arma politica dalla Scuola transilvana a oggi*, [in:] *La latinité hier, aujourd'hui, demain, Actes du Congrès international procurés par Georges et Ilinca*

The printing of the Tetraevangelion in Rumanian a few years after the Catechism, was an unprecedented event, and yet the appearance of these two Church books in vernacular was quite typical for the Lutheran proselytism.

There are no more than two translations inspired by Protestantism in the Rumanian text of the SRT, concealing a radical condemnation of the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchies, one of “Pharisee” with *duhovnic* ‘confessor, spiritual (priest)’, the other of “high priest” with *mitropolit* ‘metropolitan’, *vlădică* and *pis-cup* ‘bishop’¹³.

Needless to say, the SRT, already as a product of the Lutheran proselytism for Rumanian of Orthodox faith, would cross a linguistical and cultural frontier with the West of the Reformation and its local representatives, the Saxons, Hungarians, but also reformed Slavs, of both Latin and Orthodox origins¹⁴. The latter, like the Rumanians, are better known for their loyalty to Orthodoxy, loyalty which has not prevented them from contributing to the activity of the Transylvanian Cyrillic presses established by “Latins” (reformed Saxons or Hungarians)¹⁵.

Filip Maler “the Moldavian”, the printer and probably the editor of the SRT, can also be seen as a “frontier-figure”. A native of Moldavia or Banat, Filip was almost certainly a Saxon, and as such he belonged to a community that shared strong Latin traditions, in recent times converted to Hussitism and later to Lutheranism¹⁶.

Between 1521 and 1554, a *Magister* Philippus is mentioned in the *Konsularrechnungen* of Sibiu in the service of the city government as a typographer, engraver/

Barthouil-Ionesco, Avignon – 10–13 mai 1978, ed. G. BARTHOUIL, I. BARTHOUIL-IONESCO, Bucarest 1981, p. 403.

¹³ Cf. I. GHEȚIE, A. MAREȘ, *Originile scrisului...*, p. 342.

¹⁴ They were a part of what I would call the little *Slavia transylvanica mixta*, community of Czechs and Slovaks, but also Bulgarians, Serbians and Ruthenians, not to mention the Șchei. Between the 15th and the 16th century, Rum. *Șcheau* designated Bulgarians from Transylvania (and perhaps Rumanians coming from Bulgaria), mainly Orthodox, but among which the Lutheran and Catholic propaganda seem to have found proselytes in a significant number, cf. F. MIKLOŠICH, *Die Sprache der Bulgaren in Siebenbürgen*, Wien 1856, p. 2; Л. МИЛЕТИЧ, *Дако-ромънитъ и тѣхната славянска писменостъ*, II, *Нови влахо-български грамоти отъ Брашовъ*, СЛУЖБ 9, 1896, p. 9–17, 29. About etymology and meaning of Rum. *Șcheau*, cf. also I. HURDUBEȚIU, *Originea Scheilor și răspîndirea lor pe teritoriul carpato-dunărean*, SA Ist 14, 1969, p. 196–199, 202–204; about *Șcheau/Bulgar* alternation in Transylvanian documents, A.M. GHERMAN, *Lexic românesc în documente transilvănene. Socolile orașelor Brașov și Sibiu*, D [s.n.] 13, 1, 2008, p. 57.

¹⁵ Hard to say, realistically, whether their contribution was motivated by a missionary spirit or by profit. Cf. P. ATANASOV, *L'imprimerie en Roumanie et les bulgares de Brașov au XVI^e s. (La collaboration culturelle bulgare-roumaine au XVI^e s.)*, EB 6, 1967, p. 123–139.

¹⁶ Cf. I. GHEȚIE, *Considerații filologice asupra Evangheliarului din Petersburg*, SCL 17, 1, 1966, p. 54, 61, 77; IDEM, *Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu și textele românești cu litere latine și ortografie maghiară*, LR 28, 2, 1979, p. 84; A. MAREȘ, *Observații cu privire la Evangheliarul din Petersburg*, LR 16, 1, 1967, p. 72 and IDEM, *Evangheliarul din Petersburg, tipărirea unei mai vechi traduceri moldovenești*, LR 17, 1, 1968, p. 86.

illustrator (*Moler/pictor*), scribe and translator of “Wallachian” (*scriba/interpres*), and a liaison and envoy to the Rumanian countries¹⁷. In 1544, the versatile typographer was commissioned by the Saxon authorities of Sibiu – recently converted to the Lutheran Reformation – to print the (now lost) *Rumanian Catechism* and in 1546 the *Slavonic Tetraevangelion*¹⁸, whose colophon bears the signature **Филиппъ Мо(л)довѣнникъ**¹⁹.

Considering his functions, it is highly probable that apart from German and possibly Latin, Filip knew Slavonic and Rumanian. He presumably knew the kind of Slavonic used in tribunals, legislation and chancery rather than the ecclesiastical one, while he had a practical knowledge of Rumanian, as a non-native speaker but grown up in constant relation with the Rumanophone communities.

Since as a non-Orthodox layman he did not have access to higher education in Slavonic, it was impossible for him to receive it in Rumanian: at the time, no literary tradition existed, much less biblical, in the vernacular, only recently and sporadically used in its written form (a handful of proto-translations of the Gospels we know would be seen as pioneering and isolated attempts).

Even if the title of *Magister/Meister* implied not the craft but higher education – as Hervay assumed²⁰ – it did not include *litteræ slavonicæ* or *rutenicales*: sons of Saxon nobility received Western Catholic or Protestant education, preferably in Cracow, Prague, Vienna or some German city²¹.

The fact that Filip and his “bottega” (assistants) printed alongside the Tetraevangelion in Church Slavonic does not tell us which knowledge they had of this language: the Slavonic text of the SRT is a faithful reprint of the SST, which, in turn, was a faithful reprint of the Slavonic Tetraevangelion printed in Târgoviște by the Hieromonk Makarije of Montenegro in 1512 (Trg)²². Reprinting the SST had

¹⁷ Cf. P. BINDER, A. HUTTMANN, *Contribuții la biografia lui Filip Moldoveanul, primul tipograf român. Evoluția vieții culturale românești la Sibiu în epoca umanistă*, LL 16, 1968, p. 150–156, 165, 170–174.

¹⁸ *Tetraevanghel slavonesc*, Sibiu 1546, BAR II 630 838 (cetera: SST).

¹⁹ Cf. N. IORGA, *Cinci comunicări la Academia Română, III, Tipărituri românești necunoscute*, RI 17, 1–3, 1931, p. 9–10; L. DEMÉNY, *Evangheliarul slavo-român...*, p. 81–88; contra P.P. PANAITESCU, *Les origines de l'imprimerie en langue roumaine*, RESEE 6, 1, 1968, p. 26.

²⁰ Cf. F. HERVAY, *L'imprimerie du maître Philippe de Nagyszeben et les premiers livres en langue roumaine*, MK 81, 2, 1965, p. 124–125.

²¹ Cf. Ș. PAPACOSTEA, *Moldova în epoca Reformei. Contribuție la istoria societății moldovenești în veacul al XVI-lea*, SRI 11, 4, 1958, p. 61 and R. MANOLESCU, *Cultura orășenească în Moldova în a doua jumătate a secolului al XV-lea*, [in:] *Cultura moldovenească în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, ed. M. BERZA, București 1964, p. 79–81.

²² Cf. *Das Tetraevangelium des Makarije aus dem Jahre 1512. Der Ite kirchenslavische Evangeliendruck. Faksimile-Ausgabe*, ed. H. MIKLAS et al., Padeborn–München–Wien–Zürich 1999 (cetera: Trg). The first allusion to typographical analogies between the SRT and the Trg can be found in P. SÍRKU (cf. [rec.] *Psaltirea publicată la 1577 de Diaconul Coresi, Reprodușă cu un studiu și glosar comparativ la B. Petriceicu-Hașdeu* – ЖМНП 228, 1883, p. 393). The discovery that, except for sporadic omissions and spelling differences, the Trg, the SST and the SRT contain the same text can be attributed to Emil Petrovici apud L. DEMÉNY, *O tipăritură slavo-română precoresiană*, SRI 18, 5, 1965, p. 1031.

the obvious advantage of reduced time and costs, not to mention that no particular knowledge of Slavonic was required. Moreover, the text was the first printed Slavonic Tetraevangelion and, if that was not enough to make it more authoritative, it contained a *poslědoslovie* by Voivode Neagoe Basarab who made it *de facto* an “official” edition²³.

Crossing the Carpathians, however, the Trg seems to have undergone some significant adjustments to the Lutheran milieu in the paratext.

In the *prědislovie* to the Gospel of John, written by Theophylact of Ohrid, two sentences were omitted that the Sibian editor apparently considered to be too openly at odds with Luther’s Reformation:

1. [ИЖЕ Д҃ХА СИЛА ВЪ НЕМОЩИ СЪВРЪШАЕТ СѦ• ЯКО ЖЕ И ПИСАНО $\hat{\epsilon}$ И ВЪРОУЕМЬ•] ВЪ НЕМОЩИЖЕ НЕ ТЪКЛЕСИ ТЪЧІѦ, НЖ ОУЕО И СЛОВА И ПРЪКЛІДРОВОСТИ НА АЗЫЦѢ ЛЕЖЖУЩЕ (Trg, f. 213^v₅₋₈; cf. SST⁴, p. 25)

[ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται, καθὰ γέγραπται καὶ πιστευόμεν·] ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ δὲ οὐ σώματος μόνον, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ λόγου, καὶ σοφίας ἐν γλώττῃ κεκμένης (PG, vol. CXXIII, col. 1133)

2. НЪЦІИ РЪША ЯКО МОЛИША ЕГО ПРАВОСЛАВНІИ НАПИСАТИ ТЪЕМЬ О ГОРНОЕМЪ РОЖЕНІИ• ЯКОЖЕ ГЛАВЪШЕМЪ СѦ НЪКЫНИМЪ ЕРЕТИКѦ ВЪ ДНѢХЪ ОНѢХЪ• ПРЪДАЖШИ ЧЛКА ПРОСТАВЫТИ Г҃Ѧ (Trg, ff. 214^r₁₉–214^v₁; cf. SST⁴, p. 26)

δέ τινές φασι, καὶ ἠξίωσαν αὐτὸν οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι συγγράψαι περὶ τῆς ἄνω γεννήσεως; οἷα ἀναφανέντων τινῶν αἰρετικῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἐκεῖναις τῶν δγματιζόντων ἄνθρωπον φιλὸν ὑπάρξει τὸν Ἰησοῦν (PG, vol. CXXIII, col. 1135)²⁴.

In the first one – as far as we know, this omission has never been noticed so far – Theophylact commented on 2 Cor 12, 9 explaining that, as Paul points out, if the power of the Holy Spirit is fully manifested in its «weakness», this should be referred not to the flesh but to the word and the knowledge, which John, a man

Cf. L. DEMÉNY, D. SIMONESCU, *Un capitol important din vechea cultură românească (Tetraevangelul, Sibiu 1546)*, SCDB 1, Supl., 1965, p. 11 and A. MAREȘ, *Precizări cu privire la traducerea Tetraevangelului lui Coresi*, SCL 18, 6, 1967, p. 664–665.

²³ Cf. Trg, ff. 290^r₁₃–290^v₃; и азъ въ х҃ѣ бѣ бл҃говѣрнїи и вѣмь хранилїи и самодръжавни господарь Іѡ басараба великыи воевода• и г҃дїи въсен земли о҃гровлахїскои и подоунавїю... възрєвновахъ поспѣшенїемъ с҃го д҃ха и любовїа еже къ вѣтѣвнїи и с҃тїи цр҃квѣи, написахъ сѣа дшѣ спсѣнѣжѣ книгѣ четворєбл҃говѣстїе...

²⁴ The preface of Theophylact was reproduced, without any omission, not only by Makarije, but also by Coresi and Tudor in Brașov, in 1562, and by Lavrentie in Plumbuita, in 1575 ca. Cf. *Tetraevangel slavonesc lui Coresi* (Brașov 1562), BAR III 234 272 (cetera: CST), ff. 159^r₁₄₋₁₉, 159^v₁₋₆ and *Tetraevangel slavonesc lui Lavrentie or de la Plumbuita* (1575 ca.), BCU-Cluj BRV 34 (cetera: PST), ff. 149^v₁₂₋₁₄, 150^r₂₀₋₂₅.

of humble origins, was lacking. The overzealous Sibian editor may have thought that Theophylact's comment clashed with Luther's doctrine, according to which God's Word (the Gospel) is the supreme symbol and testimony of the Revelation, the only nurturing of the faith (and in the faith, *der Glaube aber ist es, wenn er gleich klein und schwach ist*, God reveals Himself in all His power and greatness)²⁵.

In the second sentence – pointed out by Demény in 1965²⁶ – the Evangelist was described as a defender of Orthodoxy against heresy (according to Theophylact, at the request of some Orthodox Christians, John meant to confute an heresy that denied the eternal conception of the Christ by attributing Him a solely human nature). In fact, the sentence was omitted together with an entire fragment of the text in which Theophylact referred to the same heresy (Trg, ff. 214^r₁–214^v₁₁), then replaced by a part of *prědislovie* to the Gospel of Mark, where, in the form of a prophetic vision (cf. Apoc 4, 7 and Ezk 10, 14), Theophylact symbolically described the Four Evangelists (Trg, ff. 83^v₁₁–84^r₆).

As for the possible Lutheran origin of such omissions, it should be also noticed that they all concern the Gospel of John and the Epistles of Paul, that Luther famously put first in the context of the New Testament²⁷.

In summary, it can be said with reasonable certainty that the Trg, an *editio princeps* of the Slavonic Tetraevangelion reprinted in the left-hand column of the SRT:

1. is different from the text printed in the CST and the PST²⁸, but on par with all other sacred texts printed by Makarije in Wallachia,
2. is a clear example of the Middle Bulgarian redaction and Euthymian orthography, with occasional Serbian redactional features²⁹, and

²⁵ Cf. M. LUTHER, *Predigt am vierten Sonntage nach Epiphanijs*, [in:] *Hauspostille*, vol. II, ed. J.G. PLOCHMANN, Erlangen 1826, p. 47. Cf. also R.H. BAINTON, *The Reformation of the 16th Century*, Boston 1952, p. 44–45 (esp. 45: *For him [Luther] the ultimate authority was the word of God, by which he meant the self-disclosure of God through the incarnation, the crucifixion, and the resurrection of Christ. This revelation was not restricted in time to the historical life of Jesus, because Christ is eternal and ever at work in the hearts of men, but the supreme manifestation was in flesh. The Bible is the record of this stupendous event*).

²⁶ Cf. L. DEMÉNY, D. SIMONESCU, *Un capitol important...*, p. 11 and L. DEMÉNY, *Evangeliiarul slavo-român...*, p. 90.

²⁷ Cf. R.H. BAINTON, *The Reformation...*, p. 45.

²⁸ Cf. A. MAREȘ, *Originalele primelor traduceri românești ale Tetraevangelului și Psaltirii*, [in:] *Scriere și Cultură Românească Veche*, București 2005, p. 261–263 (= *Cele mai vechi texte românești. Contribuții filologice și lingvistice*, ed. I. GHEȚIE, București 1982, p. 185–187).

²⁹ P.P. PANAITESCU talks about a text “cu foarte rare sîrbisme” [with extremely rare Serbianisms]. Cf. *Liturgierul lui Macarie (1508) și începuturile tipografiei în țările române*, [in:] *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, București 1971, p. 304 (the most recent contributions to the topic are substantially concordant: F. MIKLAS, *Das Tetraevangelium des Makarije aus dem Jahre 1512*

3. documents a rather established version of the *Athonite* Slavonic text, dated between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century (Voskresensky's "fourth redaction" of the Slavonic Tetraevangelion), the most faithful to the textual Byzantine tradition, although Nemirovsky discovered in it some original "Wallachian" variants and, for the first time, some Eastern-Slavonic ones, claiming that Makarije should have been *familiar with the Eastern-Slavonic manuscript tradition* (especially the liturgical rubrics of the manuscript source would have been edited, according to Miklas, *von einem nicht-Bulgaren*)³⁰.

The SST and the SRT also inherited from the Trg the typographic dress, which, in the form of the semi-uncial type and ornamentation, cannot be seen in the Serbian editions of Venetian school but in the Moldavian manuscripts of Bulgarian school. Therefore the two Transylvanian Tetraevangelia attest the beginning of an original and partially "native" typographic tradition (note that the Wallachian manuscripts had been influenced by the Moldo-Bulgarian tradition before the printed books)³¹. It should be reminded, in this regard, that the style of the Moldavian *scriptoria* also influenced the production of Schweipolt Fiol's ephemeral typography – the first Cyrillic – who was active in Cracow between 1481 and 1492–1493, and which must have come into contact with Moldavia and Transylvania³².

As an engraver and illuminator of Moldavian descent, Filip developed the characters of the Cyrillic typography of Sibiu partially imitating the ones used by Makarije and possibly being inspired by a direct knowledge of the manuscripts copied in the Moldavian *scriptoria*³³.

Since the paratexts remain the unique *trait d'union* between the Trg and the books already printed by Makarije in Cetinje – as well as the main confirmation

(*Einleitung: Sprache*), [in:] Trg, p. XIX; Е.Л. НЕМИРОВСКИЙ, *Начало книгопечатания в Валахии*, Москва 2008, p. 546–548).

³⁰ Cf. Д. ИВАНОВА, *Търговицкото печатно Евангелие (1512 г.) и старите славянски преводи на Евангелието (с оглед на текстологичната традиция)*, [in:] *Българистични проучвания*, vol. I, Велико Търново 1996, p. 46–57; *Das Tetraevangelium...*, p. XIX, XXXV–XLI; Е.Л. НЕМИРОВСКИЙ, *Начало...*, p. 523–524; A. ALBERTI, *Gli scriptoria moldavi e la tradizione medio-bulgara. Il caso del Vangelo di Elisavetgrad*, [in:] *Linee di confine. Separazione e processi di integrazione nello spazio culturale slavo*, ed. G. MORACCI, A. ALBERTI, Firenze 2013, p. 34, 50.

³¹ Cf. L. DEMÉNY, *Cartea și tiparul. Promotori ai legăturilor culturale dintre țările române în secolul al XVI-lea*, SMIM 6, 1973, p. 92–94; D. DELETANT, *A Survey of Rumanian Presses and Printing in the 16th Century*, SEER 53, 131, 1975, p. 162–163.

³² Cf. L. DEMÉNY, *L'imprimerie cyrillique de Macarios de Valaquie*, RRH 7, 3, 1969, p. 557.

³³ Cf. F. HERVAY, *L'imprimerie du maître Philippe...*, p. 121, 125–126; L. DEMÉNY, *Typographische Kennzeichen der kyrillischen Druckerpresse in Hermannstadt im 16. Jahrhundert*, FVL 19, 1, 1969, p. 29–36; IDEM, *Evangheliarul slavo-român...*, p. 85–87; E. TURDEANU, *L'activité littéraire en Moldavie à l'époque de Étienne le Grand (1457–1504)*, [in:] *Etudes de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des Principautés roumaines*, Leiden 1985, p. 113–161 (= RER 5/6, 1960, p. 21–66).

that the Montenegrin and the Wallachian Makarije are the same person³⁴ – the SST colophon itself introduces a new and probably relevant element: Filip dated this printing both in the Latin way, from the Incarnation (ДФМС. = 1546), and in the Byzantine way, from the Creation (ЗНД. = 7054), but most of all, he added the Dominical letter (НЕДЕЛНОЕ СЛОВО Ъ = 3), even rarer in the Rumanian editions of the 16th century and clearly Latin too³⁵.

The presence of two Latin chronological elements among other Byzantine ones is a reflection of the frontier milieu, a Latin-Orthodox blend, where the SST was printed and where Filip “the Moldavian” was educated and/or learned the art of printing. Assuming that Filip was a layman of Lutheran faith, his apprenticeship had to be made rather in a German typography than in an Orthodox monastery, perhaps even in Hermannstadt-Sibiu, where, between 1528 and 1530, the first typography with Latin script in Transylvania had been functioning³⁶. From Moldavia, the children of middle-class merchants and artisans – mostly non-native (German, Hungarian, Polish or Czech) – were sent to Transylvania or to their motherland, in order to receive better education or to learn or hone their skills³⁷.

Furthermore, between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th there was no documented typographic activity, neither in Moldavia nor in the nearby Maramureş³⁸, despite a manuscript production, still flourishing and evolving at the time (cf. the *boierească* [noble] edition of the Slavonic Tetravangelion, which appeared in Moldavia at the beginning of the 16th century, less expensive and luxurious than the *domnească* [voivodal, lordly] one)³⁹.

What remains unknown, however, is in particular the source from where Filip derived the *Littera Dominicalis* for the colophon of his SST, since it cannot be attributed to any of the typographical models most likely to have inspired him (including the Serbian-Venetian)⁴⁰.

³⁴ Cf. P. ATANASOV, *L'imprimerie en Roumanie...*, p. 124–125; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Liturghierul lui Macarie...*, p. 316–319.

³⁵ Cf. D.P. BOGDAN, *Contribuțiuni la bibliografia românească veche. Tipărituri dintre anii 1546–1762 necunoscute la noi*, București 1938, p. 6. (Already conclusive about the identification of the “two Makarijes” was DEMÉNY in *L'imprimerie cyrillique de Macarios...*, p. 550–551, 560–561).

³⁶ Cf. F. HERVAY, *L'imprimerie du maître Philippe...*, p. 122 and Z. JAKÓ, *Szeben latin betűs könyvnyomtatása a XVI. században*, [in:] *Írás könyv értelmiség*, Bukarest 1976, p. 180–183.

³⁷ Cf. R. MANOLESCU, *Cultura orașenească în Moldova...*, p. 49–56.

³⁸ Cf. L. DEMÉNY, *Cartea și tiparul...*, p. 104.

³⁹ Cf. M. SZÉKELY, I. BILLARSKY, *Tetraevanghelul Ieromonahului Macarie din Putna (1529)*, Apu 2, 2013, p. 60.

⁴⁰ There is no trace of *nedelnoe slovo* neither in the *colophon* used by Makarije in Cetinje and Tîrgoviște (1494–1495 and 1508–1512), nor in those used by Schweipolt Fiol in Cracow (1491–1493), Theodor Ljubavić in Goražde (1519–1523) and Božidar Vuković in Venice (1519–1521, 1536–1539), cf. Е.Л. НЕМИРОВСКИЙ, *Славянские издания кирилловского (церковнославянского) шрифта: 1491–2000. Инвентарь сохранившихся экземпляров и указатель литературы*, vol. I, (1491–1550), Москва 2009, p. 101, 115–116; *Liturghier slavonesc lui Macarie (Târgoviște 1508)* – BAR II 170567,

As a result, at least two other hypotheses should be taken in consideration:

1. Filip could have been influenced by Latin manuscript practice, which he probably knew in a country of Latin traditions, maybe in Transylvania, Moldavia and/or Wallachia⁴¹;
2. the Trg is not the real antigraph of the SST or at least not the only one; in other words, the apograph derives from another, similar but not identical manuscript or it is the fruit of a collation with another manuscript, bearer of a Latin influence (in Transylvania and Moldavia, Catholic, Hussite and Lutheran versions of the Holy Scriptures were virtually accessible at the time)⁴².

Further indications that Filip Maler's education was at least partially western can be found in his illustrations with anthropomorphic figures of the SST, rarely found in the Rumanian and Slavic codicological panorama still after the 16th century⁴³. The style of Filip's engravings – so different from the Byzantine colourful miniatures in the Tetraevangelion of Elisavetgrad and Ivan Alexander – seems to betray the eclecticism of a Latin illustrator, as a Saxon could be⁴⁴. An analogous style can be found, in fact, in the woodcuts of the *Octoechos* printed in Cracow (1491) by the German-born Schweipolt Fiol and in the *Pentecostal Triduum* printed by the Deacon Coresi in Târgoviște (1558), believed to have been illustrated by a Saxon and/or inspired by Fiol's work⁴⁵. According to Mareș, Filip could have reproduced his engravings from a printed text of western origin, namely Serbian-Venetian⁴⁶.

p. 258; *Octoih slavonesc lui Macarie* (Târgoviște 1510) – BAR II 630846, p. 63; И.П. КАПАТАЕВ, *Описание славяно-русских книг, напечатанных кирилловскими буквами*, СОРЯС 34, 2, 1883, p. 5, 7, 17–18, 20, 79–80, 87, 94).

⁴¹ Cf. R. MANOLESCU, *L'écriture latine en Valachie et en Moldavie au Moyen Âge*, RRH 25, 1–2, 1986, p. 59–68.

⁴² Cf. I.-F. FLORESCU, *Le Tetraévangile de Sibiu (1551–1553). Nouvelles informations sur les sources de la première traduction en roumain des Évangiles*, BJas 1, 2010, p. 40–41, 43.

⁴³ Cf. L. DEMÉNY, *Evangheliarul slavo-român...*, p. 84–85.

⁴⁴ The Church Slavonic Tetraevangelion of Elizavetgrad (end of 16th century?), Moldavian, reproduces decorative and iconographic apparatus of the Trnovian Ivan Aleksander's Tetraevangelion (1356), considered in its turn “an *unicum*”. In Stephen the Great's Moldavia (1433–1504), however, the Byzantine-Bulgarian manner of illustrating the Gospels' episodes spread beyond the *scriptoria*, being itself exposed to other influences. Cf. E. DRAGNEV, *O capodoperă a miniaturii din Moldova medievală. Tetraevanghelul de la Elizavetgrad și manuscrisele grupului Parisinus Græcus 74*, Chișinău 2004, p. 169–180; A. ALBERTI, *Gli scriptoria moldavi...*, p. 24–25; E. MOUSSAKOVA, *The Illustrated Slavonic Miscellanies of Damascenes Studite's Thesaurus – A New Context for Gospel Illustrations in the 17th century*, [in:] *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art: Crossing Borders, Exploring Boundaries. Art Readings. Thematic Peer-reviewed Annual in Art Studies*, vol. I, *Old Art*, ed. E. МУТАФОВ, I. ТОГН, София 2017, p. 325–326, 339–340.

⁴⁵ Cf. A. SOKOLYSZYN, *Sweipolt Fiol: The First Slavic Printer of Cyrillic Characters*, ASEER 18, 1, 1959, p. 90 and V. MOLIN, *Ilustrația în vechea carte bisericească*, BOR 78, 7–8, 1960, p. 705.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. MAREȘ, [rec.] Demény L., L.A. DEMÉNY, *Carte, tipar și societate la Români în secolul al XVI-lea...*, LR 27, 5, 1988, p. 479–481 (but cf. also Д. МЕДАКОВИЋ, *Графика српских штампаних књига XV–XVII века*, Београд 1958, p. 119).

As a Saxon, Lutheran, and layman, Filip was an exception in the Rumanian typographic panorama of the 16th century, populated mainly by Orthodox clergymen, supposedly consisting – at least in Sibiu and Braşov – of deacons and popes from Şcheii and Răşinari. In Braşov-Kronstadt, Coresi's assistants were local members of the clergy, Şchei or "Wallachian", often employed by the *Stadt-Notar* as *Walachischer Schreiber* or *Stadt-Loguffet*, position rarely held by Saxons or Latins (in Sibiu, Filip and Ioachim Maler – presumably father and son – seem to have been the only Saxons holding it, Filip being perhaps the only one who combined it with that of *Stadt-Typograph*)⁴⁷. Another layman, albeit of Orthodox Serbian origin, was the *Logofet* Dimitrije Ljubavić, son of Đurađ and grandson of Božidar. Dimitrije's typography – active in Târgovişte between 1544 and 1547 – employed *Jerodiakon* Moysi Dečanski⁴⁸ and at least two Şchei or Rumanian apprentices, Oprea and Petru, from Şchei (perhaps members of the local Orthodox clergy, instructed at the church school of Sf. Nicolae)⁴⁹.

Hieromonk Makarije was also helped by priests – Serbian in Cetinje and, more likely, Şchei in Târgovişte – in an Orthodox milieu (Makarije himself and his assistants would have been Şchei, but educated in a German milieu, perhaps in Cracow, according to Atanasov)⁵⁰.

Filip Maler's assistants remain anonymous, and yet had they been Orthodox priests, their names would have been presumably mentioned in the colophon of the SST to increase the authority of the Sibian Tetreavangelion, as a guarantee of its Orthodoxy.

Neither in Moldavia, nor much less in Banat and Transylvania – where the "schismatic" Church was still discriminated – the Lutheran Reformation had reason to encourage its proper faithful to learn Slavonic, if not for practical or contingent purposes (affecting individual Lutherans and/or their communities, never the Reformed Church as a whole)⁵¹. With this in mind, it is hard to believe that

⁴⁷ P. BINDER, A. HUTTMANN, *Contribuții...*, p. 146–149; IDEM, *Între istorie și filologie, I. Mediul cultural românesc al Braşovului în epoca coresiiană*, LR 20, 1, 1971, p. 10–11, 14.

⁴⁸ Moysi was native of Budlja; as an assistant of Vuković, Karataev wrongly attributed to him Moldavian origins, the error was amended by Simonescu. Cf. И.П. КАРАТАЕВ, *Описание славяно-русских книг...*, p. 89; J. BADALIĆ, *Jugoslavica usque ad annum 1600. Bibliographie der südslavischen Frühdrucke*, Aureliae Aquensis 1959, p. 47 (D. SIMONESCU, *Un Octoih al lui Bojidar Vucovici la noi și legăturile acestuia cu tipografia românească*, RIR 3, 2/3, 1933, p. 229).

⁴⁹ Cf. P.P. PANAITESCU, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română*, București 1965, p. 137, 169; P. ATANASOV, *L'imprimerie en Roumanie...*, p. 127.

⁵⁰ Cf. P. ATANASOV, *L'imprimerie en Roumanie...*, p. 125.

⁵¹ Not even among the Latins converted to the Bohemian Reformation the knowledge of the Slavonic language was more than exceptional: the Hussites of Transylvania, Maramureş and Moldavia always used vernacular – Czech, Saxon, Hungarian and perhaps Rumanian – for preaching and cult. Only locally they went far enough to vulgarize single parts of Holy Scriptures and Church books. Cf. J. MACŪREK, *Husitství v rumunských zemích*, ČMM 51, 1927, p. 3, 40, 56–58, 77; *Istoria României*, vol. I, ed. A. OŢEŢEA, M. BERZA et al., București 1962, p. 702. It does not make the contacts between single Hussites and Orthodoxy less likely, especially in Moldavia and Maramureş (Veress noticed that

the printing of the sacred books in Church Slavonic could have had, for the Lutheran editors of Sibiu, other purposes beyond the commercial ones.

Our current knowledge on the SRT texts describes an environment in which the contribution of Orthodox clergymen was seemingly marginal, to say the least:

1. the Slavonic text is, until proven otherwise, a reprint of the Trg (the edition of the sacred texts in Slavonic at the typography of Sibiu was limited to two faithful reprints of the same text);
2. translation errors present in the Rumanian text reveal that both its translators and final redactors had a flawed understanding of the Slavonic and Rumanian language (it may be presumed that the Sibian typography remained a Latin one converted to Cyrillic to operate in a Rumanian-Orthodox context)⁵².

By contrast, there is little doubt that the Rumanian text of the SRT was translated and printed primarily for missionary purposes (notwithstanding the possibility of a final review that would make it better accepted by the Orthodox authorities of the Principalities). The scant circulation of the books printed in Rumanian at Sibiu – relatable to what's left of them today – shows the difference between its reception beyond the Carpathians⁵³. Apart from the original sin of being issued by “the Heresy Press”, the same flaws of the Rumanian redaction (first of all the Saxon inflection) could have had in this a significant role.

The Rumanian text of the SRT remains the principal source of information not only about Filip Maler and his assistants but also about the border environment in which it was edited and printed. From the archaic and lively Rumanian emerges a clear predominance of the Banat-Hunedorean and Moldavian features over the South-Eastern Transylvanian (i.e. Sibian) and Muntenian ones (Gheție talked about two strata of language, the one Banatean and the other Moldavian)⁵⁴.

The unique colouring in the panorama of the first Rumanian translations of the Bible comes from alloglot inflexions – Saxon, Hungarian and Ruthenian – which

Németi György, a Hungarian of perhaps Saxon origins, copying the *Huszita Biblia* in Troțuș [1466], abbreviated the *nomina sacra* in the Slavonic-Byzantine and not in the Latin form [e.g.: Is vs. IHS], cf. E. VERESS, *Bibliografia Română-Ungară*, vol. III, *Români în literatură ungară și Ungurii în literatură română (1839-1878)*, București 1935, p. 18).

⁵² On both issues, cf. also I.-F. FLORESCU, *Le Tetraévangile de Sibiu...*, p. 45–47.

⁵³ It is also true that at least in one case the Rumanian Catechism – presumably the “most Lutheran text” printed in Sibiu – was even requested by a voivode of Wallachia (in 1556, the documents of Brașov register the payment of 12 aspra ½ *pro Catechismo valachico Matheo ferenti a Cibinio...*, recipient Pătrașcu cel Bun [1545–1557]). Cf. P. BINDER, A. HUTTMANN, *Contribuții...*, p. 165–166.

⁵⁴ Cf. I. GHEȚIE, *Baza dialectală a românei literare*, București 1975, p. 219–221.

place the Rumanian text of the SRT on the frontier between East and West (certainly Saxon are considered the confusion between articulated and unarticulated forms, the unvoicing of consonants and the epenthetic diphthongs)⁵⁵. Banatisms would apparently derive from the translation, while Moldavisms and Transylvanisms form the redaction for printing, as are the Saxonisms and other alloglotisms, which, however, might derive from both translation and redaction⁵⁶. The translation made in Banat-Hunedoara, or by someone who presumably was from there, would have been collated with Luther's German text and assembled for printing by some Saxons from Moldavia, in the mixed milieu of Sibiu⁵⁷.

It has been observed⁵⁸ that only if the revisor and/or printer of the Rumanian text of the SRT was a Saxon or a non-native, one could explain:

1. the presence of alloglot features in the orthography, not in the syntax, of the Rumanian text and
2. the fact that the final revisor didn't amend words which he should have been presumably able to identify as atypical or wrong in case he was a mother-tongue Rumanophone.

By choice or necessity, the Lutheran authorities of Sibiu would have entrusted their official translator for the "Wallachian" language with the final revision of the text, despite his Saxon origins and probably the lack of solid priestly background.

In fact, such a peculiar presence of alloglotisms in the text printed at Sibiu suggests that the Lutheran revision was inspired by typographical and/or editorial requirements, mostly already reported by the critics, such as e.g.:

1. transliterating in the Cyrillic script and Rumanian spelling a text originally edited in the Latin script⁵⁹ and Hungarian spelling⁶⁰, without being – in all likelihood – neither Rumanian nor Hungarian;

⁵⁵ Cf. A. MAREȘ, *Evangheliarul din Petersburg...*, p. 86; E. PETROVICI, *Observații asupra grafiei și limbii textului românesc al Evangheliarului Slavo-Român de la Sibiu*, [in:] SRT, p. 19 and T. BODOGAE, *Și totuși prima carte românească s-a tipărit la Sibiu. Considerații despre Evangheliarul slavo-român din 1551–1553*, MArd 17, 1–2, 1972, p. 86. For a more extended list of the alloglotisms contained in the SRT, cf. I. GHEȚIE, *Considerații filologice...*, p. 54, 56, 61–64.

⁵⁶ Cf. A. MAREȘ, *Originalele...*, p. 266.

⁵⁷ Cf. I. GHEȚIE, A. MAREȘ, *Originile scrisului...*, p. 341.

⁵⁸ Cf. A. MAREȘ, *Observații...*, p. 73.

⁵⁹ Cf. E. PETROVICI, *Observații...*, p. 18.

⁶⁰ Cf. I. GHEȚIE, [rec.:] *Evangheliarul...*, p. 84.

2. reorienting a text edited in the Latin milieu toward an Orthodox-Slavonic milieu, that is a Rumanian proto-translation, bearing “Latin” influences (ascribable maybe to Carpatho-Danubian outcomes of the Hussite Reform)⁶¹;
3. assembling a fragmentary and/or incomplete text, perhaps a translation made in haste by different translators, including Rumanians and Saxons (the hypothesis may be compatible with an *ad hoc* translation made for a bilingual edition, just before the printing)⁶²;
4. collating and harmonizing the original Rumanian translation with Luther’s German one and to the parallel Slavonic text (respectively real and fictitious model of the Rumanian text)⁶³.

The collation with Luther’s New Testament – irregular and inaccurate⁶⁴ – explains the prominent role of Saxons, at most bilingual, in the editing of the Rumanian text, printed by Filip Maler. One would expect that such a revision had the most sensitive part of the religious vocabulary as its main objective (cf. the heretic translation of “High Priest”), without requiring a perfect knowledge of Rumanian or Slavonic.

There is no doubt that the contribution of a Saxon German-Rumanophone represented the unique alternative to a complex collaboration between Saxons and Rumanians, ignorant of their respective languages (the final result suggests that the second possibility was rejected due to time constraints).

On the other hand, the unfavourable conditions in which Luther’s Reformation had to take root – already around 1525–1530 – among Catholic and Orthodox “Wallachians” of the Banat-Hunedoara, suggest that the original translation could have been executed by a “Wallachian”, not even a reformed one, maybe, knowing Slavonic but not German, who necessarily didn’t base his work on the *Septembertestament* (it’s slightly doubtful that his Lutheran commissioners had the integral text of Luther’s New Testament)⁶⁵. Under the same, unfavourable,

⁶¹ Florescu talks about “un prototype roumain”, translated, without doubts, from Church Slavonic [qui] *présentait des concordances textuelles avec les traductions tchèques (notamment ‘Bible Olomoucká’) et allemandes du XV^e siècle*. Cf. I.-F. FLORESCU, *Le Tetraévangile de Sibiu...*, p. 70–83.

⁶² Cf. A. MAREȘ, *Originalele...*, p. 266; L. TASMOWSKI, *În ajunul unei ediții transliterate și electronice a Evangheliarului bilingv slavo-român de la Sibiu*, [in:] *Per Teresa. Studi e ricerche in ricordo di Teresa Ferro*, vol. II, *Obiettivo Romania*, ed. G. BORGHELLO et al., Udine 2009, p. 334.

⁶³ Cf. A. MAREȘ, *Originalele...*, p. 267.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 263–265; L. TASMOWSKI, *În ajunul unei ediții...*, p. 332–335 and I.-F. FLORESCU, *Le Tetraévangile de Sibiu...*, p. 47–50.

⁶⁵ Cf. P. BINDER, *Începuturile Reformei din Transilvania și Români din Hunedoara*, LR 20, 3, 1971, p. 273–275; I. GHEȚIE, *Textele rotacizante și originile scrisului literar românesc. Chestiuni de metodă*, [in:] *Începuturile scrisului în limba română*, București 1974, p. 22–24, 170–171.

conditions the Lutheran Reformation reached Moldavia, where, at that time, «quidam doctor» is said to have translated the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles into Rumanian, bringing his translation directly to Wittenberg (he presumably wanted it to be printed and approved by the supreme Protestant authorities)⁶⁶.

The *communis opinio* is that the Rumanian SRT text was translated from Church Slavonic, precisely from the parallel Slavonic text, that is from the Trg via the SST⁶⁷. It cannot be excluded, however, that the translation is not based on the Trg, but on a related text, as for instance its main antigraph, which remains unknown. In that regard, the Trg presents difficulties being *not a simple copy that reproduces the antique manuscripts word by word, but a text in which a significant contribution of its editor (and also the translator) may be noticed*⁶⁸.

It has been observed⁶⁹ that two untranslated Slavonisms contained in the Rumanian text of the SRT – although the Trg is of Middle Bulgarian redaction – display the acc. -оу/ю of the m. sg. with -а/-ја- stem, as is typical of Serbian, Russian and Lithuano-Ruthenian redactions. This redactional feature, though so sporadic, is limited to frozen forms: an apophthegm (38^r₅: САТАНА САТАНС СКОТЕ = САТАНА САТАНС ИЗГОНИТЬ [Satan cast out Satan], cf. Mt 12, 26) and a Hebrew toponym difficult to pronounce (77^v₆: Внѡфагыю = Внѡсфэгѡ, [Bethphage], cf. Mt 21, 1). Furthermore, none of the two examples of -оу/ю for -ж/ѡж can be found in Trg, only one (САТАНС) in SST (cf. Trg, f. 33^r₁₉₋₂₀; SST, p. 63), which suggests a combination of another antigraph, if not a reflexion of the “workshop” of Filip Maler⁷⁰. The Slavonisms in the Rumanian text have, as a rule, the acc. sg. -ж/ѡж and the gen. sg. -ы/ѡы of the masculines and feminines with -а/-ја- stem, as is typical of Middle Bulgarian (cf. Іереміѡ е Ііѡж 58^v₁₉₋₂₀; Внѡаніѡ 79^v₅; Іюны or Іѡны 39^v₁₄, 57^v₁₀, Іродіадѡ 49^r₆ and ѡши Захаріѡ 92^v₁₁). In particular, the use of genitive form ѡши Захаріѡж

⁶⁶ Cf. Ș. PĂRĂCOSTEA, *Moldova în epoca Reformei...*, p. 62–63; A. ROSETTI, *Cu privire la datarea primelor traduceri românești de cărți religioase*, LR 7, 2, 1958, p. 20–21 (= *Du nouveau sur la date des premières traductions roumaines de livres religieux*, Rom 80, 317, p. 80–81). Someone identified *doctor ex Walachia, vir canus, qui non germanice sed latine et polonice loquitur* with the same Filip Maler (cf. L. DEMÉNY, *Evangheliarul slavo-român...*, p. 97, *contra* I. GHETIIE, [rec.:] *Evangheliarul...*, p. 668–669; the latest contribution on the issue and on the role of the Moldavian Saxons in the diffusion of Lutheranism, in P. PHILIPPI, *Ein Moldauer 1532 als Bibelübersetzer?*, [in:] *Land des Segens? Fragen an die Geschichte Siebenbürgens und seiner Sachsen*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2008, p. 105–109 [= ZSL 13, 1, 1990, p. 19–22]).

⁶⁷ The first to propose that was Ioan Bogdan at the end of the 19th century (*originalul slav se află în fața traducerii românești*), cf. I. BOGDAN, *O Evanghelie slavonă cu traducere română din secolul al XVI-lea*, ConvLit 25, 1, 1891, p. 36, 38.

⁶⁸ Cf. Д. ИВАНОВА, *Търговищкото...*, p. 46, note 6–7; ЕАДЕМ, *Печатните български книги от XVI век и старата ръкописна традиция*, ТКШ 6, 1999, p. 295–311.

⁶⁹ Cf. E. PETROVICI, *Observații...*, p. 14.

⁷⁰ The forms in -ж/ѡж (cf. согона согонж and Внѡфѡнѡж) also prevail in the *variae lectiones* of the most ancient Church Slavonic tradition of the Gospel of Matthew. Cf. *Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции*, А.А. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, А.А. ПИЧХАДЗЕ et al., Санкт-Петербург 2005, p. 67, 110.

and uses of Slavonic but, above all, common to Slavonic and emerging vernaculars (Slavic and naturally Rumanian).

The Rumanian text of the SRT contains a significant number of erudite Slavonisms, which cannot be found either in the Slavonic parallel text of the SRT, the SST, the Trg, or in the oldest Church Slavonic tradition of the Gospel of Matthew (with the exception of a handful of versions from the Eastern-Slavonic area, cf. EMST). These are crude or little acclimated loans, ascribable not only to ecclesiastical (if not properly biblical)⁷⁶ lexicon but also to the chancery one or to both⁷⁷. The most characterizing are common Slavonisms – in some cases, rather words from Slavic vernaculars – with an equally low level of Rumanian acclimation, whose origins are yet to be studied in detail⁷⁸.

See the list of salient cases, with a description of influences (Slavic and non-Slavic) that they might have been exposed to and a comparison to the most relevant versions of the Gospel of Matthew, provided below⁷⁹:

1. ПЛАГЪ *taĭag* ‘stick’ 27^v *hap.* – Mt 10, 10

SRT-Sl, CST ЖЕЗЛЪ; EMST ЖЪЗЛЪ; CRT ПЛАГЪ; Sept *Stecken*; Ment *Rûte*; Ol *holi*; etym.: Ch. Sl. ПЛАГА, -Ъ – cf. Bg. *тояз(a)*⁸⁰;

It is clearly a Bulgarism – of even Proto-Bulgarian origins – but with a certain literary tradition in Church Slavonic sources also of Eastern-Slavonic redaction. It displays a peculiar case of *akan’e* (*o > a*) maybe Ruthenian, Russian or dialectal Bulgarian (in Bulgarian, this phenomenon is limited to the most conservative dialects, such as dialect of Rodopi or of Şchei in Transylvania)⁸¹.

⁷⁶ Cf. АЗИМА ‘azzimo’ – (parallel Slavonic text) ОПРЪСЕНЪКЪ; ВЛЪДНИКЪ, ПИСКЪПЪ, МИТРОПОЛИТЬ ‘high priest’ – АРХІЕРЕЙ; ДЪХОВНИКЪ ‘Pharisee’ – ФАРИСЕЙ; ДВЕРЪ ‘door (veil of the temple)’ – ОПОНА; ПРЪСТОЛЬ ‘altar, throne’ – АЛТАРЪ; СПЪСЕНІЕ ‘sweet, gentle (used as an adj.)’ – БЛАГО.

⁷⁷ Cf. ЧІНЪ ‘order, kind’ – ПЪЛЪ; ДАЖДЕ ‘duty’ – КИНОСЪ; СЛОВА ‘letter’ – ПУТА; ТИТА ‘sign’ – ЧРЪТА; ВАТАХЪ ‘dignitary, bailiff (centurion)’ – СЪТНИКЪ; СЪКЪМЪ, СЪБОРЪ (СЪБОРЕЛЪ) ‘synagogue, sanhedrim’ – СЪНЛИЦЕ, СЪНИЦЪ.

⁷⁸ Cf. Г.П. КЛЕПИКОВА, *Наблюдения над лексикой румынских переводов славяно-румынских текстов конфессионального характера (XVI–XVII вв.)*, [in:] *Folia Slavistica Рале Михайловне Цейтлин*, ed. А.Ф. ЖУРАВЛЕВ, Москва 2000, p. 59–60.

⁷⁹ In addition to the Slavonic parallel text (SRT-sl), the Rumanian SRT text will be compared to other 8 versions of the Gospel of Matthew, 3 of which have never been mentioned sofar: Paleoslavonic tradition of the Gospel of Matthew, *Septembertestament* of Luther (1522), *Mentelin Bibel* (1466) and Czech *Olomoucká Bible* (1417). Cf. M. LUTHER, *Die Septembertestament. Das Neue Testament deutsch von Martin Luther*, Berlin 1883 (cetera: Sept); *Die erste deutsche Bibel*, vol. I, *Evangelien*, ed. W. KURRELMAYER, Tübingen 1904 (cetera: Ment); *Olomoucká Bible*, SVKOL M IIII/II (cetera: Ol). For the Greek and Latin text of the NT, cf. <https://www.academic-bible.com/en/home> [1 III 2019].

⁸⁰ Cf. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum. Emendatum Auctum*, Vindobonae 1862–1865, p. 998; *Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae. Slovník Jazyka Staroslověnskeho*, vol. XLIII, Praha 1990, p. 479; Н. ГЕРОВЪ, *Ръчник на блъгарскый языкъ*, vol. V, Пловдивъ 1904, p. 349.

⁸¹ Cf. В.И. ГЕОРГИЕВ, *Русское аканье и его отношение к системе фонем праславянского языка*, ВЯ 12, 2, 1963, p. 26–27 (F. MIKLOSICH, *Die Sprache der Bulgaren in Siebenbürgen*, DKAW.PH 7, 1856, p. 23, 36).

etym.: Ch. Sl. **ГРѢВЪНА** – cf. Pol. *grzywna* and C. *grivna*, *hrzywna*⁸⁷;

Densusianu records it in the 16th century as «ancienne monnaie (marc)»⁸⁸. In Rumanian, **ГРІВЕНЪ** entered by means of Moldo-Slavonic, where it was firstly attested in 1408 (the first time in Wal-lacho-Slavonic not earlier than 1544)⁸⁹, but it derives from **ГРІВ(Ъ)НА** (**ГРІВНА**), that is Lithuano-Ruthenian and Russian Slavonic⁹⁰, if not directly from Polish or Czech vernacular (the Polish *grzywna* was the most familiar among Rumanians, especially in Moldavia)⁹¹.

5. **МЪЗКА** *măzca* ‘sap’ 97^R₁ *hap.* – Mt 24, 32

SRT-Sl, CST **ВѢКА**; EMST **ВѢКЪ**; CRT **СТЕБЛЕЛЕ** *steblele*; Sept *Tzweyg*; Ment *Afft*; Ol *vietew*;

etim.: Bulg. *мъза* (cf. Sl. eccl. **МѢЗГА**; r. *мъза*; Ser. *меза*[p]a; Pol. *miazga*) and Rum. *măzcă*⁹²;

It is the Bulgarian form of Ch. Sl. **МѢЗГА** ‘juice, sap’, with Saxon unvoicement of the velar (-g- > -k-). In the Rumanian text of the SRT, the word “branch” is missing (cf. GNT UBS₅ κλάδος, *Vulg ramos*). The sentence «when the branch [of the fig-tree] becomes tender» was curiously replaced in Rumanian by **КЪНДЪ ВА ФИ МЪЗКА ІНТИНІРЪЩЕ** «cândü va fi măzca întinireaşte» [when the sap will make it tender (the fig-tree)], which does not match neither with the Slavonic parallel text, nor with any other version of the Gospel of Matthew likely to have influenced the Rumanian version of the SRT⁹³. Only in Sept the branch of the fig-tree “becomes succulent” («wenn feyn

⁸⁷ Cf. *Словник Староукраїнської...*, vol. I, p. 262; *Гістарычны Слоўнік Беларускай...*, vol. VII, Минск 1986, p. 159; И.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Матералы для Словаря древне-русского языка по письменнымъ памятникамъ*, vol. I, С.-Петербургъ 1893, p. 590; F. SŁAWSKI, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, pars 4, Kraków 1955, p. 374–375; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. II.7, p. 517–520; *Vokabulár webový: grivna (hrzywna)* [14 I 2019].

⁸⁸ O. DENSUSIANU, *Opere*, vol. II, *Lingvistica: Histoire de la langue roumaine*, Bucureşti 1975 [1938], p. 809.

⁸⁹ Cf. G. BOLOCAN, *Dicţionarul elementelor româneşti din documentele slavoromâne, 1374–1600*, Bucureşti 1981, p. 98; *Dicţionarul Limbii Române*, vol. II.1, ed. S. PUŞCARIU, Bucureşti 1934, p. 314–315.

⁹⁰ Actually, the Sl. eccl. **ГРІВ(Ъ)НА** was attested from the beginning of the 11th century in sources of Russian-Kevian and Czech-Moravian redaction (the latter [i.e. Gregory the Great’s *XL Homiliae in Evangelia*] were originated in the Bohemian area, but are preserved in Russian copies from the 13th and 14th centuries, cf. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon...*, p. 143; *Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae...*, vol. VIII, Praha 1964, p. 434 and И.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Матералы...*, vol. I, p. 589–591).

⁹¹ Cf. A. MAREŞ, *Echivalările Talantului în textele româneşti din secolele al XVI-lea şi al XVII-lea*, LR 49, 3, 2000, p. 483–484.

⁹² Cf. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon...*, p. 123–124; *Български етимологичен речник*, vol. IV, ed. В.И. ГЕОРГИЕВ, София 1995, p. 379; *Dicţionarul Limbii Române*, s.n., vol. XVII.6, Bucureşti 1968, p. 735–736.

⁹³ Compare the first Paleoslavonic redaction of Mt 24, 32 (**ЕГДА ОУЖЕ ВѢКЪ ЕЯ ВЪДЕТЬ МЛАДА**) with the Czech version of *Olomoucká Bible* («když již vietew jeho miekká»), the Hungarian version of the so-called *Huszita Biblia* (1425 ca.), copied in Moldavia in 1466 («mikor ő ága meggyermekdedőlend») and the Polish version of Murzynowski (1551), inspired by the Lutheran tradition («Gdy by już gałqz jéj zstała się młodociana»). The word “branch” is written in italics in every quotation. Cf. Ol, f. 182^{vb}₄₇; *A Münchener Kódex (1466). A négy Evangélium szövege és szótára [Huszita Biblia]*, ed. G. DÉCSI, T. SZABÓ, Békéscsaba 1985, p. 87; *Evangelia Svvieta pana Iesusa Christusa Vedle Mathæufza Svietego z Greeckiego Iezyka na Polski przelozona [przez S. Murzynowskiego]...*, w Krolewcu Prufkim 1551, f. 94^v₂₋₃.

tzweygt itzt fafftig wirt»)»⁹⁴. The Lutheran text remains, indeed, the only comparable to the Sibian as for the translation of Mt 24, 32⁹⁵.

6. ЛѢНОВНІА *lunovnia* о -іє, ‘epileptics, somnambulists (lunatics)’ 3^v₂₂ *hap.* – Mt 4, 24 SRT-SI ЛѢСАЧНЫЖ (SST, Trg [CST] ЛѢСАЧНЫА); EMST ЛѢСАЧНЫТА (Їуд лѢСТВЮЩАТА); CRT ДРЖНИЦИ ПРЕ ЛѢНИ *drăciți pre luni* ‘possessed at every new moon’; Sept, Ment *Monfuchtigen*; Ol *namiefiecznyki*;

etym.: Ch. Sl. ЛОУНОВНІИ? (ЛОУНОВНІА, ЛОУНАВІА) – cf. Ch. Sl. ЛОУН(СТВ)ОВАТИ СЯ ‘suffer from lunatism (somnambulism or epilepsy)’, ЛУНСТВЮЩИИ (ЛУНЮЩИИ СЯ) ‘lunatic, possessed, epileptic’, ЛОУНОВЕНІЮ ‘menses’; Pol. *lunatyk* ‘lunatic, epileptic’⁹⁶;

It’s clearly a calque after the Ch. Sl. ЛОУНОВНІА, the pl. acc. of an adj. ЛОУНОВНІИ and pronominal form of ЛОУНОВНІА (Rum. **lunovni*). Interestingly, the Sibian revision seems to have overlooked this word, though it’s perfectly Slavic: 1. The suffix -іА -іє for Rumanian m. pl. acc. suggests a typographical error, though it is but a slight adjustment of the Church Slavonic adjectival suffix (with ТА > і); 2. The suffix -ОВНІА, among the most productive in Slavonic, is rare in Ancient Rumanian (we only find it in the adj. СЛОНОВНІА *slonovni* ‘ivory’ < СЛОНОВНІА, an “exotic” Slavonism, in the late 16th century)⁹⁷; 3. The same stem *luna-* is, in fact, no less Slavic than Latin⁹⁸. In the

⁹⁴ Sept, p. 20 (cf. also *Biblia: das ist die gantze Heilige Schrift Deusch auffz New zugericht*. D. Mart. Luth... Gedrückt zu Wittenberg: Hans Luftt, 1541 [cetera: Lut]), f. 259^v₄₃.

⁹⁵ Luther’s Bible registers an adj. *saftig* only in Mt 24, 32, the corresponding noun *Saft* ‘sap (vital = lymph [also fig.])’ in different settings and, especially, in Lc 8, 6 (in the *Parable of a sower* [cf. Mt 13, 5]: *und ettlichs [famen] fiel auff den fels und da es aufgieng verdorret es darumb das nicht safft hatte...*). *Saft* appears, however, more often in the sermons of Luther and, above all, in the locution *Saft und Kraft* ‘*quinta essentia* (fünfte Wesen)’, where the fig-tree is explicitly identified with the Holy Scriptures made fruitful thanks to the incarnation of the Word. Cf. M. LUTHER, *Saemmtliche Werke*, vol. X, *Kirchenpostille*, ed. G. PLOCHMANN, Erlangen 1827, p. 78; DWB: <http://www.woerterbuch-netz.de/DWB?lemma=saft> [25 II 2019]; Sept, p. 42 (Lut, f. 231^r₁₆).

⁹⁶ Cf. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon...*, p. 344; П.Д. ФИЛКОВА, *Староболгаризмы и церковнославянизмы в лексике русского литературного языка. Учебный словарь*, vol. II, София 1986, p. 591 and *Словарь русского языка...*, vol. VIII, Москва 1981, p. 306; IBL *Słownik Polszczyzny XVI wieku: lunatyk*, https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/62_455 [20 I 2019]; about the Czech tradition, <http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz/hledani.aspx> [28 II 2019].

⁹⁷ More specifically, СЛОНОВНИАОР *slonovnilor* [made of ivory], in several versions of Sal 44, 9. Cf. *Psaltirea Șcheiană comparată cu celelalte psaltiri din sec. XVI și XVII traduse din slavonește*, vol. II, *Textul și glosarele*, ed. I.-A. CANDREA, București 1916, p. 87; O. DENSUSIANU, *Opere*, vol. II..., p. 826 (the suff. -ОВНІА is attested at least 22 times in the Paleoslavonic canon, cf. Z. RIBAROVA, *Indexy k staroslověnskému slovníku*, Praha 2003, p. 168).

⁹⁸ It is believed that Sl. **luná-* and Lat. *luna-* (proto-it. **louksnā-*) are independent outcomes of the proto- i.e. **louk-s-neh*₂ ‘luminous, resplendent’. Naturally, that does not affect the possibility of a reciprocal influence between the outcomes of the two stems in contact areas. Cf. H. MIHĂESCU, *La romanité dans le Sud-Est de l’Europe*, București 1993, p. 451–453; *Этимологический словарь славянских языков. Праславянский лексический фонд*, ed. О.П. ТРУБАЧЕВ, vol. XVI, Москва 1990, p. 173–174; M. DE VAAN, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 352; R. DERKSEN, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexi-*

Coresian *corpus*, a popular belief that associated epilepsy with lunatism led to various terminological outcomes, but no exact equivalent of “lunatic”⁹⁹. The only relatable word in Rumanian seems to be *lunovniē* until the second quarter of the 17th century, when *лѣнави lunavi* and *лѣнатечи lunateci* appeared in ecclesiastical sources¹⁰⁰. Unlike **lunovnŭ*, *lunav* and *lunatec* already were Rumanian, at least virtually: 1. since they already used suffixes which were productive in Ancient Rumanian¹⁰¹; 2. *lunatec* is considered to be an inherited Latinism (cf. *zānatec* < lat. *dianaticus* ‘insane [due to the influence of Diana i.e. of the Moon]’, therefore ‘possessed, enchanted by a *zānă*’, cf. Rum. *zānă* ‘fairy’ < Lat. *Diana*)¹⁰². It’s a fact that *lunav* and *lunatec* are attested in Rumanian only after *лѣнавѣтъ* and *лѣнатѣкъ* (cf. also *лю-*) are in late Church Slavonic, respectively of southern and eastern redaction¹⁰³. Emblematic is the case of *lunatec*, which will enter the literary Rumanian language at its early stage thanks to the influence of educated Latin¹⁰⁴, directly or via Ruthenian¹⁰⁵ and/or Polish¹⁰⁶. We can suppose that about a century before, **lunovnŭ* had been

con, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 291 (about the influence of other similar suffixes in the Slavic area, cf. also Л.В. КУРКИНА, *Славянские этимологии* (**luna, *lun’a, *setьnъjъ и *sotiti, *storьnъkъ, *telm-, *tolm-, *tълm-, *trek-, *trok-, *trak-, *tronъka, *zрbъlv*), [in:] *Этимология* 1983, ed. О.Н. ТРУБАЧЕВ, Москва 1985, p. 20–21).

⁹⁹ It is not irrelevant that the CRT restricts the meaning of “lunatic” to “possessed” (cf. *држчици прѣ лѣни drăciți pre luni*). Coresi’s *Cazanie II* (1581) – an homiletic text – renders, by apparently current Old Rumanian words, as “lunaticism” (*лѣниѣ lunie, боалж дѣл лѣнж boală den lună* ‘moon sickness’) as the verb “to suffer from...” (сѣ лѣнѣще *se luneaște, сѣ лѣниа se luniia*, 3rd sg. ind. pres. and impf., vb. *a se luni* ‘to suffer from lunatism’; лѣнж нолж држчѣще *l[n] lună noaj drăceaște* 3rd sg. ind. pres., vb. *a drăci în lună nouă* ‘to display possession at the new moon’). Cf. CRT, p. 43 [f. 6^v]; *Carte cu învățătură* (1581), vol. I, *Textu*, ed. S. PUȘCARIU, A. PROCOVICI, București 1914, p. 271, 273–276 (CR XVI V 1 BNR, ff. 69^r–71^r).

¹⁰⁰ Respectively, *Lunav* in Metropolitan Varlaam’s *Cazanie* (1643) and *lunatec* in the *Nou Testament de la Bălgrad* (1648). Cf. VARLAAM, *Cazanie 1643*, ed. J. ВУСК, București 1966, p. 153 (CR-XVII-V-2 BNR, f. 220^r); *Noul Testament sau Înpăcarea, sau Leagea Noao a lui Iisus Hristos...*, Bălgrad [Alba Iulia] 1648 (cetera: NTB), f. 6^r₂₈.

¹⁰¹ Not only does *-atec* < Lat. *-aticus* belong to the oldest Latin base (with [ĕ] < [ī]), but *-av* < Psl. *-авѣтъ* – being also attested in Arumanian – can be dated back before the early 12th century. Cf. G. PASCU, *Sufixele românești*, București 1916, p. 99–103, 281–292.

¹⁰² Cf. H. MIHĂESCU, *La romanité...*, p. 178, 451 (B.-P. HAȘDEU, *Eymologicum magnum Romanic*, vol. I.2, Bucuresci 1887, p. 2046–2049).

¹⁰³ In fact, Ch. Sl. *лѣнавѣтъ* is so late and scarcely attested – it was recorded only by Miklošič, in Serbian 16th century sources – that we can realistically suppose it reflected in Varlaam an older Southern-Slavonic and Rumanian use.

¹⁰⁴ From the NTB to the *Biblie de la Blaj* (1795), through the *Biblie de la București* (1688) and Antim Ivireanu’s *Nou Testament* (1703), all Rumanian versions of Mt 4, 24 – originally based on the *Vulgata* – contain *lunateci*. Cf. *Biblia adecă Dumnezeiasca Scriptură...*, București 1688, p. 753; *Noul Testament acum î(n)tâi tipărit...*, București 1703, f. 3^v; *Biblia adecă Dumnezeiasca Scriptură...*, Blaj 1795, p. 4^B₄₄.

¹⁰⁵ Mavvo Berinda (1627) translated the Ch. Sl. *лѣнатѣцѣи сѣ* with Rut. *люнатѣкъ*, which Mardarie Cozianul (1649) translated in turn with Rum. *лѣнатекъ*. Cf. П. БЕРИНДА, *Лексіконъ славенороскѣи и именъ Тълкованіе*, Київ 1961, p. 59; MARDARIE COZIANUL, *Lexicon slavo-românesc și tâlcuirea numelor din 1649*, ed. G. СРЕȚУ, Bucuresci 1900, p. 167.

¹⁰⁶ Pol. *lunatyk*, attested since 1528, appears in the first versions of the Gospel of Matthew – translated and printed by two Lutherans, Murzynowski and Jan Seklucjan (1551 and 1553) – and in 9 out of 10 Polish versions appeared between 1551 and 1599 (only in the Calvinist version of the *Biblia Brzeska*

considered an erudite approximation to the terms in use for “lunatic (epileptic)”. Nonetheless, it was such an unusual Slavonism that who had translated and revised the Rumanian text of the SRT inflected it, mechanically, as it was Slavonic¹⁰⁷. The reasons of this choice could be two: 1. more vernacular alternatives such as *drăciți* (*pre luni*) or *zănateci* would have caused a redundancy with *цѣнѣцъ дѣ драчь țenuți de draci* (cf. *вѣсныж* ‘possessed, seized by demons’), which preceded *lunovniie* in the same list of infirms¹⁰⁸; 2. *lunateci* was likely to sound too “Latin” (i.e. Western Christian), attracting on the text suspicions of heterodoxy (whence the choice of this uncommon but formerly “Slavonizing” translation).

The Slav(on)isms found in the Rumanian text of the SRT seem to reflect an area of transition and overlapping between the diverse *Slavias* as well as between *Slavia* and *România* (the crossing of all the mentioned influences being the most original trait of what – reducing in scale, and using very *lato sensu*, the key-concept of *Slavia orthodoxa* – we can call *Slavia valachica* [i.e. *Rumanian Slavia*]).

The Old Rumanian of the SRT reflects, however, another boundary, apparently not less labile of the geographical one and wholly internal to *Slavia Orthodoxa*, between two different spheres of use of the Slavonic language: the one cultivated, only primarily ecclesiastical and strongly ingrained in the Euthymian tradition, the other semi-cultivated, more immediately linked to the practical uses (chancery, private, but also literary-popular) and open, therefore, to a κοινή of vernacular languages which varied, partially, according to the zone (Dobrev¹⁰⁹ compared this difference to that between *sanscrit* and *pracrits*, and assigned the Slavonics in use in the Peri-Danubian and Transylvanian areas a paradigmatic role).

Evidently, a “multiple boundary” which crosses the SRT unites the two texts, Slavonic and Rumanian, rather than divides them, fixing them – not only metaphorically, as a whole – to an extraordinary crossroad of different epochs and influences.

[1556] *miesięcznik* appears). At the end of the 16th century, Jakub Wujek’s Catholic version (1593 and 1599) still glossed *lunatyki* with *miesięczniki*, in the translation of Mt 4, 24 («lunátykowie fa co káduk miewáia» [lunatics are those who suffer from falling sickness]). Cf. Polish versions of the Gospel at <https://ewangelie.uw.edu.pl/teksty?y=all&g=1&c=4&v=24> [29 I 2019]; the note in *Nowy Testament Pana Naszego Jesusa Chrystusa Znowu z łacińskiego y z greckiego na polskie wiernie i szczyrze przelożony... przez D. Jakuba Wuyka*, Kraków 1593, p. 15 and 1599, p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ Realistically, *лѣновнїѧ lunovniie* presupposes a nominative form **лѣновнїи lunovniī*, an adjustment to the Middle Bulgarian spelling of the literary *лѣновнѣи*. It can be assumed that the Rumanian pl. acc. *лѣновнѣи* (и) or *лѣновнѣи* (и) *lunovniī* may have been confused with the homonymous and virtually homophone sg. acc. pronominal Slavonic form, wrongly amended by the Sibian revisor, since the sentence required the pl. -ѣи/-їѧ.

¹⁰⁸ It is worth noticing that in the CRT it does not occur, because the sentence was translated in a different way: «și aduseră lui toți bolnavii de toate boale și de chinure ținuți și *drăciți pre luni...*» (cf. SRT-Rum: «șă aducea lui toți bolnavi în multe chipure bôlele șă cu chinure țenuți de draci șă *lunovniie...*» [и прѣведошъ еишъ вѣса болѣцажъ различниимъ не<д>жгы и стѣрѣлни одрѣ<жи>нижъ и вѣсныжъ и <мѣ>сачныжъ]).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. I. DOBREV, *XIV век – Класицизмъ или пракрити?*, [in:] *Преводи през XIV столетие на Балканите. Доклади от международната конференция. София, 26–28 юни 2003*, ed. Л. ТАСЕВА et al., София 2004, p. 17–19.

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Abstract. At least from the 14th to the 17th c. – beyond their Middle Ages until their Early Modern Ages – the Rumanians belonged to the so-called *Slavia Orthodoxa*. Besides the Orthodox faith, they had in common with the Orthodox Slavs the Cyrillic alphabet until the 19th c. and the Church Slavonic, which was the language of the Church, of the Chancery and of the written culture, until the 17th c., although with an increasing competition of the Rumanian *volgare*. The crisis and decline of the Rumanian Slavonism, the rise of the local vernacular, have been related with Heterodox influences penetrated in Banat and Transylvania. Actually, the first Rumanian translations of the Holy Scriptures, in the 16th c., were promoted, if not confessionally inspired, by the Lutheran Reformation recently transplanted in Banat and Transylvania (some scholars incline to a [widely] Hussite origin of these early translations). Not only Banat and Transylvania, but also Moldavia and Wallachia (the Principalities) were crossed by the border between the Latin and the Byzantino-Slavonic world, the *Slavia* and the *România*. Influences from the whole *Slavia* – the *Orthodox* and the *Latin Slavia*, the *Southern*, the *Eastern* and the *Western* one – met in the Carpatho-Danubian Space describing what will be derogatively called *Slavia Valachica* (i.e. Rumanian): a kaleidoscope of Slavic influences in Romance milieu. The appearance of Slavo-Rumanian texts, either with alternate or parallel Church Slavonic and Rumanian, revealed that in the middle of the 16th c. the decline of Slavonism had already started. Mostly but not only in the western regions, beyond the Carpathians, which were under Latin rule, the Orthodox (“Schismatic”) clergy was less and less confident with the Slavonic. This last still remained the sacred language though largely unintelligible, whilst the vernacular still lacked sacred dignity, besides being suspect to spread Heterodoxy. The *Slavo-Rumanian Tetraevangelion of Sibiu* (1551–1553) is the oldest version of a biblical text in Slavonic and Rumanian and contains the oldest surviving printed text in Rumanian. Apart from evoking icastically – by its two-columns *a fronte* layout – the Slavic-Rumanian linguistic border, this fragment of a Four-Gospels Book (Mt 3, 17 – 27, 55) can be considered in many senses a border text: geographically (the border between East and West), chronologically (the decline of Slavonism and the rise of the Rumanian Vernacular), culturally and confessionally (the border between the Latin [i.e. Catholic then Protestant too] West and the Byzantino-Slavonic East). This paper aims to reconstruct, as far as possible, the complex milieu in which the *Tetraevangelion* was translated, (maybe) redacted and printed, focusing on the Slavonisms in its Rumanian text. A special attention will be paid to any possible interaction between that mainly Latin (Lutheran-Saxon) milieu and the Rumanian Slavonism.

Keywords: Slavo-Rumanian, Sibiu, Lutheranism, Tetraevangelion, Gospel of Matthew, Filip Maler

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ON (QUASI-)GNOSTIC STRATEGIES FOR OVERCOMING COGNITIVE DISSONANCE. THE BULGARIAN CASE

For those who study Gnosis, it would be a truism to claim that in its most diverse forms Gnosticism can eliminate one of the most important and, at the same time, extremely taxing cognitive dissonances in monotheistic religions¹ – the contradiction between the professed goodness of God the Creator and his omnipotence on the one hand, and the persistent presence of evil on the other. These aporias, unknown to polytheism, are set in the context of the fundamental ontological principle of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, namely the idea of an ethical and omnipotent Creator². On the existential level, it is at odds with the human experience of suffering, which brings additional anguish to the mind that seeks a solution in rationalizations, sometimes only apparent, in hope of finding sense there. Some find solace in theodicy, others in the rejection of faith, while others still turn towards various variants of heterodoxy, carrying the promise of cognitive consonance³. However, there are not many possible combinations of religious ideas in the space of European cultures. In his book *The Symbolism of Evil* (*La Symbolique du Mal*, 1967, English translation 1969), Paul Ricoeur derives three types of symbolism from the vast material of Greek and Middle Eastern beliefs (still sense-making in Western theologies and anthropologies): the most archaic “tragic” vision (concerning the indistinguishability of the divine and demonic elements), “Adamic” (with its vision of an ethical God, symbols of the fall, the penitential rite and the concept of justification) and dualistic (with anthropological dualism, the symbolism of the exiled soul and the concept of self-redemption through cognition). According to Ricoeur, these models do not appear in pure form in the

¹ I use this term in the sense given to it by L. FESTINGER in his book *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Stanford 1957.

² L. DUPRÉ, *The Other Dimension. A Search for the Meaning of Religious Attitudes*, Garden City 1972, p. 334–352.

³ From an individual perspective, the spectacular record of this process of negotiating meanings was given by Carlo GINZBURG in his book *Il formaggio e i vermi* (Torino 1976, English title: *The Cheese and the Worms*, 1980).

human religious imagination, and archaic symbols derived from ancient imagery are mutually correlated in a constant “cycle of the myths”, where a tragic vision is always something possible, where every crisis triggers temptation to openly or secretly revitalize archaic theogony (for example in its Greek or Babylonian version). As Ricoeur argues, the “Adamic” myth of the fall needs the other two, so that the ethical God it presupposes may continue to be a ‘Deus absconditus’ and so that the guilty man it denounces may also appear as the victim of a mystery of iniquity which makes him deserving of Pity as well as of wrath⁴.

Following in the footsteps of Walter Benjamin, who regarded the “dwarf of theology” as a hidden moderator of every (seemingly rational) discourse⁵, one can use an even more far-reaching visualization of the phenomena described by Ricoeur and put forward a hypothesis that “under the table” of each of the theologies “dwarfs” of other “theologies” can also be hiding, in the case in question – of (quasi-)Gnostic theologies. Contemporary postsecular thought has already done much both to uncover the religious basis in the writing of individual authors and in seemingly non-religious ideological and philosophical paradigms, often unaware of their own genealogy⁶. However, I would like to start my further reflection with a piece by the German researcher of political and pedagogical theories, Micha Brumlik, entitled *Die Gnostiker. Der Traum von der Selbsterlösung des Menschen* (1992). The author’s aim in this treatise is, as he himself says, “therapeutic”:

I am interested in examining whether we can confirm the assumption that turning away from the reality of this world and seeking redemption in another world with all the determination through higher knowledge, even when, or rather precisely when this very search results from a fundamental criticism of power and law, with some strange necessity turns into even harder power and violence. Starting with the anti-Jewish and nationalist philosopher J.G. Fichte, through the anti-Semitic opera composer Richard Wagner, to the depth

⁴ P. RICOEUR, *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. E. BUCHANAN, Boston 1969, p. 346.

⁵ *It is well-known that an automaton once existed, which was so constructed that it could counter any move of a chess-player with a counter-move, and thereby assure itself of victory in the match. A puppet in Turkish attire, water-pipe in mouth, sat before the chessboard, which rested on a broad table. Through a system of mirrors, the illusion was created that this table was transparent from all sides. In truth, a hunchbacked dwarf who was a master chess-player sat inside, controlling the hands of the puppet with strings. One can envision a corresponding object to this apparatus in philosophy. The puppet called “historical materialism” is always supposed to win. It can do this with no further ado against any opponent, so long as it employs the services of theology, which as everyone knows is small and ugly and must be kept out of sight*, W. BENJAMIN, *On the Concept of History*, New York 2009, p. 2.

⁶ There is a wealth of literature on the subject of Gnostic roots of many ideas that give a recognizable rhythm to particular literary currents, philosophies and ideologies in Western culture (see *The Experience of Faith in Slavic Cultures and Literatures in the Context of Postsecular Thought*, ed. E. DRZEWIECKA, D. SOSNOWSKA, Warszawa 2018). It is worth mentioning the classic works of E. VOEGELIN, L. KOŁAKOWSKI, J. TAUBES, G. AGAMBEN. An overview of the most important views in the field of political theology can be found for example in Merio SCATOLLA’s book *Teologia politica*, Bologna 2007.

psychologist G.C. Jung and philosopher Martin Heidegger, both eagerly embracing National Socialism, or even the political lawyer and thinker Carl Schmitt, who denied Gnosis but considered it true in the depths of his mind, we become witnesses time and again to the fact that the fruit born of harsh criticism of the fallen world is not love and gentleness, but, on the contrary, pure hatred.⁷

Brumlik exposes the Gnostic pattern in the reasoning of right-wing German-language philosophical and theological thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but also shows its presence in the representatives of left-wing and liberal thought. He reconstructs the intellectual processes that in Germany led to revitalization of such Gnostic strategies of self-redemption, which in specific authors are associated with the externalization of evil (and thus with the angelization of the “I” – one’s own community, worldview formation, etc.) and the establishment of the imperative to repair the world by “cleansing it” of strangers, of “servants of the evil god”, which in the public sphere took the form of anti-Semitism.

Brumlik’s position is the result of an analysis of culture understood not as a static palimpsest, but as a vibrant coexistence of modern and pre-modern rules of reasoning, which permeate the logic of great, albeit not infallible minds. The researcher poses an important question about the significance of the cultural context for the selection of specifically (quasi-)gnostic strategies for dealing with the problem of the presence of evil in the world. In its heterogeneity and associative-ness, colloquial thinking turns out to be the carrier of ideas that has a powerful culture-making potential⁸. In short: according to Brumlik, in the thinking of the aforementioned coryphes of German culture, the uprooted model of Gnostic dualism is correlated with the Gnostic aspects of Protestantism⁹ and socialism¹⁰. As a result of their meeting, the tendency to perceive the world in binary terms is strengthened; the alleged ontological dualism is pseudo-rationalized:

The history of gnosis so far leaves no doubt as to its anti-Jewish character, yet only a few of the ancient and medieval Gnostics marked themselves as enemies of the Jews. [...] Only

⁷ M. BRUMLIK, *Die Gnostiker. Der Traum von der Selbsterlösung des Menschen*, quote based on the Polish edition, *Gnostycy. Marzenie o samobawieniu człowieka*, trans. Ś.F. NOWICKI, I. NOWICKA, Gdańsk 1999, p. 19–20.

⁸ In the 1930s, Ludwick FLECK wrote about achievements inspired by the folk concept of “bad blood” (*Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache. Einführung in die Lehre vom Denkstil und Denkkollektiv*, 1935, published in Polish as *Powstanie i rozwój faktu naukowego*, Warszawa 1986). Many years later Thomas KUHN developed this idea in his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago 1962).

⁹ M. Brumlik does not mention them all, but it could be about iconoclastic orientation, predestination, rejecting the concept of transubstantiation.

¹⁰ Eric VOEGELIN wrote most extensively about the Gnostic roots of socialism in his book *From Enlightenment to Revolution* (1975, Polish ed. *Od oświecenia do rewolucji*, Warszawa 2011), but this thought was also present in the works of many other philosophers and researchers of the history of ideas, including Leszek Kołakowski.

in combination with the modern **philosophy of free subjectivity**, which bears **the mark of Protestantism, and the early socialist themes of salvation** from the financial economy found in Fichte, Wagner, Jung and Heidegger, does the Gnostic legacy release its destructive power. In the idea of salvation through destruction, in the idea of the twilight of the gods, which condenses the powers of technology, intellect, law and money in the image of the Jew and then annihilates them, a program is formed that only needs a decisive savior to execute it literally.¹¹

In the twentieth century, marked by the experiences of the First and Second World Wars and, above all, the Holocaust, the fear of a repetition of the hecatomb gave rise to the need to reflect, among other things, on the sources of those mechanisms of reasoning which made it easier for ordinary people to accept violence, providing their own consciences with an appropriate alibi. The variant of the “archaeology” of the cultural sources of German anti-Semitism presented here can, of course, be considered partial and underpinned with anti-Protestant prejudice. Brumlik’s book is worth mentioning, however, as it inspires us to pose research questions also in relation to other source materials, e.g. national imaginaries built on the foundations of Roman Catholicism (and, for example Polish, Spanish, Slovak or Hungarian cultural language) or Orthodoxy (Romanian, Russian, Greek and others). Indeed, anywhere the multifunctional phantasm of “the Jew – the servant of the evil god” has been established, equally available to various (also mutually hostile) secular ideologies of “self-redemption” (Fascism, Communism, even diachronically understood liberalism). The Polish culture, which in one of its branches at the level of popular political thought uses fables blaming Jews for all the misfortunes that have befallen the Polish nation befall it in the future¹² (starting with accusations of ritual murder¹³, through the misdeeds of capitalists, communists, liberals, to representatives of “gender ideology” and LGBT), provides disgraceful examples in this respect. I think that in this context the reasoning of Brumlik and other trackers of the Gnostic origin of the figure of the “servant of the evil god” can be functional on the grounds of the so-called engaged humanities, which for the last two decades have seemed to be a kind of a swan song of a discipline eliminated from the world of increasingly conflicting worldviews.

The Gnostic division of people into three (pneumatics, psychics, hylics) and sometimes two (pneumatics, hylics) groups stemmed from the belief that the

¹¹ M. BRUMLIK, *Die Gnostiker...*, p. 298–299.

¹² *In Poland, anti-Semitism was traditionally the strongest in the west of the country, where there were few Jews and where the imbalance between Jews and non-Jews in various professions was much less pronounced. As we will see, the anti-Semitism promoted by National Democrats went beyond any rational economic postulates or specific problems and quickly turned into a chimeric hatred aimed at freeing Poland from the alleged ‘Jewish domination’*, P. BRYKCYŃSKI, *Gotowi na przemoc. Mord, antysemityzm i demokracja w międzywojennej Polsce*, Warszawa 2017, p. 12.

¹³ See J. TOKARSKA-BAKIR, *Legends o krwi. Antropologia przesądu*, Warszawa 2008. In reference to post-war Poland: EADEM, *Pod kłqtwą. Społeczny portret pogromu kieleckiego*, Warszawa 2018.

human soul was imprisoned in matter and only when liberated from this trap would it be possible for it to return to a true life of unity with God. Not all people, however, were predestined to do so. The pneumatics were considered ideal for this path, for the psychics there was a chance, provided they follow strict rules of asceticism, and the hylics were deprived of such an opportunity. As people of the earth, not possessing God's spirit, servants of mammon, they were a despised mob, "righteously" hated and condemned to nonexistence for eternity. As twentieth-century researchers interested in the quasi-Manichaean foundations of Marxism and Fascism argued, hylics could have had many incarnations...

The Bulgarian case – "Servants of the Evil God"

As we know, as far as modern functionalizations of Neognosticism are concerned, Bulgarian culture, which is the main focus of this text, seems a peculiar case in point. In the Middle Ages, many inhabitants of the Balkans went through a phase of Neognostic dualism that lasted for several centuries: in Bulgaria, under the name of "Bogomilism" from the tenth to – at least – the seventeenth century. And although historians are generally of the opinion that the Bogomil movement gradually ceased to exist, the young Bulgarian intelligentsia, on the wave of nineteenth century modernization, revived (not without the influence of foreign scholars and Protestant theologians) the social memory of that formation. Although Bulgarians entered modernity as followers of Orthodoxy, in the period when modern national consciousness was being formed, Bogomilism was introduced into the canon of national culture as a postulated element of tradition. In my paper *Bogomilism. The Afterlife of the "Bulgarian Heresy"* (Polish edition 2005, Bulgarian – 2010, English – 2017), to which this article is a *postscript* of a kind, I have analyzed such texts of nineteenth and twentieth century Bulgarian culture, in which Bogomilism was explicitly referred to and emphasized in such a way as to make it a probable forerunner of various ideas, important in the changing historical context. Such an anachronism was fostered by the vagueness of the image of Bogomilism, because the original Orthodox Slavic sources have not survived, nor, as I have mentioned, has it survived as a religious community until modern times. The system of beliefs was reconstructed by means of anti-heretical literature, apocrypha, Qatar documents and native folklore. With time, playing the Bogomilism card has become an element of social strategies of negotiating political and philosophical meanings. As a result, over the last two centuries, progressively oriented authors have interpreted Bogomilism as a precursor of Reformation and Enlightenment, anti-feudal movements, Western rationalism, humanism, freemasonry, socialism, folk democracy, agrarianism, liberalism, syncretic spirituality of the New Age, or even feminism. These trends of ideological or religious persuasion permeated the literature, painting, journalism, scholarly and quasi-scholarly texts, school textbooks, etc. In carefully selected staffage, Bogomilism has become a tool for the strategy

of adapting Bulgarian culture to Western civilization. What is new and foreign was presented as familiar and old, well rooted in the past, because it was attributed to the commonly accepted “heretical” identity of Bulgaria. As a result, the ideas of Western civilization associated with modernization were presented as embedded in the native history, and medieval Bulgaria could thus become their mother country, which, of course, increased the prestige of the native tradition not only in its own eyes¹⁴.

In the various concepts of Bulgarian religious missionism (esoteric – para-Gnostic, Orthodox) and the Enlightenment (rational) one, texts proclaiming the precursors of the Bogomils annihilated their alleged primordial ontological dualism¹⁵. This fact says as much about the adaptability of Bulgarian culture as it does about the axiological orientations of modernity. It carried a powerful soteriological impulse (mainly in the form of the idea of progress¹⁶). By committing a kind of “betrayal” of the suspicion – fundamental for Neognosticism – of the material world, carnality, everything mundane, Bulgarian culture probably defended itself against Manichaean nihilism this way. And only some writers of the interwar right wing milieu rejected this tendency, blaming Bogomilism for the Bulgarians’ hostility towards the state and, as a result, for “national disasters”¹⁷. Meanwhile, representatives of ideologies oriented towards civilizational progress (liberalism, socialism, communism, agrarianism) or those interested in “spiritual” progress (White Brotherhood, New Age) usually ignored the consequences of the negative attitude of Bogomils towards the material world (e.g. food and sexual asceticism, rejection of power, wealth), and above all rejected their skepticism about the chance to heal the reality¹⁸. The image of matter as the domain of Evil was at odds with the repair projects based on the affirmation of the mundane world. That is why in place of the Gnostic pessimism, asceticism and contempt for the people of “the earth” (*hylics* identified with power and wealth) Bogomils were attributed the faith in progress in history, vitality, and humanism.

¹⁴ In Poland, this role (although to a much lesser degree) is played by Zbigniew OGONOWSKI’s book *Socynianizm. Dzieje, poglądy, oddziaływanie* (Warszawa 2015), which corresponds to the achievements of historians of ideas raising the significance of Arianism for the so-called radical wing of the European Enlightenment (see J. ISRAEL, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750*, Oxford 2002).

¹⁵ G. SZWAT-GYŁYBOWA, *Haeresis bulgarica w bułgarskiej świadomości kulturowej XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 2005, p. 290–297.

¹⁶ See J. TAUBES, *Apokalipsa i polityka. Eseje mesjańskie*, Warszawa 2013. For Bulgarian culture, see G. SZWAT-GYŁYBOWA, *Playing Catch up: The Notion of Needing to Accelerate a Country’s Progress Towards a Civilised Paradise – The Bulgarian Version*, *SMer* 14, 2014, p. 310–328.

¹⁷ A good example are the historical essays by Petyr Mutafchiev.

¹⁸ G. Quispel emphasized the indifference to ethics as a fundamental characteristic of Gnosticism and interpreted it as a result of the disgust of Gnostics towards the cosmic and moral law granted by Demiurge, which he perceived as a *very sensitive gap in Gnosis, which cannot be filled either by hatred for the world or by libertinism*. See G. QUISPEL, *Gnoza*, Warszawa 1988, p. 79.

Thus, the Gnostic tradition, alienated from itself, equipped with unusual attributes and translated into the system of concepts of the new universe, became an element of the invented tradition. Especially in the twentieth century, it suggested a solution to the problem of confessional affiliation, providing arguments for valuing heterodoxy, which was undertaken by many talented Bulgarian writers (such as Emilian Stanev, Blaga Dimitrova, Anton Donchev or Stefan Tsanev). They did not create a monolithic vision of *haeresis bulgarica*, but the common denominator in their case was the perception of historical Bogomilism as a culturally significant attempt to deal with the common cognitive dissonance resulting from the presence of evil in the world. Heroes of their books usually defined evil as material poverty, abuse of power, violence, lies, etc., and did not avoid depreciating “servants of the evil God”. In modern Bulgarian literature, depending on their intentions, they could be rich, members of the clergy, capitalists, Bulgarian intelligentsia, kulaks, fascists, communists, anti-communists, plebs, state security service officers, but also Greeks, Turks, Latin Americans, etc.

It is a paradox that although the propaganda of the Bulgarian nationalists of the interwar era oscillated around the chimera of the “Jewish threat” and the state introduced anti-Semitic laws, until the end of the twentieth century such a figure of a “Jew” was not established, either in Bulgarian literature or in the collective imagination (including its allegory, sanctioned on the grounds of anti-Semitism – namely that of Judas¹⁹), which could become a link that would integrate the order of thought dominating the current of the Bulgarian national imagined community.

The Bulgarian case. *Judeophobia* or anti-semitism?

In the nineteenth century, nation-building processes forced a situationally conditioned distribution of accents; in the political game it was first a matter of appreciating the language and literature as a national treasure (in this case it involved convincing the people), then the autonomy of the Orthodox Church (here the Greeks were denigrated), and then independence (here the “Turkish oppressor” was demonized). In the then ethnocultural mosaic of the Ottoman Empire dominated by Bulgarians, the Jews, as a minority, did not play any major role²⁰. This did not mean the absence of religious, ethnic, economic or political antagonisms. In the deepest layers of Bulgarian folklore, which until the nineteenth century was often the only source of social and moral norms for the overwhelming majority²¹,

¹⁹ E. DRZEWIECKA, *Herezja Judasza w kulturze (ponowoczesnej). Studium przypadku*, Kraków 2016.

²⁰ С. РАЙЧЕВСКИ, *Българи и евреи през вековете*, София 2008. An extensive thematic bibliography has been collected in the volume: *Евреите по българските земи. Анотирана библиография*, ed. Ж. ЕСКЕНАЗИ, А. КРИСПИН, София 2002.

²¹ Т. ДАВЕК-ВИРГОВА, *О antynomii suoi – obcy z perspektywy bułgarskiej*, [in:] *Kategorie peryferii i centrum w kształtowaniu się kultur narodowych*, ed. Т. ДАВЕК-ВИРГОВА, J. WIERZBICKI, Warszawa 1986.

researchers found negatively charged themes of the “yellow Jew” accused of usury, betrayal of Christians, bodily impurity, etc.²² The question about the origin of anti-Jewish stereotypes remains open. We should probably take into account a multiple sources and a migration of themes. The image is made more complex by the fact that the Jewish community in those areas was neither numerous nor homogeneous and consisted of autochthons (the so-called Roman Jews), Sephardic Jews – refugees from the Iberian Peninsula and Ashkenazi Jews, who settled there only in the nineteenth or even twentieth century²³. The five-hundred-year Ottoman rule, when this religious group enjoyed a relatively high position in the empire as a people of the Book and Law living within its own *cemaat*, left behind a moderate economic *Judeophobia*²⁴. At the same time, the source of anti-Judaism was the Orthodox Church, which disseminated the image of the Mosaic religion as an unclean or even demonic faith, which was served, among other things, by stories about the ritual murders allegedly committed by Jews against Christian children²⁵. In modern Bulgarian studies, the Greek clergy is sometimes held responsible for spreading such rumors²⁶. After all, the image of a Jew feeding on the blood of innocents had appeared in the texts of culture before the Greek Megali Idea came to the fore; it can be found in many Orthodox Slavic manuscript collections of mixed content dated between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (including the writings of Neofit Bozveli)²⁷. In the nineteenth century, when new periodicals were becoming more and more widespread, the theme was reproduced in the press, but (which is worth noting) the Ottoman authorities usually repudiated such reports.

Many contemporary bring out the foreign origin of anti-Jewish superstitions and responsibility for their researchers inculturation by blaming nineteenth century Bulgarian emigrants, who brought with them their experiences and obsessions from Wallachia, Moldavia or Russia. For example, Rumen Genov formulates the idea that anti-Semitism was introduced to Bulgaria on the wave of modernization and (like everything else) had an imitative character²⁸. Petj Nedelev's classification of this phenomenon is similar, claiming that it has a European origin: *These typical examples of accusations of a 'ritual murder' are no different from the anti-Jewish phenomena, in Europe from where they were brought here*²⁹.

²² О. ТОДОРОВА, *Образът на “нечестивия евреин” в българската книжнина от XVIII – началото на XIX век и във фолклора*, ВФ 3, 1994, p. 10–21.

²³ П. НЕДЕЛЕВА, *Място и роля на еврейската общност в българските земи (от османско владичество до 30-те години на xx в.)*, ЮСНБУ 2, 2013, p. 33–58.

²⁴ О. ТОДОРОВА, *The Nineteenth-Century Bulgarians' Perception of the Jews*, ЕВ 1995.3–4, p. 40–41.

²⁵ О. ТОДОРОВА, *Евреите в българската словесност от началото на XIX век до Освобождението*, <http://www.librev.com/index.php/discussion-bulgaria-publisher/1759--ix->.

²⁶ П. НЕДЕЛЕВА, *Място и роля...*, p. 43.

²⁷ О. ТОДОРОВА, *Евреите в българската словесност...*

²⁸ Р. ГЕНОВ, *Дизраели, Еврейството и антисемитизмът в България*, <http://dialogueurope.org/uploads/JewsCol/Panel101.pdf>, p. 24.

²⁹ П. НЕДЕЛЕВА, *Място и роля...*, p. 49.

Biographies of many activists of the national rebirth era confirm this notion (at least in part); for example, the Russian-Romanian formation of the anarcho-socialist Christo Botev, who vented his hatred towards Jews – bankers and capitalists – in his journalism. We also cannot ignore the inspiration of Russian anti-Semitism in the writings of Lyuben Karavelov, who in a single text managed to demonstrate his admiration for the culture of everyday life of Balkan Jews and contempt for Sophia Jews (*Записки за България и Българите*)³⁰. The emotions documented in such articles seem to have had some background in social life. The years of the Russian-Turkish war (1877–1878) brought about a wave of pogroms in several cities in Bulgaria (including Kazanlak and Stara Zagora). The purpose of the bloody violence was to loot the goods. The riots usually began shortly before the Russian army entered the cities, and continued with the participation of soldiers' it was preceded by rumors of Jewish betrayal of the Bulgarian people and espionage for the benefit of the Turks³¹. However, the catalyst for nationwide anti-Jewish rhetorical raptures was the events that took place after the war, associated with the political activity of the British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. The abolition of the Treaty of San Stefano³² in favor of the solutions adopted by the Berlin Congress, which were less favorable to Bulgaria (1878), was interpreted by the Bulgarian elite as a result of the anti-Bulgarian policy advocated by Disraeli, whose Jewish descent became the basis for anti-Semitic narratives, not just in the press³³. At the time, the future coryphoe of Bulgarian literature, Ivan Vazov, employed harshest speech with no qualms – he did not spare the British official any insult (“бездушният жид”, „циничният”, “зверовит”, “лъжлив”) in the series of poems *Тъгите на България*, placing him among a plethora of villains. Vazov found relief in his conspiracy theory; such pseudo-rationalization helped him to deal with the cognitive dissonance caused by the change in public opinion's attitude towards Bulgaria. In several of his later texts he also returned to figure of the “treacherous Jew”, which was to become the key to the mythologized interpretation of Bulgarian history from

³⁰ This writer, unstable in his choices, drew inspiration from Russian sources in this regard. The Mercurean aspect of his ideological borrowings was revealed by Olga Todorova and Keta Mirchevana on the sidelines of the reconstruction of the biography of the British-Osman adventurer (who first served the Ottomans, and later Russians, among others), Friderick Millingen (a.k.a. Osman bey), whom Karavelov met. This important footnote to the history of ideas in the dynamic nineteenth century shows the simultaneity of the phenomena mentioned here, which does not rule out their seriousness, when the subject of action is a socially active intelligent, capable of using the tools of persuasion in the process of externalization of evil. See О. ТОДОРОВА, К. МИРЧЕВА, *Фамилията Милинген и българите през третата четвърт на XIX век*, <https://www.marginalia.bg/aktsent/familyata-milingen-i-balgarite-prez-tretata-chetvart-na-hih-vek/>.

³¹ В. RUSIN, *Ekscesy antyżydowskie na ziemiach bułgarskich Imperium Osmańskiego w czasie wojny rosyjsko-tureckiej 1877–1878*, <http://apcz.umk.pl/czasopisma/index.php/SDR/article/view/SDR.2016.1.01>.

³² И. ИЛЧЕВ, *Митът за Сан Стефанска България като “свещена крава” на българския национализъм*, <http://www.segabg.com/online/new/articlenew.asp?issueid=1486&xsectionid=8&id=00003/>.

³³ Р. ГЕНОВ, *Дизраели, Еврейството...*, p. 24–29.

the Middle Ages to the present day. In the novel *Иван Александър* (1907) and the historical drama *Към пропагандата* (1909) Vazov made Sara – the Jewish wife of Tsar Ivan Alexander – guilty of the scheme that brought about the fall of the second Bulgarian Empire and, as a result, the Ottoman captivity. Although this concept is not well established in the collective consciousness of Bulgarians as a self-reproductive and credible model for the interpretation of history, the writings of Vasov (a Russophile, liberal and Anti-Semite) contributed to the rise in the temperature of anti-Jewish sentiments, not just among the intelligentsia.

Meanwhile, in the non-textual reality, in several ethnically mixed Bulgarian cities (Pazardzhik, Vratsa, Lom, Kyustendil) in 1884–1904 there were trials held for Jews accused of ritual murder³⁴. The turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the appearance of anti-Semitic brochures by Krum Mitakov (e.g. *България за Българите*); his clumsy ideas were continued in the rhetoric of the interwar era, primarily in the propaganda of the far right (including the organization Ратник), but also in the “philosophical” racist thought fueled by eugenic ideas³⁵. Nationalist, para-fascist and fascist formations that were developing at that time enjoyed the support of the state, which implemented pro-German policy. The legislative act that sanctioned open state anti-Semitism was the Law on the Protection of the Nation (Закон за защита на нацията), which came into force in January 1941 (обн., ДВ, бр. 16 от 23.01.1941 г.), where the second chapter was devoted to the restrictive “regulation” of the situation of Jews in Bulgaria³⁶. Although by 1943 the Bulgarian Parliament adopted seven more anti-Jewish laws³⁷, the planned transports of Bulgarian Jews to death camps stopped in 1943³⁸. In Bulgarian historiography, for many decades this has been the crowning argument for the notion that Bulgaria is unique as a country without any anti-Semitism, except maybe for something that could at the most be seen as an insignificant marginal peculiarity. As the research on the Holocaust progressed, this auspicious image was blurred

³⁴ V. ТАМИР, *Bulgaria and Her Jews. The History of a Dubious Symbiosis*, New York 1979, p. 118.

³⁵ The talented Bulgarian poet, a Germanophile and a Germanophobe in one, and at the same time an epigone of Modernism, Kiril Christov on the wave of racist theories and eugenics created his own concept of races in the 1920s. In his treatise *От нация към раса* (1929), he placed the multiethnic origins of the Bulgarian nation higher than the Jewish racial purity. In constructing pseudo-scientific certainties, he interpreted the latter as a source of degeneration of Jews deprived of their life force and effeminate, and praised the native blood mixture as conducive to physical vigor. К. ХРИСТОВ, *От нация към раса*, УП 8, 1929.

³⁶ Д. ТОКУШЕВ, *Антиеврейското законодателство и неговото преодоляване (1942–1945 г.)*, София 2010; П. НЕДЕЛЕВА, *Антиеврейското законодателство в България през Втората световна война*, София 2013; И. ГЕЗЕНКО, *Законодателната и изпълнителната власт в изграждането на антиеврейското законодателство 1940–1944 г....*, [in:] *Обречени и спасени. България вантисемитската програма на Третия райх. Изследвания и документи*, София 2007.

³⁷ З. КРЪСТЕВА, *Правни аспекти на държавната антиеврейска политика в Царство България (1940–1944 г.)*, Берлин 2018.

³⁸ *Оцеляването 1940–1944 (The Survival 1940–1944)*, ed. D. СОХЕН, Sofia 1995.

by the results of archival explorations, revealing, among other things, the fact that historians had long denied that the Bulgarian state was responsible for the deportation of Jews from the so-called occupied areas of Macedonia and Thrace³⁹.

The Bulgarian case – pneumatics without hylics?

In her collection of essays *Ти вярвай. Осем погледа върху Холокоста на Балканите* (2012) Lea Cohen points out that the author of the internationally held view of Bulgarians' uniqueness and their attitude towards Jews during World War II was Hannah Arendt. Since the publication of her work *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963) it has been very controversial; paradoxically, the Bulgarian voice now feeds into this critical current. When writing several pages about the situation of Jews in Bulgaria during World War II, Arendt used Raul Hilberg's book *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), but the point formulated by her was a kind of *memorate* based on the logic of association:

I know of no attempt to explain the conduct of the Bulgarian people, which is unique in the belt of mixed populations. But one is reminded of Georgi Dimitrov, a Bulgarian Communist who happened to be in Germany when the Nazis came to power, and whom they chose to accuse of the Reichstagsbrand, the mysterious fire in the Berlin Parliament of February 27, 1933. He was tried by the German Supreme Court; [...]. His conduct was such that it won him the admiration of the whole world, Germany not excluded. 'There is one man left in Germany,' people used to say, 'and he is a Bulgarian.'⁴⁰

In a historically mutable mode of appropriation of claims to merit for "Deliverance" (so-called in Bulgarian political historiography), Lea Cohen captured a significant sequence of shifts. Until the end of the so-called communist regime, the leading role (following Hannah Arendt's "recognition") was assigned to Bulgarian communists; in personal terms – to Todor Zhivkov. After 1989, the mantle of the chief defender of the Jews was taken by Tsar Boris III (in a way contrary to political logic and historical facts). Others also attempted to seize the temporarily vacant position for themselves, including even the White Brotherhood (Cohen does not even mention this), who tried to make Peter Dynov, founder of the occult school of Bulgarian Neognostics, a protector of the Jews. Finally, the turn came for the entire Bulgarian nation as the one who opposed the political intentions of the decision-makers and, through collective and individual acts of resistance, hindered their execution⁴¹. However, as Cohen observes, this glorification of the nation (essentialized on the model of the nineteenth century idea and, let us add, angelized in the Gnostic spirit as a community of "ideal" people) was accompanied

³⁹ *Депортирането на евреите от Вардарска Македония, Беломорска Тракия и Пирот. Март 1943 г.*, vol. I–II, ed. Н. ДАНОВА, Р. АВРАМОВ, София 2013.

⁴⁰ H. ARENDT, *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil*, London 2006, p. 186.

⁴¹ This is the direction of the selection of source materials in: *Оцеляването 1940–1944...*

by parallel rehabilitation of a number of historical figures in the background (such as, for example, Bogdan Filov or General Lukov) and organizations (such as the fascist Съюз на българските национални легиони, Ратник, Бранник), which were considered as “victims of communism”, condemned by the People’s Court for fighting left-wing totalitarianism and thus for defending native values. Thus, already in the 1990s, the Bulgarian society was offered a standard process of replacing the figures of villains (in Brumlik’s language: “servants of the evil god”, Gnostic *hylics*) and victims (respectively: pneumatics) as founding ideologues of the new reality, thereby instrumentalizing the case of Bulgarian Jews.

Today’s research on anti-Jewish activities of Bogdan Filov’s government from the introduction of the anti-Semitic Law on the Protection of the Nation in 1941 to the death of Boris III in 1943 reveals a more complex image than any of the political options that idealize the past would like to see. In his treatise “Спасение” и падение: Микроикономика на държавния антисемитизъм в България 1940–1944 г. (2012), Rumen Avramov called this phenomenon “state economic anti-Semitism”⁴², pointing to the organized, systemic nature of activities under the patronage of specific institutions and their heads, such as Alexander Belev (1900–1945) – anti-Semitic supporter of the extermination of Jews, co-founder of the fascist organization Ратник, legal counsel of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the main commissioner of the aforementioned Committee for Jewish Affairs and, above all, the decision-maker in matters concerning the Jewish property seized by the state. In his study, Avramov shows the documents of depravities committed in the first place by people representing the Bulgarian elite – clergy, teachers, officials of all levels, lawyers, university lecturers, journalists, writers, etc. Using their personal acquaintances with people in power, they sought to improve their material status by asking them to grant them “post-Jewish” property (they usually used euphemisms in their applications, e.g. “the property in question”, “abandoned apartments”, etc.). The movable property of the displaced Jews, on the other hand, raised hopes for profit for village dwellers, who took care of their own business in a less sublime way, coming to larger towns with wagons ready to load the necessary items. Avramov’s analysis reveals the economic basis for anti-Semitic attitudes, where a passive attitude towards anti-Semitic state policy went hand in hand with greed and readiness to take advantage of the opportunity to legally allow someone else’s property to be appropriated. It was faced with a psychological mechanism of legitimizing one’s own attitudes in the socially sanctioned act of denigrating the victims. As Avramov rightly points out, this aspect of the looting of Jewish property prepared the ground for the looting of the bourgeoisie property⁴³, which took place only several years later under the communist regime.

⁴² Р. АВРАМОВ, “Спасение” и падение. Микроикономика на държавния антисемитизъм в България 1940–1944 г., София 2012, р. 264.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, р. 179–181.

At the same time, there are more and more arguments to support the thesis that the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in 1940–1944 was the only official institution that conducted consistent efforts to reject the state racist policy of violence⁴⁴. It was the same Holy Synod whose extremely politically restrained press outlet, “Църковен вестник”, in issue 48 of 1941 published Hitler’s *apologia*, which came close to idolatry⁴⁵. The same Synod, whose Metropolitan Archbishop Stefan, when the preparations for the transports began in 1943, called for the opening of the gates of monasteries and Orthodox churches to the Jews and made his own house available to Rabbi of Sofia. Another hierarch – Bishop Plovdiv Kirill (anarcho-communist in his youth, future patriarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in communist Bulgaria) personally prevented the transport of Jews to, as it was said at the time, “Poland”... On the other hand, as Avramov proves, not all members of the Holy Synod, who formally supported its political decisions, behaved with equally noble attitude towards Jewish property, as exemplified by the connections between Bishop Vidyn Nikolai and the regime’s Commissioner for Jewish Affairs.

Did therefore the Orthodox Church pass the test by declaring itself through its Orthodox hierarchs on the side of humanism⁴⁶, and thus, in political action and practice, turning its back on the Gnostic temptation to dehumanize the alleged *hylics*? While maintaining an affirmative assessment of the Church’s activities, Lea Cohen, quoted herein, draws attention to an aspect of the “Jewish question” which often escapes the researchers’ attention. The author emphasizes the lack of coherence between the formal political affiliation, worldview and ethical choices of people. The biographies of those nationalist right-wing activists who committed themselves to protecting Bulgarian Jews from deportation to Treblinka, such as Dimitar Peshev (member of the establishment and speaker of the Bulgarian parliament, in 1940 and 1941 supporter of the introduction of the Law on the Protection of the Nation, sentenced to fifteen years in prison by the People’s Court and released after one year), are illustrative.

Europe’s recent history shows that every view of the world, every religion, including every Christian denomination at the level of anti-Gnostic self-interpretation, can be susceptible to Manichean seduction. The Bulgarian material confirms the banal idea that people’s moral choices are not determined by their political or religious worldview, but often the discourses in which they are immersed, catalyzing radical behavior as a consequence of the binary divisions mentioned

⁴⁴ *The Power of Civil Society in a Time of Genocide. Proceedings of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church on the Rescue of the Jews in Bulgaria 1940–1944*, Sofia 2005.

⁴⁵ П., *С вяра в Бог се побеждава световното зло*, ЦВ 48, 1941, p. 1–2.

⁴⁶ D. KALKANDJIEVA, *The Bulgarian Orthodox Church’s Contribution to the Rescue of Jews in Bulgaria during WWII: A Model of Religious Tolerance & Social Solidarity*, https://www.academia.edu/2184932/The_Bulgarian_Orthodox_Churchs_Contribution_to_the_Rescue_of_Jews_in_Bulgaria_during_WWII_A_Model_of_Religious_Tolerance_and_Social_Solidarity.

above. Brumlik, not sparing Protestantism, showed that by virtue of false rationalizations the mechanisms of the (quasi-)Gnostic exclusion for some time annihilate the cognitive dissonances that are troublesome at a given moment in history, but at the same time they are able to transform every human project into an instrument of violence and destruction.

As Barbara Skarga wrote in her book *Człowiek to nie jest piękne zwierzę* [*Man is not a beautiful animal*]:

Thought is torn, sometimes it supports evil or even creates it and constantly tries to fight it. The whole history of European culture is such a struggle, a fall into the unimaginable evil and an attempt to harness it. Evil like any other mystery, like what cannot be fully explained, like death, poses a strange attraction for our metaphysical spirit. In its clumsiness when faced with these mysteries, it is ready to propose a new way out, beyond good and evil, as if there were a world in which these ideas could be invalidated.⁴⁷

The attitude towards the “Jewish question” in the interwar period and the years of World War II, full of internal contradictions and at the same time dominating in Bulgaria, becomes a challenge for history researchers in every era. In the context of the importance of the “Gnostic Bite” for the political and moral thought during the Nazi era in most European countries, the Bulgarian experience may become an interesting point of reference for comparative research into Judeophobia and anti-Semitism, taking into account the structure of the national imageries of the individual imagined communities and their preferred strategies for generating *hylics*.

Translated by Katarzyna Gucio

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⁴⁷ B. SKARGA, *O znaczeniu wymiaru metafizycznego w kulturze*, [in:] *Człowiek to nie jest piękne zwierzę*, Kraków 2007, p. 24–25.

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Abstract. The article poses a research question, important not only in the studies on (neo-)gnosticism, concerning the relationship between the gnostic strategies of interpreting the world (and especially its typical rules of classifying people, based on the externalization of evil) and the tendency to construct a figure of “hylic” as a person embodying evil, and thus “unworthy of life”. In this context, the author is interested in the dynamics of the relationship between the religious worldview declared by the authors, the one they actually profess, and their attitude towards the so-called Jewish question. Bulgarian material, which is a case of a particular kind of aporia, cognitive dissonances emerging due to tension between the pressure of cultural stereotypes, pragmatic (economic), religious, parareligious and humanistic thinking, has been analyzed on the basis of post-secular thought. The investigator posits that Bulgarian culture, despite the “economic” anti-Semitism that exists within it, did not produce a figure of a Jew the hylic that absorbs all evil and that could be inscribed (as is the case in popular Polish culture, among others) in every troublesome local political and symbolic context.

Keywords: Gnosis, Orthodox Christianity, anti-Semitism, Bulgarian culture, cultural transfer

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THE ANTI-BOGOMIL ANATHEMAS IN THE SYNODIKON OF TSAR BORIL AND IN THE DISCOURSE OF KOSMAS THE PRESBYTER AGAINST THE BOGOMILS*

During the last decade additional light has been shed on the history of the Synodikon of the Orthodoxy in Bulgaria. It turned out that the translation made for the Synod against the Bogomils convoked by the Bulgarian Tzar Boril in 1211 has not come to us in its original version. By the end of 14th c. it was edited and amended in order to be installed in a liturgical-canonical collection known as archieratikon. The book is kept in the National Library of Sofia in Palaouzov's collection under the No 289. Apart from Synodikon it contains also several liturgical services (all to be carried out by the patriarch) and the *horoi* of three oecumenical councils (IV, VI and VII) and of two local councils (of the council of Patriarch Mennas and Tomos Unionis), which include the main dogmas of Orthodoxy and were especially selected so as to prove the need of restoration of the veneration of icons¹. The collection was meant to meet the needs of the eparchial metropolitans, who were in charge of performing the ritual of the Triumph of Orthodoxy and such type of books was quite common in Byzantium².

The work on compiling the collection was divided in two and in all probability the two groups of editors and translators worked simultaneously. The first one dealt with the Synodikon and the liturgical services. The second group translated the respective *horoi*. We could not be certain whether the copyist of the famous Euthymios' ieratikon pop Gerasim, who wrote the *horoi* was also one of the

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¹ Details on the content of the collection, which also contains the Greek text of the horoses and four noted Greek chants – И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилов синодик. Издание и превод*, София 2010, (сетера: *Борилов*), p. 58–62.

² Vide also А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Синодик царя Борила в сборнике Палаузова (НБКМ № 289)*, [in:] *XXI ежегодная богословская конференция. Церковно-исторические исследования в контексте современной науки*, Москва 2011, p. 165–166.

translators and editors, but his participation allows us to presume that the whole book was made by the order of the prominent Bulgarian spiritual leader patriarch Euthymios.

Leaving the text of the liturgical services untouched, the first group undertook a thorough revision of the text of the Synodikon on both linguistic and content levels. As a result not only the orthography and the grammar of the text were put in line with the norms of Euthymios' Tărnovo School³ but a series of insertions and amendments to the texts were made. The Bulgarian synodikon contains 10 rubrics with personal anathemas (22a21–23a16, §§ 69–78)⁴, which are missing in the Greek synodikon. They are introduced with *Upon all the heretics: Anathema*⁵, followed by two rubrics that repeat the beginning of general iconoclastic anathemas on 9a21–9620, §§ 20–25. In our view almost the whole list of anathematized heresiarchs in this insertion was drawn mostly from the *horoi* of the 7th and the 6th oecumenical councils and to a lesser extent, from the *horos* of the 4th Oecumenical council and of the council of Patriarch Mennas⁶ and does not agree with the Greek synodikon. Even more – the anathemas on Theodore of Pharan, Sergios and Pyros, Peter and Paul – patriarchs of Constantinople, Honorius – Pope of Rome, Kyros of Alexandria, Makarios of Antioch and his disciple Stephan (23a1–7) have been taken directly from the *horos* of the 6th Oecumenical Council⁷. Only the names of Symeon Magus, Kukuvrik Manent, Eusebios, Naukratios and Jacob (five out of 30 mentioned Byzantine heresiarchs) and the respective anathemas are missing in the attached *horoi* and must have come from different sources.

The interrelation between the *horoi* and the 14th c. version of Boril's synodikon could be traced in the commemorative part of the Synodikon as well. It opens with the list of Byzantine rulers that does not completely agree with the list in the Greek synodikon and begins with a praise to Constantine the Great and his mother Helena (25620–26a3, § 106) followed by the names of Theodosios, Honorios, Theodosios II and Markianos, also missing in the Greek original. Markianos and his mother Pulcheria in their turn are praised repeatedly as a new Constantine and Helena in the attached *horoi*⁸. The 14th c. editors must have also amended the lists

³ On this matter s. A. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Езикът на XIV век и съставът на Палаузовия сборник*, Pbg 36, 1, 2012, p. 24–37.

⁴ The folia and the paragraphs are cited according to *Борилов* (София 2010).

⁵ Here and afterwards, the fragments are quoted from the English translation by M. ПАНЕВА in *Борилов*, p. 337–377.

⁶ А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Синодик царя Борила...*, p. 170–171. Vide there also our polemics with I. Božilov who considers the *horos* of the Council of 843 published by J. GOUILLARD (*Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire*, TM 2, 1967, Appendice I, p. 293–298) to be the main source of this part.

⁷ The coinciding texts – А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Синодик царя Борила...*, p. 167.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 168–199.

of Bulgarian kings, queens and spiritual leaders and brought it up to their own time. They inserted also two historical accounts related to the Bulgarian history – the first one of the Synod itself (29a4–3062, §§ 110–112) heavily influenced by the narrative of Anna Komnena on the trial of Basil the Physician⁹, and the second – about the *re-establishment of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1235 under Tsar Ivan Asen II* (30a3–32610, § 113), which is also preserved in other collections¹⁰. From this perspective the missing name of the uniate leader of the Bulgarian Church primate (archbishop) Baslios (1204–1227) could be explained as a simple *damnatio memoriae*.

The 14th c. editors must have had at their disposal the Palaeologan version of the Greek synodikon as well because at the end of the Komnene's text that was translated for the Synod of 1211 they repeated the first three (22a14–20, §§ 66–68) of the seven general anti-iconoclastic anathemas that had already been included after the anathema on Gerontios of Lampe (9a21–9620, §§ 20–25)¹¹. In the Byzantine Synodikon these anathemas occupy lines G. 752–762 in the Greek Palaeologan version (*P*) after the anathema on Gregory Palamas. The presumption that the editors used some Palaeologan text during their work on the Synodikon is supported by the fact that on f. 27, the exact place of which in the book cannot be identified with certainty, although disagreeing with the text of the version (*P*), anathemas upon Barlaam, Akindynos, Prohoros Kydones, Fudul and his teacher Piropoul (27a10–27620, §§ 176–177) are presented.

It has not been noticed for a long time that at the end of the negative canonical part of the Synodikon there is another insertion that contains 26 rubrics with anathemas and praises (23a17–25617, §§ 80–104)¹². Twenty of them are anathemas upon basic Bogomil beliefs and practices. As the preceding personal anathemas and the general anti-iconoclastic anathemas taken from the horos of the 7th Oecumenical Council (vide above) this set of twenty anathemas is introduced with the exclamation: *Upon all heretics: Anathema!*¹³

⁹ И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Введение в проблематиката на българския синодик*, [in:] *Борило*, p. 37.

¹⁰ Recently A. Nikolov published a critical edition of the account about the *re-establishment of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1235 under Tsar Ivan Asen II*, based on all 4 known witnesses. Vide A. НИКОЛОВ, *Между Рим и Константинопол. Из антикатолическата литература в България и славянския православен свят (XI–XVII в.)*, София 2016, p. 138–141, 282–284. Vide also A. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Езикът на XIV век...*, p. 35–36; ЕАДЕМ, *The Synodikon of Orthodoxy in Medieval Bulgaria*, SCer 7, 2017, p. 174.

¹¹ The anathemas are taken from the horos of the 7th Oecumenical Council. Vide J. GOUILLARD, *Le Synodikon...*, p. 92, note 308.

¹² A. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Synodicum Bulgaricum 1211 (Critical Edition with Introduction)*, [in:] *The Councils of the Orthodox Churches in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Era*, ed. A. MELLONI, F. LAURITZEN, G. VLANTIS, C. HOVORUN, D. DAINESI, Turnhout 2016 [= *COGD*, 4], p. 433; ЕАДЕМ, *The Synodikon of Orthodoxy...*, p. 173.

¹³ Cf. the Old Bulgarian text in the left column of table 2.

The first 4 anathemas (23a18–23616, §§ 80–83) condemn those who do not believe in the Holy Trinity, deny the equality of its substances and add to it a fourth member, called “consoler”.

The ensuing 3 anathemas (23611–18, §§ 84–86) reprove the rejection of the divine incarnation and the resurrection of Christ in flesh as well as the disrespect towards the Holy Virgin.

The anathema on 23619–24a1, § 87 blames those who do not believe in the Parousia of Christ and the Last Judgement.

The anathema on 24a2–5, § 88 curses those who do not accept God’s Law (i.e. Old and New Testament) and it is thematically connected with the anathema on 24a20–2462, § 94 upon those who do not trust the prophets and first of all John the Baptist.

The anathema on 24a13–15, § 91 blames those who do not believe that God accepts a man repenting of his sins.

The following 2 anathemas (24a16–19, §§ 92–93) rebuke the dualistic belief that the devil is the master of the world and the Lord did not create both heaven and earth.

The last 6 anathemas refer to:

- the wrong views on the Eucharist, according to which the wine and bread are not the blood and the flesh of Christ (2463–5, § 95);
- docetistic attitudes of the heretics who do not venerate the sacred relics and the holy and life-giving cross (2466–14, §§ 96–97);
- the disrespect to the holy churches that are considered mere temples and are being ruined by the heretics together with bishoprics and monasteries (24615–25a8, §§ 98–99);
- those who dedicate themselves to sorcery, charming and any kind of witchcraft and divinations (25a20–2568, §§ 101–102).

This part of the Synodikon contains three praises and two anathemas that at first glance seem to interrupt the logics of the anti-Bogomil anathemas. The first praise *Those who have come back from any heresy to the Orthodox faith and adhere to it with all their souls: May their memory be eternal!* (24a6–9, § 89) however contradicts the rejection of the repentance and the refusal of abjuration in Bogomils’ practices, which comes from their belief that God does not accept a man repenting from his sins (24a13–15, § 91). It is thematically related to the second and the third praises that are for those who hold the Orthodox faith according to the Gospels (25a9–19, § 100) and for all boyars, priests and monks and all the people who piously keep their devotion to the king and to the archbishops pure and

righteous (2569–14, § 103). On the other hand the first praise is related to another praise in the positive canonical part of the Synodikon on 565–8: *All who came to our Orthodox faith from the unholy Armenian faith: May their memory be eternal!* This eternal memory is repeated almost literally on 5620–22: *All who accepted Orthodox Christian faith: May their memory be eternal!* and bridges the positive and the negative canonical parts. Therefore eternal memory for all who repented of the heresies logically introduces the anathema against the Armenian heresy. The interrelations between these rubrics are so obvious to make us think that the two exclamations in the positive part in the Synodikon are also inserted by the 14th c. editors. Only the anathema, which condemns all the thieves, murderers and robbers somehow falls out from the anti-Bogomil and anti-heretical thematic. Yet on the f. 27a1–8 (§ 175) whose place in the codex is impossible to identify before the anathemas upon Akindynos and Barlaam a similar anathema is to be found: *Upon all who pillage the homes of the Christians and steal horses or oxen or rob in the roads to damage and harm the Christians and on all who order such evil deeds or know about them but attempt to hush the affair: Anathema!*

Despite the incongruences in this part it is clear that the Bulgarian men of letters who edited and amended the 13th c. translation of the Synodikon were familiar with a compendium of anti-Bogomil and anti-heretical texts and included them in the 14th c. version of the Synodikon. On the other hand the incongruences might indicate the different layers of editorial intervention: the first one used the anti-heretical texts that are scattered in different types of collections, the second one introduced the actual problems of the Bulgarian society at the turn of the 14th and the 15th cc. – the spread of different types of heresies and crimes against ordinary people. The inclusion of the names of 14th c. heretics and of the anathemas upon robbers and the thieves and those helping and covering them supports such an assumption. From this prospective the praises for those who keep the Christian values and obey to the rulers and laws are more than founded.

The 14th c. editors carried on the tradition of their predecessors (editors and compilers of the beginning of the 13th c.) who replaced the anti-Bogomil anathemas from the Constantinople version of Synodikon (G. 250–387) with the anathemas taken from the *Letter of Patriarch Kosmas*¹⁴ to the dearest metropolitan of Larisa in connection with the ungodly heretics¹⁵ (1366–15619, §§ 39–52). The text of Kosmas was re-arranged: the first three anathemas (13612–14a12, §§ 39–41 / actually No 9, 10, 11 in Kosmas' letter) after the introduction condemn the heresiarch Bogomil and his docetistic concept that Jesus Christ had no human body and he only appears to have died on the cross together with those who dedicate

¹⁴ It might be Kosmas I, 1075–1081 or Kosmas II Atticos, 1146–1147.

¹⁵ The text of the letter is preserved in Marcianus gr. II 74 (Coll. 1454 olim Nanianus 96), ff. 77^v–79^v of the 15th c., cf. J. GOUILLARD, *Une source grecque du Synodik de Boril: la lettre du patriarche Kosmas*, TM 4, 1970, p. 361–374.

themselves to the rites of the new heresy and those who communicate with any of these heretics (No 4, 1, 2 in Kosmas' letter). The next anathema (14a13–19, § 42 / No 3 in Kosmas' letter) reproves those involved in the mysteries similar to the pagan rites on the eve of the John the Baptist birthday.

The ensuing nine anathemas refer to Bogomils' basic beliefs such as:

- the dualistic concept that the Satan is the creator of the visible world and of Adam and Eve (14a20–1465, §§ 43–44 / No 1, 2 in Kosmas' letter);
- the rejection of the Mosaic Law and of the Old Testaments in general (1466–19, § 45 / No 3);
- the rejection of the baptism was tackled upon by two anathemas (14620–15a13, §§ 46–47 / No 4) of which the first one is missing in Patriarch Kosmas' letter but serves as an introduction to the second one that rebukes those who calumniate John the Baptist and baptize without water just saying *Pater noster* (15a7–13, § 47);
- the rejection of the church services (15a14–19, § 48 / No 5) and the holy liturgy (15a20–1563, § 49 / No 6);
- the rejection of the Eucharist (15a20–1563, § 50 / No 7);
- the refusal to venerate the holy cross (15611–14, § 51 / No 8).

The last anathema taken from the letter of the Patriarch Kosmas (15615–19, § 52 / No 12) casts the blame on those who accept Bogomils in the holy church before they have performed the rite of abjuration¹⁶. The next anathema refers to Basil the Physician who introduced the Bogomil heresy in Constantinople under the Orthodox Emperor Alexius Comnenus (16a4–1665, § 53) and it is thematically related to the Bogomil movement.

The comparison between the two sets of anathemas shows that the anathemas, included at the end of the canonical part of the Synodikon, generally repeat the 12 anti-Bogomil anathemas from the letter of the Patriarch Kosmas but in a simpler language, more understandable to the faithful. On the other hand, their content and simple wording strongly reminds the anathemas we find in the chapter "On the faith" of the *Discourse of Kosmas the Presbyter against the Bogomils*. The anathemas there refer to¹⁷:

¹⁶ The 12th c. formulas of abjuration and confession for Bogomils are studied and published by P. ELEUTERI, A. RIGO, *Eretici, dissident, musulmani ed ebrei a Bysanzio*, Venezia 1993, p. 125–134, 153–155. We are convinced that *Upon those who accept any of these heretics in Gods holy church, before they've confessed and cursed the whole heresy, as it has been said: Anathema!* refers to the described rituals.

¹⁷ Vide table 2. The text of the *Discourse against the Bogomils* is cited according to the edition of Ю. БЕГУНОВ, *Козма Презвитер в славянских литературах*, София 1973.

- all who are not true Christians (condemns all who do not love Christ),
- the twisted concepts of the Holy Trinity,
- the wrong views on the Eucharist,
- the disrespect to the Holy Virgin,
- the refusal to venerate the holy cross,
- iconoclastic attitudes,
- the rejection of the New Testament,
- the rejection of the prophetic predictions,
- the refusal to worship the relics of saints,
- the rejection of the liturgical services and prayers,
- the dualistic concept that God did not create the visible word,
- the twisted New Testament,
- the rejection of the Mosaic Law,
- disrespect to the church hierarchy, established by the Lord and the Apostles (No 14, 15),
- the rejection of marriage,
- the blames on those who eat meat and drink wine according to the Law.

The anti-Bogomil anathemas of the *Discourse* were extracted and included in two anti-heretical compilations: a *Bulgarian Compilation against the Bogomil Theodor of Sicily* and a Russian Compilation made by the Metropolitan of Kiev Georgij the Greek installed in *The Commandments of the Holy Fathers to the confessing sons and daughters*. According to Begunov's opinion the anathemas in the *Commandments* were not borrowed directly from the *Discourse* and its compiler Georgij the Greek used the *Bulgarian compilation* as a text mediator. The Bulgarian compilation is preserved in the Nomocanon of Ustjug (beginning of the 14th c.) and in the so called Joasaph's Nomocanon (beginning of the 16th c.)¹⁸. The latter proves the high prestige of these anathemas and ensures their dissemination all over the Orthodox Slavonic world. Both compilations are critically edited and published by Begunov¹⁹. In our opinion the 14th c. editors of the Bulgarian Synodikon must have been familiar with a compilation of this type.

The table 1 below displays all Bogomil topics tackled upon in the tree sets of anathemas and confirms the thematic connection between them:

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 28–33.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 393–399.

Table 1

Thematic connections between §§ 80–104 of Bulgarian Synodikon and Discourse of Kosmas the Presbyter and Letter of Patriarch Kosmas in §§ 39–52 of Bulgarian Synodikon

P 23a17–25617, §§ 80–104	Kosmas the Presbyter	Patriarch Kosmas in P 1366–15619, §§ 39–52
§ 79 all heretics	1 all heretics and pagans	§§ 39–40 Bogomils
§§ 80–83	2 the twisted concepts of the Holy Trinity	
§ 96	3 the wrong views on the Eucharist	
§ 85	4 the disrespect to the Holy Virgin	
§§ 84–86		§§ 40–41 no Divine Incarnation and resurrection
§ 87 no Parousia of Christ and Last Judgement		
§ 97	5 the refusal to venerate the holy cross	§ 51
§ 91		§ 52 no repentance
	6 iconoclastic attitudes	
§ 88	7 the rejection of the New Testament	
§ 94	8 the rejection of the prophetic predictions	

P 23a17–25617, §§ 80–104	Kosmas the Presbyter	Patriarch Kosmas in P 1366–15619, §§ 39–52
§ 97	9 the refusal to worship the relics of saints	
§ 97	10 the rejection of the liturgical services and prayers	§§ 48–49
§§ 92–93	11 the dualistic concept that God did not create the visible word	§§ 43–44
§ 88	12 the twisted New Testament	
§ 88	13 the rejection of the Mosaic law	§ 45
	14–15 disrespect to the church hierarchy, established by the Lord and the Apostles	
	16 the rejection of marriage	
	17 the blames on those who eat meat and drink wine according to the Law	
§§ 98–99 the disrespect to the holy churches, bishoprics and monasteries		
§§ 101–102 against sorcery, charming and any kind of witchcraft and divinations		§§ 40–42

As one may see the anathemas at the end of the Synodikon refer to most Bogomil beliefs and practices condemned by Kosmas the Presbyter except the iconoclastic attitudes, which are ascribed to all heretics in general post-iconoclastic period²⁰,

²⁰ A. RIGO, *L'Assemblea generale atonita del 1344 su un gruppo di monaci bogomili* (ms. Vat.Gr. 604 ff. 11r–12v), CS 5, 1984, p. 486–487; IDEM, *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili. Le accuse di messalianismo*

the rejection of marriage, meat and wine according to the Christian Law. The disrespect to the holy churches, bishoprics and monasteries is connected to the disrespect to the church hierarchy. In addition there are some topics in common with the Letter of Patriarch Kosmas: the Bogomils' attitude to the Divine Incarnation and Resurrection, the repentance and its consequences, witchcraft, sorcery and pagan rites in Bogomils' communities. Only here we find information that Bogomils do not believe in the Parousia of Christ and the Last Judgment.

Table 2

Comparison between anathemas from §§ 80–104 of Bulgarian Synodikon and anathemas from Discourse of Kosmas the Presbyter

Synodikon 23a17–25617, §§ 80–104		Kosmas the Presbyter	
23a17 ВѢСА ъРЕТНИКЪ, АНАФЕМА:~	79	нже не любеть г(о)с(под)а нашего н(с)у(са) Х(р)с(т)а, да ездеть проклат'	1
23a18–2361 Нже правѣ ѡ блгоустьнѣхъ невѣроушихъ въ сѣжа ѡ ѣди- носѣиша ѡ жнеутворѣиша ѡ нераздѣлиша трѣцѣ въ ѣднѣго нстѣннаго бѣ, анафема:~ Г.	80	нже не вѣрѣють въ с(в)лѣстѣю н неразлучницю тро(н)цю, да ездеть проклат'	2
2362–4 Вѣсѣхъ творѣишѣ сѣна гѣ нашего ѡвѣ хѣ менша ѡ не равна прѣвѣуномоу ѣго оуцѣ, анафема:~ Г.	81		
2365–7 Нже не исповѣдоуеть прѣстѣго бжѣа дѣа равносѣиша оуцѣ ѡ сѣоу, анафема:~ Г	82		
2368–10 Прнлагаишѣ къ бжѣтѣоу ѡет- врътаго бѣ ѡ того оуѣишѣтелѣ нарнѣишѣ, анафема:~ Г +	83		

e bogomilismo rivolte agli escasti ed il problema dei rapporti tra escasmo e bogomilismo, Firenze 1989 [= OV, 2], p. 198–200, 248–254.

Synodikon 23a17–25617, §§ 80–104		Kosmas the Presbyter	
23611–13 Нже сѣна бѣжѣа неплѣннѣхъ плѣтъ ѿ прѣвнствѣхъ дѣвѣхъ бѣжѣхъ прѣиша нарнѣуть, анафема: ꙗ +	84	нже не молнтъ сѣ со ѹпованїемъ с(вѣ)тѣнъ в(о)городн(и)ци М(а)рїи, да вѣдетъ проклѣтъ,	4
23614–15 Нже дѣвѣхъ ѣ бѣжѣхъ прѣствѣхъ женѣхъ нарнѣуцихъ, анафема:~ ꙗ +	85		
23616–18 Неисповѣдоуѣхъхъ въсѣдоушно сѣна бѣжѣа съ плѣтѣхъ възшѣдша къ оцѣу, анафема:~ ꙗ +	86		
23619–24a1 Невѣроуѣхъхъ хѣтѣщѣмоу бѣти въскрѣсенїюу ѣ нже ѿ вѣка оумершїи тѣлесемъ въстанїюу ѣ еже на сѣ гнѣю прѣшествїю, анафема:~ ꙗ +	87		
24a2–5 Вѣсѣхъхъ нже законѣу бѣжїюу прѣтнѣвѣщїи сѣ, на аплѣкѣ ѣ ѿвѣскѣхъхъ прѣданїи непрѣемлѣхъхъ, анафема:~ ꙗ +	88	нже словесѣхъ еу(ан)галнскѣхъ ѣ ап(о)с(то)льскѣхъ ѣ не имѣтъ въ ѹ(е)ствѣ, да вѣдетъ проклѣтъ. нже развращѣетъ ѿ собѣхъ словеса еу(ан)галнска ѣ ап(о)с(то)льскага, ѣ не дръжнѣтъ, також(е) исправнша с(вѣ)тїи мѣжи, да вѣдетъ проклѣтъ. нже не творнѣтъ в(о)гѣмъ в(о)гѣда- наго Мѣвсѣемъ закона, ѿ сѣбѣ нѣкако владѣютъ, да вѣдетъ про- клѣтъ.	7 12 13
24a6–9 Нже ѿ каковы лнѣо ѣрѣсн прѣшѣд- шїи нѣ къ правослѣвнѣнъ вѣрѣхъ ѣ въсѣдоушно тѣхъ дръжѣхъхъ, въчѣна ѣ нѣмъ памѣтъ:~	89		

Synodikon 23a17–25617, §§ 80–104		Kosmas the Presbyter	
24615–19 Нѣже сѣтыа бѣжѣа црѣквы прѡсты храмы нарнѡщнхъ въ ннхже въсе хрїстїанство ѡсѣцаетъ сѣ н ѡбна- вѣлетъ сѣ н бѣжїе нма славнтъ сѣ, анафема:~ ꙗ̄ +	98	нже не мннть ц(ε)рк(ο)вньныхъ са- новъ г(ο)с(под)емъ н ап(ο)с(то)лы състроентъ, да вѣдетъ проклѣтъ.	14
24620–25a8 Нѣже сѣтынмъ црѣквѣмъ епїкпїамъ же н монастнремъ н ннмъ прѡвѣн- мъ црѣквѣмъ достоанїа прѣданаа ѡ блѡговѣрннхъ црѣн н бѣго- азннвынхъ хрїстїанъ запечѣтѣннаа златымн печѣтамн н простымн писанїемн ѡкоушащнхъ сѣ разроушнтн н ѡтргнжнтн что лнво ѡ нхже къ боу възлѡженын, анафема:~ ꙗ̄ +	99	нже на лѣкахъ, а не всею мыслью прїнмаеть правнаа сего, да вѣдетъ проклѣтъ.	15
25a9–19 Вѣсѣмъ дрѣжжщнмъ правосла- нѣа вѣрж оусердно же н чнстѣ н архїереж нмащнмъ ꙗко самын нмащї ѡбразъ гѣ нашего іѡ̄х̄а по гнїю гласоу реченномоу въ еѡлїн, слоушажъ вѣ, мене слоушаетъ. н пакы. елнка аще свѣжете на землн н прѡчаа. н прнѣмлащн тѣхъ блвенїа съ оусердїемъ н топлѡж вѣрѡж н запрѣценїа нхъ вожщнмъ сѣ, вѣчѣнаа пѣмѣтѣ:~ ꙗ̄ +	100		
25a20–2564 Нѣже какоу вѣмъ лнво оухыщренїемъ нлн вѣлїемъ нлн чарѡдѣанїемъ нлн ѡбаанїемъ. нлн вѣлхуванїн вражїннн. нлн ѡтравѡж покоушнт сѣ вѣднтн црѣк помазаннка гнѣ, такоуаго анафема:~ ꙗ̄ +	101		

Synodikon 23a17–25617, §§ 80–104		Kosmas the Presbyter	
2565–8 Нже вѣхъвованїомъ ѿ нѣн ѡбаанїомъ нѣн ѿродѣбанїомъ нѣкыномъ. нѣн прорнцанїомъ себѣ вѣ- дажцнхъ, ѿнаѡемѣ:~ ꙗ +	102		
2569–14 Вѣсѣмъ волѣрвомъ малыномъ же н велнкыномъ. ѿрѣвомъ же н ѡрѣн- цемъ н вѣсѣмоу нарѡдоу. нже сѣ блгопокоренїемъ сѣкѣж прнпнзнь чнстѣж н прѣвѣж хрѣанцнмъ кѣ црю же н ѡрхїеревомъ, вѣчнаѡ н ꙗ.	103		
25615–17 Вѣсѣхъ нже татемъ н оубїнцанї н развѣнннквомъ н прѡчїнмъ такъвыномъ посѡвѣтѡужцн ѿна:~	104		
25618–19 Хсѣ побѣда. хсѣ црѣвѣеть. хсѣ радѡ н вѣра хрѣтїанска. епсн ꙗн вѣрѣж хрѣтїанс...	105		

The editors seem to have summarized here at the end of the canonical part of the Synodikon all they reproved of Bogomils' behavior and theology and placed it before the exclamation: *Christ is victory, Christ rules, Christ is the joy of Christian faith. God save Christian faith!* The exclamation strongly reminds of the refrain of *laudes regiae* "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat" and comes from the Byzantine ceremonial being a shortened version of the exclamations given by Sardis to the emperors that are included by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in chapter 43 of *De Cerimoniis*²¹. Is the fact that the canonical part of the Bulgarian Synodikon ends with an exclamation related to the history of Bulgarian lands and especially to the region of Serdica / Sardica just a mere coincidence? Could it be that the exclamation is a reminiscence of the anti-Arian council convened in the city of Serdica between 340 and 347²²? Given the fact that Matej

²¹ Vide *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 16–17: *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris. De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo*, vol. I–II, ed. J.J. REISKE, Bonnæ 1829–1830, p. 650–651.

²² On the date and the statute of this council – В. ВАЧКОВА, *Сердикийският събор: 1670 години история и интерпретации*, София 2013.

Gramatik who wrote the *Vita of Saint Nikola Novi of Sofia* in 16th c. refers to the city as to *the great city of Sardica called Sredec*²³, that is a plausible hypothesis. But we do not know for sure. What we certainly know is that the Bulgarian part of the 14th c. version of the Synodikon together with the diptychs and historical accounts was included into the so called Drinov copy of Synodikon (MS No 432 in the National Library). The first canonical part of the Synodikon in this codex is replaced with a different 14th c. translation of the Palaeologan version of the Greek Synodikon²⁴. The question why Patriarch Euthymius did not order such a translation remains still unanswered.

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²³ *Ibidem*, p. 128–130.

²⁴ A. TOTOMANOVA, *The Synodikon of Orthodoxy...*, p. 174–177. The Slavonic translation of the Palaeologan version of the Synodikon is preserved also in a South-Slavonic compilation, kept in Romania BAR MS. SL. 307. The publication and analysis of the text – И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Палеологовият синодик в славянски превод*, София 2013.

TOTOMANOVA A., *Synodicum Bulgaricum 1211 (Critical Edition with Introduction)*, [in:] *The Councils of the Orthodox Churches in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Era*, ed. A. MELLONI, F. LAURITZEN, G. VLANTIS, C. HOVORUN, D. DAINESE, Turnhout 2016 [= *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta*, 4], p. 426–468.

TOTOMANOVA A., *The Synodikon of Orthodoxy in Medieval Bulgaria*, “*Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-Eastern Europe*” 7, 2017, p. 169–227.

VÁČKOVA V., *Serdikijskijat säbor: 1670 godini istorija i interpretacii*, Sofija 2013.

Abstract. During the last decade the history of the Synodikon of the Orthodoxy in Medieval Bulgaria has been tackled upon from different points of view. The author of this paper provided substantial evidence proving that the Synodikon of Tsar Boril did not survive in its original form. By the end of the 14th c. the original translation was amended and edited in order to be installed in a canonical-liturgical compilation (archieratikon) that includes texts and services related to the Feast of Orthodoxy. The compilation is kept in the National Library in Palauzov’s collection No 289. Additional information about the different sources of some rubrics of the Synodikon, which do not correspond to its Greek version, was also provided. Recently we have discovered that the text, preserved in a collection of Damasckin type from the beginning of 16th c. (Drinov’s copy) represents indeed a compilation: its first part (the canonical one) contains the translation of the Palaeologan version of the Synodikon, which survived also in a triodion from the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences. The second part of the compilation however coincides with the text of the Synodikon of Tsar Boril with all amendments related to the Bulgarian history – rulers, patriarchs, bishops and nobles. This “Bulgarian” part of the Synodikon includes a series of anathemas against Bogomils, that do not have Greek correspondences and generally repeat the anti-Bogomils anathemas taken from the Letter of Patriarch Kosmas in a simpler language more understandable to the faithful. This paper is tracing the connection between these anathemas and the Anti-Bogomils anathemas in the *Discourse of Kosmas the Presbyter against the Bogomils*.

Keywords: Synodikon of Tsar Boril, anti-Bogomils anathemas, Kosmas the Presbyter

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SERGIUS, THE PAULICIAN LEADER, IN THE ACCOUNT BY PETER OF SICILY*

At the beginning of the second half of the ninth century, at the pinnacle of the Paulician power, Peter of Sicily resided on the territory of the Paulician state with the center in Tephrike (Tibrica, now Divrigi in Turkey)¹, then under the protectorate of the Caliphate². He was an official at the court of the Byzantine Emperor Basil I (867–886), who entrusted him with the negotiations on peace conditions and the exchange of prisoners³. During his mission Peter became interested in the beliefs of the Paulicians⁴. As he writes himself, he conducted a thorough investigation into the case⁵. He spent nine months among the Paulicians (at the turn of 869–870)⁶, which allowed him to collect a wealth

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¹ Πέτρου Σικελιώτου *Ίστορία περί τῆς κενῆς καὶ ματαίας αἰρέσεως τῶν Μανιχαίων τῶν καὶ Παυλικιανῶν λεγομένων, προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας*, 187, TM 4, 1970 (cetera: PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*), p. 67. In HAMILTON's translation: *This happened in the second year of Basil, Constantine and Leo, our great pious and just emperor (Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650 – c. 1450, trans. et ed. J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, Y. STOYANOV, Manchester 1998, p. 92)*.

² PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 4 and 187–188, p. 9 and 67.

³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 4 and 187–188, p. 9 and 67. He wrote: *I was among them on an imperial commission at the beginning of the reign of the autocrator Basil [...] My task concerned an exchange of prisoner* (4, trans. HAMILTON, p. 67) and: *At that time I was in Tefrice, having been sent there in the imperial service to exchange some archons who were prisoners* (187, trans. HAMILTON, p. 92). Tephrike is known as Abriq, Tafriq or sometimes Al-Abriq in Arabic sources (*Hudūd al-‘ālam, The Regions of the World*, trans. V. MINORSKY, Oxford 1937, p. 218).

⁴ M. TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA (*Paulicians Between the Dogme and the Legend*, SCer 7, 2017) defines the terms ‘Paulicianism’ and ‘Paulicians’ as *medieval heretics, followers of the dualistic teaching, which came to birth in Western Armenia in the 7th century, and consequently, during the 8th–10th centuries, spread in Asia Minor, Syria, Byzantium, and Bulgaria*.

⁵ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 5, p. 9.

⁶ *I spent a period of about nine months there, while Basileius and Zosimus, their polluted so-called synkedmoi, were still alive* (PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 188, p. 67, trans. HAMILTON, p. 92).

of first-hand information⁷. He emphasized that he had the opportunity to talk to many of the heretics, but he also talked to Orthodox Christians to learn as much as possible about the heresy. On this occasion, he learned that the Paulicians intended to send their missionaries to Bulgaria and decided to warn the head of the Bulgarian Church against the heretics by sending him a written account of their views, methods of action and leaders⁸. The addressee of this text, the Archbishop of Bulgaria, whom Peter named *proedros*⁹, was not mentioned by name. We can only suppose that we are talking about the first Orthodox archbishop of that country, appointed after Boris Mikhail, prince appointed by God had accepted Christianity¹⁰.

After recognizing the views of the Paulicians as Manichaean¹¹, Peter used not only oral testimonies, but also the works of his predecessors, who fought the heresy of Mani. These included works by Cyril of Alexandria¹², Socrates Scholasticus¹³ and Epiphanius of Cyprus¹⁴. He quoted the first of the above most extensively, however, supplementing the information with his own¹⁵. He also drew on the formula of renunciation of Manicheanism, which he quoted faithfully. He published the collected data in a work entitled *Ἱστορία περὶ τῆς κενῆς καὶ ματαίας αἰρέσεως τῶν Μανιχαίων τῶν καὶ Παυλικιανῶν λεγομένων, προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας* (*History of the senseless and worthless heresy of the Manichaeans, also called the Paulicians, addressed to the Archbishop of Bulgaria*). This text is considered to be the most competent source of information on both the history and doctrine of the Paulicians. Additional information can also be found in Peter's *Speeches against the Manichaeans*¹⁶. He discussed, among other things, the question of the existence of two Gods – the good and the bad – in the teaching of heretics, their attitude towards the Mother

⁷ Peter boasted about his inquisitiveness: *I made careful and precise enquiry about the matters afore-said* (PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 188, p. 67, trans. HAMILTON, p. 92), *I also made careful enquiries about them from the orthodox who lived there* (PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 5, p. 9, trans. HAMILTON, p. 67).

⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 5 and 6, p. 9.

⁹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, p. 11 (*Prologue*).

¹⁰ The first Orthodox archbishop was appointed after the baptism of Khan Boris in 864 (*Chronographiae Quae Theophanis Continuati Nomine Fertur Liber Quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris Amplectitur*, V, 96, ed. et trans. I. SEVCENKO, Boston–Berlin 2011 (cetera: THEOPH. CONT., *Vita Basilii*), p. 310–312). The first archbishop was in post by 870; see P. LEMERLE (*L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques*, TM 5, 1973, p. 21) for the dated epitaph of a member of his suite.

¹¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 89, p. 39; 86, p. 37.

¹² PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 46, p. 23.

¹³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 78, p. 35.

¹⁴ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 82–83, p. 37.

¹⁵ 32 fragments of his text (47–77) contain quotes from Cyril's *Catechesis* directed against Manicheans.

¹⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Adversus Manichaeos sermones tres*, [in:] PG, vol. CIV, col. 1305–1349.

of God, and the question of their rejection of the sacrament of communion. In unpreserved speeches, he considered their attitude towards the cross, the Old Testament, the prophets, Apostle Peter and the Orthodox Church. The above mentioned works are also known under the Latin titles: *Historia Manichaeorum* and *Sermones contra manichaeos*.

The texts of Peter of Sicily have survived in only one manuscript from the eleventh century (MS, Vat. gr. 511, ff. 80v–111v)¹⁷, with its first and final parts destroyed. Of the six speeches against the Manichaeans, two have survived in their entirety, while the third is incomplete¹⁸. *The History of the Manichaeian Heresy* was found by Jacques Sirmond in the Vatican Library and published in 1604 by the Jesuit Matthew Rader¹⁹. In 1847 Cardinal Angelo Mai, as the only publisher with access to MS Vat. gr. 511, published a slightly different version of this work²⁰. We also owe him the publication of three speeches against the Manichaeans. Cardinal Mai's edition is the basis for a publication in Migne's *Greek Patrology*²¹. In 1849 Johann Karl Ludwig Gieseler published an abbreviated version of the work, attributed to Peter the Hegumenus²², believing that it was written by Peter of Sicily. We now have a new edition of the *History of Manichaeian Heresy*, and its abbreviation²³ thanks to the work of a group of researchers from the Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines in Paris.

A lot of information from Peter's works can be found in the treatise against the Manichaeans, written by Peter's contemporary Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (858–867 and 877–886)²⁴. The patriarch dedicated the first four books to the Paulicians. Although the relationships between the two authors are still under discussion, it seems that Peter was the first. R.M. Bartikian doubts that Peter and Photius wrote independently of each other, using another common source.

¹⁷ M. TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA, *Paulicians...*, p. 234. The manuscript is discussed by R. DEVRESSE (*Codices Vaticani graeci*, vol. II, Citta del Vaticano 1937, p. 364–367).

¹⁸ J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON in *Christian Dualist...*, p. 66.

¹⁹ *Petri Siculi Historia ex ms. codice bibliothecae Vaticanae graecae cum latina versione*, ed. M. RADERUM, Ingolstadii 1604.

²⁰ A. MAI, *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. IV.3, Roma 1837.

²¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia utilis et refutatio atque eversio haeresos Manichaeorum qui et Pauliciani dicuntur*, [in:] PG, vol. CIV, col. 1240–1349.

²² Earlier J.K.L. Gieseler translated Peter's work and published it along with the text set by M. RADER: *Petri Siculi Historia Manichaeorum sive Paulicianorum*, textum Gr. M. RADERI, rec. L. GIESELER, Gottingae 1846.

²³ *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des pauliciens...*, p. 1–226. Text and translation of the *Istoria* on pages 7–67.

²⁴ Φωτίου αρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Διήγησις τῆς νεοφανοῦς τῶν Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως, (*Diegesis*), [in:] *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des pauliciens...* (cetera: PHOTIUS, *Diegesis*), p. 99–184. Older edition: PHOTIUS, *Contra Manichaeos libri quattuor*, [in:] PG, vol. CII, col. 15–264. On the date of composition see W. TREADGOLD, *Photius Before His Patriarchate*, JEH 53, 1, 2002, p. 8–9.

Therefore, it should be assumed that the patriarch took information about the heresy of the Paulicians from Peter's *History of the Manichaeian Heresy*²⁵. Also later authors used works by Peter of Sicily. One of them was Euthymios Zygabenos, who knew and quoted them. The abbreviation of Peter's work made by Peter the Hegumenus was even more popular.

Peter of Sicily decided to present the views of the Paulicians briefly so that, as he wrote, it would be easy to remember them²⁶. He then challenged them, trying to provide arguments to those who would combat them. We have neither time nor particular need to elaborate on the subject of Paulician theology²⁷. I am going to disregard Peter's argument about the alleged continuity of heresy from Manicheism to Paulicism, and the evolution as a result of which its followers were called Paulicians instead of Manicheans²⁸. Suffice it to say that Peter explicitly stated that Paulicianism and Manichaeism were one and the same heresy²⁹. He wrote: Ἄλλὰ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω ἑτέραν αἵρεσιν εἶναι, ἣν ἐδίδαξε Σέργιος, καὶ ἑτέραν τοῦ Μάνεντος ἡ μία γάρ ἐστι ἡ αὐτή³⁰ and that although they themselves distanced themselves from Manicheism, in reality οὐ γάρ ἄλλοι οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλ' οἱ οὗτοί Παυλικιάνοι καὶ Μανιχαῖοι ὑπάρχουσιν, ταῖς τῶν προηγησαμένων αἰρέσεσι τὰς ἐξευρεθείσας αὐτοῖς μυστὰς αἰρέσεις ἐπισυνάψαντες καὶ ἐν ἀπωλείας βάραθρον ἐπορῶξαντες³¹. Today we know that Emperor Basil's representative was wrong in identifying the Paulicians with the Manichaeans³².

²⁵ H. GRÉGOIRE, *Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens. Pierre de Sicile est authentique et «Photius» un faux*, BCLSM 22, 1936, p. 95–114; K. TER-MKRTTTSCHIAN, *Die Paulikianer im byzantinischen Kaiserreiche und verwandte ketzerische Erscheinungen in Armenien*, Leipzig 1893, p. 3–4, 9–14, 127.

²⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 35, p. 19.

²⁷ On Paulician religious beliefs see P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 126–132; M. LOOS, *Le mouvement paulicien de Byzance*, II, Bsl 25, 1964, p. 55–63; P. CZARNECKI, *Ewolucja doktryny radykalnego dualizmu w średniowieczu (VII–XIII wiek)*, PJAC 5, 2, 2013, p. 61–85; N.S. GARSOĪAN, *Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation*, DOP 25, 1971, p. 94–113.

²⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 86, p. 37; 89, p. 39. Similarly in the title of the work.

²⁹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 170, p. 63.

³⁰ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 170, p. 63. *Let no one think that there are two different heresies, one taught by Sergius, the other by Mani; they are one and the same* (trans. HAMILTON, p. 89). At the same time Peter of Sicily states that the Paulicians called themselves “Christians” and their opponent Orthodox persecutors “Romans”.

³¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 3, p. 9, trans. HAMILTON, p. 66.

³² There is no direct connection between the early teaching of Paul of Samosata and the later Paulician doctrine. See N.S. GARSOĪAN, *The Paulician Heresy. A Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire*, The Hague–Paris 1967, p. 205; EADEM, *Byzantine Heresy...*, p. 95–96; M. LOOS, *Le mouvement...*, II, p. 55–63; A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians (Al-Bayāliqa) in Muslim Sources and Their Role in Wars between Arabs and Byzantines*, SAI 9, 2001, p. 48; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство в българските земи (архетип и повторения VII–XVII век)*, София 2015, p. 58–65. Byzantine authors (Peter of Sicily, Euthymios Zygabenos, Anna Komnena) seemed to use the term of the Manichaeans in order to accuse Paulicians of being a dangerous and heterodox cult (H. KUSABU, *Seminaries, Cults, and Militia in Byzantine Heresiologies. A Genealogy of the Labeling of “Paulicians”*, [in:] *Radical Traditionalism. The Influence*

However, his opinions affected the perception of Paulicianism in Byzantium and Western Europe in the Middle Ages³³.

Peter of Sicily pointed to the determination of the Paulicians – they were willing to accept many dangers and endure many blows in order to share their faith with those they met on their way. He had to see them as very convincing, since he considered it the best defense not to engage in debates with the Paulicians and avoid meetings with them. This was to apply in particular to simple people with no knowledge³⁴. In his opinion, an ordinary man, out of concern for his safety, should avoid heretics like fire, because only people who know Scripture well are able to realize that they are dealing with heretics³⁵. This is because the Paulicians, using allegory in a dishonest way, seem to accept all orthodox dogmas³⁶. They loudly denounce Mani, Paul of Samosata and other heretics³⁷, but they listen to even worse teachers and leaders³⁸. They say one thing and mean another in their hearts, he says. They are like octopuses and chameleons – they change their shape to capture the victim. Only when somebody shows an interest in their teachings they gradually reveal their secrets³⁹. They say that they listen to the words of the Gospel and the apostles, but they convey them cunningly and contrary to the truth⁴⁰. Reading these opinions it is impossible to resist the suspicion that Peter himself experienced serious difficulties during the disputes with leaders of the heresy in question.

In his account he devoted much space to the leaders of the Paulicians, starting with Constantine, also known as Saloanous, through Simeon, the emperor's envoy, who was tasked with fighting heretics but was eventually swayed by them.

of Walter Kaegi in *Late Antique, Byzantine, and Medieval Studies*, ed. C. RAFFENSPERGER, D. OLSTER, Lanham 2019 [= B.EEL], p. 187). It is worth mentioning that the idea of connecting Paulicians to Manichaeism is not reflected in Muslim sources (A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 45). The only exception is al-Mašūdi who writes about their connection with dualism. Contrary to the Manichaeans the Paulicians were accepted and considered by the Muslims as their Christians subjects. See also A.R. TAYYARA, *Muslim–Paulician Encounters and Early Islamic Anti-Christian Polemical Writings*, ICMR 27, 4, 2016, p. 471–489, available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/09596410.2016.1218650> [19 IX 2019].

³³ This thesis was repeated by other Byzantine authors, for example by Euthymios Zigabenos. According to Д. РАДЕВА (*Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 58) *Първият и основният източник за това изрично свързване на манихеите с павликяните е Петър Сицилийски*. In Byzantium civil laws and procedures against the heresy of Manichaeans had been applied to Paulician heresy (M. TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA, *Paulicians...*, p. 241; *Ius Graecoromanum*, vol. II, *Leges imperatorum Isaurorum et Macedonum*, ed. I. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, Athenis 1931, p. 219).

³⁴ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 10 and 12, p. 11.

³⁵ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 12, p. 11.

³⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 13, p. 11.

³⁷ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 15, p. 13.

³⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 16, p. 13.

³⁹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 16, p. 13.

⁴⁰ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 23, p. 15.

Then Justus, Paul the Armenian and his two sons (Gegnesius, also called Timothy and Theodor), Zachariah, son of Gegnesius and his bastard Joseph, and finally Baanes, son of a pupil of Joseph⁴¹. Trying to discredit them, he emphasized that some of the worst heresy teachers came from the Saracens, some from slaves, others were born to prostitutes, and others took their mistakes from women⁴².

Sergius, known as the son of Druinus⁴³ and as Tychicos⁴⁴, had an important place among these figures. He was Greek⁴⁵. He was brought up as an Orthodox Christian in a village Annia near Tabia (Tavium) in Galatia⁴⁶ and received some education. We know that he wrote pastoral letters to the Paulician communities. Some of them are mentioned and even quoted by Peter of Sicily⁴⁷. Later, Sergius was also credited with writing a commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew⁴⁸.

He began his activity during the reign of Empress Irene (797–802) and was the head of the community for 34 years (801–835)⁴⁹. According to Peter, while still a young man, he had a relationship with a woman who was a Manichaeon⁵⁰ and led by her, became *the forerunner of Antichrist* (πρόδρομος τοῦ Αντίχριστου)⁵¹. The woman read the Gospels, distorting the meaning of each sentence. Teaching Sergius, she slowly turned him into ἐργαλεῖον τοῦ διαβόλου⁵². Painting the image of the heresiarch with dark colors, Peter depicts him as a puppet in the hands of that woman. In the subsequent part of his account Peter calls Sergius ὑπέρμαχος τοῦ διαβόλου who had been taught heresy παρά τῆς ὀλεθρίου γυναικὸς⁵³. According to the interpretation of the Byzantine author, the devil himself used her in order to win over Sergius for heresy, suggesting him various questions and misinterpretation of texts⁵⁴. It is worth noting that another tradition was known

⁴¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 130, p. 51; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 69–70.

⁴² PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 136, p. 53.

⁴³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 132, p. 51; Πετροῦ Ἠγουμένου Περί Παυλικιανῶν τῶν καὶ Μανιχαίων (*Précis sur les pauliciens*), 5–6, [in:] *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des pauliciens...* (cetera: PETRUS IGUMENUS), p. 82–83.

⁴⁴ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 152, p. 57; PHOTIUS, *Diegesis*, 8–9, p. 123; 113, p. 159.

⁴⁵ J. HAMILTON, В. HAMILTON in *Christian Dualist...*, p. 19.

⁴⁶ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 81; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 70.

⁴⁷ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 43, p. 21–23 and 158, p. 59. Their fragments were also found in Armenian text known as *The Key of Truth* (F.C. CONYBEARE, *Introduction*, [in:] *The Key of Truth. A Manual of the Paulician Church in Armenia*, ed. et trans. IDEM, Oxford 1898, p. XL–XLI). K. TER-MKRTTCHIAN, *Die Paulikianer...*, p. 22–24; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 117–122.

⁴⁸ *Le Synodikon de l'orthodoxie*, ed. R. GOUILLARD, TM 2, 1967, p. 65.309–314 (trans. HAMILTON, p. 137); J. HAMILTON, В. HAMILTON, *Historical Introduction*, [in:] *Christian Dualist...*, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 83.

⁵⁰ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 138, p. 53; PHOTIUS, *Diegesis*, 101, p. 155; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 116–117.

⁵¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 135, p. 53, trans. HAMILTON, p. 83.

⁵² PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 147, p. 57.

⁵³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 152, p. 57. In HAMILTON's translation: *the devil's champion, who had been taught her heresy by the destructive woman* (p. 86).

⁵⁴ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 138–146, p. 53–55.

to later Byzantine writers, who claimed that the teacher of Sergius was a magician named Lycopetrus, or Peter the Wolf⁵⁵. Sergius is mentioned also by Matthew of Edessa under the Armenian name, Sarkis and nickname Tychus (instead of Tichicus)⁵⁶.

The above characteristics contradicts the description of Sergius' achievements. As it was said he remained the leader of the Paulicians for thirty-four years, from the reign of Augusta Irene (797–802) until Emperor Theophilus (829–842). During that time he brought many people to apostasy, which Peter saw as the fulfillment of Apostle Paul's prophecy from the letter to the Thessalonians⁵⁷. This was the result of the intense missionary activity of the Paulician leader. Sergius wandered tirelessly, visiting the cities and districts where Apostle Paul had taught eight hundred years earlier and, claiming to be his disciple, swayed many away from the Orthodox faith. Peter, who had access to his correspondence, claims that the heresiarch boasted of his successes in one of his letters⁵⁸. The emperor's envoy was particularly hurt that there were many priests and Levites among the apostates, which proved the effectiveness of the Paulician propaganda. What is important, the apostasy turned out to be permanent, because during Peter's stay in Tephrike, the descendants of those converted by Sergius still followed heresy. The Byzantine had to admit that Sergius had caused significant damage to a large part of the Church of Christ⁵⁹. He also could not ignore the fact that he enjoyed great esteem among the Paulicians and was even adored by his disciples as Paraclete and a Holy Spirit: Σέργιον τὸν ἑαυτὸν παράκλητον λέγοντα [...] καὶ ὑπο τῶν ἰδίων μαθητῶν ὡς πνεῦμα ἅγιον προσκυνούμενον⁶⁰. Peter sought to explain this popularity by the deceit committed by Sergius, who took the name of Tychikos (Τυχικόν τε ἑαυτὸν καλέσαντα)⁶¹, mentioned in Apostle Paul's epistles, and allegedly claimed to be the Apostle's disciple, sent by him to teach. In Peter's opinion the devil's disciples often adopted new Christian names. The Sicilian also claims that the Paulician leader misrepresented the testimonies of Scripture, called himself Paraclete, and cunningly referred to the virtues and appearances of piety, hiding like a wolf in sheep's clothing. He did it so skilfully that many considered him a perfect

⁵⁵ *Euthymii monachii Peribleptae Liber invectivus contra heresim execrabilium et impiorum haereticorum qui Phundagiatae dicuntur*, [in:] PG, vol. CXXXI, col. 47–58; trans. HAMILTON, p. 157 and 163–164 (the heretic Sergius and his dog).

⁵⁶ Eutyches in A.E. Dostourian's translation (*The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, part II, 35, trans. et ed. A.E. DOSTOURIAN, Lanham–New York–London 1984, p. 113). F.C. CONYBEARE (*Introduction...*, p. LXVIII) gives the corrected version. See also S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*, Cambridge 1947, p. 36.

⁵⁷ 2Thess 2, 3.

⁵⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 153, p. 57.

⁵⁹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 154, p. 57.

⁶⁰ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 134, p. 53; K. TER-MKRTTSCHEAN, *Die Paulikianer...*, p. 22; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 51, 136.

⁶¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 134, p. 53.

guide to salvation⁶², although he actually rejected piety. Peter considers people who succumbed to the teachings of Sergius to be ignorant, without giving any further thought to the reasons why the heresiarch was so successful. Judging the consequences of his actions, he observes that he did not teach the word of God, but a mortal error⁶³, and that those who followed him were deprived eternal life and led to perdition.

Our author maintains that the heresiarch sought to destroy all men who professed pure faith, who were true Christians. The accusations made against Sergius are reminiscent of those made against the leaders of religious sects today. The heresiarch is said to have deterred the disciples of his faith from worldly life, alienated them from their families and led to their premature death⁶⁴.

Among the evil deeds of the Paulician leader, selling Christian children was particularly horrible. Peter says that the heresiarch, with the help of his disciples, took children away from their parents and sold them in captivity to the Saracen barbarians⁶⁵. The same fate befell handsome young men and women. The Sicilian paints a vivid image of infants torn away from the breasts of their mothers, brothers and sisters separated from their loved ones, driven out of their own country and sent to distant, alien places. According to the information available to him, many people died in bonds and in prison because of Sergius' actions, and others, who were rich, became destitute because of him⁶⁶.

Other allegations concern violations of Christian morality. The heresiarch and his disciples allegedly broke up marriages and defiled marriage beds. Victims of their activity were monks taken from the monastic life and nuns who offered their virginity to Christ⁶⁷.

Peter also learned that Sergius had a rival, a certain Baanes ('Vahan' in Armenian)⁶⁸. In fact, Baanes was the predecessor of Sergius⁶⁹. He was born in Armenia and according to Photius he had a Jewish father. He later joined Epaphroditus in Antioch in Pisidia and eventually replaced him as a *didaskalos*⁷⁰. Sergius, whose followers had always referred to Baanes as the "Reeking One", spoke against him⁷¹. According to Peter, there was an open confrontation between them, two or three times. Sergius, pretending to be godly, attacked Baanes in the

⁶² PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 149, p. 57.

⁶³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 152, p. 57.

⁶⁴ Е.Э. Липшиц, *Павликианское движение в Византии в VIII и первой половине IX вв.*, ВВ 5, 1952, p. 55–56.

⁶⁵ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 154, p. 57.

⁶⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 155, p. 59.

⁶⁷ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 154, p. 57–59; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 141.

⁶⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 170, p. 63.

⁶⁹ Baanes was at the head of the Paulicians from 777 or 783 to 801. A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 48; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 83, 140.

⁷⁰ J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, *Historical Introduction...*, p. 18. Baanes died in 801.

⁷¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 170–172, p. 63–65.

presence of all, accusing him not of matters of faith, but of unspecified acts of wickedness⁷². This led to an open conflict between the two men and to a schism in heresy⁷³. Sergius was accepted as a *didaskalos* by some Paulicians, and it was then that he took the name Tychikos, whom St. Paul described as *a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord*⁷⁴. It is not known what happened to Baanes, except that some of the Paulicians remained faithful to him. Even after Sergius' death, his disciples killed Baanes' followers⁷⁵ until they were stopped by Theodot, Sergius' *synekdemos*, urging them to remain united⁷⁶.

The role played by Sergius in the development of Paulician heresy and the esteem he enjoyed among them are evidenced by the epithets bestowed on him by Peter. Here are some of them – τὸν τοῦ διαβόλου ὑπέρμαχον [...], προβατόσχημον λύκον, [...] τὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [...], τὸ τῆς ἀθεότητος στόμα, τὸν τῆς θεομήτορος καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων ὑβριστήν [...] τὸν ἀντίμαχον τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων⁷⁷, ὃ ἐχθρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, υἱὲ διαβόλου⁷⁸ συκοφάντα, τῆς ἀληθείας κατήγορε⁷⁹, τῆς ἀσεβείας προστάτα⁸⁰, μείζον πάντων τῶν θηρίων τοῦ τῆδε βίου⁸¹, Σέργιον τὸν τοῦ σκότους προσφιλή τὸν ἑαυτὸν λυχνοφανῆ ἀστέρα λέγοντα⁸². After Apostle John, Peter asked the heresiarch how he dared making himself equal to God⁸³.

The terms used by Peter to describe Sergius correspond to the invectives directed against all Paulicians – οἱ ἀνόσιοι⁸⁴, ἀπιστήσοι δαίμονας [...] συκοφάνται καὶ πχμμίαροι⁸⁵. According to him, they are fools who *craftily and untruthfully conceal the wolf under the sheepskin*⁸⁶.

The successes of Sergius drew the Emperor's attention to the Paulicians. While in the early days of his activity the Paulicians enjoyed relative tolerance, later the Patriarch Nicephoros (806–815) persuaded the ruler to recognize them as

⁷² PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 170, p. 63.

⁷³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 172, p. 65; PHOTIUS, *Diegesis*, 125, p. 163; 128–129, p. 165; S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee...*, p. 36; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликияни и павликянство...*, p. 141–144; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 80.

⁷⁴ Eph 6, 21.

⁷⁵ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 173, p. 65; PHOTIUS, *Diegesis*, 130, p. 165, 167; M. LOOS, *Le mouvement paulicien de Byzance*, I, Bsl 24, 1963, p. 279.

⁷⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 174, p. 65; M. LOOS, *Le mouvement...*, I, p. 279.

⁷⁷ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 133, p. 51.

⁷⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 162, p. 61.

⁷⁹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 165, p. 61.

⁸⁰ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 168, p. 63.

⁸¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 181, p. 65.

⁸² PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 134, p. 53. *The lover of darkness who called himself the star of daybreak* (trans. HAMILTON, p. 83).

⁸³ Io 5, 18; PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 162, p. 61.

⁸⁴ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 5, p. 9.

⁸⁵ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 34, p. 19.

⁸⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 23, p. 15, trans. HAMILTON, p. 69.

heretics and to take action against them. Michael I (811–813) and his successor, Leo V (813–820), seeing that heresy had attracted many Christians, ordered the death penalty for those who were involved in it⁸⁷. The orders of the emperor were executed, among others, by Bishop of Neocaesarea and exarch Paracondacus⁸⁸. On this basis we can conclude that Sergius resided in the Neocaesarea area, probably in Kynochorion⁸⁹.

The repressions were met with strong resistance from the Paulicians. Sergius' disciples, called *astatoi*, cunningly and treacherously murdered the exarch, while the inhabitants of Cynochoritae killed metropolitan Thomas⁹⁰. *Astatoi*, who became the military arm of the Paulicians, fled to Melitene⁹¹, to Muslim-controlled areas. The local emir, Monocherares – 'One-Handed', that is 'Umar Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Aqṭa' (about 830–863), gave the *astatoi* the fortress Argavon (today Arguvan)⁹². Various Muslim authors (eg. Al-Mas'ūdī, Aṭ-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Atīr) indicate that an alliance might have existed between Paulicians and the Arabs⁹³.

⁸⁷ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 175, p. 65; THEOPHANES AM 6304, p. 495; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 81. The author of *Vita Macarii* writes about punishing the Paulicians with death during the times of Emperor Theophilus (*S. Macarii monasterii Pelececes hegumeni acta graeca*, 14, ed. H. DELEHAYE, AB 16, 1897, p. 159). George the Monk accused the emperor Constantin V of favoring the Paulicians (GEORGIUS MONACHUS, *Chronicon*, vol. II, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1904, p. 752). According to some scholars, the Paulicans previously collaborated with the iconoclast emperors (N.S. GARSOĪAN, *The Paulician Heresy...*, p. 122–123; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликянството между легендите и историята VII–XVII век*, ПИФ 1, 2, 2017, p. 42–43, online: <https://logos.uni-plovdiv.net/en/elektronno-spisanie-plovdivski-istoriceski-forum> [19 IX 2019]; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 80–81; M. LOOS doubts such cooperation (*Le mouvement...*, I, p. 267–268). Also Emperor Nicephorus I (802–811) was designated by Theophanes as an ardent friend of the Manicheans, i.e. Paulicians (*Theophanis Chronographia*, AM 6303, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 488).

⁸⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 176, p. 65.

⁸⁹ P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 71.

⁹⁰ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 84; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 72.

⁹¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 177, p. 65; A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 48, 54; Е.Э. ЛИПШИЦ, *Павликианское...*, p. 57; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликянството...*, p. 44; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 72–73, 82. On 'Umar Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Aqṭa' see M. CANARD, *Un personnage de roman arabo-byzantin*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Byzance et les musulmans de Proche Orient*, praef. C. САНЕН, London 1973, p. 1–14. On Melitena – E. HONIGMAN, *Malatya*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. VI, Leiden 1991, p. 230–231.

⁹² They also settled around Tephrike and Amara (*Theophanis Continuati libri I–IV*, IV, 16, ed. et trans. M. FEATHERSTONE, J. SIGNES CODONER, Boston–Berlin 2015 [= *CFHB*, 53] (cetera: THEOPH. CONT.), p. 236).

⁹³ The war with the Byzantine Empire was also recorded in Arabic poetry, in folk epics like the story of Dāt al-Himma and in Byzantine epic Digenis Akritas. For the details see S.B. DADOYAN, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World. Paradigms of Interaction Seventh to Fourteenth Centuries*, vol. I, *The Arab Period in Arminjah: Seventh to Eleventh Centuries*, New Brunswick–London 2013, p. 96–107; A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 54–58; G. HUXLEY, *Antecedents and Context of Digenes Akrites*, GRBS 15, 1974, p. 317–338.

Muslim caliphs had generally offered Paulicians hospitable shelter because they were the main enemy of the Byzantines and knew the region well, and thus could serve as guides during the Muslim marches against Byzantines, actively participating in wars against the Byzantium⁹⁴. That was the reason why the Paulicians enjoyed a kind of autonomy under the ‘Abbasids⁹⁵. Having settled there and gathered supporters from all sides, the Paulicians started attacking the empire arm in arm with the Arabs⁹⁶. The chronology of these events is uncertain. It is possible that it took place during the rebellion of Thomas the Slav – in the 820s⁹⁷. Then Sergius and many of his followers joined the *astatoi* in Argauon. Sergius, who made a living as a carpenter, lived there for some time with his disciples, without giving up his missionary activity.

The Paulician leader founded new communities, naming them after the first Christian communities founded by Apostle Paul⁹⁸. This is how the Paulician “Colossan” Church came into being (which brought together the inhabitants of Cynochoritae)⁹⁹ and the Church of the “Laodiceans”. The latter was founded when Sergius moved his headquarters to Kynochorion near Neocaesarea (Niksar). His activity was not confined to the regions mentioned above. During his mission to Cilicia he founded, probably with the consent of Emir of Tarsus, the Church of the “Ephesians” based in Mimistra¹⁰⁰.

Sergius died a violent death, slaughtered with an axe in the mountains above Argauon by a man named Tzanion, who came from a *kastellon* in the Nicopolis region¹⁰¹. It happened in the year 6343 since the foundation of the world

⁹⁴ A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 50–51; Д.О. ЛОЕВСКИЙ, Д.А. НИКУЛЬШИН, *К вопросу об ереси павликиан в Византии*, ИУГУ 33, 2004, p. 208; S.B. DADOYAN, *The Armenians...*, vol. I, *The Arab Period...*, p. 45–46, 95–101; vol. II, *Armenian Realpolitik in the Islamic World and Diverging Paradigms Case of Cilicia: Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries*, New Brunswick–London 2013, p. 10–11, 40.

⁹⁵ A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 54.

⁹⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 178, p. 65; PHOTIUS, *Diegesis*, 138, p. 169; H. KENNEDY, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*, London 1986, p. 152–154; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–831*, Leiden–Boston 2012, p. 249; N.S. GARSOÏAN, *The Paulician Heresy...*, p. 120, 135; F. ALPI, *Messaggi attraverso il confine: l’Armenia e il confine orientale di Bisanzio nelle Lettere di Grigor Pahlawowni Magistros (ca. 990–1058)* (Diss., Università di Pisa 2014, available online: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/79619043.pdf>, 19 IX 2019), p. 223, 243 (*i pauliciani avevano fatto fronte comune con gli Arabi*).

⁹⁷ J. HAMILTON, V. HAMILTON, *Historical Introduction...*, p. 20; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 81.

⁹⁸ PETRUS IGUMENUS, 7, p. 84; M. TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA, *Paulicians...*, p. 239; P. LEMERLE, *L’histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 118–120.

⁹⁹ PETRUS IGUMENUS, 7, p. 84; N.S. GARSOÏAN, *The Paulician Heresy...*, p. 119.

¹⁰⁰ PETRUS IGUMENUS, 7, p. 84; PHOTIUS, *Diegesis*, 139–140, p. 169; S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee...*, p. 39; J. HAMILTON, V. HAMILTON, *Historical Introduction...*, p. 20; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 83–84.

¹⁰¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 180, p. 65; P. LEMERLE, *L’histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 74.

(= AD 834/835)¹⁰². The reasons for this crime are unknown. It should not come as a surprise that, according to Peter, it was God's punishment for dividing the Church¹⁰³.

The protagonist of this paper prepared the community well for further fights with Byzantium and dealing with their Saracen neighbors. He also introduced changes to Paulician theology¹⁰⁴. In the opinion of contemporary researchers, Sergius was *dernier grand docteur paulicien*¹⁰⁵, the great Paulician apostle¹⁰⁶, greater heresiarch¹⁰⁷ and a person of great charisma. He demonstrated more pleasing morals, good manners and tenderness than his predecessor, Baanes¹⁰⁸. He is not, however, *un grand théologien* but rather *un homme d'action*¹⁰⁹.

His work was continued by a large group of disciples, among whom Peter mentions Michael, Canacharis, John Aoratus (who he calls false priests), Theodot, Basileius, Zosimus and others¹¹⁰. While Peter was in Tephrike, Basileius and Zosimus were still alive¹¹¹ and were religious leaders. Their names, along with the name of Sergius, were among those condemned in anathemas¹¹².

Those disciples whom the Paulicians called companions of the road (*synekdemoi*, συνέκδημοι), after the death of their teacher, disseminated his teachings and those of his predecessors among the residents of Argaoun. According to the information provided to Peter, at first they did not choose one leader, but they all had the same rank, they were all equal. They had subordinates, whom they called notaries (νοτάριοι)¹¹³, who, according to Peter, were false priests. It seems that the *synekdemoi* maintained their position also when the Paulicians were joined by Karbeas (Καρβέας), an important staff official of the commander of the Anatolic Theme, who rebelled after the execution of his father, fled to Argaoun with a group of Paulicians (they were said to have been five thousand) and offered his services

¹⁰² PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 181, p. 65; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 84; Е.Э. ЛИПШИЦ (*Павликианское...*, p. 58) wrote that *Смерть Сергия отнесена Петром Сицилийцем к 6303 г. от сотворения мира, что соответствует у Фотия 6343 г., т. е. если следовать общепринятой константинопольской эре, по Петру событие это относится к 795 г., по Фотию же — к 835 г.*

¹⁰³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 179, p. 65.

¹⁰⁴ N.S. GARSOÏAN, *The Paulician Heresy...*, p. 182–185; ЕАДЕМ, *Byzantine Heresy...*, p. 96; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 101, 117–118, 141, 157.

¹⁰⁵ *Le Synodikon de l'orthodoxie...*, p. 133.

¹⁰⁶ F.C. CONYBEARE, *Introduction...*, p. XXXII.

¹⁰⁷ S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee...*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁸ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство...*, p. 141.

¹⁰⁹ P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 122.

¹¹⁰ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 182, p. 67.

¹¹¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 187, p. 67.

¹¹² *Les formules d'abjuration*, I, 15; II, 14; III, 2; IV, 9, [in:] *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des pauliciens...*, p. 193, 195, 197, 199, 205, 207; J. GOUILLARD, *Commentaire...*, p. 233–234.

¹¹³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 183, p. 67; K. TER-MKRITSCHIAN, *Die Paulikianer...*, p. 26–27.

to the Emir of Melitena¹¹⁴. During his time, the numbers and power of the Paulicians grew. They left Argauon, founded Tephrike and settled there before 856¹¹⁵.

As a result, they became partially independent from the Muslims of Melitena, and living in the vicinity of Armenia and Byzantium they were able to attack them¹¹⁶. They subjugated the local population, using those who obeyed them as helpers in guarding the prisoners. The disobedient were sold to Saracens. Karbeas made Tephrike a shelter for those who were sentenced to death for Paulician heresy in the empire¹¹⁷. Also supporters of heresy from the vicinity of Tephrike gathered here. According to Peter, they were the most greedy, the most promiscuous and insane people, tempted by the promise of freedom to fulfill their most shameful desires¹¹⁸.

The mission of Peter of Sicily in Tephrike ended in failure, so in the following years Basil I undertook campaigns against the Paulicians and despite initial setbacks he managed to defeat them and destroyed Tephrike (871/872)¹¹⁹. However, the ruler decided not to persecute the defeated, but to use their military potential, eagerly conscripting them into the ranks of the Byzantine army. Almost one hundred years earlier in 757, the Paulician colony was founded in Thrace by Emperor Constantine V¹²⁰. John Tzimiskes (969–976) resettled them in the vicinity of Philippopolis, a fortress that he had recently taken away from the Bulgarians¹²¹. Thus, although in a different way than envisaged by Peter of Sicily, the Paulicians found themselves in the Bulgarian territory. The Bulgarian clergy already had the right materials to meet that challenge.

¹¹⁴ Karbeas is called Qarbiyās in Arabic sources (A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 53–55). On Karbeas see P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 856–896.

¹¹⁵ Е.Э. Липшиц, *Павликианское...*, p. 59; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликианството...*, p. 45.

¹¹⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 184, p. 67; S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee...*, p. 39–44; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликианство...*, p. 85.

¹¹⁷ THEOPH. CONT., IV, 16, p. 237–139; IV, 23, p. 250–252; THEOPH. CONT., *Vita Basilii*, 37–43, p. 136–159 (= ed. I. BEKKER, p. 165–166; 176–177, V, 37–43, 266–276); *Iosephi Genesis Regum libri quattuor*, I, 31; I, 34–37, rec. A. LESMUELLER-WERNER, Berolini 1978 [= CFHB, 14], p. 81–82, 85–88 (= ed. C. LACHMANN, Bonn 1834 [= CSFB], p. 120–126); *Georgii Cedreni Historiarum Compendium*, vol. II, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1839 [= CSHB], p. 206–212; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликианство...*, p. 85; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 92–96.

¹¹⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Istoria*, 185, p. 67.

¹¹⁹ A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 59; Д.О. ЛОЕВСКИЙ, Д.А. НИКУЛЬШИН, *К вопросу...*, p. 208; W.M. RAMSAY, *The Campaign of Basil I. against the Paulicians in 872 AD*, CR 10, 1896, p. 136–140; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликианството...*, p. 45–46; P. LEMERLE, *L'histoire des Pauliciens...*, p. 104–110.

¹²⁰ THEOPHANES, AM 6247, p. 429; A. NAZMI, *The Paulicians...*, p. 59; Y. STOYANOV, *The Other God. Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, New Haven 2000, p. 150; P. CHARANIS, *The Transfer of Population as a Policy in the Byzantine Empire*, CSSH 3, 2, 1961, p. 140–154; S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee...*, p. 39.

¹²¹ *Crisi, rotture e cambiamenti*, ed. U. BIANCHI et al., Milano 1995, p. 197; *Christian Dualist...*, p. 23; M. TSVIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA, *Paulicians...*, p. 232; P.M. БАРТИКЯН, *Византийская, армянская и болгарская легенды о происхождении павликиан и их историческая основа*, ВВг 6, 1980, p. 61; H. KUSABU, *Seminaries...*, p. 183; Д.О. ЛОЕВСКИЙ, Д.А. НИКУЛЬШИН, *К вопросу...*, p. 209.

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Abstract. Peter of Sicily, a Byzantine high official from the times of Basil I, intended to warn the Archbishop of Bulgaria against certain heretics, known as the Paulicians, as he learned during his mission to Tefrike about their plans of sending their missionaries there. His writings are regarded as the most competent source of information on the history and doctrine of the Paulicians. He also described some of their leaders, including Sergius himself.

According to Peter, it was a woman with whom Sergius had had an affair who made him the devil's tool. He accepted the name of Tychicos and passed himself off as a disciple of Paul the Apostle. For 34 years he was the leader of the Paulicians. Peter admits that Sergius was successful in winning followers and at the same time, besides making false statements, accuses him of selling Christians

into slavery to barbarians and of collaboration with the Muslims. In the end, however, he was supposed to have an argument with another heresiarch, Baanes, which would lead to a break among the Paulicians.

Sergius is colourfully described as an enemy of the Cross, a voice of impiety, a lover of darkness and a wolf in sheep's clothing, who skilfully pretends to be a man of virtue but has deceived many. Although he himself was murdered in 834/835, his work was continued by disciples of his.

Keywords: the Paulicians, Peter of Sicily, Sergius, heresy, Byzantine history.


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INGVAR THE FAR-TRAVELLED: BETWEEN THE BYZANTIUM AND CAUCASUS. A MARITIME APPROACH TO DISCUSSION

Ingvar the Far-Travelled (old Norse: Yngvarr víðförli), who lived between 1010–1041, is one of the mysterious figures in the history of the 11th century Sweden. He was one of the last leaders of the Scandinavians who tried his luck in the east, and more specifically on the eastern coast of the Black Sea and the Caucasus. The mystery of this character arises from a small number of sources detailing his life. Ingvar is only mentioned by name on Swedish runic stones, in a Saga describing his life, and in reports from Icelandic annals. Therefore, facing the researchers is an extremely difficult task: namely, to determine both his origins and find out about his life, the end of which Ingvar met in the east¹. This discussion started at the beginning of the 20th century and is still going on. Of greatest interest to this paper are those episodes from Ingvar's life which are related to seafaring since they may shed a new light on the accounts of his journey in the context of the 11th-century Byzantium.

Some personal information about Ingvar should be presented here. We know very little about his birth date and childhood. Historians have formulated a number of theories about his origin:

- he may have been the son of Eymundr, who was a son of Swedish chieftain named Áki, while his mother may have been the daughter of Swedish king Eric the Victorious;

¹ J. SHEPARD, *Yngvarr's Expedition to the East and a Russian Inscribed Stone Cross*, SBVS 21, 1982, p. 222–292; M.G. LARSSON, *Yngvarr's Expedition and the 'Georgian Chronicle'*, SBVS 22, 1986, p. 98–108; IDEM, *Early Contacts between Scandinavia and the Orient*, SRJ 9, 2011, p. 126–127; D.I. MCGINNIS, *The Vikings in the East: Ingvars sagaviðförli*, [in:] *A Selection from the Papers Presented at the First Annual Meeting Held at Ottawa 1982*, ed. E.W. LAINE, Ottawa 1983, p. 79; O. VON FIRESEN, *Hvem var Yngvarr enn vidforli?*, For 5, 1910, p. 199–209; S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *U boku bazy-leusa. Frankowie i Waregowie w cesarstwie bizantyńskim w XI w.*, Łódź 2019 [= BL, 37], p. 88–89; С. МАРКАРЯН, *По поводу личности предводителя дружины викингов на Кавказе в XI веке*, РВН 103, 1, 2000, p. 154–155; S. BLÖNDAL, *Varangians of Byzantium. An Aspect of Byzantine Military History*, trans. B.S. BENEDIKZ, Cambridge 1978, p. 105.

- his father Eymundur may have been a son of Eric the Victorious, and brother of Olaf Skötkonung;
- the last one suggests that Ingvar was a son of King Edmund the Old, and grandson of Olaf Skötkonung².

The first group of sources, the Icelandic annals, are associated with the only certain fact about Ingvar, namely the date of his death. Under the year 1041, the following phrase appears: *Dáinn Yngvarr víðförli...* or *...Andadiz Ynguar vidforli*³. The quoted annals do not come from Ingvar's days but are much later. The information about the death of our hero was taken from the compilation made by Sturla Þórðarson (1214–1284) in the late 13th century⁴. This writer of the Icelandic Sagas was also a historian of his time, which is why the date of Ingvar's death should be treated as credible. Why are Ingvar's age and death important for maritime affairs? I will discuss this later in this paper.

Another extremely reliable group of sources is runic stones. The 26 stones on which references are made to the Ingvar expedition come from Uppland, Södermanland, Västmanland, Östergötland, i.e. from the lands in eastern Sweden. Their content has been the subject of discussion for many years, especially because they are among the few runic stones which contain some references to Serkland, the land of the Saracens⁵. The runic stones most important for my argument have the following content:

U 439

Latin transliteration:

[harlaif × auk × þurkarþr × litu × raisa × stain × þina at × sabi faþur sin × is||sturþi × austr × skibi × maþ ikuari a/a| askalat-/skalat-]

Old Norse transcription:

Hærlæif ok Þorgærðr letu ræisa stæin þenna at Sæbiorn, faður sinn. Es styrði austr **skipi** með Ingvari a Æistaland(?) / Særkland[i](?).

² O. PRITSAK, *The Origin of Rus'*, vol. I, *Old Scandinavian Sources other than the Sagas*, Cambridge Mass. 1981, p. 425–430; M.G. LARSSON, *Ingvar the Fartravellers Journey: Historical and Archaeological Sources*, [in:] *Between East and West. Early Contacts between Scandinavia and Caucasus*, ed. IDEM, Uppsala–Rimbo 2013, p. 37–38.

³ *Lögmannsannáll (ásamt Nýjaannál)*, ed. G. JÓNSSON, Reykjavík 1948, [http://heimskringla.no/Lögmannsannáll_\(ásamt_Nýjaannál\)](http://heimskringla.no/Lögmannsannáll_(ásamt_Nýjaannál)) [10 XII 2018]; *Konungs annáll "Annales islandorum regii"*, 22, 9, ed. H.B. GOODWIN, Uppsala 1906, p. 100; *Flateyjarbok*, ed. G. VIÐFÚSSON, C.R. UNGER, Christiana 1868, p. 507.

⁴ O. PRITSAK, *The Origin...*, p. 424.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 451–453; M.G. LARSSON, *Ingvarstågets arkeologiska bakgrund*, For 81, 1986, p. 99–100.

English translation:

Herleif and Þorgerðr had this stone raised in memory of Sæbjörn, their father, who steered a ship east with Ingvar to Estonia(?) / Serkland(?)⁶.

U 654

Latin transliteration:

+ a--itr: auk * ka(r) auk: kiti: auk: -[l]isi: auk * tiarfr: ris[t]u: stain: þena: aftir: kunlaif: foþur
sin is u[a]s nus(t)(r) * m[i](þ) ikuari: tribin kuþ: hialbi: o(t) þaira al-ikr| |raistik * runar is
kuni + ual * knari stura

Old Norse transcription:

A[ndv]ettr ok Karr ok <kiti> ok [B]lesi ok Diarfr ræistu stæin þenna æftir Gunnlæif, faður sinn. Es vas austr með Ingvari drepinn. Guð hialpi and þæira. Al[r]ikr(?) ræist-ek runar. Es kunni val **knæri styra**.

English translation:

Andvéttr and Kárr and <kiti> and Blesi and Djarfr raised this stone in memory of Gunnleifr, their father, who was killed in the east with Ingvar. May God help their spirits. Alríkr(?), I carved the runes. He could steer a cargo-ship well⁷.

U778

Latin transliteration:

þialfi × auk × hulmnlauk × litu × raisa × staina þisa × ala × at baka × sun sin × is ati × ain ×
sir × skib × auk × austr × stu[rþi ×] i × ikuars × liþ × kuþ hialbi × ot × baka × ask(i)l × raist

Old Norse transcription:

Þialfi ok Holmlaug letu ræisa stæina þessa alla at Banka / Bagga, sun sinn. Es atti æinn ser **skip** ok **austr styrði** i Ingvars lið. Guð hialpi and Banka / Bagga. Æskell ræist.

English translation:

“Þialfi and Holmlaug had all of these stones raised in memory of Banki / Baggi, their son, who alone owned a ship and steered to the east in Ingvar’s retinue. May God help Banki’s / Baggi’s spirit. Áskell carved⁸.

Sö 335

Latin transliteration:

u ulf=ui: raisti: stain þana| |at bruþur sin: u:snikin sar furs: a:ust:arla: maþ: i:ikn:u:ari: ksibari
hulmstains

Old Norse transcription:

Ulf(r?) ræisti stæin þenna at broður sinn Osnikin, sar fors austarla með Ingvari, **skipari Holmstæins**.

⁶ Entry U 439 in *Rundata 3.1 for Windows*, <http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm> [10 XII 2018] (cetera: *Rundata*); *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, VII, *Upplands Runinskrifter del 2*, ed. E. WESSÉN, S. JANSSON, Stockholm 1943–1946, p. 232–233.

⁷ Entry U 654 in *Rundata*; *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, VIII, *Upplands Runinskrifter del 3*, ed. E. WESSÉN, S. JANSSON, Stockholm 1949–1951, p. 112–116.

⁸ Entry U 778 in *Rundata*; *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, VIII..., p. 357–361.

English translation:

Ulfr(?) raised this stone in memory of his brother Ósníkin. He travelled to the east with Ingvar; (he was) Holmsteinn's seaman⁹.

The runic stones quoted above, besides valuable information in the form of the names of the participants of the Ingvar expedition, also provide us with data about the ships participating in it. On three of the stones, terms such as *skipi* / *skip* / *skipari* appear, and one stone features the term *knærri*. The term *skip* can be translated as *ship*¹⁰. Therefore, this name could denote all of the ships used by the Scandinavians for commercial purposes as well as for the expeditions of plunder. The term *knarr* is much more precise. This type of vessel was a transport ship, about 16.5 m long and 4.8 m wide, capable of transporting more than 20 tons of goods¹¹.

The most important source and also the most controversial one is the Ingvar Saga (*Yngvars saga víðförla*)¹². Nowadays, the authorship of this saga is ascribed to Oddr Snorrason, who wrote down his text in Latin around 1200¹³. Odd was a zealous Christian Benedictine monk at the Þingeyrarklaustur, which was founded at Þingeyrar in Iceland after 1133, meaning that the Saga was written over a century after Ingvar's expedition. This important account of the journey to the east is full of Christian allegories and quasi-mythological descriptions of clashes with supernatural beings, giants, or dragons. We know that *Yngvars saga víðförla* presents a subjective point of view of a Christian monk, but it is also a historical source containing some historical figures or geographical concepts. This is why the Saga cannot be rejected on many counts, offering, for instance, insights into the events and terminology related to shipping and fighting at sea.

The Saga indicates that Ingvar was related by birth and had family ties to the rulers of Sweden, and from early childhood was taught about shipping. His father, Eymundr, was also associated with the sea. This is confirmed in the Saga when a mention is made of how Ingvar's father was exiled from home. Ingigerd, the daughter of King Olaf, secretly provided one ship on which he fled Sweden, escaping the wrath of her father (...*fekk Ingigerðr honum skip á laun... / Ingigerd*

⁹ Entry Sö 335 in *Rundata; Sveriges Runinskrifter*, III, *Södermanlands Runinskrifter*, ed. E. BRATE, E. WESSÉN, Stockholm 1924–1936, p. 320–321.

¹⁰ B. ELLERTSSON, *Íslensk-þýsk orðabók. Isländisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Reykjavík 1993, p. 365; J. JESCH, *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age. The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse*, Woodbridge 2008, p. 120–123.

¹¹ J. JESCH, *Ships...*, p. 128–132; I. ATKINSON, *The Viking Ships*, Cambridge 1980, p. 22–24.

¹² In this paper I have used the electronic versions of *Ingaga saga*, available online: *Yngvars saga víðförla*, http://heimskringla.no/wiki/Yngvars_saga_víðförla [10 XII 2018]; *Yngvars saga víðförla*, <https://www.snerpa.is/net/forn/yngvar.htm> [10 XII 2018].

¹³ ODDR SNORRASON, *The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, trans. T.M. ANDERSSON, ed. K. BRAGADÓTTIR, Ithaca 2003, p. 3; M. CLUNIES ROSS, *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, Cambridge 2000, p. 306–308; D.I. MCGINNIS, *The Vikings...*, p. 85, note 1; J. SHEPARD, *Yngvarr's...*, p. 222–223.

secretly provided him with a ship)¹⁴. When Ingigerd married Jaroslav the Wise, whom the source refers to as Jarizleif, Eymundr went to Holmgard (Novgorod), where he enlisted in the service of the husband of his old lover flame. It brought him wealth and also ensured his safe return to Sweden¹⁵. The Saga mentions that Ingvar stayed in his father's house until he was 9 years old. Then, he joined the service of King Olaf and befriended his son, Onund. As a result, he reconciled his parent with his ruler, which was reflected in the gifts that Ingvar received from King Olaf: a good horse, a gilt saddle, and a ship (*Þá gaf konungr Yngvari góðan hest ok söðul gylltan ok skip fagrt / Then the king gave Ingvar a good horse, a gilt saddle and a fine ship*)¹⁶. Of course, Ingvar gave these presents to his father, but he remained in the service of Olaf. In spite of Ingvar's young age, the King later gave him and Onund the mission to collect the tribute from the Semigallians. They were given three ships for this task (*...þrimr skipum... / three ship*)¹⁷. Ingvar carried out this mission excellently, despite the fact that he had to fight with some Semigallians chieftains.

An armed expedition to the other side of the Baltic Sea was probably a breakthrough in Ingvar's career. At the peak of his popularity in Sweden, he decided to recruit volunteers and mount his own expedition. He managed to collect thirty ships (*...þrjá tigi skipa... / thirty ships*), with full equipment¹⁸. Spearheading the fleet, he went to the east, to Jaroslav the Wise, to Garðaríki, where he stayed for three years, learning languages and the hydrography of the rivers of the Kievan Rus. The Saga mentions Ingvar's particular interest in three rivers flowing through the lands of the Rus. The central one was the largest and it was chosen by Ingvar, who wanted to know its length. Ingvar's fleet left Garðaríki, and the commander was accompanied by four companions: Hjalmvigi, Soti, Ketil, called Garda-Ketil an Islander, and Valdimar¹⁹. The thirty ships that left with Ingvar down the river experienced various mythical events. Probably the most interesting is the story of one of Ingvar's ships, commanded by two priests. Their ship was destroyed by the dragon Jakulus, who used its venom against it (*Ok er Jakúlus kom yfir skip þat, sem prestar tveir stýrðu, þá spjó hann svá eitri, at bæði týndust skip ok menn / And when Jakulus came over the ship that was captained by two priests, he spewed such venom that both ship and men were destroyed*)²⁰. Finally, after many days of traveling down the river, Ingvar reached the city of Citopolis, ruled by Queen Silkisif. At her invitation, Ingvar wintered in this place, as did his ships, which were brought ashore there by the inhabitants of the city. Later in this chapter,

¹⁴ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 2.

¹⁵ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 3.

¹⁶ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 3.

¹⁷ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 4.

¹⁸ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 5.

¹⁹ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 5.

²⁰ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 5.

the Saga describes Ingvar and his warriors' springtime journey down the river, which included negotiating rapids on two occasions. Having succeeded, at the end of summer, the Scandinavians reached Heliopolis (Heliópólim), whose ruler was King Jolf, and they were stopped there by his boats²¹. As guests of King Jolf, Ingvar and his people, along with their ships, spent the next winter there. Their ships were brought to the city for the winter period by inhabitants of Heliopolis. King Jolf shared with Ingvar his knowledge about the sources of the river, and also gave him a piece of advice: *En í þessi áinni, er þú hefir farit eptir, liggja úti illgerðamenn á stórum skipum ok hafa öll skipin hulin reyri, svá at menn hyggja þat eyjar, ok hafa alls konar vápn ok skoteld, ok meir eyða þeir mönnum með eldi en vápnum / But in this river, which you have gone up to, there lie evil men on large ships, and all the ships have hidden, so that men think about the islands, and have all kinds of weapons and fire, and more they destroy men with fire than the weapons*²².

Ingvar, for his part, promised that he would support Jolf against his brother Bjolf as soon as he returned from the expedition he had planned for many years. Bjolof was more powerful than the king and had done a lot of damage to him. That is why Jolf sought allies against him. In the following spring, Ingvar went further, and it took him several months to build a canal that allowed his ships to sail past the next obstacle on the river²³. Later on, in addition to meeting the mythical giants, Ingvar's fleet was involved in another interesting encounter. At the fork of the river, the Scandinavians were attacked by pirates, who masked their ships as five floating islands. One of the floating islands began the fight throwing stones at Ingvar's ships. It did not quite impress the Scandinavians, who hid behind the shields and then responded firing their own arrows. The pirates noticed this and changed their tactics, deploying a flamethrower that burned one of Ingvar's ships²⁴. At this point, the Saga recalls Ingvar's heroic shot with a bow, which led to the explosion of a firetube, the destruction of this island ship, and the death of its crew. In a similar way, he destroyed the other four floating pirate islands²⁵.

Later, Ingvar arrived at the source of the river and returned to Jolf. The Scandinavians returned to Heliopolis to assist the king against his brother Bjolf. Ingvar's help was decisive for the success of Jolf, who drove his brother away, and then attacked his Scandinavian allies. This surprised the Viking chieftain, who had previously predicted that he could be betrayed. This is why he had prepared caltrops, which his people scattered, slowing down the movement of the new enemy²⁶.

²¹ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 5; G. GLAZYRINA, *On Heliopolis in Ingvars saga víðförla*, [in:] *Scandinavian and Christian Europe in the Middle Ages. Papers of the 12th International Saga Conference*, ed. R. SIMEK, J. MEURER, Bonn 2003, p. 175–178.

²² *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 5.

²³ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 6.

²⁴ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 6.

²⁵ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 6.

²⁶ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 7.

On the way back to Silkisif, Ingvar and his crew caught an infectious disease which also led to the death of the leader of the expedition. It took place in 1041, when Ingvar was 25 years old (*En þá er Yngvarr andaðist, var liðit frá burð Jesú Kristí MXL ok einn vetr. Þá var hann hálfþritugr, er hann dó / And when Yngvar breathed his last, 1041 years had passed since the birth of Jesus Christ. He was twenty-five when he died*). His companions and the remaining 12 ships reached Citopolis (*Citópolis*) carrying his body²⁷. The expedition, now without its leader, disintegrated. Ketil went to the Kievan Rus with one ship, while Valdimar sailed to Miklagard with another. The author of the Saga did not describe what happened to the other crews and ships²⁸.

The last extremely important source is materials of Georgian origins. This is a short piece of information worth quoting in its entirety.

Varangs came, 3,000 strong, and he established them at Bashi. Bagrat took with him seven hundred men and advanced with the army of the interior. These Varangs did not wait for the Mesxs. They came to grips at the entrance to the forest of Sasiret'i. The army of the interior withdrew; and in that battle Abuser was captured, and the other magnates with him. They were unable to fight the Varangs. Liparit gave them servants who prepared food. In this way they crossed the (chain) of Lixi.²⁹

Thanks to this chronicle, we know that the Varangians came in the strength of 3,000 warriors and set up their camp in Bashi with the consent of Bagrat (Bashi is a place located at the mouth of the Rioni River, in Western Georgia). Bagrat IV (1018–1072, King of Georgia) incorporated 700 of these soldiers into his forces and engaged an army of rebels who had rose against his authority. The Varangians clashed with the enemy just outside the forest in Sasireti (today in the Shida Kartli region, near the city of Kaspi, in central-eastern Georgia). Bagrat's army was destroyed and his people were captured by Liparit (Liparit IV of Kldekari, 1030–1059; Kldekari is located today in the Kvemo Kartli region in southern Georgia). Left alone, the Varangians were unable to resist his army. Liparit sent the Varangians some servants, who prepared food for them, and later allowed them to cross the Lixi mountain range. From the Georgian source, we do not learn anything about any ships of the Varangians who arrived in Georgia in 1040s. The only certain information is that they landed at the mouth of the Rioni River and then crossed the mountain range, heading east.

²⁷ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 8.

²⁸ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 8.

²⁹ *Rewriting Caucasian History. The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation*, ed. et trans. R.W. THOMSON, Oxford 1996, p. 293.

Sigfus Blöndal suggested linking the events described in this source with facts related to Ingvar's expedition³⁰. Mats G. Larsson used data from this chronicle to reconstruct the possible path of Ingvar's expedition, speculating that the Viking chieftain reached the Black Sea via the rivers of the Kievan Rus, and then went to Georgia, where he used local rivers (Rioni, Kvirila, Tscheremila, and Mktvari) to reach the Caspian Sea and the lands of the Saracens (Serkaland)³¹. The same author also suggests that Ingvar's expedition was accompanied by between 500 and 1,000 Swedes³². At the turn of the 21st century, a group of Swedish shipbuilders and researchers set out on a journey to reconstruct the Scandinavian passage to the Caspian Sea through the Caucasus, proving that such a trip was possible with the use of small and light boats³³. Some scholars also consider scenarios in which Ingvar took part in the great expedition of the Rus against Constantinople in 1043, not in the battles in Georgia, or even move the date of Ingvar's expedition to early 1030s³⁴. Jonathan Shepard, however, rejects M.G. Larsson's hypothesis which links Ingvar to the Battle of Sasiret'i, because the Georgian Chronicle dates this clash to 1045³⁵. J. Shepard's skepticism in the case of Ingvar's journey towards the Caucasus is justified because M.G. Larsson's theory makes a mention of the Varangians' activity in Georgia, and somewhat too literally links this data to facts and places from the Saga.

If the reports from the Georgian source are rejected, it will be necessary to rely on the much later *Yngvars saga víðförla* and the runestones for matters related to seafaring. Thanks to these two sources, we know what type of vessel was used by Ingvar's fleet. Being a ship-boat-type, *skip* was a vessel smaller than longships, both in terms of size and the number of crew. The crew of such a unit numbered only 20–30 sailors. The 30 ships with which Ingvar left Sweden, and later also the Kievan Rus, could carry between 600 and 900 people. That seems to confirm the above-mentioned findings of M.G. Larsson. We do not know much about the captains of those vessels. The Saga names four of them: Hjalmvigi, Soti, Ketil, and Valdimar. In addition, the Saga also mentions a ship commanded by two priests. Holmstein and Banki/Baggi are the only captains and owners of their own ships who are named on the runic stones. On the runestones which I examined, in addition to that, two helmsmen and one crew member were named by name. Undoubtedly, these were people experienced in sea expeditions and sailing on rivers, which is confirmed by one record of runestone No. U 654: *Es kunni val knærri styra*.

³⁰ S. BLÖNDAL, *Varangians...*, p. 105; S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *U boku...*, p. 158.

³¹ M.G. LARSSON, *Yngvarr's...*, p. 104; IDEM, *Vart for Ingvar den vittfarne?*, *For* 78, 1983, p. 98–99.

³² IDEM, *Yngvarr's...*, p. 103.

³³ IDEM, *Ingvar the Fartraveller...*, p. 36–37, 40–43.

³⁴ J. SHEPARD, *Yngvarr's...*, p. 230–259.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 276–279; S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *U boku...*, p. 160; С. МАРКАРЯН, *По поводу...*, p. 151–152.

Was their commander equally experienced? Ingvar, from the age of nine, served King Olaf. As a boy, he received a ship, which, according to the Saga, he had to hand over to his father. Then, we see him again as a young man, who is headed with three ships for Semigalia, which is located on the other side of the Baltic Sea. This was probably his first sea expedition. After returning, he managed to convince nearly 1,000 Swedes to accompany him on the expedition to the Saracens' land. Therefore, he must have been a charismatic leader and must have had the skills necessary for sailing and commanding ships. According to the Saga, he stayed in Holmgard for a long time to learn the hydrography of the most important rivers of the Rus. He also learned there foreign languages needed in his further journey. Which river did he choose to sail south? Was it the Volga or the Dnieper, as the aforementioned researchers believe?

Another possibility is that it was the Don, which flows into the Sea of Azov. This river is so important because it runs between the Dnieper and the Volga, and its mouth, giving to the sea in Taganrog Bay, is located near the other large rivers of this region: Kalmius and Mius. To the south, Tmutarakan was located, a medieval Kievan Rus principality and trading town which controlled the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as well as the estuary of the Kuban River, at Temryuk Bay. The Kuban is a river whose sources are in the heart of the Caucasus's mountains, and to this day it is navigable all the way to the city of Krasnodar. It was also the former land of the medieval Alans, as well as the kingdom of Zichia. Maybe the cities of Citopolis and Heliopolis, which appear in a Saga, should be looked for around this area. Located in Zichia is the city of Nikopsis, which was an important Byzantine outpost in the Caucasus³⁶. Rus prince Mstislav of Chernigov (988–after 1035) ruled these lands and cities during the time of Ingvar's journey. Maybe it is him or one of his direct successors that can be seen as the prototype of king Jolf from the Saga. Mstislav also ruled a number of Caucasus peoples, whom he had conquered or forced to recognize his authority. They were the peoples from Kasogians and Khazars tribes³⁷. Prince Mstislav, like king Jolf, who, according to the Saga, knew many languages, including Greek, would have been a polyglot of sorts as he ruled over such different communities (...*Sá var skryðdr konungs skruða ok mælti margar tungur... Þá mælti hann nokkur orð á girsku. Yngvarr skildi, at hann hét Jólfr ok var ór borginni Heliópólim / ...He was robed as a king, and spoke many tongues... Then he spoke a few words in Greek. Yngvar understood that he was called Jolf and was from the city of Helipolis*)³⁸. This ruler also had a long-standing feud with his brother, which concluded with the battle of Listven near Chernigov in 1024, where his troops

³⁶ O. PRITSAK, *Zichia*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, p. 2226–2227.

³⁷ *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. S.H. HAZZARD CROSS, O. SHERBOWITZ-WETZOR, Cambridge Mass. 1953, p. 134–135.

³⁸ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 5.

clashed with the Varangians of Jaroslav the Wise, and the latter lost that battle³⁹. Mstislav also cooperated with the Byzantine fleet from 1016. In this year, the joint attack carried out by the Byzantines and Mstislav mainly targeted the eastern part of the Crimea and the city of Kerch. This city was controlled by the Khazars, who remained there after the fall of their khaganate, which was destroyed by Mstislav's grandfather Svyatoslav in the 10th century. The leader of the Crimean Khazars, whose capital was in this city, was Georgius Tzul. The joint Byzantine-Rus expedition was successful and the occupation of the aforementioned city by Mstislav followed⁴⁰. It is possible that the round ships mentioned in the Saga, which Jolf had at his disposal, were units used for navigation on the Sea of Azov and the rivers flowing into it by the Khazars, over whom the prince of Tmutarakan ruled (...*En er leið sumarit, sáu þeir fjölda skipa róa í mót sér. Þau váru öll kringlótt ok umhverfis árar fyrir borðum. Þeir lögðu svá í mót, at Yngvarr átti einskis kost nema biða í stað, því at svá fóru skip þeira sem fugl flygi / But as summer passed, they saw many boats rowing towards them. They were all round with oars on every side. They steered towards them, so that Yngvar had no choice but to wait there for them, because their boats seemed to fly like birds*)⁴¹.

Therefore, the wicked pirates living downstream, mentioned by Jolf, could have simply been Byzantine sailors, whose task was to block the movement down the river. The Saga mentions five pirate ships masked as islands, which attacked Ingvar and his men. Leo the Wise (886–912), a Byzantine Emperor, mentions in his *Tactica* that in order to preserve the efficiency of the fleet, it should be divided into subdivisions of 3 to 5 dromons, which should be under the command of an archon in the rank of comes of the fleet, a man answering to the fleet commander⁴². The Byzantine dromons could have also been armed with Greek fire and a ballista to throw stones at enemies. Such a 5-strong naval vessel squadron was able to cooperate with the allies of the Byzantines away from the home base. The crews of these five ships would have been around 600–800 people (considering that there could be between 140 and 200 oarsmen, sailors, and marines aboard an ordinary dromon)⁴³. Therefore, it was a significant military contingent,

³⁹ *The Russian Primary Chronicle...*, p. 134–136.

⁴⁰ Ioannis Skylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. THURN, Berlin–New York 1973 [= CFHB, 5], p. 354. 88–93; A. POPPE, *Le prince et l'Église en Russie de Kiev depuis la fin du X^e siècle et jusqu'au début du XI^e siècle*, APH 20, 1969, p. 95–119; Л. ВОЙТОВИЧ, *Князівські династії Східної Європи (кінець IX – початок XVI ст.)*, Львів 2000, p. 150–152; A. VASILIEV, *The Goths in the Crimea*, New York 1936, p. 134; J. BONAREK, *Romajowie i obcy w kronice Jana Skylitzesa. Identyfikacja etniczna Bizantyńczyków i ich stosunek do obcych w świetle kroniki Jana Skylitzesa*, Toruń 2003, p. 163; S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *U boku...*, p. 89.

⁴¹ *Yngvars saga víðförla*, 5.

⁴² *The Taktika of Leo VI*, XIX, 25, ed. et trans. G.T. DENNIS, Washington 2010 [= CFHB.SW, 49], p. 512–513.

⁴³ J. PRYOR, E.M. JEFFREYS, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ. The Byzantine Navy ca. 500–1204*, Leiden–Boston 2006, p. 254–260.

which could have easily acted as an ally to Mstislav. Later, possibly during the reign of the prince's successor in Tmutarakan, the relations with the Rus must have deteriorated, and perhaps this squadron of Byzantine ships deserted Emperor and went into common robbery, which is why the Saga gave them the name of pirates. The desertion of these sailors and their transition to pirate activities would also be evidence of a much earlier crisis in the Byzantine naval forces, including those operating in the Black Sea, preceding the reign of Constantine IX (1042–1055).

To summarize, we are looking at indirect proof of the activity of Byzantine ships mentioned by the Saga. Where, then, could a potential clash with the Byzantines have occurred? There are several possible locations, one of them being the estuary of Don, and another the Kuban. The location of the aforementioned events and places in this part of the Black Sea coast seems to be confirmed by the subsequent choices of some of Ingvar's men, who, after his death, headed for the Rus or Constantinople. Of course, some researchers see the use of Greek fire by the pirates as the confirmation of the participation of Ingvar's fleet in the Rus expedition to Constantinople in 1043, where such weapons were used against them⁴⁴. The Saga mentions the fork of the river, not the fight in the strait, which was the case of the sea battle near the capital of Byzantium. Also, the Byzantines, unlike the pirates, did not mask their ships fighting against the Rus in 1043.

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⁴⁴ J. SHEPARD, *Yngvarr's...*, p. 234.

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Abstract. The Journey to the East of the Viking Ingvar the Far-Traveled is one of the events that fit into the history of medieval relations of the Scandinavians with the world of Byzantium. It was a fateful expedition taking place between 1036 and 1041, and to this day it is a source of many controversies and speculations of researchers. The findings of the present paper suggest that the journey did not necessarily proceed to the lands of the Saracens or Byzantium but may have been part of the game played by Constantinople with its ally Tmutarkan, which opposed Jaroslav the Wise, these events unfolding in the north-eastern waters of the Black Sea.


Keywords: Byzantium, Ingvar the Far-Traveled, Viking ships, Dromons, Caucasus.

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WAS CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AWARE OF THE CONSTANTINIAN SHIFT?

According to Christian authors, the birth of Christ – *Salvator mundi* – coincided with a fundamental shift in the history of the world. Already during the late antiquity, it was being stressed that Christ was born as a human being and a Roman citizen during the reign of Augustus, who ordered the closing of the doors of the temple of Janus and brought peace on earth – the *Pax Augusta*¹. According to the Christian narrative, the Emperor, through an internal re-organisation of the Roman Empire, unknowingly prepared the country for the coming of Christ, facilitated the spread of Christianity, and thus unwittingly played an important role in the aforementioned plan, contributing to the creation of the community of all people. Peace was to become the foundation of the new order in the world and was related to the birth of Christ-God, who was its true source, and who, through his earthly revelation, was considered the true founder of this new order, and the bringer of peace².

Thus, the *Pax Romana*, or the *Pax Augusta*, became, according to Christian authors, the *pax Christiana*³. However, the fight against God (θεομαχία) initiated

¹ Augustus, by introducing monarchy, and, as a consequence, the *pax Augusta*, provided *Imperium Romanum* with stabilization on an unprecedented scale. The success achieved by this ruler influenced the political views of Eusebius of Caesarea, who treated the “divine monarchy” as the best of all political orders. See EUSEBIUS, *Demonstratio evangelica*, III, 2, 27, ed. I.A. HEIKEL, Leipzig 1913 [= GCS, 23] (cetera: *Demonstratio evangelica*). See also A. KOTŁOWSKA, *Obraz dziejów w Chronici Canones Euzebiusza z Cezarei*, Poznań 2009, p. 204–206.

² For example, ORIGEN OF ALEXANDRIA (*Contra Celsum*, II, 30, ed. M. MARCOVICH, Leiden 2001, p. 107) indicated that Octavian August united many peoples of the earth in one kingdom, which brought global peace necessary for Christ’s teaching to triumph. Thus, according to Origen, God, through Augustus, created proper conditions for the free spread of the Gospel.

³ Eusebius of Caesarea (EUSÈBE DE CÉSARÉE, *La préparation évangélique*, I, 4, vol. I–IV, ed. et trans. E. DES PLACES, Paris 1976–1987; *Demonstratio evangelica*, III, 7, 30; VII, 2, 22; VIII, 3; VIII, 4, 12; IX, 17, 13) treats the *pax Augusta* as a work of Divine Providence predicted in the Old Testament. In *Divinae Institutiones* (LACTANCE, *Institutiones Divines. Livre V*, V, 5–8, vol. I–II, ed. et trans.

by mankind did not cease⁴. Eusebius of Caesarea, a Christian erudite and a biographer of Emperor Constantine, believed that it was being fought, among others, by the persecutors of Christians, who acted as if they were capable of defeating God (ἔπραττον ὡς δυνάμενοι νικῆσαι τὸν θεόν)⁵. The war with God, according to Eusebius, was only concluded with the military victories of Constantine and his sons, who completely destroyed the past hatred towards God (οἱ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀπάντων ἀποσμήξαντες τοῦ βίου τὴν θεοστυγίαν)⁶.

According to the Christian authors of late antiquity, Constantine brought an end to the persecutions of Christians and restored peace⁷. Therefore, his role in God's plan for the world was seen as extremely important. Furthermore, Constantine, through the protection he extended over the believers of Christ, was to have begun a new era of eschatological Kingdom of God on earth and opened a new chapter in the history of humanity, leading people towards unity, which had its origins in the One God⁸. Paul Orosius, a theologian and a Christian historian from the late 4th and early 5th centuries, wrote about One God, one Emperor, one Empire, one Church, one peace, one fatherland, one law, one faith⁹.

P. MONAT, Paris 1973 [= SC, 204–205]), written before the year 313, Lactantius wrote about a golden age when the worship of one God was dominant, resulting in peace and common harmony. Lactantius was convinced that Christianity, the Religion of the Most High God, is the original and natural religion of all mankind. See L.J. SWIFT, *Lactantius and the Golden Age*, *AJP* 89, 1968, p. 144–156; V. BUCHHEIT, *Goldene Zeit und Paradies auf Erden (Laktanz, Inst. 5,5–8)*, *WJA* 4, 1978, p. 161–185 and 5, 1979, p. 219–235; O. NICHOLSON, *Golden Age and the End of the World: Myths of Mediterranean Life from Lactantius to Joshua the Stylite*, [in:] *The Mediaeval Mediterranean*, ed. M. CHIAT, K. REYERSON, S. CLOUD, Minnesota 1989, p. 11–18.

⁴ EUZEBIUSZ Z CEZAREI, *Historia kościelna*, I, 2, 19, trans. A. CABA, ed. H. PIETRAS, Kraków 2013 (cetera: EUSEBIUS, *HE*).

⁵ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, V, 1, 63. Apparently, the war against God was also waged by Licinius, who ordered the persecution of Christians; see EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, II, 1, ed. F. WINKELMANN, Berlin–New York 2008 (cetera: EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*).

⁶ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, X, 9, 9; see also EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, I, 3; I, 5.

⁷ EUSEBIUS, *Chronicon* – year 313 (Romanorum 34, regnavit Constantinus 10), [in:] EUSEBIUS, *Werke*, vol. VII, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ed. R. HELM, Berlin 1956 [= GCS, 47], 230c: *Pax nostris a Constantino reddita*. For Eusebius, peace was restored, not granted, by Constantine. The world was returning to its normal state after the persecutions of Christians. See A. KOTŁOWSKA, *Obraz dziejów...*, p. 205–209; S. BRALEWSKI, *Boże zwycięstwo (ἔvθεος νίκη) – „ideologia triumfu” w Historii kościelnej Euzebiusza z Cezarei*, *VP* 35, 2015, p. 349–350.

⁸ See R. KÜHSHELM, *Nowy Testament*, [in:] K. KOENEN, R. KÜHSHELM, *Przełom czasów z perspektywy Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, trans. J. ZYCHOWICZ, Kraków 2001, p. 87–92. On the subject of the Biblical idea of the Kingdom of God and the associated idea of Yahweh's kingship, see T. NAWRACAŁA, *Gdzie jest basileia? Biblijne, historyczne i teologiczne aspekty współczesnej dyskusji na temat królestwa Bożego*, *PST* 25, 2011, p. 174–182.

⁹ OROSE, *Histoires (Contre les Païens)*, III, 8, 5; V, 2, 1; VII, 33, 17–19, vol. I–II, ed. et trans. M.-P. ARNAUD-LINDET, Paris 1990–1991. See also K. ILSKI, *Idea jedności politycznej społecznej i religijnej w świetle pism Ambrożego z Mediolanu*, Poznań 2001, p. 224.

In modern historiography, the Constantinian shift is discussed rather frequently, in the context of Constantine's conversion to Christianity and the consequences this decision had¹⁰. In this context, attention is given primarily to his implementation of the Roman Empire's new policy towards Christianity, which a few decades later became the religion of the Roman state. For Constantine not only proclaimed tolerance towards the believers in Christ, but also entered into a special relationship with the God of Christians. It could be defined as a sort of symmachy, which at first had a mostly military dimension, and which in time transformed into a close association of the Empire and the institutional organisation of Christians that was the Church¹¹. From the times of Constantine the Great, it enjoyed numerous privileges. This relationship was characterised as unbreakable by Theodosius II in a letter calling bishops to the proceedings in Ephesus in 431¹². Some historians think that during the so-called period of the Little Peace of the Church, in the latter half of the 3rd century, Christianisation had already made sufficient progress and could no longer have been stopped, and because of this they do not see Constantine's reign as a shift in this respect¹³. It would appear, however,

¹⁰ See J. VOGT, *Die Revolution Constantins des Grossen*, [in:] *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*, München 1960, p. 135–256; *Die Kirche Angesichts der Konstantinischen Wende*, ed. G. RUHBACH, Darmstadt 1976; R. FARINA, *Eusebio di Cesarea e la „Svolta Costantiniana”*, Aug 26, 1986, p. 313–322; J. BLEICKEN, *Constantin der Grosse und die Christen. Überlegungen zur konstantinischen Wende*, München 1992; *Die konstantinische Wende*, ed. E. MÜCHLENBERG, Gütersloh 1998; G. BONAMENTE, *La „svolta costantiniana”*, [in:] *Cristianesimo e istituzioni politiche. Da Augusto a Giustiniano*, ed. E. DAL COVOLO, R. UGLIONE, Roma 2001, p. 147–170; K.M. GIRARDET, *Die Konstantinische Wende. Voraussetzungen und geistige Grundlagen der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Grossen*, Darmstadt 2006, p. 39–155; *Konstantin der Grosse. Kaiser einer Epochenwende*, ed. F. SCHULLER, H. WOLFF, München 2007; J. RIST, *Constantin et l'Église. Remarques sur le soi-disant tournant constantinien*, CPE 109, 2008, p. 43–55; R. VAN DAM, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*, Cambridge 2007; F. CARLÀ, M.G. CASTELLO, *Questioni tardoantiche. Storia e mito della svolta costantiniana*, Roma 2010; S. BRALEWSKI, *Przełom konstantyński a religijność Rzymian w wiekach IV i V – wybrane zagadnienia*, [in:] *Bitwa przy moście mulwijskim. Konsekwencje*, ed. Z. KALINOWSKI, D. PRÓCHNIAK, Poznań 2013, p. 115–149; IDEM, *Constantinian Shift – the Truth or a Myth*, VP 34, 2014, p. 39–53. As emphasized by Noel LENSKI (*Constantine and the Cities. Imperial Authority and Civic Politics*, Philadelphia 2016, p. 27), Constantine's life story, in his own words, was one of conversion, effected directly by divine intervention, which transformed him from an unbeliever to a believer.

¹¹ S. BRALEWSKI, *Symmachia Cesarstwa Rzymskiego z Bogiem chrześcijan (IV–VI wiek)*, vol. I, „Niezwykła przemiana” – narodziny nowej epoki, vol. II, *Jedna religia w jednym cesarstwie. Rzymscy imperatorzy sprzymierzeni z Bogiem na straży jedności Kościoła od Konstantyna I do Justyniana I*, Łódź 2018 [= BL, 27; 32].

¹² *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ (cetera: ACO), vol. I, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum*, 1, 1, Berolini–Lipsiae 1927, p. 114–115.

¹³ Views in this spirit were formulated, among others, by: W.H.C. FREND, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church. A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus*, Oxford 1965, p. 440–476; P. BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity*, London 1971, p. 60–65; F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World 31 B.C.–A.D. 337*, London 1977, p. 551sq; T.D. BARNES, *Constantine and*

that it was not an increase in the number of the worshippers of Christ that constituted a breakthrough, but the alliance of Constantine with the God of Christians, who became the patron of this Emperor and also, with the sole exception of Julian the Apostate, of his successors. This is because it was said alliance that led to the close relationship between the *Imperium Romanum* and the Church.

However, a question arises of whether Constantine himself was aware of the revolution that he was carrying out. Did he realise that his actions were going to change the course of the history of the Empire? Among those subscribing to this point of view was Hermias Sozomen in the mid-5th century, who pointed to the great and wondrous transformation of the world through God's will, which resulted in the abandonment of both the former religion and native traditions¹⁴. An affirmative response to questions thus asked raises further queries: what did the ruler himself consider the shift to have been? Did he see it, like the contemporary historiography, in his conversion to Christianity?

The question of Constantine's support for Christianity is a highly complex one¹⁵. Prior to his association with the God of Christians, Constantine was seeking divine protectors among the gods popular at the time in *Imperium Romanum*. His zeal in doing so was the greater, it would seem, the less stable his position was within the Empire. This is clearly visible after 305, when, after Diocletian's and Maximian's abdications, Galerius became the first Augustus, and Constantine was not considered when the positions of Caesars were being conferred. This placed him in a very difficult situation, which became even worse with the death of his father, Constantius I. The young ruler was constantly forced to face the ever new threats, whether from Galerius, or from Maximian and Maxentius. Raised in the Roman religious tradition, he sought a mighty divine protector all the more eagerly. Later, he most often referred to that patron as the Highest God (*Summus Deus*), who, through his protection, was to ensure Constantine's military victories over internal and external foes. At first, the ruler saw his patron in Mars, to whom Galerius's victory over the Persians was ascribed. However, when Galerius's war successes ceased, and Mars became the patron deity of Maxentius, who was hostile towards Constantine, the latter first found a divine patron in *Sol Invictus*, only to soon afterwards, even before the decisive confrontation by the Milvian Bridge,

Eusebius, Cambridge Mass.–London 1981, *passim*; IDEM, *Christians and Pagans in the Reign of Constantius*, [in:] *L'Église et l'Empire au IV^e siècle*, ed. A. DIHLE, Genève 1989, p. 306–310. It should be remembered, however, that, although the Christianization of the inhabitants of the empire had been progressing for over two centuries, at the beginning of the fourth century Christians were in a decided minority. In addition, the process was uneven, leading to large disproportions between the poorly Christianised West and the much better Christianised East (cf. *Le problème de la christianisation du monde antique*, ed. H. INGLEBERT, S. DESTEPHEN, B. DUMÉZIL, Paris 2010, *passim*).

¹⁴ SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, I, 1, 11, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995, p. 8: Τοσαύτης οὖν θείας καὶ παραδόξου μεταβολῆς τῆ οἰκουμένη συμβάσης, ὡς καὶ τῆς προτέρας θρησκείας καὶ τῶν πατριῶν νόμων ἀμελήσαι.

¹⁵ There is extensive literature on this issue, see S. BRALEWSKI, *Symmachia*..., vol. I, p. 25–81.

recognise Christ as his protector, and it was Christ to whom he ascribed his military victories. Besides, it would appear that, like many of his contemporaries, he identified the aforementioned solar deity with Christ¹⁶. If one were to see Constantine's conversion to Christianity in this manner, then the campaign against Maxentius in 312 was not a breakthrough in this regard, since at the time Constantine only identified the Highest God (*Summus Deus*), whom he had already worshipped, with Christ¹⁷. It seems that Constantine's father, Constantius I, was also a worshipper of *Summus Deus*, and apparently this was the reason why Eusebius of Caesarea was suggesting his inclinations towards Christianity¹⁸.

Therefore, was Constantine aware of the Constantinian shift, and if so, how did he understand it? In the speech given at the inauguration of the proceedings of the Council of Nicaea (June 325)¹⁹, and therefore already after he had united the entirety of the *Imperium Romanum* under his rule, Constantine mentioned the joy shared with those who, thanks to God working through him, had regained their freedom²⁰. He argued that they had been freed by God's will and with God's help, which saw his victory over his enemies, and for that the ruler thanked God²¹, calling Him their mutual Lord and Saviour. Constantine referred to the enemies in the plural (πολεμίων νικάς)²². He also used the plural when talking about the overthrown tyrants who were fighting against God (τῶν τυράννων

¹⁶ See M. WALLRAF, *Christus Verus Sol. Sonnenverehrung und Christentum in der Spätantike*, Münster 2001, p. 126–143.

¹⁷ See S. BRALEWSKI, *Symmachia...*, vol. I, p. 26–69.

¹⁸ EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA (*Vita Constantini*, I, 27, 2) claimed that Constantius worshipped the God of the universe (ὄλων θεός), whom he considered a Saviour and Guardian of the Empire, and the Dispenser of all good. In *Church history* (VIII, 13, 12), Eusebius wrote, in turn, of Constantius' preference for the Word of God. According to Socrates of Constantinople (SOCRATES, *Kirchengeschichte*, I, 2, 3, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995) Constantius abandoned the Hellenic (pagan) beliefs, thanks to which he was happier in life. According to T.G. ELLIOTT (*Constantine's Conversion: Do We Really Need It?*, Phoe 41, 1987, p. 420–438), Constantine's conversion to Christianity took place as early as during his stay in Britain, i.e. around 303. Klaus Martin GIRARDET was another supporter of the view that Constantine converted to Christianity early (*Die Konstantinische Wende...*, p. 41–155). PAULINUS OF NOLA (*Epistulae*, XXXI, 4, ed. G. DE HARTEL, Wien 1894 [= CSEL]) pointed to Helena, the mother of Constantine, as the one who led him to Christianity. Constantine's half-sister, daughter of his father Constantius and Theodora, was named Anastasia, which may be evidence of the family's association with Christianity (AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XXVI, 6, 14, vol. I–II, ed. C.V. CLARK, Berlin 1910–1915). Bertrand LANÇON and Tiphaine MOREAU (*Constantin. Un Auguste chrétien*, Paris 2012, p. 42) concluded that *la conversion de Constantin trouve ses origines dans le cercle familial*.

¹⁹ The council was most likely inaugurated in June; see *Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad episcopos (syriace)*, [in:] ATHANASIUS, *Werke*, vol. III, ed. H.G. VON OPITZ, Leipzig–Berlin 1934, p. 41–42; ACO, vol. II, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense*, 3, 2, Berolini–Lipsiae 1936, p. 264; cf. H. PIETRAS, *Sobór Nicejski (325). Kontekst religijny i polityczny, dokumenty, komentarze*, Kraków 2013, p. 137–138.

²⁰ EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, III, 12, 3, p. 87.

²¹ EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, III, 12, 3, p. 87.

²² EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, III, 12, 3, p. 87.

θεομαχίας)²³. The remark about tyrants suggests that the passage was not referring to victories over barbarians²⁴, but over internal enemies. The plural indicates that, although the Emperor was delivering the speech several months after defeating Licinius (autumn of 324), he most likely had in mind not only the latter, but also the previously defeated Maxentius (autumn 312). Thus, he classified both as enemies of God, and ascribed the victories over them to God's intervention. Likewise, in the speech to the *assembly of the saints*, Constantine expressed gratitude to God for the attained victories and the trophies taken from the enemies²⁵. In a letter addressed to Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, and his presbyter Arius, Constantine wrote about the overthrown baleful tyranny, which he also referred to as a painful disease ravaging the organism of the entire oikoumene (ἐχθρός)²⁶.

Who, then, were those freed from the tyranny's yoke? Without doubt, they were Christians. In a letter to Shapur, the King of the Persians, Constantine was writing about himself as a witness of a sad end of those who until recently had tormented the people dedicated to God through ungodly decrees, referring to the great persecution of Christians initiated by Diocletian and Galerius. It would seem, however, that in his arguments the ruler meant not only Christians, but all the inhabitants of the Empire, since they had all been suffering under the yoke of the tyrants fighting against God. This can be clearly seen in an earlier part of the aforementioned letter²⁷. Constantine directly wrote that he had freed from the power of the tyrants the entire oikoumene, giving its inhabitants the hope for salvation. Therefore, the Emperor clearly thought of all of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire as the beneficiaries of his activities against the tyrants. Now, they could enjoy not only physical freedom and a temporal salvation, but also, thanks to the divine Patron of the Emperor, they were given a chance for eternal salvation. Furthermore, as Constantine argued, he achieved this liberation with the aid of the One God, the Creator and Father of all, the Lord and Father of all and God of all, with His might as an ally (τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων σύμμαχον)²⁸. Similarly, in the aforementioned

²³ EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, III, 12, 2, p. 87.

²⁴ These were mentioned by EUSEBIUS in *Vita Constantini* (I, 46).

²⁵ CONSTANTINUS IMPERATOR, *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum Constantini imperatoris oratio ad coetum sanctorum*, 22, [in:] EUSEBIUS, *Werke*, vol. I, ed. J.A. HEIKEL, Leipzig 1902.

²⁶ *Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad Alexandrum Alexandrinum et Arium*, [in:] EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, II, 64–66, ed. F. WINKELMANN..., p. 74.

²⁷ Its authenticity was questioned, but Constantine's preparations for a war with Persia are also confirmed in Aphraates' homilies; cf. *The Homilies of Aphraates*, vol. I, trans. W. WRIGHT, London 1869, *passim*; *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes*, vol. I–II, ed. R. PARISOT, Paris 1894–1907 [= PS], *passim*; cf. T.D. BARNES, *Constantine and the Christians of Persia*, JRS 75, 1985, p. 126–136. M.R. VIVIAN, *Eusebius and Constantine's Letter to Shapur – its Place in the Vita Constantini*, [in:] SP 29, 1997, p. 164–169; P.J. LEITHART, *Defending Constantine. The Twilight of an Empire and the Dawn of Christendom*, Downers Grove 2010, p. 45–47; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge 2011, p. 303–304.

²⁸ *Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad Saporem regem Persarum*, [in:] EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, IV, 9, ed. F. WINKELMANN..., p. 123.

letter to Alexander and Arius, Constantine was pointing to God, the Saviour of all people (σωτήρ τῶν ὅλων θεός)²⁹, who granted him aid in all his undertakings. The Emperor thus referred not only to the support he received from God in the victorious battles he had to fight, but also to the universal nature of this God, whose care was extended to all the people.

It needs to be pointed out that Constantine linked the activities of tyrants who moved against God with an evil-loving demon, who, having suffered defeat as a result of Constantine's military victories, was, according to the ruler, attempting to insult and curse God's laws by other means, inciting the Arian dispute, which caused a breach within the Church³⁰. This the Emperor considered calamitous and more dangerous than any other conflict. The matter of restoring the unity of the Church thus became his main concern. In the lack of unity he saw evil, for which he wanted to find a cure. It was not only the Arian controversy that caused the Emperor's sorrow: he previously became involved in a conflict started by the Donatists in the Carthaginian church. In a letter addressed to the participants of the synod in Arles (in 314), Constantine referred to Donatists as people led astray by the devil's malice and as servants of Satan, who, in turning away from the truth, joined the pagans³¹.

Constantine concretised the evil against which he fought. In his narrative, it took the form of tyrants or the tyranny of those who fought against God, or of a hostile monster who had once besieged the Church through godless tyranny, a malicious devil, an enemy of humankind (ἀνθρώπων γένους)³², a serpent-dragon and, in general, the deceitful Satan. Eusebius of Caesarea, Constantine's biographer, defined it in greater detail in his historical treatise. According to him, the followers of Christ, referred to by the authors as imperial soldiers (βασιλείας στρατιῶται)³³, were waging a war (πόλεμος)³⁴, or a wrestling fight (διαγυμνασία)³⁵ against the evil spirit (δαίμων)³⁶, the Satan fighting against God (θεομάχος σατᾶν)³⁷, a jealous and envious demon who not only hated good, but loved evil (ὁ μισόκαλος φθόνου καὶ φιλοπόνηρος δαίμων)³⁸, the spirits hating God (θεομισή πνεύματα)³⁹, an insidious

²⁹ *Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad Alexandrum Alexandrinum et Arium*, [in:] EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, II, 64, ed. F. WINKELMANN..., p. 74.

³⁰ EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, III, 12.

³¹ *Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad episcopos scripta post Arelatense concilium*, [in:] J.L. MAIER, *Le dossier du donatisme*, vol. I, *Des origines à la mort de Constance II (303–361)*, Berlin 1987 [= TUGAL], p. 168–171.

³² EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, III, 3.

³³ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, X, 4, 15.

³⁴ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, V, 2, 6.

³⁵ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, X, 4, 15.

³⁶ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, IV, 7, 10.

³⁷ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, VII, 31, 1.

³⁸ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, X, 4, 14; X 8, 2.

³⁹ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, X, 4, 13.

serpent (σκολιὸς ὄφις)⁴⁰, a beast or wild animal (θήρ)⁴¹, a might (δύναμις)⁴² that was wicked, vile, malicious and deceptive (πονηρά)⁴³, which rejoiced in the misfortune of others (ἐπιχαιρεσικακός)⁴⁴, hostile to salvation of human kind (ἀνθρώπων ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας)⁴⁵, akin to a rabid dog (κυνὸς δίκην λυττῶντος), attacking in a mad fury, or a hissing serpent oozing deadly venom⁴⁶, a power making use of people overwhelmed with pride (φρόνημα)⁴⁷, or instigating against Christians all animals and savagery in human form⁴⁸. Therefore, it is clear that Constantine defined the evil against which he fought similarly to Eusebius.

In a letter to the inhabitants of the province of Palestine⁴⁹, the ruler was expressing a conviction that it was God himself who turned him into a remedy for the great godlessness which had taken hold over human kind, and which threatened the Roman Empire with complete destruction. By becoming a tool in God's hands and through His aid, the Emperor, as he thought, banished and completely eliminated all terror and fear which had dominated the world. From now on, human kind, enlightened and instructed by Constantine, was to keep God's holy laws, and the faith was to spread with no obstacles⁵⁰. In another letter, addressed to Eusebius, the Bishop of Caesarea, Constantine was writing about the restoration of freedom, banishing the "serpent" (δράκων) and removing him from administering public affairs, which was to be effected by the will of the Providence of the Highest God, acting through Constantine⁵¹. Therefore, on the one hand, he symbolically identified the rivals to power in the Empire whom he had overthrown with evil, and on the other he painted himself as the executor of God's will, ascribing the victories he had attained to Him.

The symbol of a serpent is also present on the coins minted in Constantinople in 327 in commemoration of the city's founding. They depicted the *labarum* decorated with three medallions with the likenesses of Constantine and his two

⁴⁰ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, V, 1, 42.

⁴¹ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, V, 2, 6.

⁴² EUSEBIUS, *HE*, II, 14, 1.

⁴³ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, II, 14, 1.

⁴⁴ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, IV, 7, 10.

⁴⁵ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, II, 14, 1.

⁴⁶ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, X, 4, 14.

⁴⁷ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, I, 2, 19.

⁴⁸ EUSEBIUS, *HE*, X, 4, 14: πάντα τε ἀνθρωπόμορφον θῆρα καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἄγριον καθ' ἡμῶν ὑποσαλεύοντος.

⁴⁹ EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, II, 24–42.

⁵⁰ EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, II, 28. According to Noel LENSKI (*Constantine and the Cities...*, p. 50) in his theological pronouncements on the Christian god, Constantine regularly describes the Father and above all Christ as the creator and restorer of light in the world. In many of these same, Constantine portrays himself not just as harbinger of divine light but also as an active agent in its spread, working to guarantee that the darkness of theological error should be banished by the light of truth.

⁵¹ *Epistula Constantini imperatoris ad Eusebium*, [in:] EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, II, 46, 2, ed. F. WINKELMANN..., p. 67.

sons, Constantius II and Constantine II, its spar embedded in a writhing snake⁵². In a similar manner, the idea of an Emperor vanquishing evil in the form of a serpent-dragon was depicted in an image visible by the front gate leading to the imperial palace. It showed Constantine with his sons, the sign of salvation over their heads, and the enemy of human kind (ἀνθρώπων γένους) beneath their feet, a hostile monster which had once besieged the Church by means of godless tyranny. The creature had the form of a serpent-dragon which was pierced by an arrow and was tumbling into the abyss⁵³. Describing this image, Eusebius of Caesarea found an analogy with a prophecy of Isaiah, according to which a writhing dragon, an enemy of God, shall meet its death by the will of God⁵⁴.

As can be seen, in Constantine's own perception, his fight against evil had two underlying dimensions: military and religious. The first of these was related to the ideology of victory and choosing the God of Christians for the divine Patron. At the same time, Constantine's enemies were identified as the enemies of God Himself, and therefore personified evil, or were tools in the hands of demons. Religiously motivated persecution of Christians during the first two decades of the fourth century contributed towards defining said enemies in such a way, as did ascribing Constantine's victories to the Highest, One God, and resulted in treating deities worshipped in the traditional cults as personifying evil demons. The other, religious dimension related to the unity of the cult, indispensable for ensuring the efficacy of the prayers raised towards Heavens and for the Empire's prosperity. This dimension came down to efforts aimed at preserving the unity of the Church, constantly threatened by Satan, who, having been thwarted on the field of battle, attempted to make up for the military defeat in the sphere of the Church, tearing apart the community of the believers. The Emperor felt obliged to take up a comprehensive fight against evil, and therefore, in both the military and religious fields, was intensively seeking the restoration of the unity of the Church. Peace in the military dimension, which put an end to a period of social unrest, oppression and bloodshed, thus restoring the sense of security in the existential and material spheres, was a vital fruit of the victory over evil. In the religious dimension, in its turn, peace brought accords and social harmony, and, first and foremost, the unity of the cult, and therefore the unity of the Church, which resulted in the sense of security among the masses of believers.

In conclusion, it would appear that Emperor Constantine the Great saw in his reign a fundamental change not only in the history of the *Imperium Romanum*, but also of the entire world. This change had an eschatological dimension. Constantine's reign, at least in its propagandist framing, was to be the turning point

⁵² J. WILLIAMS, *Religion and Roman Coins*, [in:] *A Companion to Roman Religion*, ed. J. RÜPKE, London 2007, p. 159.

⁵³ EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, III, 3.

⁵⁴ Is 27, 1; EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, III, 3, 3.

in the fight against evil. It appears that the ruler was fully aware that by putting an end to the persecutions of Christians he restored universal peace. Thus, the shift with which he is associated amounted to, on the one hand, restoring the *pax Christiana* and the beginning of the Kingdom of God on earth, and on the other to eliminating evil from the world. Therefore, Constantine, in believing that he had become God's tool for fighting evil, must have also been convinced that he played an incredibly important role in God's plan of salvation, especially since the Kingdom of God, apparently realised on earth through Constantine's military victories, was to only finally prevail when evil and death had been defeated forever.

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Abstract. In this article, I try to answer the following question: was Constantine himself aware of the revolution that he was carrying out? Did he realise that his actions were going to change the course of the history of the Empire? An analysis of sources seems to indicate that emperor Constantine the Great saw in his reign a fundamental change not only in the history of the *Imperium Romanum*, but also of the entire world. He believed that this change had an eschatological dimension. Constantine's reign, at least in its propagandist framing, was to be the turning point in the fight against evil. It appears that the ruler was fully aware that by putting an end to the persecutions of Christians he was restoring universal peace. Thus, the shift with which he is associated amounted, on the one hand, to restoring the *pax Christiana* and the beginning of the Kingdom of God on earth, and on the other to eliminating evil from the world. Therefore, Constantine, in believing that he had become God's tool for fighting evil, must have also been convinced that he played an incredibly important role in God's plan of salvation; especially since the Kingdom of God, apparently realised on earth through Constantine's military victories, was to only finally prevail when evil and death had been defeated forever.


Keywords: emperor Constantine the Great, Constantinian shift, Late Roman Empire.

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REX OR IMPERATOR? KALOJAN'S ROYAL TITLE IN THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH INNOCENT III*

Generally speaking, the sources detailing the history of the so-called 'Second Bulgarian State' are extremely scarce, when compared to those available for other contemporary situations¹. Moreover, being also in their majority the product of polities hostile to Bulgaria, such as the Byzantine empire or the Latin empire of Constantinople, they are also usually biased, a circumstance which at times makes it difficult to reconstruct the exact nature of the events related². An exception to this general rule is the correspondence of pope Innocent III (1198–1216), a large part of which has been recorded in the pontifical *Regesta* by the clerks of the papal chancellery during the course of his pontificate³. While the collection is far from complete, the letters contained in the *Regesta* are one of the most important sources for the history of Bulgaria between 1199, the date of the first letter

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¹ While the term 'Second Bulgarian Empire' is usually preferred in Western scholarship, I will follow the Bulgarian usage (*Втора Българска Държава*) and employ this more neutral definition.

² Such is the case for some of the most important and useful sources detailing the establishment and the first decades of the second Bulgarian state, such as *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.-L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin–New York 1975 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 11] (cetera: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*); ROBERT DE CLARI, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. J. DUFOURNET, Paris 2004; GEOFFROI DE VILLEHARDOUIN, *La conquête de Constantinople*, vol. I–II, ed. E. FARAL, ²Paris 1961.

³ The correspondence of Innocent III is published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in an ongoing series of volumes under the supervision of Othmar Hageneder and others. The project started in 1964 and the latest volume, covering the years 1211–1212, has been published in 2018: *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. I–XIV, ed. O. HAGENEDER et al., Vienna–Graz–Köln 1964–2018 (cetera: *Register Innocenz' III*). Other useful editions of Innocent's correspondence, sometimes containing letters either sent or received by him and not recorded in the *Regesta*, are *Vetera monumenta slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. I, ed. A. THEINER, Rome 1836; *Acta Innocentii PP. III (1198–1216)*, ed. T. HALUŠČYNSKYJ, Vatican City 1944 [= PCRCICO.F, 3.2]. The letters not yet edited by Hageneder et al. are collected in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, vol. CCXVI, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1855.

sent by Innocent to Kalojan⁴, and 1213, when the Bulgarian clergy was invited, along with the prelates of every Christian nation, to participate in the Fourth Lateran Council – at least, this is the last letter addressed to Bulgaria recorded in the correspondence of Innocent III⁵. The *Regesta* are a very well known and very well researched source; in particular, the letters exchanged between the pope and Kalojan have been the subject of a good number of studies and will therefore not be discussed here in their general features⁶. This paper will instead concentrate on a minor detail which, nonetheless, is of some interest for the reconstruction of the political ideology of the second Bulgarian state.

Even a cursory glance at the correspondence between Innocent III, Kalojan and Vasilij, the archbishop of Tarnovo and primate of the Bulgarian Church, reveals a striking disparity in the way in which Kalojan's title was mentioned by the pope and by Kalojan himself. The Bulgarian ruler consistently refers to himself as *Imperator Bulgarorum et Blachorum*⁷, and in the most extended form, as *Dominus et Imperator totius Bulgarie et Vlachie*⁸. The lands of Bulgaria and Vlachia under his suzerainty are called *imperium nostrum*⁹, and the former rulers of the first Bulgarian State are called *Imperatores nostri veteres*¹⁰, or *Imperatores totius Bulgarie et Vlachie prisca illi nostri predecessores*¹¹, or even *progenitores*¹². Archbishop Vasilij, understandably, follows the same practice: Kalojan is called *Dominus noster Chalioannes Imperator*¹³, his letters are *litteras imperatoris*¹⁴, and his followers are *bonos homines et fideles imperatoris*¹⁵. The only exceptions to this usage, in which Kalojan and Vasilij make reference to both a royal and imperial dignity and crown, are contained in the two letters addressed to Innocent in November 1204, after cardinal

⁴ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. II, p. 485–486.

⁵ The letters contained in the *Regesta* which directly discuss the Bulgarian situation are addressed to Kalojan, to the archbishop of Tarnovo Vasilij, to the pontifical legates sent in Bulgaria, to other members of the Bulgarian clergy, to the king of Hungary Imre, or to the Latin emperor of Constantinople Henry, and their answers to the pope, and are a total of thirty-three; some unrecorded letters can be reconstructed, at least in their general sense, from the surviving ones, and other insights on Bulgaria can be gathered by letters addressed to different personalities.

⁶ See especially И. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Преписката на папа Иннокентий III с българите. Увод, текст и коментар*, ГСУИФФ 38, 3, 1942, p. 71–116; F. DALL'AGLIO, *Innocenzo III e i Balcani. Fede e politica nei 'Regesta' pontifici*, Naples 2003.

⁷ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. V, p. 225. For those examples, only the first occurrence will be given.

⁸ *placuit Domino nostro Iesu Christo me dominum et imperatorem totius Bulgarie et Vlachie facere: Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 14.

⁹ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. V, p. 225. In *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 14, *imperium meum*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 15.

¹² *secundum consuetudinem [...] Symeonis, Petri et Samuelis, progenitorum meorum: Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 19.

¹³ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. V, p. 230.

¹⁴ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 17.

¹⁵ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VI, p. 235.

Leo had crowned Kalojan. In the letter written by Kalojan¹⁶, the Bulgarian tsar identifies himself as “Caloiohannes rex totius Bulgarie et Vlachie”, but in the following text the expressions *regnum meum* and *imperium meum* are used as if they were interchangeable, with a prevalence of the second formulation. The same happens in the letter written by Vasilij¹⁷: cardinal Leo “coronavit et benedixit imperatori Caloiohanni domino omnium Bulgarorum atque Blachorum”, but he was crowned with a “regiam coronam”. He also adds that two children would be sent to Rome in order to learn Latin, and that one of them was, apparently, the son of Kalojan: he is “filius [...] regis”, but he is sent to Rome “ex precepto domini imperatoris”. It is possible that, in this case, the letters were drafted by Leo himself, with little regard for the terms Kalojan and Vasilij had in mind, or that the translators were inconsistent in their work. However, as said before those two letters are the only instances where Kalojan will be called *rex* in a letter written by himself or by Vasilij.

Innocent III, on the other hand, never employs the term *Imperator* for the Bulgarian tsar, neither before nor after his coronation. In the first letters sent to him, Kalojan is called *nobilis vir*, nobleman¹⁸. His legate in Dioclea, Bosnia and Bulgaria, John of Casamari, will employ a slightly different formulation in 1203, calling Kalojan *magnus vir Caloiohannes*¹⁹. *Nobilis vir*, however, while admittedly not a particularly prestigious term, must not be considered as dismissive of Kalojan's dignity. Innocent uses it consistently when addressing important personalities or heads of state who have not been crowned kings or emperors, or whose status is somewhat unclear: he uses it, for instance, while addressing the Venetian doge Enrico Dandolo²⁰. Aside from *nobilis vir*, since the second letter he wrote him the pope will also employ another neutral appellative when addressing Kalojan, *Dominus Bulgarorum et Blachorum*²¹, acknowledging the fact that he ruled over Bulgaria and Vlachia, but refusing to comment over the actual legitimacy of his title. This caution on Innocent's side is understandable, given the fact that Bulgaria had only very recently regained its independence²², and Kalojan, like his

¹⁶ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 409–411.

¹⁷ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 411–412.

¹⁸ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. II, p. 485–486.

¹⁹ *nuntii illius magni viri Caloioh(ann)is venerunt...*: *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VI, p. 230.

²⁰ *nobili viro... duci Venetorum*: *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 36. This appellative is also used for less important personalities, such as the *nobilis vir* Belota whose lands were to be crossed by the papal delegation going to Bulgaria in 1202: *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. V, p. 233.

²¹ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. V, p. 226.

²² The Second Bulgarian State was established in 1185, after a successful revolt led by Kalojan's older brothers, Asen and Peter. The bibliography detailing the establishment of the state and the first decades of its existence is very large: as a basic introduction, see especially A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)*, Leiden 2017, p. 29–174; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна България, VII–XIV век*, София 1999, p. 421–500; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, София 1994, p. 27–68.

brothers and predecessors, had not been formally crowned: it will be Innocent himself, answering his pleas, who will grant him this title in 1204. The crown that he will send to Târnovo, however, will be a royal crown, and Kalojan's dignity will be that of a king, not of an emperor. After the coronation he will be addressed by the pope as *Rex Bulgarorum et Blachorum illustris*²³, his dominion will be called *Regno Bulgarorum et Blachorum*²⁴, and his predecessors are here consistently called *reges*²⁵: by contrast, the usual salutation to the rulers of Constantinople is always *illustri Constantinopolitano imperatori*²⁶, sufficient proof of the fact that for Innocent the dignity of the Eastern Roman emperor was different from that of a king, and far superior to it. It is interesting to note that this difference was quite clear to Kalojan as well: while he styled himself *Imperator*, as we have already seen, he always called Imre of Hungary *Rex Hungarie*²⁷, while the Byzantine emperor is correctly called *Imperator*²⁸.

The terminology used by Innocent in regard to the status of Kalojan is not unique. The Western chroniclers of the fourth crusade, Villehardouin and de Clari, call Kalojan *rois*, while Baldwin is obviously referred to as *empereur*. On the Byzantine side, Nikethas Choniates voices his aversion for the newly established Bulgarian state belittling the authority of its rulers, and using for Kalojan the very dismissive title of ἄρχων and never that of βασιλεύς²⁹.

Now that the sources have been examined, albeit in a very cursory way, and a coherent pattern has been established between those two different usages, it remains to understand why, in the correspondence of Innocent III, this different terminology was used, and if it reflected political ideology on either side. The most obvious answer to this question is that the dichotomy *rex/imperator* was just a matter of a different translation of the same term and that no particular value was attached to it, in the sense that neither Kalojan nor Innocent implied that there was more at stake than the *royal* dignity of the Bulgarian tsar. The letters sent from Rome were, obviously, written in Latin, and followed the tenets of Western European political thought with its precise hierarchy: one emperor for the West and, begrudgingly, one for the East, both claiming direct descent from the imperial authority of Rome, while the rest of the independent polities were arranged in kingdoms whose rulers were, as a consequence, inferior in status to the emperor although sovereign in their lands. Kalojan had no right whatsoever to be considered an emperor, therefore the pope addressed him as king, regardless of what was

²³ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 3.

²⁴ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 7.

²⁵ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. V, p. 228.

²⁶ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. I, p. 526.

²⁷ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 20.

²⁸ *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VI, p. 234.

²⁹ To give just an example, he is called "the archon of Zagora" (τῷ ἀρχοντι τῆς Ζαγορᾶς Ἰωάννη): *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, p. 512.

written in the letters sent from Tărnovo. Those letters, on the other hand, were written *de Bulgarico in Grecum et de Greco postea in Latinum*³⁰. This clarification is attached to the titling of the first letter received by the pontifical curia from Tărnovo, and since two boys were sent to Rome after the coronation of Kalojan, in 1204, *ut addiscant in scolis litteras Latinas, quoniam hic gramaticos non habemus, qui possint litteras, quas mittitis, nobis transferre*³¹, we may safely assume that this habit continued for the whole duration of the correspondence. But while the situation is clear on Innocent's side, there are some other considerations to make. The letters from Bulgaria were not just a product of a double translation, with all the ambiguities that could possibly arise from such circumstances. Even more importantly, they were composed having in mind the political tradition of South-Eastern Europe, and especially the complex relations between Bulgaria and Constantinople and the status of the Bulgarian sovereign, a situation that was the direct consequence of a series of events dating back to the ninth century.

Since the beginning of the insurrection which brought about the birth of the second Bulgarian State in 1185, the ruling family of the Asenids made every effort to present this polity as the lawful continuation of the First Bulgarian State, and themselves as the lawful successors, although not the descendants, of the former Bulgarian rulers³². As an obvious consequence, they claimed that their dignity must be equal to that of their predecessors³³. In this regard, the relation between Constantinople and Bulgaria cannot be easily accommodated in the binary and asymmetrical opposition between empire and kingdom that the Western sources favoured. The situation was far more complex: in 913, when Bulgaria was at the height of its power, the Byzantine emperor Alexander refused to pay the customary tribute to the Bulgarians agreed upon by Leo VI in 907³⁴. The Bulgarian king

³⁰ *From Bulgarian to Greek, and afterwards from Greek to Latin: Register Innocenz' III*, vol. V, p. 224.

³¹ *to learn Latin in school, because here we do not have scholars who can translate to us the letters you send: Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 411. This letter is from Kalojan, and the same information is also given by Vasilij in *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 412 (see above, note 17): *duos pueros [...] vobis mitto [...] ut ex precepto vestre sanctitatis litteras Latinas addiscant (I send two children [...] to you [...] so that according to the instructions of your Holiness they will learn Latin).*

³² F. DALL'AGLIO, 'As it Had Been in the Past': the Idea of National Continuity in the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, [in:] *Laudator Temporis Acti. Studia in Memoriam Ioannis A. Vožilov*, vol. I, ed. I. BILJARSKY, Sofia 2018, p. 282–299; M. КАЙМАКАМОВА, *Власт и история в средновековна България, VII–XIV век*, София 2011, p. 217–226; С. KOLAROV, Y. ANDREEV, *Certaines questions ayant trait aux manifestations de continuité d'idées en Bulgarie médiévale au des XII–XIV siècles*, EH 9, 1979, p. 77–97.

³³ On the titles and prerogatives of the rulers of the Second Bulgarian state see especially Г. БАКАЛОВ, *Средновековният български владетел*, София 1995, p. 197–208; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Институциите на средновековните български владетели*, Плевен 1999, p. 122–133; К. ГАГОВА, *Калоян – Цар на България и Влахия*, ИП 55, 3/4, 1999, p. 3–17.

³⁴ On those events, and on the history of Bulgarian-Byzantine relations from the reign of Simeon to the demise of the Bulgarian state, see especially И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Цар Симеон Велики (893–927). Златният век на средновековна България*, София 1983; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История...*,

Simeon invaded Thrace and set camp under the walls of Constantinople; and since Alexander succumbed to an illness and the heir to the throne, Constantine VII, was still underage, being born in 905, the regency council guided by the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos found itself in a dire predicament. It was imperative to end the hostilities, and to this purpose Simeon received a crown and the promise that his daughter would marry the future emperor. The crown was not the imperial crown of the Roman Empire, of course, and it applied only to the lands and people ruled by Simeon: but receiving it meant that the Byzantine court had been forced to abandon its usual position regarding both the Bulgarian ruler, who was now considered a legitimate sovereign equal in status to the Byzantine emperor, and the Bulgarian state, no longer considered a land belonging to the empire. Consequently, Simeon began to use for himself the title of βασιλεύς, and his successors did the same.

The demise of the Bulgarian state brought an end to the independence of the country, but it did not revoke the title bestowed upon its rulers: and when the state was re-established, the new monarchs believed that it was their right to use it for themselves, as rightful sovereigns of Bulgaria, asserting both their authority and the legitimate independence of their country, notwithstanding the opposition of the Byzantines who considered them usurpers, and their kingdom a rebellious province. For a Bulgarian ruler being called βασιλεύς meant that he was an αὐτοκράτορ, an independent ruler whose power was not limited by any external authority within the frontiers of his state. It did not mean that he had any right whatsoever upon the Byzantine lands, or that he was considered a candidate to the throne of Constantinople, or that his authority derived from a supposed Roman descent. His autocratic power was limited to the lands that rightfully belonged to him: he was βασιλεύς τῶν Βουλγάρων, 'emperor of the Bulgarians', just as the Byzantine emperor was βασιλεύς τῶν Ῥωμαίων 'emperor of the Romans'.

Therefore, the presence of the word *imperator* in the pontifical registers may be just an attempt, made by a puzzled translator unaware of its meaning in the Bulgarian political tradition, at faithfully translating the word βασιλεύς, in itself a translation of the Bulgarian *Tsar*, and also unaware of the fact that Kalojan was using this term not in the sense that he was claiming the title of Emperor of the Romans or that he wanted to establish a third empire in Europe, but merely that he was asking to be considered, by the pope and especially by his own neighbours, Byzantines, Latins or Hungarians, as the legitimate autocrat of his lands, whose possession he was entitled to maintain. This is also evident from the fact that neither Kalojan

p. 229–338; *Българският златен век. Сборник в чест на цар Симеон Велики (893–927)*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, И. ИЛИЕВ, К. НЕНОВ, ПЛОВДИВ 2015; I. МЛАДЈОВ, *The Crown and the Veil: Titles, Spiritual Kinship, and Diplomacy in Tenth-Century Bulgaro-Byzantine Relations*, HCom 13, 2015, p. 171–183; M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, *Carstwo Bułgarskie. Polityka, społeczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura 866–971*, Warszawa 2015; *The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, Łódź–Kraków 2018 [= BL, 34].

asked for a superior dignity after his royal coronation, nor Innocent felt the need to explain him that he could not bestow upon him the imperial dignity, as he did with Vasilij regarding his request to be anointed *patriarch* of the Bulgarian Church while he only received the title of *primate*³⁵. Actually, this whole terminological issue could have been avoided: in this specific context *rex* was a perfectly good translation of βασιλεύς, since the prerogatives of a Western king were those of an autocratic ruler, at least regarding his legitimate right to rule his lands, free from external interferences. Already in December 1202, Innocent had clarified this point in the famous *Per venerabilem* decretal, addressed to the count of Montpellier William VIII: “cum rex ipse superiorem in temporalibus minime recognoscat”³⁶, a principle that would be formalized, some decades afterwards, in the formulation “rex superiorem non recognoscens in regno suo est imperator”³⁷. Unbeknownst to either one, both Innocent and Kalojan were discussing the same thing: or at least, both were willing to avoid any friction.

The registers of Innocent III are not the only Western European source in which this confusion between *imperator* and *rex*, that is, between the actual demands of a Bulgarian sovereign regarding his status as an independent ruler and the foreign recognition of his title, can be noticed. It is also evident in the accounts of the encounter between the Bulgarian envoys and Barbarossa, while the emperor was crossing the Balkans in 1189, during the Third Crusade³⁸. In order to exploit to their advantage the growing hostility between Frederick I Barbarossa and the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelus, the Bulgarians proposed a military alliance to the German emperor. In exchange for a large army, Peter asked for the recognition of his authority over the Bulgarian lands. Once again, the translators of the proposal faithfully rendered βασιλεύς as *imperator*: therefore, according to the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, Peter wanted to receive from Barbarossa “coronam imperialem regni Grecie”³⁹. Leaving aside the name of the region claimed by

³⁵ *Apud nos hec duo nomina, primas et patriarcha, pene penitus idem sonant, cum primates et patriarche teneant unam formam, licet eorum nomina sint diversa (among us those two names, primate and patriarch, mean almost the same thing, since primate and patriarch have the same function, although their names are different): Register Innocenz' III, vol. VII, p. 7.* The explanation is vague, but the difference between patriarch and primate is underscored quite firmly.

³⁶ *Register Innocenz' III, vol. V, p. 253.*

³⁷ See F. CALASSO, *I glossatori e la teoria della sovranità. Studio di diritto comune pubblico*, ³Milan 1957, p. 22–77, and especially p. 41–53 for Innocent's opinion on the matter.

³⁸ On the perception of Bulgaria by the crusaders, see especially K. НЕНОВ, *Българското царство в латинските извори за кръстоносния поход на Фридрих Барбароса (1189–1190)*, *BMd* 8, 2017, p. 135–169; F. DALL'AGLIO, *'In ipsa silva longissima Bulgariae': Western Chroniclers of the Crusades and the Bulgarian Forest*, *BMd* 1, 2010, p. 403–416.

³⁹ *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, [in:] *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, ed. A. CHROUST, Berlin 1928 [= *MGH.SRG, N.S.*, 5], p. 58. A similar statement is also found in the *Historia Peregrinorum*, [in:] *Quellen zur Geschichte...*, p. 149: *diadema regni Grecie de manu imperatoris capiti suo [Peter] rogans imponi.*

Peter, which was obviously not Greece, it is clear that the situation is exactly the same as that of Kalojan in his negotiations with the pope, twelve years later: the recognition of a legitimate, autonomous rule over the lands he held. Moreover, according to Kalojan, Peter and Asen had tried many times to send envoys to Rome, although without success, quite possibly to ask the same thing from the predecessors of Innocent⁴⁰; and while the official recognition of their royal status did not come from them or from Barbarossa, who in the end reconciled with the Byzantine emperor and declined Peter's offer, Innocent agreed to fulfil Kalojan's wish and acknowledge his right and that of his descendants to rule over Bulgaria and Vlachia in perpetuity⁴¹. Whatever he intended with *rex* or *imperator*, the result was the same and it what was Kalojan wanted: the recognition as the sovereign monarch of his country.

On the other hand, possible that Peter and Kalojan did actually demand recognition as βασιλεύς, signalling the desire to take over the Byzantine empire with the assistance of Western powers, in a moment in which the imperial authority in Constantinople was weakened and under attack? After all, according to the well-known words of Niketas Choniates, in the initial stages of the revolt Asen and Peter had rallied the Bulgarians and Vlachs proclaiming that *the martyr of Christ, Demetrius, had left the town of the Thessalonians and his temple and his residence among the Romans, and came to them to help and assist in the endeavour*⁴². If the Byzantine empire had been deserted by its saints, who had fled his lands to take refuge in the newly restored Bulgarian state, would it be possible that imperial authority had also deserted Constantinople, and had been transferred to Târnovo?

This hypothesis is certainly suggestive, and it is not new: actually, it is very well entrenched in the historiography. It was first proposed in 1879 by Fëdor Uspenskij⁴³, and supported by such notable scholars as Ivan Božilov, who aptly called it 'the great idea'⁴⁴, in a parallel with the *megalē idea* of 19th–20th century Greek nationalism, and considered it a cornerstone in the politics of Kalojan and of his predecessors: *His [Kalojan's] whole policy shows that he struggled for this title – an aim already sought by Ivan Asen I and Peter. The great idea, the idea of a Bulgarian hegemony in the Balkans, of Bulgarian sovereignty over the Queen of Cities*⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ Register Innocenz' III, vol. V, p. 225.

⁴¹ According to the titling of the letter which confirmed his coronation: Register Innocenz' III, vol. VII, p. 3.

⁴² Nicetae Choniatae Historia, p. 371. See A. DOBIČINA, A "Divine Sanction" on the Revolt: the Cult of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica and the Uprising of Peter and Asen, SCer 2, 2012, p. 111–124.

⁴³ Ф. УСПЕНСКИЙ, Образование второго Болгарского царства, Одесса 1879, p. 255.

⁴⁴ И. БОЖИЛОВ, Фамилията на Асеневици..., p. 44.

⁴⁵ Цялата му политика показва, че той се е стремил към тази титла – цел, поставена още от Иван I Асен и Петър. Голямата идея, идеята за българска хегемония ха Балканите, за българско господство над Царицата на градовете: И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, История на средновековна България..., p. 460, in note 25. The idea seems well established in Western scholarship as well: see for instance D. NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford 1959, p. 20, and more recently

It is indeed true that Kalojan held a very aggressive stance towards the Byzantine empire, as Asen and Peter did before him. This can be hardly surprising, given the fact that Bulgaria came back into existence as an independent country after a rebellion against Constantinople and a long series of military campaigns aimed at securing the survival of the state and enlarging its boundaries. Yet, it would be difficult to consider that the final goal of those campaigns was the conquest of Constantinople. From a military point of view, the Bulgarian army, even with the invaluable assistance of the Cumans, and even if it did actually besiege with success some fortresses or towns, was primarily concerned in establishing a secure frontier on the natural boundaries of Haemus and Macedonia, and in launching plundering raids into Thrace. But the question cannot be reduced to the military abilities of Kalojan's army. The degree of ideological hostility towards the Byzantine empire, reciprocated in full by the Byzantines who disdained both the Bulgarians and their leaders, was far too great to allow for the establishment of a Bulgaro-Byzantine empire, with a Bulgarian at its head. The same elevation of Tŕrnovo as capital of the state, and its constant embellishment and sanctification with a large array of relics taken from the newly conquered lands⁴⁶, is proof enough of the fact that the Asenids wanted to present themselves as counterparts of the Byzantine empire, establishing a state that mirrored its political and spiritual characteristics.

Moreover, when after the very first letters Kalojan's correspondence with Innocent entered the phase of actual negotiations, the most worrisome enemy of Bulgaria was not the βασιλεύς of Constantinople but the king of Hungary, who contested the Bulgarian expansion in the area of Belgrade and Braniĉevo. While Kalojan mentioned to the pope the "many enemies" who were opposed to him⁴⁷, he did not make any explicit reference to Constantinople, because in 1202 he had signed a peace treaty with Alexios III⁴⁸. We do not know how did the Byzantine

F. VAN TRICHT, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium. The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)*, Leiden 2011, p. 387. The most extreme position is the one expressed by И. ИОРДАНОВ, *Корпус на печатите на средновековна България*, София 2001, p. 90, 93–94, who postulates that Peter actually claimed the title of emperor of Constantinople.

⁴⁶ See I. BILIARSKY, *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 del I e II seminario di studio, Roma–Grottaferrata 2000–2001*, ed. K. STANTCHEV, S. PARENTI, Grottaferrata 2007, p. 329–338; D. POLYVIANNY, *The Cults of Saints in the Political Ideology of the Bulgarian Empire*, [in:] *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne*, ed. M. DERWICH, M. ДМИТРИЕВ, Wrocław 1999, p. 401–417; К. МАРИНОВ, *Търново като свещен град през късното средновековие*, [in:] *Търновската държава на Духа. Десети юбилеен международен симпозиум, Велико Търново, 17–19 октомври 2013 г.*, В. Търново 2015, p. 698–722.

⁴⁷ *multos nostros contrarios: Register Innocenz' III*, vol. V, p. 225.

⁴⁸ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, p. 535; *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. J.-L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin–New York 1972 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 3], p. 110–111; *Nicephori Chrysobergae ad Angelos orationes tres*, ed. M. TREU, Breslau 1892, p. 18–21.

emperor address Kalojan in this treaty, and if the Bulgarian ruler saw his status as *autokratōr* finally recognized by Alexios⁴⁹: apparently he did not, since Kalojan informed Innocent, in June 1203, that Alexios was willing to make this concession only after he received news of his negotiations with the pope and, we may add, although neither Kalojan nor Innocent knew that at the time, after he had received news that the crusader fleet was approaching Constantinople⁵⁰. However, even if the independence of Bulgaria had been officially acknowledged by Constantinople, this did not deter Imre of Hungary from considering Kalojan a mere usurper, and a large part of his lands as pertaining to the Hungarian crown⁵¹.

The situation, as it is well known, quickly evolved between 1203 and 1204, and while the hostility between Bulgaria and Hungary remained, the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade changed everything in the region. Kalojan profited from the situation to seize some land in Macedonia and tried to establish good relations with the Latins, but they rejected his openings and actually threatened to take away his lands. This, of course, strained the relations between the two states, although the military confrontation was not immediate. As a matter of fact, in the winter of 1204 the Byzantine aristocracy of Thrace approached Kalojan and asked his help to recover their lands. According to Villehardouin, they even promised that they would recognize him as their emperor⁵², while Choniates only writes

⁴⁹ According to C. BRAND, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180–1204*, Cambridge Mass. 1968, p. 134–135, Kalojan received a royal crown and a primate for the Bulgarian Church, an assumption clearly contradicted by the future developments and by Kalojan's correspondence with Innocent III; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2000, p. 130, shares those assumptions.

⁵⁰ *Ex quo sciverunt istud Greci, miserunt mihi patriarcha et imperator: veni ad nos, coronabimus te in imperatorem et faciemus tibi patriarcham, quia imperium sine patriarcha non staret* (When the Greeks knew this, the patriarch and the emperor sent me [a message]: come to us, we will crown you emperor and make a patriarch for you, because an empire without a patriarch cannot exist): *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VI, p. 234.

⁵¹ As recorded in *Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 20, in 1203 Kalojan required an arbitrate regarding *de confinio Hungarie, Bulgarie et Blachie*, since Imre had invaded his lands and conquered five episcopates. Innocent took care of the matter: he wrote on 15 September 1204 to his legate, cardinal Leo, who in that time was detained by Imre, who would not allow him to cross the border and reach Târnovo. Among the many points discussed with the Hungarian king, Innocent informed his legate, was the problem of Kalojan's coronation and the issue of the Hungaro-Bulgarian border, which he wished to resolve to the advantage of Kalojan: [Kalojan and his brothers] *terram patrum suorum non tam occupare quam recuperare ceperunt [...]* *Unde nos eum non super alienam terram sed super propriam [...]* *regem intendimus coronare, volentes, ut et ipse terram restituat inuste detentam et terra inuste detenta restituatur eidem, cum ipse postulaverit hoc a nobis* [Kalojan and his brothers] *did not invade, but recovered the lands of their fathers [...]* *Therefore we wish to crown him [...]* *king over his own land, not over a foreign one, and we wish that he would give back the land unjustly held, and that the land unjustly held would be given back to him, as he asked us* (*Register Innocenz' III*, vol. VII, p. 205).

⁵² GEOFFROI DE VILLEHARDOUIN, *La conquête de Constantinople*, § 333.

about a military alliance aimed at expelling the Latins⁵³. Was it at that point that, if ever, he did begin to entertain the idea of becoming the emperor of Constantinople, and not only of Tărnovo?

A letter sent by Kalojan to Innocent and summarized in the *Gesta Innocentii*, a sort of biography of Innocent written by an anonymous author using the letters recorded in the *Regesta*, helps to clarify his position: he wrote to the pope that

When he heard about the capture of the royal city, he sent messengers and letters to the Latins, in order to have peace with them; but they answered very haughtily, saying that they would not have peace with him until he returned the land belonging to the Constantinopolitan empire that he invaded by force. And he answered them that that land was more rightly owned by him than Constantinople owned by them, because he took back the land that his ancestors had lost, but they occupied Constantinople that didn't belong them at all; moreover, he had legitimately received the royal crown from the holy pontiff, but he [Baldwin], who called himself *basileus* of Constantinople, had thoughtlessly usurped the crown of the empire: therefore, the empire belonged more to him than to that one.⁵⁴

On the other hand, Kalojan was well aware that this alliance was nothing but a tactical one, and that the Byzantine aristocrats had no intention of choosing him as their emperor, but only of using his manpower and resources to force the Latins to retreat. The battle of Adrianople of April 14, 1204, made him master of practically all Thrace⁵⁵. Baldwin was captured and died shortly thereafter, and the Latin empire remained without a ruler, or at least without an emperor, since Baldwin's brother, Henry, was elected bailiff by the Latin barons but did not receive the imperial crown yet. After this triumph, Kalojan may have briefly thought of taking control of Constantinople⁵⁶. Indeed, the circumstances were very favourable, given

⁵³ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, p. 612–613.

⁵⁴ *Ipse audita captione regiae civitatis, miserat nuntios et litteras ad Latinos, ut cum eis pacem haberet; sed ipsi ei superbissime responderunt, dicentes, quod pacem non haberent cum illo, nisi redderet terram ad Constantinopolitanum imperium pertinentem quam ipse invaserat violenter. Quibus ipse respondit: quod terra illa justius possidebatur ab ipso, quam Constantinopolis possideretur ab illis, nam ipse recuperaverat terram quam progenitores ejus amiserant, sed ipsi Constantinopolim occupaverant, quae ad eos minime pertinebat: ipse praeterea coronam regni legitime receperat a summo pontefice; sed ipse, qui se appellabat Constantinopolitanum basileum, coronam imperii temere usurpaverat a se ipso: quare, potius ad ipsum quam ad illum imperium pertinebat.* *Gesta Innocentii PP. III*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CCIV, col. 147–148. English edition and translation, *The Deeds of Innocent III by an Anonymous Author*, trans. J.M. POWELL, Washington 2004, p. 201–202. The letter was written after the battle of Adrianople of 14 April 1205, for which see below.

⁵⁵ Among the extensive bibliography on the battle of Adrianopolis, see the recent *Одринската битка от 1205 г.*, ed. В. Гюзелев, София 2005.

⁵⁶ This is the opinion of В. Гюзелев, *Четвъртият кръстоносен поход, превземането на Цариград и българо-латинските отношения 1204–1207 г.*, Pbg 28, 2004, p. 80–88, at p. 85 and 88. А. Данчева-Василева, *България и Латинската империя (1204–1261)*, София 1985, p. 61, believes instead that Kalojan had no intention, and no possibility, of conquering Constantinople. See also И. Божилов, *България при Асеневици*, ИП 36, 2, 1980, p. 80–95, at p. 92.

the panic that had struck the Latins, and the heavy losses they suffered. Yet, his subsequent actions demonstrate that the idea of taking control of the City was not a priority to him. After raiding Thrace, he retreated and concentrated his efforts in Macedonia, where he obtained significant territorial gains in the following years. Far from being a strategic error, this course of action was indeed well-thought-out and well-executed, and was the culmination of the process of south-western expansion initiated by his brothers, with Adrianople and Thessalonika as its southernmost points: and he died in 1207 while besieging Thessalonika, without ever attempting any military operation against the city of Constantinople.

As usual, when dealing with the history of medieval Bulgaria, the voices of its actors are almost always lost to us. It would be interesting to know what did Kalojan think of himself, and how did he perceive his rank and his status among his mostly hostile neighbours. As long as it confirmed his legal right to rule legally his lands and be considered an independent sovereign, was he really interested in what kind of crown he received from Rome? He definitely considered himself, as he had every right to do, the βασιλεύς of Bulgaria: but most certainly, not the βασιλεύς of Constantinople.

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Abstract. In the correspondence between Innocent III and Kalojan of Bulgaria (1197–1207), the title of the Bulgarian ruler is recorded both as *rex* and *imperator*. While the pope consistently employs the title *rex*, Kalojan refers to himself, in every occasion, with the title *imperator*. Some scholars have speculated that the use of this title was a deliberate political move: styling himself *imperator*, Kalojan was claiming a much greater political dignity than that of king of Bulgaria, putting himself on the same level as the emperor of Constantinople. On the other hand, while Innocent's letters were obviously written in Latin, Kalojan's letters were originally in Bulgarian, translated in Greek, and finally translated from Greek to Latin. Therefore, the use of the word *imperator* may be just an attempt at translating the term βασιλεύς, not in the sense of Emperor of the Romans but merely in that of autocrat, a ruler whose power was fully independent from any other external political authority. This recognition was of a fundamental importance for Kalojan, since the rulers of Bulgaria's neighbouring states, the kingdom of Hungary, the Byzantine empire, and especially the Latin empire of Constantinople, were not willing to recognize his legitimacy as an independent sovereign.


Keywords: power conceptualization and legitimization, crusade studies, Second Bulgarian State, Latin Empire of Constantinople, relations between Bulgaria and Byzantium, Innocent III, Church history of the Romans.

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TITUS FLAVIUS CLEMENS' STANCE ON WINE AS EXPRESSED IN PAEDAGOGUS

The aim of this article is twofold. Firstly, it is to present what Titus Flavius Clemens, a philosopher and Christian theologian from the period of 2nd–3rd century AD, thought about the subject of wine. Secondly, we aim to present his recommendations referring to various issues relating to the consumption of this drink. The analysis is based on *Paedagogus*. This work is an important source of information on the contemporary environment of Clement and of Alexandrian Christians, their behaviors and customs, as well as, importantly, their attitude to the rigorous requirements of the new faith.

Clement of Alexandria was born around 150 AD to a pagan family, most likely in Athens¹. He probably started his education in his hometown, and in order to continue it he traveled a fair amount, visiting Italy, Syria and Palestine. Around

¹ For more information on Clement cf. i.a.: B. ALTANER, B. STUIBER, *Patrologia*, trans. P. PACHCIAREK, Warszawa 1990, p. 277–284; J. NIEMIRSKA-PLISZCZYŃSKA, *Wstęp*, [in:] KLEMENS ALEKSANDRYJSKI, *Kobierce zapisków filozoficznych dotyczących prawdziwej wiedzy*, vol. I, trans. et ed. EADEM, Warszawa 1994, p. VII–XI; J. NAUMOWICZ, *Wstęp*, [in:] KLEMENS ALEKSANDRYJSKI, *Który człowiek bogaty może być zbawiony?*, trans. J. CZUJ, ed. J. NAUMOWICZ / PSEUDO-KLEMENS, *Zachęta do wytrwałości*, trans. et ed. J. NAUMOWICZ, Kraków–Ząbki 1995, p. 5–7; H. VON CAMPENHAUSEN, *Ojcowie Kościoła*, trans. K. WIERSZYŁOWSKI, Warszawa 1998, p. 28–36; C. VIDAL MANZANARES, *Klemens Aleksandryjski*, [in:] IDEM, *Pisarze wczesnochrześcijańscy I–VII w.*, trans. E. BURSKA, Warszawa 2012, p. 116–117; J. WOJTCZAK, *Klemens Aleksandryjski*, [in:] *Słownik pisarzy antycznych*, ed. A. ŚWIDERKÓWNA, Warszawa 2001, p. 289–290; M. KOWALEWSKA, P. SZCZUR, *Klemens Aleksandryjski*, [in:] *Powszechna Encyklopedia Filozofii*, vol. V, ed. A. KRĄPIEC, A. MARYNIARCZYK, P. JAROSZYŃSKI, Lublin 2004, p. 637–641; E. OSBORN, *Clement of Alexandria*, Cambridge 2005; P. ASHWIN-SIEJKOWSKI, *Clement of Alexandria. A Project of Christian Perfection*, London 2008, p. 19–28. Some scholars claim that Clement was born ten years later, cf.: P. KARAVITES, *Evil – Freedom – and the Road to Perfection in Clement of Alexandria*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 1999, p. 4.

180 AD he came to Alexandria, where he spent the following two decades. In this city, he became a student of Pantainos, the founder of the Alexandrian School of Theology, where both evangelical teaching and Greek philosophy were studied². Although Clement took over the school leadership after Pantainos he did not stay in Alexandria until the end of his life. He had to leave the city due to persecutions of Christians which took place under Septimius Severus in 202 or 203 AD. He was given shelter by his student and friend Alexander, who later became the bishop of Jerusalem. The further fate of Clement is unknown and we only know that he died about 10 years after leaving Egypt. Although Eusebius of Caesarea describes Clement as a priest, this matter is still under debate³.

The most prolific period of Clement's life was during his stay in Alexandria. From his rich literary legacy only three pieces and one homily survived to this day⁴. One of them is *Paedagogus* which consists of three books and which is addressed to pagans who have converted to Christianity. Its purpose is to strengthen and deepen their faith. The *Paedagogus* is Christ himself. The first part of the work is a theoretical reflection on Christian ethics, and the next two give a series of detailed rules relating to the daily conduct appropriate for Christians.

Clement's opinions about wine can be considered with respect to three aspects – moral, medical and culinary. Having analyzed them, we want not only to focus on his views on the topic that is at the center of this paper, but also to find answers to three important research questions. First of all, we want to check whether the Alexandrian's position on wine consumption departs from the stance formulated by other Christian writers who were his contemporaries. We use the example of John Chrysostom here. Secondly, we aim to verify Clement's opinions referring to the medical effects of drinking wine with the science of professionals, that is, contemporary doctors. The final question pertains to the breadth of knowledge about ancient cooking, specifically related to wine, which is offered to us by Clement in his *Paedagogus*.

Before going into a detailed discussion of Clement's views on wine, let us briefly consider the role that wine played in the life of ancient Mediterranean societies. It certainly reached far beyond its role as a beverage. Ever since the old (elusive from today's perspective) times, when wild vine was used, to thousands of years later, already in the eneolite when vine was domesticated, it was processed in order to

² More on Pantainos and his school: C. VIDAL MANZANARES, *Panten*, [in:] IDEM, *Pisarze wczesnochrześcijańscy...*, p. 146; E. OSBORN, *Clement of Alexandria...*, p. 19–24.

³ B. ALTANER, B. STUIBER, *Patrologia...*, p. 277; J. NAUMOWICZ, *Wstęp...*, p. 6–7; P. KARAVITES, *Evil...*, p. 5; E. OSBORN, *Clement of Alexandria...*, p. 14–20; M. SZARMACH, *Wstęp*, [in:] KLEMENS ALEKSANDRYJSKI, *Wychowawca*, trans. et ed. M. SZARMACH, Toruń 2012, p. 7–11.

⁴ Cf. e.g.: B. ALTANER, B. STUIBER, *Patrologia...*, p. 278–281; H. VON CAMPENHAUSEN, *Ojcowie Kościoła...*, p. 3–34; P. KARAVITES, *Evil...*, p. 5–8; E. OSBORN, *Clement of Alexandria...*, p. 5–15; P. ASHWIN-SIEJKOWSKI, *Clement of Alexandria...*, p. 28–29.

obtain wine in the Middle East and the Caucasus (among others)⁵. With the passage of time, the popularity of wine slowly increased along with the expansion of the areas of its cultivation. In the era of Greco-Roman domination in the Mediterranean area, which is of particular interest here, this beverage became by far the most important one, next to water.

Wine was as indispensable part of the daily menu, in which it was an invaluable source of sugar and calories, and at the same time a product of such fundamental importance that it was considered to be of the same importance as cereals and oil, whose consumption constituted a determinant of belonging to the civilized world⁶. It was also an essential element in the process of socialization, for example on the occasion of Greek symposiums and *syssitia*, or participation in religious holidays during which wine was offered in sacrifice and drunk (symposia were also connected with *sacrum*)⁷. It also played an important role in large-scale trade (albeit obviously fluctuating), both local and between distant lands (types of wine which were in special demand were profitable for merchants to transport over enormous distances)⁸. Finally, wine was widely used in contemporary

⁵ Cf. D. ZOHARY, M. HOPF, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World. The Origin and Spread of Cultivated Plants in West Asia, Europe, and the Nile Valley*, Oxford 1993, p. 143–150; D. ZOHARY, *The Domestication of the Grapevine Vitis vinifera L. in the Near East*, [in:] *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, ed. P.E. MCGOVERN, S.J. FLEMING, S.H. KATZ, Amsterdam 1996, p. 23–30; T. UNWIN, *Wine and the Vine. An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade*, London–New York 1996, p. 47–63; D.L. THURMOND, *From Vines to Wines in Classical Rome. A Handbook of Viticulture and Oenology in Rome and the Roman West*, Leiden–Boston 2017, p. 6–15.

⁶ For more on the use of wine in cooking in antiquity see e.g. A. DALBY, *Food in Antiquity from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 350–352; J.M. WILKINS, S. HILL, *Food in the Ancient World*, Malden–Oxford 2006, p. 166–184; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, *Woda, wino i tak dalej, czyli o napojach i trunkach w Konstantynopolu*, PNH 9, 1, 2010, p. 37–48; T. BOULAY, *Wine Appreciation in Ancient Greece*, [in:] *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*, ed. J. WILKINS, R. NADEAU, Malden–Oxford 2015, p. 271–282; D.L. THURMOND, *From Vines...*, p. 3–4, 218–245.

⁷ The literature on the cultural and religious role of wine is rich and what we follow is the just the fraction of it. Cf. N.R.E. FISHER, *Drink, Hybris and the Promotion of Harmony in Sparta*, [in:] *Classical Sparta. Techniques behind Her Success*, ed. A. POWELL, London 1989, p. 26–50; T. UNWIN, *Wine and the Vine...*, p. 63–66; L. NEVETT, *Domestic Space in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010, p. 59–63; M. WĘCOWSKI, *Sympozjon, czyli wspólne picie. Początki greckiej biesiady arystokratycznej (IX–VII wiek p.n.e.)*, Warszawa 2011, *passim*; I. KACZOR, *Deus – ritus – cultus. Studium na temat charakteru religii starożytnych Rzymian*, Łódź 2012, p. 42–45, 94–95, 102–103, 105, 110–113, 128–135, 174, 199–200, 202, 220, 226–227, 235–236, 253, 263–265, 278, 290–291, 313; S. CORNER, *Symposium*, [in:] *A Companion to Food...*, p. 234–235; P. HALSTEAD, *Food Production*, [in:] *A Cultural History of Food in Antiquity*, ed. P. ERDKAMP, London–New York 2016, p. 27–28.

⁸ Cf. V.R. GRACE, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*, Princeton 1979, p. 21–31; N. PURCELL, *Wine and Wealth in Ancient Italy*, JRS 75, 1985, p. 1–19; P.R. SEALEY, *New Light on the Wine Trade with Julio-Claudian Britain*, Brit 40, 2009, p. 1–40; W. BROEKAERT, A. ZUIDERHOEK, *Food Systems in Classical Antiquity*, [in:] *A Cultural History...*, p. 45–46, 53–54.

medicine, as evidenced by numerous passages from the works of e.g. Dioscorides, Galen, or Rufus of Ephesus⁹.

The last of these issues, due to the aims of this article, deserves some more discussion because the wine in ancient Greek-Roman medicine was thoroughly described, along with detailed dietary characteristics. It is impossible to present it comprehensively here without breaking the reasonable framework of the introduction, yet a few issues are worth noting. As far as we can ascertain, on the basis of preserved sources, in the first centuries after Christ there was consistent medical knowledge concerning wine which had been accepted for several centuries by most doctors¹⁰ and intellectual circles who were not professionally connected with medicine¹¹. At the time, wine was considered as having various properties and medical applications depending on its age, color, taste (and degree of dryness), density¹², and it was believed it could have different effects on people depending on the characteristics of their organisms¹³.

Before we turn to the analysis and the research questions formulated above, let us briefly consider the importance of wine for Jews (and, consequently, for the first Christians). It can be said that it was fundamental, because grapes – just like for other ancient peoples of this area – were one of the basics of diet, agriculture, processing and trade. Wine (and grape) also played a significant religious

⁹ Cf. e.g. R. ALESSI, *Le vin dans les Épidémies d'Hippocrate*, [in:] *Vin et santé en Grèce Ancienne. Actes du Colloque organisé à l'Université de Rouen et à Paris, 28–30 septembre 1998*, ed. J. JOUNANNA, L. VILLARD, Athènes 2002, p. 105–112; D. BÉGUIN, *Le vin médecin chez Galien*, [in:] *Vin et santé...*, p. 141–154; K. JAGUSIAK, *Zastosowania buraka (Beta vulgaris L.) w sztuce medycznej grecko-rzymskiego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, [in:] *Lek roślinny*, vol. IV, ed. B. PŁONKA-SYROKA, A. SYROKA, Wrocław 2015, p. 41–43; Z. RZEŹNICKA, M. KOKOSZKO, *Czosnek w medycynie wczesnego Bizancjum na przykładzie pism Orybazjusza*, [in:] *Lek roślinny*, vol. IV..., p. 56–57, 59–60; M. KOKOSZKO, *Enologia Dioskuridesa, czyli kilka uwag na temat leczniczego działania wina*, [in:] *Historia panaceum. Między marzeniem a oszustwem*, ed. W. KORPALSKA, W. ŚLUSARCYK, Bydgoszcz 2016, p. 49–62; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, J. DYBAŁA, *The Chickpea (ἐπέβινθος; Cicer arietinum L.) as a Medicinal Foodstuff and Medicine in Selected Greek Medical Writings*, SCer 7, 2017, p. 110–112, 114–115; Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Procedury dietetyczne w kuracji gorączki ciągłej (Snochom pyretós [σύνοχος πυρετός]) na podstawie wybranych traktatów medycznych antyku i Bizancjum*, [in:] *Historia diety i kultury odżywiania*, vol. I, ed. B. PŁONKA-SYROKA, H. GRAJETA, A. SYROKA, Wrocław 2018, p. 51–52.

¹⁰ This is evidenced by similarities which can be found in preserved texts, often resulting directly from the literal citation of their predecessors by medical writers, e.g. Oribasius (4th c.) quoted in his passages relating to wine, among others. Rufus of Ephesus (*Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, V, 7, 1, 1 – 7, 3; V, 9, 1, 1 – 3, 2; V, 12, 1, 1 – 3, 3, vol. I–IV, ed. I. RAEDER, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928–1933, cetera: ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*), Antyllus (ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, V, 29, 1, 1 – 10, 6) or Philagrius (ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, V, 17, 1, 1 – 11, 4).

¹¹ *Athenaei Naucraticae dipnosophistarum libri XV*, I, 32 c–d (59, 1–17), vol. I–III, ed. G. KAIBEL, Lipsiae–Berolini 1887–1890.

¹² Cf. e.g. DIOSCORIDES, *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque*, V, 6, 2, 1–5; V, 6, 3, 1–7, vol. I–III, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berlin 1907–1914 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*).

¹³ More on the matter can be found in subsequent sections of the article.

role, often appearing in the Holy Scriptures from the Mosaic Pentateuch in both practical commands related to worship and metaphorical descriptions of reality¹⁴. In the New Testament we find evidence of wine consumption by members of the nascent Christian community. Wine appears at the wedding at Cana (Io 3, 1–10) and during the Last Supper (Mt 26, 27–29; Lc 14, 23; Lc 22, 18–20). Relatively often it is mentioned in the letters by Saint Paul. When addressing Timothy, Saint Paul lets him drink it, but he insists that it should be consumed only for healing purposes and in small amounts (cf. 1Tim 5, 23). According to Saint Paul misuse and abuse of wine is classified as a sin and it does not allow an individual to enter the Kingdom of Heaven (Gal 5, 19–21). For this reason he encouraged Christians to refrain from drinking (Rom 14, 21).

In formulating his views on the consumption of wine, Clement focuses on related moral issues. This should come as no surprise, since he wrote his work in order to introduce the new members of the Christian community to the principles governing it.

Unlike members of Christian sects such as the Encratics¹⁵, Clement does not postulate a total ban on drinking wine¹⁶. He claims that, like water, it was created by God¹⁷. Citing the words of Saint Paul addressed to Timothy – *Use some wine for stomach reasons* (1Tim 5, 23) – he recommends that you use it with moderation¹⁸. This moderation is connected with the doctrine of the mean, which is crucial in the teaching of the Alexandrian and which was discussed in detail by Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics*. The Stagirite describes in it ethical virtue as a disposition of will that preserves the average measure of two errors between us, that is

¹⁴ T. UNWIN, *Wine and the Vine...*, p. 66–70; D.E. NEEL, J.A. PUGH, *Jedzenie i uczyty Jezusa. Kulinaryny świat Palestyny pierwszego wieku*, trans. M. KRÓL, Kraków 2014, p. 43, 55–60, 118–121, 156–164; J.D. ROSENBLUM, *Jewish Meals in Antiquity*, [in:] *A Companion to Food...*, p. 349. Cf. D.E. SMITH, *Food and Dining in Early Christianity*, [in:] *A Companion to Food...*, p. 357–364.

¹⁵ The representatives of this early Christian movement rejected not only wine but meat and marriage as well: H. CHADWICK, *Enkrateia*, [in:] *RAC*, vol. V, ed. T. KLAUSER, E. DASSMANN, G. SCHÖLLGEN, Stuttgart 1962, p. 343–365; G. QUISPTEL, *The Study of Encratism. A Historical Survey*, [in:] *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica. Collected Essays of Gilles Quispel*, ed. J. VAN OORT, praef. A. DECONICK, J.-P. MAHÉ, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= NHMS, 55], p. 329–363. As is clarified P. BROWN (*Ciało i społeczeństwo. Mężczyźni, kobiety i abstynencja seksualna we wczesnym chrześcijaństwie*, trans. I. KANIA, Kraków 2006, p. 110–111), the reason for which, next to the basic sexual abstinence, there were also dietary restrictions among the Encratics, was the fact that eating meat was considered something that binds man with wild animal carnivorousness and drinking wine was supposed to be a source of sexual energy.

¹⁶ *Clementis Alexandrini Paedagogus*, II, II, 33, ed. M. MARCOVICH, J.C.M. VAN WINDEN, Leiden–Boston 2002 [= VC.S, 61] (cetera: CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*). Citing the description of Jesus as being “a glutton and a wine-bibber” (cf. Mt 11, 19), Clement says: *Let this be held fast by us against those that are called Encratites* (trans.: CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *The Instructor*, trans. P. SCHAFF, [in:] *The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, vol. II, *Fathers of the Second Century*, ed. A. ROBERTS, J. DONALDSON, New York 1913, p. 246).

¹⁷ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 23.

¹⁸ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 19.

between excess and deprivation. This measure is defined by reason (λόγος) and in a way in which a reasonable person would see it¹⁹. When explaining how a person should strive to achieve virtue the philosopher refers to comparing this process to health preservation. In both cases, shortage (ἐλλειψις) and excess (ὑπερβολή) stand on the path to success. Health is destroyed both by excess and shortage of food and beverages, and maintained and strengthened when food is consumed in a proper way²⁰.

Aristotle's doctrine of mean was very popular among his successors²¹. It is therefore not surprising that it also found its place in the thought of Clement²², who is known for his respect for the intellectual achievements of ancient Greeks, and who initiated the process of the synthesis of Greek philosophy with Christian teaching²³.

For Clement the ideal of μεσότης has universal application. When discussing meal preparation, he points out that the golden mean is the basic principle in everything. While he considers extremes bad, moderation is good²⁴. For this

¹⁹ *Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 6, 1107a, ed. F. SUSEMIHL, O. APALT, Lipsiae 1912 [= BSGR] (cetera: ARISTOTELES, *Ethica Nicomachea*). More on Aristotle's doctrine of the golden mean: W.J. OATES, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, PRev 45, 1936, p. 382–398; L.W. ROSENFELD, *The Doctrine of the Mean in Aristotle's Rhetoric*, The 31, 1965, p. 191–198; J.O. URMSON, *Aristotle's Doctrine of the Mean*, APQ 10, 1973, p. 223–230; H.J. CURZER, *A Defense of Aristotle's Doctrine that Virtue is a Mean*, APhil 16, 1996, p. 129–138; R. HURSTHOUSE, *The Central Doctrine of the Mean*, [in:] *The Blackwell Guide to Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. R. KRAUT, Oxford 2006, p. 96–115.

²⁰ ARISTOTELES, *Ethica Nicomachea*, II, 2, 1104a.

²¹ Cf. D. ZAGÓRSKI, *Recepcja arystotelesowskiego ideału μεσότης w doktrynie Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego. Problem definicji*, RT.KUL 51, 2004, p. 10.

²² Clement further developed the Aristotle's concept of μεσότης, cf. especially D. ZAGÓRSKI, *Recepcja arystotelesowskiego...*, p. 5–42 and IDEM, *Weryfikacja ideału μεσότης w życiu przyjaciela Boga (gnostyka)*, RT.KUL 54, 2007, p. 99–121. On μεσότης in family and married life cf. IDEM, *Realizacja ideału μεσότης w życiu małżeńskim i rodzinnym według Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego*, RT.KUL 52, 2005, p. 5–24.

²³ As is underlined by P. SZCZUR (*Vetera et nova w koncepcji aretologii Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego*, RT.KUL 53, 2006, p. 103), one must remember that the Alexandrian took from Greek philosophy only those values which were in accord with the teachings of Christ. Due to appropriate modifications he formed the theology in statu nascendi. More about his attitude towards Hellenism and Greek philosophy, among others in: R.E. WITT, *The Hellenism of Clement of Alexandria*, CQ 25, 1931, p. 195–204; J.T. MUCKLE, *Clement of Alexandria on Philosophy as a Divine Testament for the Greeks*, Phoe 5, 1951, p. 79–86; J.M. SZYMUSIAK, *Klasycyzm Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego*, STV 9, 1971, p. 289–302; J. WOJTCZAK, *Stosunek Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego do filozofii według Stromata*, STV 9, 1971, p. 263–288; J. PLISZCZYŃSKA, *Pierwsza próba syntezy filozofii greckiej z antyczną doktryną chrześcijańską. Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego, „Stromata”*, E 65, 1977, p. 221–229; W. JAEGER, *Wczesne chrześcijaństwo i grecka Paideia*, trans. K. BIELAWSKI, Bydgoszcz 2001, p. 77–88; P. SZCZUR, *Wpływ starożytnej myśli greckiej na kształtowanie się koncepcji roztropności (φρόνησις) u Klemensa z Aleksandrii*, RT.KUL 50, 2003, p. 149–150; A. HESZEN, *„Paideia” Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego na przykładzie jego „Hymnu do Chrystusa Zbawiciela”*, SPP 19, 2009, p. 121–122, 133; M. CZARNUCH, *Clement of Alexandria's Attitude towards the Greek Philosophy*, SCL 10, 2013, p. 141–146.

²⁴ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, I, 16.

reason, he recommends that you always watch the right measure. In relation to food, it boils down to avoiding both delicacies and an overly strict diet. Thus, the right diet is between the two extremes, on the one hand it is free from luxury and on the other hand from excessive restrictions²⁵. The essence of μεσότης is the aforementioned moderation, which Clement often emphasizes²⁶. In his opinion, the loss of restraint, which is disastrous for a Christian, can be observed especially in relation to food²⁷. Clement warns against treating food as a source of pleasure, because, although everything was created for people, one should not use everything. One should avoid life dependent on the stomach²⁸. Exactly the same principle as the one shown in *Paedagogus* can be applied to drinking wine.

To quote a fragment from *Sirach's Wisdom – wine drunk in season and temperately is rejoicing of heart and gladness of soul* (Eccli 31, 28). The Alexandrian acknowledges that it is best to mix wine with water to weaken its strength. At the same time, he insists on not overdoing it and not diluting wine excessively. Clement stresses that *both are works of God; and so the mixture of both, of water and of wine, conduces together to health, because life consists of what is necessary and of what is useful*²⁹. The custom of mixing wine with water has a long tradition in the Greek-Roman world, in which it was perceived as one of staples of civilization, distinguishing the Greeks and Romans from the barbarians. Clement supports this claim and cites Plato who states that the Celts, Iberians and Thracians are prone to drunkenness particularly often. The Alexandrian adds that in contrast to peace-oriented Greeks, who during feasts maintain moderation and stay sober, barbarians are militant people³⁰.

Clement recommends, therefore, to satisfy thirst with moderation and not to be valiant over wine, for wine has destroyed many (cf. Eccli 31, 25)³¹. Christ himself can be considered as the best model in this regard. He drank wine with moderation and prudence, maintaining dignity, and Clement believes that Christ additionally taught during feasts and showed how those consuming wine should show restraint³².

Abuse of wine leads to behaviors that the Alexandrian criticizes with full severity. To increase this effect, he resorts to detailed descriptions of the condition of those who did not adhere to the ideal principle μεσότης and let themselves be carried away by the excesses of drunkenness. Wine that has not been mixed

²⁵ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, III, X, 51.

²⁶ E.g. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, I, XII, 99.

²⁷ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, I, 11.

²⁸ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, I, 14.

²⁹ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 23 (trans.: CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *The Instructor...*, p. 243).

³⁰ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 32.

³¹ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 31.

³² CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 32.

with water consumed in excess twists tongues, causes the lip to fall, disrupts the eyes, resulting in the eyes to seem as if they were swimming submerged in water. A drunk man is not able to properly perceive reality and see anything from afar, but he thinks that everything revolves around him and things multiply in front of his eyes. To this end, hiccups and vomiting tire him³³. Under the influence of drunkenness one is prone to contradicting states – croaking and crying³⁴. In turn, half-drunk men walk with an uncertain step, have wreaths around their necks like vats, and spit at each other with wine. Others suffer from headaches, they are dirty, pale and blue on their faces, but they are still looking for opportunities to drink. Such an image is considered by Clement as ridiculous and worthy of compassion, and he perceives those who have fallen to drunkenness as a spectacle and laughing stock³⁵. Clement uses two Old Testament characters – Noe and Lot – as examples of drunkards. The negative effects of their misuse of wine are presented as a warning against such behavior of others³⁶.

The state of drunkenness affects not only men but also young people and women. According to our author, young boys and girls should avoid this poison, i.e. wine, since it has a disastrous effect on their bodies. As Clement states: *For hence wild impulses and burning lusts and fiery habits are kindled; and young men inflamed from within become prone to the indulgence of vicious propensities; so that signs of injury appear in their body, the members of lust coming to maturity sooner than they ought*. This leads them directly to behave in a shameful way³⁷. As per women, Clement mocks their allegedly sophisticated way in which they open their mouths and tilt their heads while drinking. A drunk woman, according to the biblical passages that he quotes, should be condemned since her behavior brings God's wrath. Such a woman is seen to be great evil. Clement however does not ban women from using wine since in his opinion a woman with an innate sense of shame will not misbehave or behave noisily while drinking³⁸.

Clement compares drunkenness to poison again, stating that it also brings death to men³⁹. The only way of avoiding it is relying on the previously mentioned reason (logos), which will make it possible to determine the right measure in the consumption of this drink. The Alexandrian recommends, figuratively, to invite logos to feasts, to control the drinking of wine and not to go down the path

³³ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 24.

³⁴ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, VII, 56.

³⁵ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 26.

³⁶ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 34; II, IX, 81.

³⁷ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 20 (trans.: CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *The Instructor...*, p. 243).

³⁸ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 33. Cf. P. WYGRALAK, *Vinum laetificat cor hominis (Ps 104, 15). Ojcowie Kościoła o spożywaniu wina i związanych z tym problemach*, PST 25, 2011, p. 150.

³⁹ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, VII, 56, cf. II, II, 27.

of drunkenness. When drinking, you should know when to stop and postpone serious matters until the morning⁴⁰. Reason is necessary for the consumption of wine also because in people prone to drunkenness, as our author expresses it metaphorically, the center of thinking is not in the head but in the guts – the brain occupies the place of the liver and heart, and thus goes where the center of pleasure and anger is located. This makes one enslaved by passions, lusts and anger⁴¹. Presenting the issue that interests us, Clement goes back to comparing the condition of a person drinking wine in excess to a sinking ship in rough waters. The immensity of drunkenness is depicted here as a dangerous sea in which the human body sinks like a ship flooded with waves. The captain, which is the human mind, staggers in a state of intoxication and cannot reach the port during the storm. Thrown on the rocks, he eventually destroys himself, stranded⁴².

According to Clement, pure water, which God gave Jews as a healthy and natural drink, satisfies thirst naturally. It was water which was the original drink of man – the vine appeared later⁴³. Compliance with Clement's recommendations for drinking wine, which, in short, come down to respecting the principle μέσότης, and therefore the principles of the golden mean and above all the principle of rational moderation, allows Christians to safely reach for this drink. The Alexandrian supports his recommendations in this respect with the authority of Saint Paul and the *Paedagogus* himself, meaning Christ, who do not prohibit drinking wine, but only overusing for it⁴⁴. He advises, however, that in order to satisfy one's desire one should avoid brand wines. Their task will be fulfilled by outstanding local drinks, not imported ones, and this is because for the ordinary user every wine is the same, because they are all a gift of God⁴⁵. Interestingly, Clement also instructs his readers as to what the activity of drinking wine should look like. His advice, in short, boils down to behaving in an elegant manner⁴⁶.

Satisfying thirst is not, however, in our author's opinion, the only function that wine can fulfill. We must emphasize strongly that he also ascribes it a positive influence on individual, social and family spheres of human life, stating that wine primarily makes the drinker well-disposed towards himself, pleasant to friends, polite towards his companions and more gentle to his family members⁴⁷.

As we have already mentioned, Clement in his views on the consumption of wine by Christians is far from the rigor of the Encratites, whose representative,

⁴⁰ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 25.

⁴¹ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 34.

⁴² CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 28.

⁴³ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 19.

⁴⁴ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 28; II, II, 29.

⁴⁵ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 30.

⁴⁶ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 31; II, II, 33.

⁴⁷ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 23.

Tatian the Assyrian (around 130 – c. 193), rejected it completely⁴⁸. Born two centuries after Clement, John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople (before 350–407), whom we can definitely consider one of the most outstanding representatives of ancient social thought⁴⁹, in his sermons and homilies often discussed the subject of drinking wine⁵⁰. Like Clement, only with much greater enthusiasm and with the use of a whole range of rhetorical resources, he criticized its misuse. He saw drunkenness as a serious offense, the cause and source of many faults and sins⁵¹. Alcohol abuse was perceived not only as a disease that a drunk person put on himself⁵², but also as a way of destroying the local community⁵³. One of wine's main negative effects was, according to Chrysostom, that it ruined the spiritual life of a man and deprived him of all the benefits he could have from the virtues that were not easy to achieve⁵⁴. Similarly to Clement, John believed that over-consumption of alcohol easily contributed to the unrighteousness of sexual impurity, i.e. adultery⁵⁵. The weight of sin, which was drunkenness, was so great that in his opinion it completely deprived man of a chance to enter the Kingdom of God⁵⁶. John mainly warned the elder people about excessive consumption of wine, and in order to discourage his listeners from abusing alcohol⁵⁷, he provided them (to a much greater extent than Clement) with vivid descriptions of drunkards⁵⁸. It seems that in view of such a strict assessment of the consequences of the behavior of those who undergo excessive consumption of the drink in question, the Bishop, in contrast to Clement, would hardly find any positive influence of drinking wine on a person – whether individual, social or having to do with family life.

⁴⁸ As W.L. PETERSEN (*Tatian the Assyrian*, [in:] *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics"*, ed. A. MARJANEN, P. LUOMANEN, Leiden–Boston 2005 [= VC.S, 76], p. 142) points out, the idea that Tatian was a teetotaler first appears in Jerome (c. 385), but whether his tradition is reliable, or whether he simply inherited it from earlier descriptions of Encratism, remains unknown.

⁴⁹ P. SZCZUR, *Problematyka społeczna w późnoantycznej Antiochii. Na podstawie nauczania homiletycznego Jana Chryzostoma*, Lublin 2008, *passim*.

⁵⁰ Cf. P. WYGRALAK, *Vinum laetificat...*, *passim*; P. SZCZUR, *Problematyka społeczna...*, p. 440–454; IDEM, *John Chrysostom's Assessment of Drunkenness*, VP 33, 2013, p. 387–400.

⁵¹ P. SZCZUR (*John Chrysostom's Assessment...*, p. 387–388), on the ground of numerous statements of the bishop, determines how he defined the abuse of alcohol.

⁵² JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Adversus Judaeos*, or. 8, 1, PG, vol. XLVIII, col. 928; *Ad populum Antiochenum*, hom. 1, 5, PG, vol. XLIX, col. 22.

⁵³ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Ad populum Antiochenum*, hom. 1, 5, PG, vol. XLIX, col. 22. Cf. P. SZCZUR, *John Chrysostom's Assessment...*, p. 394–395.

⁵⁴ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Matthaëum*, hom. 57, 5, PG, vol. LVIII, col. 566.

⁵⁵ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Matthaëum*, hom. 57, 5, PG, vol. LVIII, col. 564; *In epistulam ad Romanos*, hom. 24, 3, PG, vol. LX, col. 626.

⁵⁶ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Matthaëum*, hom. 57, 5, PG, vol. LVIII, col. 566; *Ad populum Antiochenum*, hom. 1, 5, PG, vol. XLIX, col. 22; *Adversus ebriosos et de resurrectione Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, 1, PG, vol. L, col. 435.

⁵⁷ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam ad Titum*, hom. 4, 1, PG, vol. LXII, col. 683.

⁵⁸ E.g. JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Adversus Judaeos*, or. 8, 1, PG, vol. XLVIII, col. 928; *In epistulam ad Romanos*, hom. 13, 11, PG, vol. LX, col. 522.

Just as Clement also Chrysostom (being in harmony with the biblical teaching) considered wine to be God's gift and as such he treated it not as something bad, but as something good⁵⁹. It is wine abusing that is bad⁶⁰. The bishop allowed it to be consumed, but he emphasized that it should be done with moderation⁶¹. Referring to the words of Saint Paul addressed to Timothy (cf. 1Tim 5, 23), he underlined that the apostle's consent to drinking a little wine resulted only from the fact that Timothy was not feeling well and wine was supposed to act as a medicine⁶².

Thus, although both authors – John and Clement – remain strongly negative about the abuse of wine, the first of these expresses his reasons more clearly. The reason for this are undoubtedly his rhetorical skills and the fact that he speaks to the faithful, and does not write down his teachings, which could cool the heat of his statements. Perhaps, however, the reason for this difference in the intensity of criticism is also that each of them directed their words to a different audience and John had more opportunities to see the effects of the brainless drunkenness of Christians, whom he led as a spiritual and moral authority.

The Alexandrian is known for his comprehensive knowledge of medicine and ancient medical treaties⁶³. We find evidence for this in all of his work, including the analyzed *Paedagogus*. Unfortunately, his statements about wine provide us with only a few references to the ways of using this drink as a medicine. We will quote them here, trying to confront them with the teachings of two ancient Greek medical writers, Pedanius Dioscorides (c. 40 – 90 AD), a physician, pharmacologist and botanist, and Galen of Pergamon (129 AD – c. 200/c. 216), a physician, surgeon and philosopher. Above all, Clement recommends sensible use of wine for those who want to avoid the chills that affect them due to the cold, especially if they are susceptible to them⁶⁴. He also recommends it to the elderly, as a medicine, also for warming up⁶⁵. These words correspond to both Galen's words,

⁵⁹ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Matthaëum*, hom. 57, 5, PG, vol. LVIII, col. 564.

⁶⁰ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Ad populum Antiochenum*, hom. 1, 4, PG, vol. XLIX, col. 22; *Ad populum Antiochenum*, hom. 2, 5, PG, vol. XLIX, col. 40; *In Matthaëum*, hom. 57, 5, PG, vol. LVIII, col. 564.

⁶¹ JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Adversus ebriosos et de resurrectione Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, 1, PG, vol. L, col. 433.

⁶² JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Ad populum Antiochenum*, hom. 1, 5, PG, vol. XLIX, col. 22–23.

⁶³ J.M. SZYMUSIAK, *Klasycyzm Klemensa...*, p. 293; M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Chleb nieodpowiedni dla chrześcijan: moralne zalecenia Klemensa Aleksandryjskiego w konfrontacji z naukowymi ustaleniami Galena*, VP 35, 2015, p. 258.

⁶⁴ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 29.

⁶⁵ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 22. On wine heating by the Romans during the winter time cf. M. KOKOSZKO, *Smaki Konstantynopola*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, Warszawa 2011, p. 565. John Chrysostom (JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam I ad Timotheum*, hom. 13, 4, PG, vol. LXII, col. 569) argued that wine is mainly abused by older women who need warming up because of episodes of chills in the elderly. He banned them from excessive wine drinking because it resulted in indecent laughter. The women could consume wine in small amounts in order to warm up their

who states that old people should drink wine because their bodies are cool and wine has warming qualities⁶⁶, as well as to the words of Dioscorides⁶⁷, according to whom dry wine which is undiluted by water is warming. Additionally, as we read in the works of the second of the above-mentioned experts in his contemporary medical art, it is also advisable to drink wine with the addition of tar or pine resin to warm up⁶⁸.

Another situation in which Clement recommends the consumption of wine for medical reasons is when one has digestive problems. Soft and sweet wine, mixed in proper proportions with water⁶⁹ is supposed to alleviate those problems. However, Dioscorides claimed that – on the contrary – sweet wine causes digestive problems, disrupting the functioning of the gastrointestinal tract⁷⁰. In addition, the Alexandrian believed that wine prevents unpleasant odors⁷¹. If what he was referring to were gases produced by the organism, his words would once again be in contradiction to the opinion expressed by Dioscorides, who claimed that such liquor fills the stomach with gases⁷². It is also worth referring to the Alexandrian's opinion we have already presented regarding the pernicious effects of drinking wine by young people. Galen states that he knew many who often drunk black and tart wine, and that these not only did not harm their bodies, but were nutritious and helped to keep them in good physical shape. One should drink such wines in moderation, not to hurt oneself⁷³. Elsewhere⁷⁴, however, Galen's argument remains essentially in line with the words of Clement, because the Pergamon writes that young people should avoid wine. This was due to the fact that it is a warming drink, and the constitution of young organisms is hot in itself, so they should not be additionally warmed up⁷⁵. With this we reach the end of Clement's

bodies, cf. J. DYBAŁA, *Ideał kobiety w pismach kapadockich Ojców Kościoła i Jana Chryzostoma*, Łódź 2012 [= BL, 14], p. 119–120.

⁶⁶ Galeni *De sanitate tuenda*, 334, 5–6, vol. VI, ed. K. KOCH, [in:] *Galenii De sanitate tuenda, De alimentorum facultatibus, De bonis malisque sucis, De victu attenuante, De ptisana*, ed. K. KOCH, G. HALMREICH, K. KALBFLEISCH, O. HARTLICH, Lipsiae–Berolini 1923 (cetera: GALENUS, *De sanitate tuenda*).

⁶⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 10, 1 – 11, 1.

⁶⁸ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 5, 6–8.

⁶⁹ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 29; II, II, 23.

⁷⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, 6, 2, 6–9.

⁷¹ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus*, II, II, 23.

⁷² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 2, 6–9.

⁷³ Galeni *De victu attenuante*, 102, 1 – 103, 3, ed. C. KALBFLEISCH, [in:] *Galenii De sanitate tuenda, De alimentorum...*

⁷⁴ GALENUS, *De sanitate tuenda*, 335, 12, vol. VI.

⁷⁵ GALENUS, *De sanitate tuenda*, 334, 5–6, vol. VI. The Aretaeus of Cappadocia, a Greek physician, who most likely lived around the 1st century AD also wrote about wine as a source of sexual energy (ARETAEUS, *De curatione acutorum morborum libri duo*, [in:] *The Extant Works of Aretaeus the Cappadocian*, ed. et trans. F. ADAMS, London 1856). Cf. V.E. GRIMM, *From Feasting to Fasting. The Evolution of a Sin. Attitudes to Food in Late Antiquity*, London 1996, p. 101–102.

advice on the use of wine as a medicinal product. We can say that in this matter he showed some knowledge of professional views, although we do not find here any knowledge reaching deeper than, probably, what was commonly known.

At this point, it is worth referring to Clement's statement that young, sweet wine breaks all barriers of shame. According to Dioscorides⁷⁶ sweet wine cannot be drunk as quickly as dry wine, and young wines are less tasty than ripe ones⁷⁷. It seems, therefore, that people familiar with the findings of late-ancient medicine and recognizing them as correct, would not be afraid of young and sweet wine. It must be admitted, however, that Clement's words seem to hold true with regards to how they correspond to the obvious human predilection for sweet taste in general, including sweet drinks.

The final element which would complete the Alexandrian's views on wine is ancient culinary arts. Here, unfortunately, we must conclude *Paedagogus* is a poor source of information. The input in this respect is limited to enumerating several names of imported wines whose consumption the author advises against – for moral reasons. What is interesting, however, is the fact that he knows these type of wines, which makes him a kind of an antique sommelier.

The vast majority of Titus Flavius Clemens' statements about wine and its consumption is connected with moral recommendations, which he formulated in relation to this beverage when addressing the Alexandrian Christian community. This should not be surprising, because the main purpose of his *Paedagogus* was to instill in the followers of the new faith the right virtues and appropriate behavior. Clement's teaching is consistent with what we know about wine from the Bible, and especially from the New Testament. As a drink created by God, it cannot be rejected by Christians – only heretics do so. The main principle that applies to its consumption is the need to maintain moderation. This principle perfectly fits with the ideal of μεσότης appreciated by the Alexandrian. Clement's ethical views on wine drinking do not differ from those expressed later on by the bishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom.

As per wine's medical and culinary values, *Paedagogus* cannot be considered as a rich source of information. Knowledge about how to consume wine in order to help and not harm your health turns out to be very superficial. Based on *Paedagogus* we know that Clement knew various medical theories, but we find no traces of them in the fragments related to wine drinking. On the contrary, one may be under the impression that Clement only described what was commonly known. When it comes to wine understood as a beverage to accompany meals, Clement does not list more than just a few types in *Paedagogus*.

⁷⁶ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 2, 6–9.

⁷⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 1, 1–7.

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Abstract. Titus Flavius Clemens was a philosopher and Christian theologian from the period of the 2nd–3rd century. The aim of this paper is to present his view on the subject of wine and his recommendations on wine consumption as described in his work entitled *Paedagogus*.

In this work Titus Flavius Clemens focuses primarily on the moral side of drinking wine. He is a great supporter of the ancient principle of moderation, or the golden mean (μεσότης). We also find its traces in his recommendations regarding the drinking of wine. First of all, he does not require Christians to be abstinent. Although he considers water as the best natural beverage to satisfy thirst, he does not make them reject God's wine. The only condition he sets, however, is to maintain moderation in drinking it. He recommends diluting wine with water, as the peaceful Greeks always did, unlike the war-loving barbarians who were more prone to drunkenness. On the other hand, Titus Flavius Clemens warns the reader against excessive dilution of wine, so that it does not turn out to be pure water. He severely criticizes drunkenness, picturesquely presenting the behavior of drunks, both men and women. Wine in moderation has, in his opinion, its advantages – social, familial and individual. It makes a person better disposed to himself or herself, kinder to friends and more gentle to family members.

Wine, when consumed in moderation, may also have medicinal properties. Clemens is well aware of this fact and in his work he cites several medical opinions on the subject.

Unfortunately, in *Paedagogus* we find little information about wine as a food product / as an everyday beverage. The input on the subject is limited to the list of exclusive, imported wines. What is worth noting, Titus Flavius Clemens appears to be a sommelier in this way.

Keywords: Titus Flavius Clemens, early Christianity, wine, principle of moderation, the golden mean (μεσότης).

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THE RELIEF ON THE DOOR OF THE MSHO ARAKELOTS MONASTERY (1134) AS A SOURCE FOR STUDYING ARMS AND ARMOUR OF MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN WARRIORS¹

The history of swords [weapons] is the history of humanity (R.F. Burton)²

Introduction

The Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia (884/886³–1045/1064⁴) was the first independent Armenian state in the Middle Ages. Having been under the control of the Persians and Umayyad Arabs for centuries, the Royal House of Bagratid was finally able to secure their independence from Arabs at the end of the 9th century. Located at the frontier, between Eastern Roman Empire and the Muslim world, Armenia faced encroachment from both sides, but, on the other hand, adopted the best military solutions from both sides, creating its own military culture.

After the fall of the Bagratid Armenia in the middle of the 11th c., the Armenian territory was under the rule of the Seljuk Turks. One of the Turks' principalities was founded in Western Armenia after the Battle of Manzikert (1071) and called Shah-Armenia (1100–1207)⁵, whose capital city was Ahlat, located on the north-western

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Valery Yotov from Varna Museum (Bulgaria) for his ideas and materials, which enabled me to prepare the present paper. Furthermore, I would like to thank Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for a travel grant (2018), which allowed me to find necessary books in the libraries of Armenia and helped me to finish this article.

² R. BURTON, *The Book of the Sword. A History of Daggers, Sabers, and Scimitars from Ancient Times to the Modern Day*, New York 2014.

³ Note that due to the inaccuracy of the source base, modern historians (Arsen Shahinian and Cyril Toumanoff) believe that the coronation of the first Bagratid king Ashot I could have taken place between 884 and 886. – А. ШАГИНЯН, *Расформирование арабской провинции Арминийа во второй половине IX века*, ВСПУ.И 2, 2009, p. 217–218; С. ТОУМАНОВФ, *Caucasia and Byzantium*, Т. 27, 1971, p. 123–128.

⁴ Some of the Armenian medieval chroniclers identified the fall of the Bagratid kingdom not with the Byzantine conquest of the Ani in 1045, but with Seljuks conquest in 1064. – Р. МАТЕВОСЯН, *Падение Багратидского царства по данным армянских историков XI–XIII в.*, ІЗС 10, 1988, p. 64–72.

⁵ R. BEDROSIAN, *Armenia during the Seljuk and Mongol Periods*, [in:] *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. I, ed. R. HOVANNISIAN, New York 1997, p. 241–271.

shore of Lake Van. This Armeno-Turk kingdom promoted religion tolerance⁶ so the Armenians were able to develop their own culture. An example of this is the door from the Msho Arakelots monastery (11th c.), which was installed in 1134, as evidenced by the inscription it bears – *Ի թ. Հ. ՇՁԳ. ԵՄ ՏՐ Թորոսու եւ Գրիգորի եւ Դուկասու ԳՕ՛* [*In the year 1134, D. Toros, Grikor, and Ghugas carved this door*]⁸. The door of the church was made from walnut wood and ornamented by carvings of different geometrical shapes, images of animals and warriors. The height of the door is 2.02 m and its width is 1.42 m.

Unfortunately, during the Armenian Genocide in 1915, the monastery was partially destroyed by Turkish soldiers and subsequently abandoned. But the door was preserved and transferred by German archaeologists to Bitlis, with a view to later moving it to Berlin⁹. However, in 1916, when Russian troops took control of the region, Armenian historian and archaeologist Smbat Ter-Avetisian found the door in Bitlis and brought it to the Museum of the Armenian Ethnographic Association in Tbilisi. But in the winter of 1921/1922, the door was moved to the newly founded History Museum of Armenia¹⁰ in Yerevan, which rapidly became one of the symbols of Armenian Genocide¹¹.

The aim of the article is to analyse – in the context of Church and art history – the relief in the upper part of the door, where four horsemen and one infantryman with different types of arms and armours are depicted (pic. 1)¹², and to identify various types of weapons and armours thanks to comparisons with the Armenian, Eastern Roman Empire and Muslim sources.

Analysis of historiography and sources

The history of the Msho Arakelots door was researched by many historians¹³, but none of them paid attention to the weapons and armours of the warriors. Moreover, the military history of the Medieval Armenia was not the object of any historical

⁶ S. DADOYAN, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World. Armenian Realpolitik in the Islamic World and Diverging Paradigms Case of Cilicia Eleventh to Fourteenth Centuries*, vol. II, London 2013, p. 146–149.

⁷ Ա. ԱՎԵՏԻՍՅԱՆ, Կ. ԱՎԵՏԻՍՅԱՆ, *Հայրենագիտական էտյուդներ*, Երևան 1979, p. 207.

⁸ R. ТАТОЯН, *Mush – Churches and Monasteries*, <https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottoman-empire/vilayet-of-bitlispaghesht/kaza-of-moush/religion/churches.html> [30 VIII 2019].

⁹ Կ. ԱՎԵՏԻՍՅԱՆ, *Հայրենագիտական...*, p. 206–207.

¹⁰ Կ. ՂԱՖԱԴԱՐՅԱՆ, *Սովետական Հայաստանի առաջին թանգարանը*, ԼՀԳ 12, 1974, p. 39.

¹¹ *The Door of the Arakelots (Targmanchats) Monastery in Mush*, https://historymuseum.am/en/exhibitions_type/the-door-of-the-arakelots-targmanchats-monastery-in-mush/ [30 IV 2019].

¹² Н. СТЕПАНИАН, А. ЧАКМАКЧЯН, *Декоративное искусство средневековой Армении*, Ленинград 1971, p. 51, pic. 162–163.

¹³ Н. СТЕПАНИАН, *Искусство Армении*, Москва 1989, pic. 111; Н. СТЕПАНИАН, А. ЧАКМАКЧЯН, *Декоративное...*, p. 51, pic. 162–163; Կ. ԱՎԵՏԻՍՅԱՆ, *Հայրենագիտական...*, p. 207; Կ. ՂԱՖԱԴԱՐՅԱՆ, *Սովետական...*, p. 37–47; Ա. ՂԱՍԻԲԿ, *Մշո Առարկեղոց վանքի դուռը*, [in:] *Էջմիածին. Պաշտոնական ամսագիր Հայրապետական Աթոռոյ Ս. Էջմիածնի*, vol. I, Էջմիածնի 1952, p. 23–26.

research for a long time. A few years ago, Armenian historian Karine Voskanyan defended a dissertation on the military organization of the Bagratid era¹⁴. Voskanyan partially analysed arms and armours of the Bagratid Armenia, but in her thesis she did not use almost any graphic sources, which leaves many unresolved questions about the form and functions of the weapons of that time.

On the other hand, Byzantine and Muslim arms and armours were researched by many historians (David Nicolle¹⁵, John Haldon¹⁶, Timothy Dawson¹⁷, Ian Heath¹⁸, Shihab Al-Sarraf¹⁹, Piotr Grotowski²⁰, Mamuka Tsurtsumia²¹, Ada Hoffmeyer²²,

¹⁴ Կ. ՈՍԿԱՆՅԱՆ, Հայոց բանակը Բագրատունյաց շրջանում (IX–XI դարեր) (շրջափարակված թեկնածուական ստեղծագործություն), Երևան 2010.

¹⁵ D. NICOLLE, *The Military Technology of Classical Islam*, vol. I–III [PhD Thesis, Edinburg 1982]; IDEM, *The Armies of Islam 7th–11th Centuries*, Oxford 1982; IDEM, *The Cappella Palatina Ceiling and the Muslim Military Inheritance of Norman Sicily*, *Gla* 16, 1983, p. 45–145; IDEM, *Saladin and the Saracens*, Oxford 1986; IDEM, *Byzantine and Islamic Arms and Armour: Evidence for Mutual Influence*, *GA* 4, 1991, p. 299–325; IDEM, *Sassanian Armies. The Iranian Empire, Early 3rd to mid-7th Centuries AD*, Stockport 1996; IDEM, *Armies of the Caliphates (862–1098)*, Oxford 1998; IDEM, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era 1050–1350. Western Europe and the Crusader States*, London 1999; IDEM, *Two Swords from the Foundation of Gibraltar*, *Gla* 22, 2002, p. 147–199; *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour*, ed. IDEM, Woodbridge 2002; IDEM, *Byzantine, Western European, Islamic and Central Asian Influence in the Field of Arms and Armour from the Seventh to Fourteenth Century AD*, [in:] *Islamic Crosspollinations. Interactions in the Medieval Middle East*, Cambridge 2007, p. 94–118; IDEM, *Crusader Warfare. Muslims, Mongols and the Struggle against the Crusades*, vol. II, London 2007; IDEM, *Manzikert 1071. Złamanie potęgi Bizancjum*, trans. M. BALICKI, Warszawa 2018.

¹⁶ J. HALDON, *Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the 6th to the 10th centuries*, *BMGS* 1, 1975, p. 11–47; IDEM, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204*, London 1999; IDEM, *A Critical Commentary on The Taktika of Leo VI*, Washington 2014; IDEM, *Wojny Bizancjum. Strategia, taktyka, kampanie*, trans. N. RADOMSKI, Poznań 2019.

¹⁷ T. DAWSON, *The Myth of the “Varangian Rhomphaia”*: a Cautionary Tale, *VaV* 22, 1992, p. 24–26; IDEM, *Banded Lamellar – a Solution*, *VaV* 23, 1992, p. 16; IDEM, *Kremasmata, Kabadion, Klibanion: Some Aspects of Middle Byzantine Military Equipment Reconsidered*, *BMGS* 22, 1998, p. 38–50; IDEM, *Klivanion Revisited: an Evolutionary Typology and Catalogue of Middle Byzantine Lamellar*, *JRMES* 12/13, 2001/2002, p. 89–95; IDEM, *Suntagma Hoplon: The Equipment of Regular Byzantine Troops, c. 950 to c. 1204*, [in:] *A Companion to Medieval...*, p. 81–96; IDEM, *Byzantine Infantryman. Eastern Roman Empire c. 900–1204*, Oxford 2007; IDEM, *Fit for the Task: Equipment Sizes and the Transmission of Military Lore, Sixth to Tenth centuries*, *BMGS* 32, 2007, p. 1–12; IDEM, *Byzantine Cavalryman c. 900–1204*, Oxford 2009; IDEM, *Armour Never Wears: Scale and Lamellar Armour in the West, from the Bronze Age to the 19th Century*, Cheltenham 2013.

¹⁸ I. HEATH, *Byzantine Armies 886–1118*, Oxford 1979, p. 48; IDEM, *Armies of the Dark Ages, 600–1066 AD*, Worthing 1980, p. 128.

¹⁹ S. AL-SARRAF, *Close Combat Weapons in the Early Abbasid Period*, [in:] *A Companion to Medieval...*, p. 149–178.

²⁰ P. GROTOWSKI, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)*, Leiden 2010 [= *MME*, 87].

²¹ M. TSURTSUMIA, *The Evolution of Splint Armour in Georgia and Byzantium: Lamellar and Scale Armour in the 10th–12th Centuries*, *Sym* 21, 2011, p. 65–99; IDEM, *Medieval Sword and Sabre from the Georgian National Museum*, *AMM* 11, 2015, p. 159–172; IDEM, *The Mace in Medieval Georgia*, *AMM* 14, 2018, p. 87–114.

²² A. HOFFMEYER, *Military Equipment in the Byzantine Manuscript of Scylitzes in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid*, *Gla* 5, 1966, p. 1–160.

Taxiarchis Koliás²³, Georgios Theotokis²⁴, Raffaele D'Amato²⁵, Valery Yotov²⁶, Genady Baranov²⁷ and others). Therefore, the best way to study the military equipment represented on the door is to compare it with the Eastern Roman and Muslim sources because Armenia was for a long time under the influence of these two Empires and accepted many military innovations from both sides.

Unfortunately, the situation with Armenian archaeological and written sources is challenging. Most archaeological artefacts of arms and armours from around the Bagratid era were poorly researched and dated too broadly (9th–13th c.). In the Soviet era, only several historians and archaeologists (Valentina Abrahamyan²⁸, Babken Arakelyan²⁹,

²³ T. KOLIÁS, *Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung*, Wien 1988 [= BV, 17].

²⁴ G. THEOTOKIS, *Military Technology: Production and Use of Weapons*, [in:] *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War, ca. 300–1204*, ed. Y. STOURAITIS, Boston 2018, p. 440–473.

²⁵ R. D'AMATO, *The Eastern Romans 330–1461 AD*, Hong Kong 2007; IDEM, *The Varangian Guard 988–1453*, Oxford 2010; IDEM, *The Betrayal: Military Iconography and Archaeology in the Byzantine Paintings of XI–XV Centuries AD Representing the Arrest of Our Lord*, [in:] *Weapons Bring Peace? Warfare in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. L. MAREK, Wrocław 2010, p. 69–95; IDEM, Σιδηροράβδιον, βαρδούκιον, ματζούκιον, κορόνη. *The War-mace of Byzantium, 9th–15th c. AD: New Evidence from the Balkans in the Collection of the World Museum of Man, Florida*, AMM 7, 2011, p. 7–48; IDEM, *Byzantine Imperial Guardsmen, 925–1025*, Oxford 2012; IDEM, *Old and New Evidence on the East-Roman Helmets from the 9 to the 12 Centuries*, AMM 11, 2015, p. 27–157.

²⁶ В. ЙОТОВ, *Въоръжението и снаряжението от българското средновековие (VII–XI век)*, Варна 2004; IDEM, *Перекрестье меча из Херсонеса*, АДСВ 39, 2009, p. 251–261; IDEM, *Ранние сабли (VIII–X вв.) на Нижнем Дунае*, [in:] *Культуры Евразийских степей второй половины I тысячелетия н.э.*, Самара 2010, p. 217–225; V. YOTOV, *Byzantine Time Swords (10–11 c.)*, SUC I, 2011, p. 35–45; IDEM, *A New Byzantine Type of Swords (7th–11th Centuries)*, [in:] *Niš and Byzantium*, vol. IX, Niš 2011, p. 113–124; IDEM, *The Kunagota Sword Guard and the Dating of Two Bronze Matrices for Hilt Manufacturing*, [in:] *Die Archäologie der frühen Ungarn*, Mainz 2012, p. 219–226; IDEM, *Byzantine Weaponry and Military Equipment in the Homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Gr. 510)*, FAH 30, 2017, p. 153–163.

²⁷ Г. БАРАНОВ, *Болгаро-византийское навершие рукояти сабли с территории Северо-Восточного Причерноморья*, МАИАСК 6, 2014, p. 84–93; IDEM, *Новая находка перекрестья и навершия рукояти византийского меча с территории Черкасского района Черкасской области Украины*, МАИАСК 7, 2015, p. 87–105; IDEM, *Находки раннесредневековых сабель «Болгарского типа» в бассейне верхнего и среднего течения Днестра*, МАИАСК 8, 2016, p. 76–92; IDEM, *Византийские (средиземноморские) мечи с перекрестьями с муфтой IX–XI вв.*, МАИАСК 9, 2017, p. 248–283; IDEM, *Византийский меч с территории Украины*, [in:] *Война и оружие. Новые исследования и материалы*, pars 1, Санкт-Петербург 2017, p. 171–177; IDEM, *Перекрестье меча из раскопок византийского Херсона*, ВА 4, 2018, p. 31–42.

²⁸ Վ. ԱԲՐԱՀԱՄՅԱՆ, *Միջինադարյան Հայաստանի զինքերի տեսակները*, ՊՊԹ 2, 1949, p. 37–98; IDEM, *Արևելաներկ Հայաստանում IV–XVIII դդ.*, Երևան 1956.

²⁹ Բ. ԱՌԱԲԵԼՅԱՆ, *Քաղաքները և արևելաներկ Հայաստանում IX–XIII դդ.*, Երևան 1958; *Հայ Տոմարյանի Պատմություն*, vol. III, ed. Բ. ԱՌԱԲԵԼՅԱՆ, Երևան 1976, p. 273–277.

Aram Kalantaryan³⁰ and others³¹) published pictures of separate archaeological findings which were located in the History Museum of Armenia. Unfortunately, almost all of these pictures presented the artefacts redrawn in two dimensions only, and were not accompanied by photographs or information about the artefacts' measurements, materials, etc. On the other hand, Armenian written sources are less useful for the study of the material military culture because they give only general information about weapons and armour without a detailed description. Moreover, many unresolved terminological problems concerning the names of the weapons and armours have remained.

However, Armenian figurative sources were researched much better. For example, Armenian miniatures (10th–14th c.) have been thoroughly analysed by some art historians (Tetiana Izmailova³², Dickrana Kouymjian³³, Sirarpie Der Nersessian³⁴ and others). What is more, D. Kouymjian published dozens of photos of Armenian miniatures (10th–14th c.) on the website of the University of Fresno and the University of Hamburg³⁵. Also, no less important are the reliefs on the Cathedral of the Holy Cross on Aghtamar Island (915–921) (pic. 5), where some Biblical characters with arms and armours³⁶ are depicted. Unfortunately,

³⁰ Ա. ՔԱԼԱՆՏԱՐՅԱՆ, *Պաշտպանական սպառազինությունը միջնադարյան հայաստանում*, ԳԱՏ ՀԳ 10, 1965, p. 68–74; IDEM, *Չենրերը V–VIII դարերում (Ըստ Դվինի հնագիտական պեղումների)*, ՊԲՀ 4, 1965, p. 241–248; IDEM, *Դվինի նյութական մշակույթը IV–VIII դարերում*, Երեվան 1970; IDEM, *Կենտրոնական թաղամասի պեղումները 1964–1970 թթ*, Երեվան 1976; А. КАЛАНТАРЯНА, *Двин. Город Двин и его раскопки (1981–1985)*, vol. IV, Ереван 2008.

³¹ Կ. ՂԱՖԱԿԱՐՅԱՆ, *Դվին քաղաքը և նրա պեղումները*, Երևան 1952; Ս. ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՅԱՆ, *Անրերը*, Երևան 1978; Հ. ՊԵՏՐՈՍՅԱՆ, *Գառնին IX–XIV դարերում*, Երևան 1988.

³² Т. ИЗМАЙЛОВА, *L'Iconographie du cycle des fêtes d'un groupe de codex arméniens d'Asie Mineure*, REArm 4, 1967, p. 125–166; Т. ИЗМАЙЛОВА, *Армянская миниатюра XI века*, Ереван 1979.

³³ D. KOUYMIJIAN, *The Evolution of Armenian Gospel Illumination: The Formative Period (9th–11th Centuries)*, [in:] *Armenian and the Bible. Papers Presented to the International Symposium Held at Heidelberg, July 16–19, 1990*, ed. C. BURCHARD, Atlanta 1993, p. 125–142; IDEM, *The Art of the Book: Armenian Medieval Illumination*, [in:] *Armenia. Imprints of a Civilization*, ed. G. ULUHO-GIAN, B.L. ZEKIYAN, V. KARAPETIAN, Milan 2011, p. 89–123; IDEM, *The Melitene Group of Armenian Miniature Painting in the Eleventh Century*, [in:] R.G. HOVANNISIAN, *Armenian Kesaria/Kayseri and Cappadocia*, Costa Mesa 2013, p. 79–115.

³⁴ S. DER NERSESSIAN, *The Date of the Initial Miniatures of the Etchmiadzin Gospel*, EBA 1, 1973, p. 535–538; IDEM, *An Introduction to Armenian Manuscript Illumination, Selections from the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1974; IDEM, *Armenian Art*, London 1978; IDEM, *L'Évangile du roi Gagik de Kars: Jérusalem No 2556*, REArm 18, 1984, p. 85–107; IDEM, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. I, Washington 1993.

³⁵ *Index of Armenian Art: Database of Armenian Manuscript Illuminations*, <https://mycms-vs04.rz.uni-hamburg.de/sfb950/content/IAA/browseColl.xml> [30 IV 2019].

³⁶ J. DAVIES, *Medieval Armenian Art and Architecture. Church of the Holy Cross, Aght'amar*, London 1991; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Aght'amar. Church of the Holy Cross*, Cambridge 1965; И. ОРБЕЛИ,

very few historians paid special attention to the arms and armours presented on miniatures or reliefs³⁷.

For the first time in Armenian historiography, weapons will not be the subject but the object of research, where – in the context of Church and art history – the issues of armament of medieval Armenian warriors will be analysed in comparison with Eastern Roman and Muslim samples, in an attempt to make this study more relevant³⁸.

Analysis of relief

The relief in the upper part of the door from the Msho Arakelots monastery can be provisionally divided into three parts³⁹: in the left part, there are two heavily armoured horsemen (*azats*)⁴⁰, one of whom is trying to escape, while the other pierces him through with a sword. In the middle of the relief, there is an infantryman with a trumpet and on the right side two light horsemen are presented, one of whom is piercing through a big snake or a dragon with his spear. The height of these figures is approximately 17 cm.

Armenian historian Kamsar Avetisian thought that this relief depicts non-religious, historical scenes⁴¹, but this is not completely true. Let us pay attention to the inscription on the right side of the relief, which K. Avetisian reads as ԱԲԳՈՐԳ [ABGORG]. He thinks that this word was randomly added in later centuries (or that the author made some mistake?)⁴². However, if the word is given an alternative reading of ՄԲ Գ[Կ]ՈՐԳ [SB G[E]ORG], the outcome is “St. George”, which can be accurate because under this description there is a horseman spearing a dragon

Избранные труды, vol. I, Москва 1968; L. JONES, *Between Islam and Byzantium*, Aldershot 2007; ИДЕМ, *The Visual Expression of Power and Piety in Medieval Armenia: The Palace and Palace Church at Aghtamar*, [in:] *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, Aldershot 2001, p. 221–241; *The Church of the Holy Cross of Ahtamar*, ed. Z. POGOSSIAN, E. VARDANYAN, Leiden 2019, p. 460.

³⁷ A notable exception is a recent study by English scholars I. Heath and D. Nicolle, who based their visive reconstructions of the medieval Armenian warriors on the Aghtamar reliefs and other sources. See for instance: I. HEATH, *Armies of the Dark...*, figs. 91–92, p. 100–101; D. NICOLLE, *Armies of the Caliphates...*, plate A2, p. 45.

³⁸ Note that some types of weapons or armours depicted are presented schematically. Therefore, only some suggestions as to how to interpret them will be offered.

³⁹ Based on the two inscriptions on the relief (which will be discussed below) and the visual position of the figures, it could be assumed that at least two separate “scenes” were presented on the relief (in the right and left corners). Unfortunately, it cannot be stated with certainty whether the middle part of the relief (“infantryman with a trumpet”) is related to the “scenes” on the left or the right. Therefore, a third part has been posited by this study.

⁴⁰ Armenian *azats* were equivalent to heavy armoured Byzantine cataphracts.

⁴¹ Կ. ԱՎԵՏԻՍԻԱՆ, Հայրենասիրական..., p. 207.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 207–208.

(it is a traditional religious iconography in the Late Roman and Orthodox art)⁴³. Note, for instance, similar depictions of St. George killing the dragon with his spear present in Georgian (pic. 6)⁴⁴ and Armenian art (pic. 7)⁴⁵.

In the left corner of the relief, there is a partial inscription but it is poorly preserved. Four letters are visible: ՏՐԴՏ [TRDT], which could mean ՏՐԴ[Ա]Տ ([TRD[A]T – Tiridates – an Armenian name)⁴⁶. Arakel Patrick suggests that this scene was an episode from the Armenian national epic *Daredevils of Sassoun* (8th–13th c.), in which David, riding on a horse, is pursuing Msra-Melik, but no definitive answer is provided. Patrick also believes that these inscriptions were added later⁴⁷.

Left part of the relief (pic. 2)

Sleeve cross-guard

Here, two men on horseback are visible, one of whom is trying to escape while the other pierces him through with a sword⁴⁸. The sword depicted consists of the edge, grip, pommels, cross-guard and a wide part above the cross-guard, which is called sleeve (pic. 2:1). Bulgarian historian V. Yotov aptly remarked that *the typology of swords is often a typology of the sword-guards*⁴⁹. Indeed, the relief includes a representation of one type of sleeve cross-guard present in Armenian art, which is not unlike the type visible on the interior fresco *Massacre of the Innocents* in the Aghtamar Church⁵⁰.

⁴³ A. Patrick is of the same opinion but he suggests two interpretation of this inscription: “ՄԲ ԳՈՐԳ” [SB G[E]ORG] or “ՄԲ ԹՈՐՈՍ” [SB TORO[S] – Ա. ՊԱՏՐԻԿ, *Մշն...*, p. 23–26; S. Der Nersessian reads the right-hand side inscription as “Theodore” – S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art...*, p. 205.

⁴⁴ St. George and St. Theodore slaying dragons. Relief from the Church in Martvili, 7th–8th c. (Georgia). – Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Св. Георги Победоносец. Култ и образ в Православния Изток през средновековието*, Варна 2001, pic. 244. For more information about representations of Saint George in Medieval art, see C. WALTER, *The Origins of the Cult of Saint George*, REB 53, 1995, p. 295–326; ИДЕМ, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot 2003, p. 109–144; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Войнските иконографии, въоръжението и снаряжението на свети Георги през ранното средновековие (V–X в.)*, [in:] *Acta Musei Varnensis*, I, *Оръжие и снаряжение през късната античност и средновековието IV–XV в.*, ed. В. ЙОТОВ, Варна 2002, p. 35–55. Information courtesy of Yanko Hristov.

⁴⁵ *Gospel*, Mekhitarian Library, Ms. 697, f. 4 v.

⁴⁶ Մ. ԱՎԵՏԻԱՆՅԱՆ, *Հայրենագիտական...*, p. 207–208.

⁴⁷ Ա. ՊԱՏՐԻԿ, *Մշն...*, p. 23, 25–26.

⁴⁸ S. Der Nersessian thought that this is spear but it is not true – S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian Art...*, p. 205. However, at that time, cavalymen preferred a cut attack rather than a thrust, as it is presented on the relief, because of the difficulty of dealing a thrusting punch while on horseback. Perhaps this is why S. Der Nersessian suggested that the relief depicts a spear.

⁴⁹ V. YOTOV, *A New Byzantine...*, p. 115.

⁵⁰ I have this information courtesy of Dr D’Amato, who, having obtained the authorization from the Turkish government, will soon publish the results of this discovery.

The swords with the sleeve cross-guards are one of the “Byzantine”⁵¹ types of swords which were identified and researched by G. Baranov⁵² and V. Yotov⁵³. These types of cross-guards were popular in the 9th–11th c. in Eastern Europe, Balkan Peninsula and the Middle East⁵⁴.

Sleeve cross-guards were created in order to protect the joint between the edge and the hilt from breaking⁵⁵. According to another theory, the appearance of the sleeve cross-guards was connected with the way of gripping (the so-called “Italian grip”), whereby the index finger was placed on a cross-guard⁵⁶, which allowed more efficient fencing⁵⁷.

Sleeve cross-guards are divided into several types, two of which are relevant for this study, being the most similar to the one presented on the relief of the door of the Msho Arakelots monastery: they are “Galovo” and “Pliska-48”⁵⁸.

Specimens of “Galovo” and “Pliska-48” cross-guards were found in Bulgaria, Serbia, Ukraine, Syria, Arabian Peninsula, Egypt etc.⁵⁹ (pic. 8–10)⁶⁰. Moreover,

⁵¹ The Romans in the Middle Age, now conventionally referred to as the “Byzantines”, borrowed many types of weapons from neighbouring states, and consequently it is not possible to determine beyond all doubt which types of swords were created by the Byzantines. The term “Byzantine swords” can be used conventionally to indicate a type of sword produced inside the Eastern Roman Empire. The origin of swords with sleeve cross-guards is unknown. – С. КАМБУРОВ, “Арабски” ранносредновековни мечове в днешните български земи”, *Ист* 25, 3, 2017, p. 271; R. D’AMATO, *Byzantine Imperial...*, p. 5, 43–44.

⁵² Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские...*, p. 248–283, etc.

⁵³ В. ЮТОВ, *A New Byzantine...*, p. 113–124; ИДЕМ, *Byzantine Time...*, p. 35–46; ИДЕМ, *Въоръжението...*, p. 39–41, etc.

⁵⁴ It needs to be noted that two cross-guards from Syria were displayed in public only once, at an auction, where for some reason they were dated to the 12th–13th c. Their subsequent fortunes are unknown. – Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские...*, p. 255–256.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 251, 265.

⁵⁶ D. NICOLLE, *Byzantine and Islamic...*, p. 305.

⁵⁷ Note that the “Italian grip” existed already in the times of the Sasanid Iran. – K. FARROKH, G. KARAMIAN, K. МАКСИМУК, *A Synopsis of Sasanian Military Organization and Combat Units*, Siedlce–Tehran 2018, p. 35–36, fig. 32–34.

⁵⁸ Unfortunately, it is unclear which of these two types best match the sword depicted on the relief, because they are both similar and the sword on the relief is presented too schematically. I would like to express my gratitude to V. Yotov for useful advice.

⁵⁹ S. AL-SARRAF, *Close Combat...*, pic. XII–40; M. ALEKSIĆ, *Some Typological Features of Byzantine Spatha*, *ЗРВИ* 47, 2010, p. 121–138; D. РАВОВЯНОВ, *Early Medieval Sword Guards from Bulgaria*, *АВУ* 2, 2011, p. 82; В. ЮТОВ, *Въоръжението...*, p. 39–41; Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские...*, p. 255–256, 274–280; С. КАМБУРОВ, “Арабски”..., p. 269–270, 276, 285, 289; I. NORMAN, *A Likely Byzantine or Fatimid Sword of the Xth–XIth Centuries*, 2019, <http://iainnorman.com/essays/2019/01/a-likely-byzantine-or-fatimid-sword-of-the-xth-xith-centuries/> [30 IV 2019] (pic. 9–10); Sleeve cross-guard. Unpublished archaeological find from Chernihiv, Ukraine (2018). Finding of grave robbers, https://vk.com/vtoroi_rim?w=wall-71532966_3071%2Fall [30 IV 2019] (pic. 8).

⁶⁰ Most of these sleeve cross-guards were described by the aforementioned historians. Therefore, only the photos of two most recent archaeological finds, which at the moment are little-known in historiography, will be presented here.

they are visible on Eastern Roman miniatures such as the one from the Theodore Gospel (1066) (pic. 11)⁶¹ and the Menologion of Basil II (end of the 10th c.) (pic. 12, 31)⁶².

It is interesting to note that the physical characteristics of the sword with a sleeve cross-guard are known thanks to archaeological discoveries. As regards the swords on pic. 9–10, the overall length of the sword is 83.4 cm (71.2 cm being the size of the blade only). The blade is 6.4 cm wide and 0.51–0.57 cm thick. The hilt is 12.3 cm long, and the cross-guard is 12.9 cm wide and 1.59 cm thick. The sleeve is 3.76 cm wide. The pommel is 3.99 cm wide, 6.06 cm long and 1.39 cm thick. The weight of the sword is approx. 1 kg⁶³.

Thanks to this depiction of a sleeve cross-guard in the Armenian art, it can be assumed that such types of cross-guards existed in Armenia even before (in 10th–11th c., based on the dating of the abovementioned archaeological finds from Eastern Europe and on the Aghtamar Church images). Furthermore, such sleeve cross-guards were likely employed in the subsequent periods (in the 12th c.) and at other locations, including the territory of the South Caucasus region.

Mace with spherical head

The first warrior, who is trying to escape, is holding in his right hand a mace with a spherical head (pic. 2:2)⁶⁴. Maces were used as a heavy weapon by cavalrymen and infantrymen in order to break helmets or heavy armour⁶⁵. The mace consisted of two parts: the mace head (weighing approx. 200–300 g), and a wooden or iron stick (50–60 cm long)⁶⁶.

R. D'Amato believes that these maces were originally imported from India or Persia or had Eastern origins⁶⁷, but soon became popular in Byzantium. Arkadiusz Michalak also wrote that spherical maces (type V according to his typologization) were popular in Eastern Europe as well (Kievan Rus' and the Baltic region)⁶⁸.

⁶¹ *Theodore Gospel*, British Library, Ms. 19352, f. 191.

⁶² *Menologion of Basil II*, Vatican Library, Ms. Vat. gr. 1613, f. 135. Note that under the typology of Byzantine swords suggested by T. Dawson (which was based on the miniatures of Basil's Menologion), the sleeve cross-guard was presented under number 2. – T. DAWSON, *Byzantine Cavalryman...*, p. 5.

⁶³ I. NORMAN, *A Likely...* Other uncovered swords and sleeve cross-guards have similar characteristics. The only difference is that some sleeve cross-guards were broader (13–15 cm). – Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские...*, p. 255–256, 274–280.

⁶⁴ The round head maces could be plain, toothed, spiked or flanged. Presented on the relief is the plain (spherical) type of round head maces. Also, polygonal head maces existed in Armenia.

⁶⁵ D. NICOLLE, *The Military...*, p. 68.

⁶⁶ А. КИРПИЧНИКОВ, *Древнерусское оружие*, vol. II, Москва–Ленинград 1966, p. 53.

⁶⁷ R. D'AMATO, *Σιδηροράβδιον...*, p. 32–33.

⁶⁸ A. MICHALAK, *Wpływy wschodnie czy południowe? Z badań nad pochodzeniem buław średniowiecznych na ziemiach polskich*, ВНУЛП 571, 2006, p. 57–59, 64. Note that in the most famous

The same types of maces were found in Bulgaria and dated to 10th–11th c. (pic. 13, 14a, 14b)⁶⁹; on miniatures in the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (879–883) (pic. 15)⁷⁰, Oppianus Cynegetica (11th c.) (pic. 16)⁷¹ and even on Armenian miniatures (10th–11th c.) (pic. 17.1)⁷². Moreover, many depictions of round headed maces dated to 7th–11th c. were found in the Middle East (Egypt, Iraq, Iran and Syria)⁷³.

As can be seen, the plain (spherical) type of round head maces was simple in production and popular over a large area in different times⁷⁴, so nothing particular can be said about the origin of spherical maces and no connections established between specimens from Eastern Europe and Byzantium-Armenia, although the decoration of the Bulgarian maces is clearly of Eastern Roman origins⁷⁵. A relatively simple shape of spherical maces can suggest that they were produced in local workshops (by casting or forging)⁷⁶, in different cultural regions, independently of each other⁷⁷. For example, there are similar maces among archaeological finds from the times of Ancient Armenia (pic. 18)⁷⁸.

Armour

Both warriors in the left corner are armoured (pic. 2). Visible on the bodies of the warriors is what seems to be a chain mail, which looks like a sweater with long sleeves. Also, on the chest and lower torso, small iron or bronze rectangular plates

typology of maces from Kyivan Rus and Eastern Europe, suggested by A. Kirpichnikov, there are no maces with spherical heads. – А. КИРПИЧНИКОВ, *Древнерусское оружие...*, pic. 10.

⁶⁹ S. РОРОВ, *The Maces from the Present Bulgarian Lands (10th–17th c.)*, Sofia 2015, p. 130–131; В. ЙОТОВ, *Въоръжението...*, cat. 644. Idea courtesy of V. Yotov.

⁷⁰ *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, National Library of France, gr. 510, f. 143.

⁷¹ *Oppianus Cynegetica*, Marciana Library, Ms. Gr. Z 479, f. 33 r. – R. D'АМАТО, *Σιδηροράβδιον...*, fig. 17.

⁷² *Melitene Gospel*, Matenadaran, Ms. 3784, f. 9; *Jerusalem Gospel*, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate, Ms. 3624, f. 9; *Areg Gospel*, Areg village (*in situ*) – D. ΚΟΥΥΜΓΙΑΝ, *The Melitene...*, fig. 20. I am currently working on a separate article about arms and armours on the Armenian miniatures from the 10th–11th c., where this topic will be researched in greater detail. Therefore, in this article, I only present one miniature which features the best example of a spherical mace.

⁷³ S. AL-SARRAF, *Close Combat...*, XII – 48, 49, 50, 54, 57b.

⁷⁴ В. БЕРЕЖИНСЬКИЙ, *Зброя Київської Русі. Булава*, Київ 1998, p. 7.

⁷⁵ M. Tsurtsunia wrote that according to written sources two types of mace were used in Georgia (and in Armenia too): the “lakhti” [ლახტი] (flanged mace) and the “gurz” [გურჯ] (a mace with a rounded head), which had their own types (spiked, knobbed etc.). Both these terms come from the Persian names of this weapon – “lakht” and “gorz”. For more information on the topic, see M. TSURTSUNIA, *The Mace...*, p. 88–91; S. AL-SARRAF, *Close Combat...*, p. 152–160.

⁷⁶ For more information on the production of iron and bronze maces, see A. КИРПИЧНИКОВ, *Древнерусское оружие...*, p. 52.

⁷⁷ М. КОЗАК, *Булава як елемент озброєння Галицького та Волинського князівств у XI–XIV століттях*, [in:] *Проблеми історії війн і військового мистецтва*, ed. Л.В. ВОЙТОВИЧА, Львів 2018, p. 58–59. I would like to express my gratitude to Mykola Kozak for useful advice.

⁷⁸ С. ЕСАЯН, *Оружие и военное дело древней Армении (III–I тыс. до н. э.)*, Ереван 1966, p. 51–56.

laced into horizontal rows are presented. This may be a lamellar armour, which only covered the torso and was worn on the chain mail. It was one of the best types of armour in Byzantium and Arab Caliphate at that time.

In a number of cases, it is rather difficult to tell the difference between lamellar and scale armour, especially when analysing graphic sources⁷⁹. Lamellar armour consists of rectangular plates, linked with one another first in horizontal rows, then vertically by means of thongs passed through holes. No less popular was the scale armour, which was different in that its plates had mainly an oval form and were attached to each other and to the backing of the cloth or leather, in overlapping rows (like fish scale) (pic. 20–21)⁸⁰. The weight of the scale and lamellar armour was almost the same. A complete set of armour 1–1.5 mm thick weighs 14–16 kg. It is 1.5–2 times as heavy as mail⁸¹. Of course, the above-mentioned types of armours were very expensive, so only honoured warriors (called *azats*) could afford them⁸². The disadvantage of the scale armour was that the plates were raised while the rider was on a horse, which made him vulnerable to spear attacks, especially from below.

From the end of the 10th c., craftsmen started using rivets (instead of laces) for fastening plates, which greatly simplified their production and improved the impact resistance of the lamellae⁸³. This fact was mentioned by Armenian historian Hovhannes Draskhanakerttsi (10th c.)⁸⁴: ...*Subsequently, in 921, king of Egrisi [Abkhazia] gave [king of Armenia] Ashot II [914–928/929] much assistance, and gathered numerous forces with winged steeds, iron-studded armour [in Russian translation: в скрепленных железными гвоздями нагрудниках⁸⁵], and fearful helmets, iron-studded breastplates and strong shields...*⁸⁶ Most often, lamellar plates on the sleeves were much larger than in the region of the torso, because the warrior had to bend and move constantly, and the small size of the plates would not hinder

⁷⁹ M. TSURTSUMIA, *The Evolution...*, p. 65; J. HALDON, *Warfare, State...*, p. 131–134, 220, 223.

⁸⁰ *Gospel № 141/102*, Mekhitarists Library (Venice), fol. 77 r; *Theodore Gospel*, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate, Ms. 1796, fol. 88.

⁸¹ M. TSURTSUMIA, *The Evolution...*, p. 67, 69–71.

⁸² Some military units were dressed in the clothes of the same colour (e.g. in 988, a unit of Kars king Abas was dressed in “red uniforms”). – *Всеобщая история Асохика*, trans. Н. ЭМИНА, Москва 2011, p. 182.

⁸³ M. TSURTSUMIA, *The Evolution...*, p. 69–71.

⁸⁴ Եւ սպա զնձն տուեալ նմաօգնականութիւն եւ զօր բազում գումարեալ՝ գրեթէ իբրոշապարիկ ինն երիվարօք եւ երկաթակոշ զրահիւք եւ զարիտընցուցիչ սաղաւարտիւք եւ շահապանակերկաթազամ տախտակօք կրծից եւ վահանօք սարօք եւ իգէնս եւ ի զարդս եւ ի տէգս նիզակաց վառեցելոյր՝ տայ զայն սաննայն ՚ի ձեռս նորս, զի նորօք հանդերձվրէժս ՚ի թշնամեացն սոցէ – ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԵՍ ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍ ԴՐԱՍՆԱՆԱԿԵՐՏՏԵՐ, *Պատմութիւն Հայոց*, № 63, <http://www.digilib.am/am/ՅՈՎՀԱՆՆԵՍԷՍ%20ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿՈՍ%20ԴՐԱՍՆԱՆԱԿԵՐՏՏԵՐ/library/178> [15 III 2019].

⁸⁵ ОВАНЕС ДРАСКХАНАКЕРТЦИ, *История Армении*, trans. М. ДАРБИНЯН-МЕЛИКЯН, Ереван 1986, p. 217.

⁸⁶ YOVHANNĒS DRASXANAKERTC’I’S, *History of Armenia*, K. MAKSODIAN, Atlanta 1987.

his movement (e.g. the *Hovhannis Protospatharius presents the Gospel to the Virgin* miniature in the Adrianople Gospel (1007) (pic. 19)⁸⁷.

Additionally, visible on the riders' arms are some rings, possibly a mail armour, which consisted of small metal rings, linked together in a pattern, to form a mesh. In my opinion, the warriors wore a mail armour under the lamellar armour. A combination of the mail and lamellar armour can be found on Goliath's relief from Aghtamar Island (pic. 5)⁸⁸.

As can be seen, the infantryman and the two horsemen on the right side of the relief are represented without any armour, only in tunics/garments. I believe that the majority of warriors (ordinary soldiers) and militia used popular and cheap leather armour which had less protective properties than metal.

Obviously, only noblemen (*azats*) had good armours (lamellar, scale or mail), but even these were not an ideal protection against arrows, because the latter could hit the little junctions between the plates. For example, when the Seljuk Turks first came to Armenia in 1016, they fought a battle against Vaspurakan king Senekerim Artsruni (1003–1021). Matthew of Edessa (12th c.) described this battle in the following way⁸⁹: *the foreigners [Seljuks] struck and wounded with their arrows many Armenian troops. Now when Shapuh [Armenian commander] saw this, he said to David [son of Senekerim]: “King, turn back from the enemy, because most of our troops have been wounded by arrows. Let us go and prepare [armoured] garments to resist the arrows which we see them fighting with”*⁹⁰.

⁸⁷ *Gospel of Adrianopolis*, Mekhitarists Library, Ms. 887, fol. 8.

⁸⁸ It needs to be noticed that Goliath's lamellar is presented schematically, because the row of lamellar plates and strips of leather (with holes) are presented separately while they should be overlapping. Probably the master would have liked to depict a banded lamellar but did it schematically. In a banded lamellar, the band is clearly visible because the edge of the leather covering the front of the upper plate forms the upper line of the band, and the piece of leather lining in the lower plate creates the lower line of the band. This leather band was placed between the rows, separating the plates and neutralizing the scissors effect caused by their movement, which may cut the thongs – M. TSURTSUMIA, *The Evolution...*, p. 71–74; T. DAWSON, *Banded...*, p. 16. However, R. D'Amato believes that the lamellae in this armour do not overlap but are fixed to the leather side by side. He thinks that the colour is now missing and it cannot be determined if the laces were represented on the surface. The lines are those of the leather band placed between the rows, separating the plates and neutralizing the scissors effect caused by their movement, which may cut the thongs. Goliath's lamellar armour does not have a narrow band of leather placed between the plates but a wide leather band fully lining the plates. Such armour is more flexible horizontally and is easy to make, and it is simplified further by riveting the plates on to the leather (instead of fixing them by means of thongs only). In fact, the four holes in each petal correspond to riveting holes. Idea courtesy of R. D'Amato.

⁸⁹ *Իսկ այլազգիքն ննտաձգութեանք զբազումս ի զօրացն Հայոց վիրաւորէին խոցելով: Եւ տեսեալ զայն ամենայն Շապուհ՝ սսէր ցԴաւիթ. “Դարձիր, թագաւոր, յերեսաց թշնամեացս, վասն զի ի նետիցս վիրաւորեալ եղեն մեծ մասն զօրացս, զնսացուք եւ ընդդէմ այսմ զինուցս, զոր տեսանէմք առ այլազգիսդ, ա՛յլ զգեստ պատրաստեցուք ընդդէմ նետիցդ. – ՄԱՏԹԵՈՍ ՈՒՌԱՅԵՏԻ, Ժամանակագրութիւն, Վաղարշապատ 1898, Մասն առաջին, <http://www.digilib.am/am/ՄԱՏԹԵՈՍ%20ՈՒՌԱՅԵՏԻ/library/684> [30 IV 2019].*

⁹⁰ *Armenia and the Crusades, Ten to Twelfth Centuries. The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, 1.1, № 44–45, trans. A. DOSTOURIAN, Lanham 1993. For more information about Matthew of Edessa's

Stirrups

Each equestrian is represented with stirrups (pic. 2:3), which significantly enhance the rider's stability, facilitating a more effective delivery of missiles (arrows or javelins) from the horseback, lance charges and close-quarter combat with swords, maces, axes, etc.⁹¹ Stirrups were known in the Eastern Roman Empire⁹² and Sassanid Iran⁹³ from 6th–7th c., and in Armenia as well⁹⁴.

The stirrups visible on the relief have a triangular form with oval bows. Similar stirrups are presented in the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (pic. 22, 33–34)⁹⁵, in Georgian art⁹⁶ and on St. Sargis's relief from The Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Aghtamar Island (pic. 23), which, however, are more rounded and more similar to the actual archaeological specimens of the 10th–11th century from Hungary (see below).

V. Yotov created a typology of Hungarian stirrups (10th–11th c.), which were also popular in the Roman Empire and, probably, in Armenia too⁹⁷. Some of them look similar to the stirrups presented on the door of the Msho Arakelots church but, unfortunately, no definitive statements can be made because of the schematic representation of the stirrups on the relief and lack of photographic publications of stirrups found in the territory of Armenia.

Middle part of the relief

Trumpet

In the middle of the relief, there is an infantryman without any weapons and armours but with a military trumpet (pic. 3). It is the first depiction of the trumpet in Armenian art, representing an Eastern Roman *tuba*, which can be compared with the pictures from Madrid Skylitzes (12th c.) (pic. 24)⁹⁸ and the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (879–883) (pic. 25)⁹⁹.

Moreover, the trumpet was often mentioned in Armenian written sources. For example, Tovma Artsruni (10th c.), describing the battle between Abbasid army

chronicle, see T. ANDREWS, *Matt'eos Urhayec'i and His Chronicle. History as Apocalypse in a Crossroads of Cultures*, Leiden 2017. Similar information was also found in Sempad the Constable's Chronicle (13th c.) – СМПАТ СПАРАПЕТ, *Летопись*, trans. А. ГАЛСТЯНА, Ереван 1974, p. 15.

⁹¹ K. FARROKH, G. KARAMIAN, K. MAKSYMUK, *A Synopsis...*, p. 56.

⁹² V. YOTOV, *Byzantine Weaponry...*, p. 157–160.

⁹³ K. FARROKH, G. KARAMIAN, K. MAKSYMUK, *A Synopsis...*, p. 57.

⁹⁴ D. NICOLLE, *Sassanian Armies...*, p. 56–57, lett. G.

⁹⁵ *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, f. 409 v, 440 r.

⁹⁶ M. TSURTSUMIA, *The Evolution...*, pic. 7, 11, 14.

⁹⁷ V. YOTOV, *Byzantine Weaponry...*, p. 157–160, fig. 14.

⁹⁸ *Madrid Skylitzes*, National Library of Spain, Ms. Graecus Vitr. 26–2, fol. 108 v.

⁹⁹ *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, f. 424 v.

under the command of general Bugha¹⁰⁰ against Vaspurakan's troops ruled by *ishkhan* (king) Ashot Artsruni (approx. 852)¹⁰¹, wrote: *Banners and pennants fluttered, trumpets sounded, lyrs rang, drums buzzed... Everybody shouted, preparing themselves for battle*¹⁰². Just like flags or banners, it was one of the most necessary items in any contemporary army, which helped a general organize the troops and give different orders during the battle¹⁰³.

Right side of the relief

Round shield

In the right corner of the relief, two cavalymen without any armour, instead only dressed in (padded?) tunics (having the shape of a cavalry Iranian coat), are represented. The only defensive weapon which can be seen on this relief is a round shield with a floral ornament (pic. 4).

There are many depictions of round shields with different ornaments in Armenian art. Some of them symbolized the warrior's affiliation to some regiment or clan, or were just an ornament, as in the case of the miniatures from the Taron Gospel (11th c.) (pic. 26)¹⁰⁴, the Vehapar Gospel (10th–11th c.) (pic. 27)¹⁰⁵, the Kars Gospel (1029–1064) (pic. 28)¹⁰⁶ or Goliath's relief from Aghtamar Island¹⁰⁷ (pic. 5). Also, on the miniature from the Tsgrut Gospel (974) (pic. 29)¹⁰⁸, some rings are visible on one of the shields, which could mean that the shield was metal-coated.

On the basis of the depictions in figurative sources, it can be assumed that simple (plain) round shields were the most popular in Armenia. However, convex round shields were also widespread, but they were rarely represented on figurative sources because of the complex nature of painting volumetric figures. For

¹⁰⁰ Despite the fact that it is a description of the Abbasid army, the same armament could have existed in Armenia (also because the Armenian chronicler knows these armaments and armour).

¹⁰¹ *Եւ կամարս ընդ մէջ ածեալ, որօշ եւ վերջաւորս փողփողեալս՝ սաւառնաձայն հնչմամբ զկատնն ղնդեցուցանէին, նշանս կանգնեալ եւ փողք եւ քնարք հնչէին եւ թմբուկքն դափէին* – ԹՈՒՎՄԱ ԱՐՇԻՐԱՆԻ, *Պատմութիւն տանն Արծրունեաց*, ed. Մ. ԴԱՐԲԻՆՅԱՆ-ՄԵԼԻԿՅԱՆ, Երևան 2006, p. 148–149.

¹⁰² ТОВМА АРЦРУНИ И АНОНИМ, *История дома Арцруни*, ed. М. ДАРБИНЯН-МЕЛИКЯН, Ереван 2001, p. 175–176. Similar description is presented on p. 298–299.

¹⁰³ For more information on the subject, see A. BÜCHLER, *Horns and Trumpets in Byzantium: Images and Texts*, HBSJ 12, 1, 2002, p. 23–59.

¹⁰⁴ *Taron Gospel*, Matenadaran Library, Ms. 6201, f. 8.

¹⁰⁵ *Vehapar Gospel*, Matenadaran Library, Ms. 10780, f. 71.

¹⁰⁶ *Kars Gospel*, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate, Ms. 2556, fol. 127. – S. DER NERSESSIAN, *L'Évangile...*, p. 92–93, fig. 10.

¹⁰⁷ И. ОРБЕЛИ, *Избранные...*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁸ *Tsgrut Gospel* (Tsgrut village, Armenia) (*in situ*), f. 9. – Н. КОТАНДЖЯН, *Цгрутское Евангелие*, Ереван 2006, p. 81.

instance, a miniature called *The resurrection of Christ* (12th c.) (pic. 20)¹⁰⁹ from the Mekhitarists Library (Venice) features convex shields which are represented beside plain round shields. Moreover, on this miniature, a long kite-shaped shield is also depicted, which was generally regarded as a European development for cavalry. However, D. Nicolle thinks that kite-shaped shield may have appeared in the Middle East as an infantry shield even before it was adopted by equestrians in Western Europe and Kievan Rus'¹¹⁰.

Shields could be hanged by long or short leather straps attached to the back. The short strap was used to hold the shield, and the long one to hang it over the shoulder or neck when it was not in use. Perhaps the shield depicted on the relief did not have a handle, usually attached to the forearm, which allowed the rider to use both hands at the same time, providing sufficient protection to the left side of the torso, the region most exposed during melee combat¹¹¹.

Shields were made from wood and sometimes covered with metal plates¹¹² and could have an umbo (a metal boss nailed at the centre of the shield designed to deflect blows and as reinforcement of the shield). According to J. Haldon, in the 9th–10th c., the average diameter of the Byzantine large round shield for infantryman was 75 cm, and for the horseman – 65 cm, together with the umbo¹¹³.

One known mention of the umbo is made in the chronicle of Movses Kaghankatvatsi (7th/10th c.). Describing the battle between Armenian lord Djuansher and his murderer called Varazo in 681 AD, the chronicler wrote: *...Djuansher took out his sword [սուսեր] and attacked Varazo, but the weapon stuck in the golden umbo of the opponent's shield [եւ զվահանն վոսկեխնձոր] and the lord could not pull out his sword [զուսերն]...*¹¹⁴

The remains of a wooden shield with an iron umbo and metal framework were found at the site of the Amberd castle (pic. 30)¹¹⁵. Unfortunately, the exact dating of these archaeological features cannot be determined (9th–13th c. (?)), and due to a bad state of preservation, it is difficult to make any informed assumptions about them.

¹⁰⁹ Gospel № 141/102, fol. 77 r.

¹¹⁰ A kite-shaped shield is also depicted on a Fatimid plate (10–11 c.), which was found in Armenia. – D. NICOLLE, *The Armies...*, p. 19, 30.

¹¹¹ M. WOJNOWSKI, *Κατάφρακτοι – ciężkozbrojna jazda Cesarstwa Bizantyjskiego jako kontynuacja antycznych cataphracti i clibanarii*, ZNUJ 132, 2005, p. 10, 19.

¹¹² К. СОРОЧАН, *Продовольство, сировина і ремісничя продукція у Візантії IV–IX ст. професійна спеціалізація у виробництві та торгівлі. дис. на здобуття наук. ступеня канд. іст. наук*, Харків 2015, p. 144.

¹¹³ J. HALDON, *Some Aspects...*, p. 19, 33–34.

¹¹⁴ ՄՈՎՍԵՍ ԿԱԿԿԱՆԿԱՏՎԱՏԻ, *Պատմություն Արմենիոյ աշխարհի*, ed. Բ. ԱՌԱՔԵԼՅԱՆ, Երևան 1983, p. 222–223; МОВСЕС КАЛАНКАТУАЦИ, *История страны Алуанк*, trans. Ш. СМБЯТЯНА, Ереван 1984, p. 117.

¹¹⁵ Ս. ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅԱՆԻՅԱՆ, *Անրկիր...*, pic. 54.

Scabbard with chape

Visible behind the shield is a part of a straight scabbard, which (pic. 4:4) was worn suspended from a sword belt or from the shoulder belt called baldric¹¹⁶. Most commonly, scabbards were made from metal, leather or wood covered with fabric¹¹⁷. At the end of this scabbard, there is a chape in the form of the letter U (pic. 4:5), which was popular in Byzantium¹¹⁸. V. Yotov thinks that this chape looks similar to the metal chapes (10.5 cm long, 5.5 cm wide) unearthed in Bulgaria and dated to the second half of the 11th c.¹¹⁹

Moreover, this form is also depicted on miniatures from the Taron Gospel (pic. 26)¹²⁰, the Tsgrut Gospel (pic. 29)¹²¹ and the Menologion of Basil II (pic. 31)¹²². Thanks to this comparison, it can be theoretically assumed that such metal chapes were in use in the 11th–12th c. in Byzantium and Armenia (and perhaps across a larger area).

Spear or sceptre

The rightmost equestrian is holding a schematically represented stick with a sort of a head, which looks like a spear (pic. 4:6). However, Armenian historian Avetisian Kamsar thought that this horseman is an Armenian lord, an *ishkhan* (իշխան), who is holding a sceptre (իշխանական գավազան – *ishkhan's* sceptre), which was a symbol of power¹²³. The other cavalryman on the left side (St. George) holds only a long spear, with which he attacks the dragon. Although these weapons are presented too schematically, it is clear that the spear of the horseman is a long cavalry spear or a *kontos* (*kontarion*, pic. 6–7, 22–24, 33–34), popular in Armenia and Byzantium between the 7th and the 12th centuries AD¹²⁴, which was about 2.7 m long for cavalrymen¹²⁵ and 4.5 m for infantrymen¹²⁶.

¹¹⁶ S. AL-SARRAF, *Close Combat...*, p. 174; A. HOFFMEYER, *Military...*, p. 92.

¹¹⁷ P. GROTOWSKI, *Arms...*, p. 345; T. KOLIAS, *Byzantinische...*, p. 148; I. STEPHENSON, *Romano-Byzantine Infantry Equipment*, London 2011, p. 96.

¹¹⁸ Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские...*, p. 258.

¹¹⁹ V. Yotov is preparing an article about these chapes.

¹²⁰ *Taron Gospel*, Matenadaran Library, Ms. 6201, f. 7 v.

¹²¹ *Tsgrut Gospel* (Tsgrut village, Armenia), f. 9. – Н. КОТАНДЖЯН, *Цгрутское...*, p. 81.

¹²² This type of chape was presented on different miniatures in the *Menologion of Basil II* – 0070, 0094, 0097, 0104, 0121, 0131, 0136, 0139, 0144, 0172, 0181, 0187, 0188, 0195, 0206, 0211, 0216 etc. For more information, see Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские...*, p. 258.

¹²³ Շ. ՇԱԾԻՍՅԱՆ, *Հայրենագիտական...*, p. 207.

¹²⁴ Bibliography on the topic: T. KOLIAS, *Byzantinische...*, p. 185–213; P. GROTOWSKI, *Arms...*, p. 323–327; J. HALDON, *A Critical Commentary...*, p. 172, 186; T. DAWSON, *Fit for the Task...*, p. 7–12; R. D'AMATO, *The Varangian...*, p. 39, etc.

¹²⁵ T. DAWSON, *Byzantine Cavalryman...*, p. 61.

¹²⁶ IDEM, *Byzantine Infantryman...*, p. 27.

The *kontarion* was kept with one hand under an armpit, similarly to the knightly lance in Western Europe. This way of holding the lance was known in Byzantium from the 11th–12th c. It was one of the most effective methods because only one hand was used to hold a heavy *kontarion* and to perform a powerful lance charge while the other hand was used for manoeuvring the horse. Such an attack could only be carried out by keeping the cavalryman steady on his horse by means of stirrups and a raised saddlebow¹²⁷.

Helmets

All the horsemen are represented in helmets or headgears. V. Abramian thinks that these helmets have a conical-hemispherical shape¹²⁸ and, as can be seen, a mail, leather or scale aventail or coif was attached to them in order to protect the neck¹²⁹. R. D'Amato wrote an excellent work on Byzantine helmets in the 9th–12th c., trying to create a detailed typology based on the technology of manufacturing, materials used and forms of helmets: conical, hemispherical, ridge, Phrygian-shaped, pointed, round off piece of banded construction, brimmed, mask-visor, and related headgears like the “skaplion” etc.¹³⁰

Unfortunately, this typology cannot be used effectively in the present study because the helmets depicted on the reliefs are presented too schematically to allow reaching any substantial conclusions. However, based on Armenian figurative sources (10th–12th c.), it can be assumed that in Armenia there existed conical-hemispherical helmets (e.g. Goliath's relief from Aghtamar Island¹³¹, pic. 5) and conical-pointed helmets (Miniature from the Kars Gospel, pic. 28¹³²; Gospel 141 from Mekhitarists Library, pic. 20¹³³; the Theodore Gospel, 12th c., pic. 21)¹³⁴. Also, the chronicle of Matthew of Edessa (13th c.) offers a description of the battle between Armenian lord Vasak and an Ethiop from Daylamites, where the author

¹²⁷ L. PETERSON, *The World of the Troubadours. Medieval Occitan Society, c. 1100–1300*, Cambridge 1998, p. 39; В. Гуцул, *Рицарська мілітарна технологія в Києво-Руській та Польсько-Литовській державах у XIII–XVI ст. інструменти, концепції та практики збройної боротьби. Автореферат дисертації на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата історичних наук*, Київ 2011, p. 13.

¹²⁸ Վ. ԱՐԱՄԻԱՆ, *Միջինադարյան...*, p. 72, 96.

¹²⁹ Բ. ԱՐԱՄԻԱՆ, *Քրիստոնեական...*, p. 143–145.

¹³⁰ R. D'AMATO, *Old...*, p. 27–157.

¹³¹ British historian D. Nicolle thought that Goliath was wearing a metal coif. – D. NICOLLE, *The Military...*, p. 218–220. On the other hand, J. Davies believed that it is a pointed helmet. – J. DAVIES, *Medieval...*, p. 55.

¹³² S. DER NERSESSIAN, *L'Évangile...*, p. 92–93, fig. 10.

¹³³ *Gospel № 141/102*, fol. 77 r; S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Miniature...*, p. 22–23, 26.

¹³⁴ *Theodore Gospel*, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate, Ms. 1796, fol. 88.

mentioned a ridge helmet¹³⁵: *Vasak with a steel sword struck the crest of his [opponent's] helmet and sliced that brave Qipchak [Ethiop] into two parts*¹³⁶. Theoretically, the helmet presented on the miniature from the Lviv Gospel (1198–1199) (pic. 32)¹³⁷ looks like a ridge (consisting of two parts), derived from the late Roman typology¹³⁸. It is difficult to say anything more about the methods of producing helmets (i.e. whether one, two or more metal pieces were used) because no Armenian helmets from that time have been recovered.

Conclusions

Thanks to a comparative analysis, we proved that medieval figurative sources can be considered an accurate source for studying the medieval military history. Strong evidence for this is the presence of numerous specific military details on the relief studied. Also, this idea can be supported by referring to Armenian written sources (e.g. Stepanos Orbelian, 13th c.). Describing Liparit Orbelian's armour from the battle against Seljuk Turks in 1049, the chronicler mentions almost all types of arms and armours which are presented on relief¹³⁹: *Thus armed, he [Liparit] mounted his Arabian steed. He threw aside his shield with its gold designs and, taking a flexible javelin in his powerful left hand and a broad two-edged steel sword in his right hand, with his formidable axe/mace(?) like a blacksmith's mallet or a rock cutter's sledgehammer hanging at his side. [Liparit] bravely crossed the line of fighters, from one side to the other. His golden breastplate and helmet glittered like the sun*¹⁴⁰.

Thanks to military history, we can learn more about the scenes and motifs presented on miniatures, reliefs etc. and *vice versa* – figurative sources could show us different types of weapons, which can be compared with the ones mentioned or represented in the well-known Byzantine or Muslim sources. This is possible because, located between two civilizations (Byzantium and Muslim), Armenians adopted the best military solutions from both sides, creating their own culture.

¹³⁵ Եւ ի շտապս յեւայ Վասակ ի ներքս դիմեաց եւ պողովատ թորովն ի վերայ սաղասարտին քսեաց եւ յերկուս հերձեաց զհասիշիկ քաջն, որ եւ մատուք մարմնոյն յերկիր անկանէին. – ՄԱՏԹԵՆՍ ՈՒՌԱՅՅԵՅԻ, *Ժամանակագրություն...*, p. 4.

¹³⁶ *Armenia and the Crusades...*, 1.1, № 13–14.

¹³⁷ *Lviv Gospel*, National Library of Poland, Rps 8101 IIIS, 63 v.

¹³⁸ R. D'AMATO, *Old...*, p. 86sqq.

¹³⁹ Եւ այնպես զինեալ զինքրն հեծեալ ի տանիկ երիվարն, և ընկենոյր զսկենկար վահանն ի թիկունսն, և զնաւն նիզակիկն յսեռակ քազուկն, և զայն պողովտիկ շնչիրն երկբերանի ի յաջ ձեռինն և զվաղրն սիսագին ի ներքոյ բարձիցն իբր զուռն դարբեաց և կամ զսակր կոցաւոր քարսիստաց: Անցեալ ի մէջ ռազմաւոր հանդիսին արշաւէր սիգարով յայակոյս և յանկոյս. – ՄՏԵՓԱՆՍ ՕՐԲԵԼԻԱՆ, *Պատմություն նասիւնգին Սիսական*, Թիֆլիս 1910, p. 375.

¹⁴⁰ STEP'ANNOS ORBELEAN, *History of the State of Sisakan*, trans. R. BEDROSIAN, Long Branch 2012, p. 195.

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Abstract. Byzantium's arms and armours were researched by many historians. For that reason, the military history of the medieval Roman Empire enjoyed a dominant position in medieval historiography, with the consequence that very often the military history of small nations (under Roman influences) was written from the perspective of the Eastern Romans historians.

The aim of the paper is to change this perspective and give the subject of the medieval Armenian military the attention it deserves. The idea is to perform an analysis of the relief on the Door of the Msho Arakelots monastery, where four equestrians and one infantryman are depicted, and to compare it with other Armenian, Byzantine and Muslim sources.

In this relief, a spherical mace head and a sword with sleeve cross-guard are represented, suggesting many parallels with East-Roman archaeological and figurative sources. No less important is the depiction of the military trumpet because it is the first image of this object in Armenian art, which can be compared with pictures from the Madrid Skylitzes (13th c.). In addition, the only defensive weapon which is presented in this relief is a round shield with a floral ornament. There are many depictions of round shields in Armenian miniatures and reliefs from 10th–11th c. Moreover, this relief is one of the few where stirrups and the chape of a scabbard are shown. These elements represent an important piece of information because these pictures can be compared with actual archaeological East-Roman artefacts to reconstruct their real look.

The conclusions are that the majority of Armenian weapons bear similarities to Byzantine ones but no less important are the Muslim influences, which have been found in some cases. Located between two civilizations (Byzantium and the Muslim Potentates), Armenians adopted the best solutions of their military technologies, creating their own culture. Moreover, thanks to this comparative analysis, further support will be given to the idea that medieval figurative sources are more or less accurate material for studying medieval military history.

Keywords: Armenia, Bagratids, Msho Arakelots, relief, military history, sleeve cross-guard, Byzantine Empire, Muslim world, weapon, armour.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Relief on the door of Msho Arakelots monastery (1134). *Author's photo* [30 IX 2019].



Fig. 2-3. Relief on the door of Msho Arakelots monastery (1134). *Author's photo* [30 IX 2019].



Fig. 4. Relief on the door of Msho Arakelots monastery (1134). *Author's photo* [30 IX 2019].



Fig. 5. Goliath's relief from The Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Aghtamar island (915–921, modern Turkey) (in situ). *Author's photo* [20 VIII 2019].



Fig. 6. Relief “St. George and St. Theodore slaying dragons” from the Church in Martvili, 7th–8th c. (Georgia). – Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Св. Георги Победоносец. Култ и образ в Православния Изток през средновековието*, Варна 2001, рс. 244.



Fig. 7. Fragment of the miniature “*St. Sargius*” (10th c.) – *Gospel*, Mekhitarian Library (Vienna), Ms. 697, f. 4v, <https://mycms-vs04.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/sfb950/content/IAA/browseColl.xml> [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 8. Sleeve cross-guard. Unpublished archaeological find from Chernihiv, Ukraine (2018). Finding of grave robbers, https://vk.com/vtoroi_rim?w=wall-71532966_3071%2Fall [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 9–10. Sleeve cross-guard. Unpublished archaeological find (private collection of Dr. Lee Jones). Territory of origin is unknown. – I. NORMAN, *A Likely Byzantine or Fatimid Sword of the Xth–XIth Centuries*, 2019, <http://iainnorman.com/essays/2019/01/a-likely-byzantine-or-fatimid-sword-of-the-xth-xith-centuries/> [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 11. Miniature “David defeats Goliath” (1066). – *Theodore Gospel*, British library, Ms. 19352, f. 191, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_19352_f207v [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 12. Miniature “The Martyrdom of St. Arethas” (end of 10th c.) where sword with sleeve cross-guard is depicted. – *Menologion of Basil II*, Vatican library, Ms. Vat. gr. 1613, f. 135, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613 [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 14. (A and B) Iron, spherical mace heads (11th–12th c.). Vatevi Collection, Bulgaria. – S. ПОПОВ, *The maces from the present Bulgarian lands (10th–17th c.)*, Sofia 2015, p. 130–131. Photo courtesy of S. ПОПОВ.

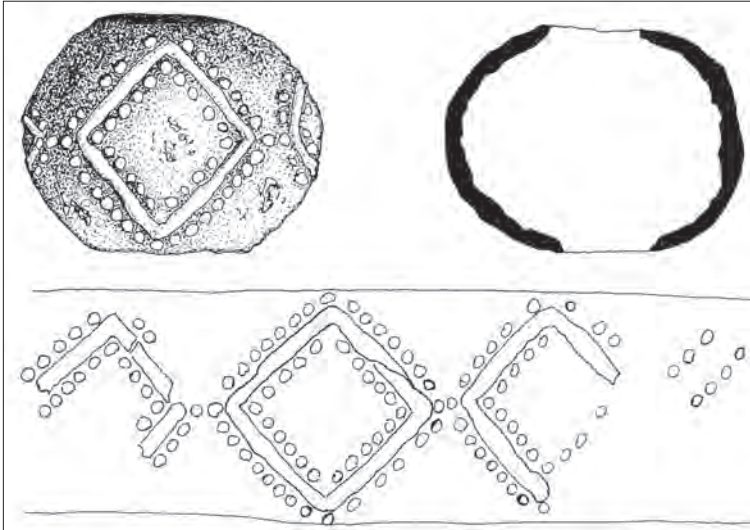


Fig. 13. Spherical mace from Panaguriste with silver decoration (10th–11th c.). – В. Йотов, *Въоръжението и снаряжението от българското средновековие (VII–XI век)*, Варна 2004, cat. 644.



Fig. 15. Miniature “Good Samaritan stripped and beaten by three robbers” (Middle part), (879–883). – *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, National library of France, gr. 510, f. 300 (143), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082/f542.planchecontact> [12 IX 2019].



Fig. 16. Miniature “The power of Eros” (10th c.) – *Oppianus Cynegetica*, Marciana Library, Ms. Gr. Z 479, f. 33r. – R. D’AMATO, Σιδηροράβδιον, βαρδούκιον, ματζούκιον, κορύννη. *The war-mace of Byzantium, 9th–15th c. AD*, AMM VII, 2011, fig. 17.



Fig. 17. Miniature “Judas Kiss” (1057). Author’s photo [30 IX 2019].

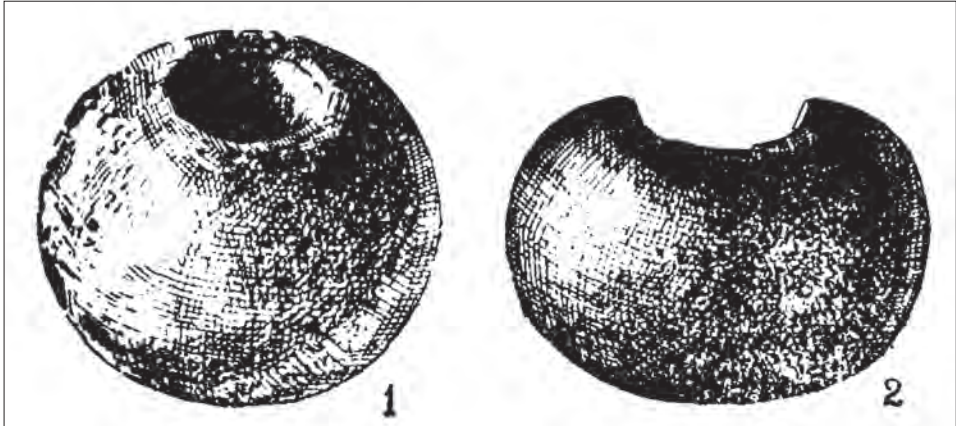


Fig. 18. I. The mace from former Echmiadzin museum (History museum of Armenia); II. The mace from Shengavit (History museum of Armenia) (3–1 millennium BC). – С. Есяян, *Оружие и военное дело древней Армении (III–I тыс. до н. э.)*, Ереван 1966, р. 56.



Fig. 19. Miniature “Hovhannis Protospatharius presents the Gospel to the Virgin” (1007) – *Gospel of Adrianopolis*, Mekhitarists library (Venice), Ms. 887, fol. 8, <https://mycms-vs04.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/sfb950/content/IAA/browseColl.xml> [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 20. Miniature “The resurrection of Christ” (12th c.). – Gospel № 141/102, Mekhitarists library (Venice), fol. 77r. Author’s photo [20 VIII 2019].



Fig. 21. Miniature “The resurrection of Christ” (12th c.). – C. MARANCI, *The Art of Armenia. An Introduction*, Oxford 2018, fig. 4.3.



Fig. 22. Miniature “*Emperor Julian the Apostate arrived to the city Ctesiphon on the Tiger*” (Upper part), (879–883) – *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, National library of France, gr. 510, f. 830 (409v), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082/f542.planchecontact> [12 IX 2019].



Fig. 23. St. Sargis’s relief from The Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Aghtamar island (915–921, modern Turkey) (in situ). *Author’s photo* [20 VIII 2019].



Fig. 24. Miniature “Tsar Simeon, pursued by the Hungarians, taking shelter in the stronghold of Drustra” (12th c.). – *Madrid Skylitzes*, National Library of Spain, ms. Graecus Vit. 26-2, fol. 108v, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000022766&page=1> [12 IX 2019].



Fig. 25. Miniature “The fall of Jericho” (Upper part). Joshua (far left) and seven soldiers blowing the horns surround the crumbling walls of the city (879–883). – *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, National library of France, gr. 510, f. 860 (424v), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082/f542.planchecontact> [12 IX 2019].



Fig. 26. Fragment of the miniature “Crucifixion” (11th c.). Author’s photo [30 IX 2019].



Fig. 27. Fragment of the miniature “Judas Kiss” (10th–11th c.). Author’s photo [30 IX 2019].



Fig. 28. Fragment of the miniature “Soldiers” (11th c.). – *Kars Gospel*, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate, Ms. 2556, fol. 127. – S. DER NERSESSIAN, *L’Evangile du roi Gagik de Kars: Jérusalem No 2556*, REArm 18, 1984, p. 92–93, fig. 10.



Fig. 29. Fragment of the miniature “Myrrhbearers”, where armed Roman soldiers guarding the tomb of Christ (974). – *Tsgrut Gospel*, (*Tsgrut village, Armenia*), f. 9. – Н. КОТАНДЖЯН, *Цгрутское Евангелие*, Ереван 2006, p. 81.

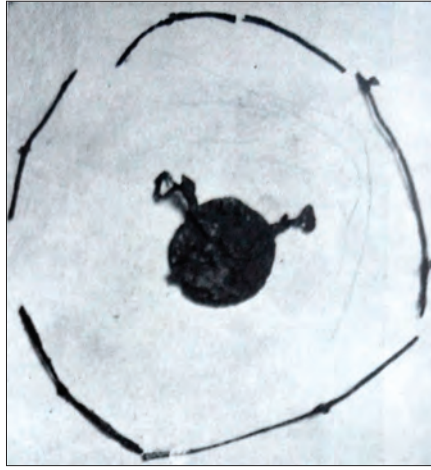


Fig. 30. Remains of the shield from Anberd (7th–13th c.?) – Ս. ՀԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՅԱՆ, *Անբերդ*, Երևան 1978, fig. 54.



Fig. 31. Fragment of the miniature “St. Athenodorus Martyr” (end of 10th c.). – *Menologion of Basil II*, Vatican library, Ms. Vat. gr. 1613, http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613/0052?sid=a7590df9b8aca22111c8359533716419 [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 32. Miniature “*The Martyrdom of Cyprian of Carthage*” (1198–1199). – *Lviv Gospel*, National library of Poland, Rps 8101 IIIS, 63v, <https://polona.pl/item/ewangeliarz-zeskwery,NTU3Nze2OQ/127/#item> [30 IV 2019].




Fig. 33. Miniature “Julian’s death: Julian, pursued by St. Mercuries, falls from his horse” (Lower part) (879–883) – *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, National library of France, gr. 510, f. 830 (409v), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082/f542.planchecontact> [12 IX 2019].




Fig. 34. Miniature “The Battle of the Milvian Bridge (312)” (Middle part), (879–883) – *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, National library of France, gr. 510, f. 891 (440r), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082/f542.planchecontact> [12 IX 2019].



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BYZANTINE THEMES IN POLISH HIGH SCHOOL LIBERAL ARTS EDUCATION

Introduction

The question of Byzantine themes in liberal arts education is actually a question about Byzantine themes in contemporary Polish culture. These themes are not articulated explicitly. They constitute a part of the cultural heritage that is not discernible or – it might be better to say – not explained. It seems that for a considerable section of Polish society “Byzantium” is just an empty word. Thus – in our view – school education is crucial if this is to change as it is only at school that the vast majority of young people have the opportunity to learn history or Polish literature. In our opinion, these two fields of knowledge merit extensive analysis. We think that the term “Byzantium” in Polish history should be defined not simply in terms of the history of a political formation but also in terms of its cultural achievements. And this is primarily discernible in the history of the Orthodox Church, the Eastern branch of Christianity. At this point our deliberations are no longer purely historical but they bear on the present as people usually associate the Orthodox Church with Russia, an association which is absolutely erroneous. Consequently, the Orthodox faith is regarded as the religion of the foreign power that has had such a dramatic and damaging impact on Polish history. However, for a considerable period of Polish history nearly half the population of Poland was Orthodox. Accordingly, this means that the role played by the Orthodox faith in the history of Poland would make an excellent subject for another paper and provide an opportunity for us to broaden our knowledge of Byzantium. Alas, this is not the subject of the present paper.

The scope of a curriculum’s contents is specified in the general syllabus prepared by the Ministry of National Education. This means that current curricula and relevant textbooks are developed on a common framework: the general syllabus. Whilst this might appear to be common knowledge, it strikes us that we

sometimes need to be reminded of this. Furthermore, despite the huge freedom permitted curriculum and textbook authors, the general syllabus specifies a minimum teaching content that must be taken into account. The focus of our present deliberations is two school subjects – History and Polish. As regards the first, the matter seems obvious. In the curricula, the history of Byzantium is presented explicitly. Yet things are different in the Polish literature curricula. There, certain content is often concealed, for example in the selection of required set texts. Hence this knowledge is not transferred directly, which makes the examination of this theme even more challenging. This leads us to the question of precisely what knowledge students do acquire about Byzantium. In the section here devoted to Polish literature teaching, we took into account not only current curricula or syllabuses but we also considered literary works in which East-related issues appeared and which have appeared on the list of set texts at different times.

History

This school subject is described in detail in the general syllabus published for primary¹ and high school². As regards the primary school syllabus, the term “Byzantium” is mentioned only once: the syllabus content for grades IV–VIII includes Item II: “Byzantium and the Islamic World”, where the student is expected to be able to 1) *locate in time and space the extent of Arab expansion and explain the impact of the Muslim civilization on Europe*; 2) *locate in time and space the Byzantine Empire and demonstrate general knowledge of the Byzantine cultural achievement (law, architecture, arts)*³. The themes in which we are particularly interested may also be found in the next item (Topic III “Medieval Europe”, where the student [...] is expected to be able to 3) *explain the causes and ramifications of The Great East-West Schism of the 11th century, that divided Christianity, and describe relations between imperial and papal power*; and 4) *discuss the causes and ramifications of the Crusades*)⁴. The themes are not articulated explicitly but it is obviously impossible to discuss these topics without them. Unfortunately, we are unable to say how these vague provisions translate into specific syllabuses and textbooks as the way in which the minister A. Zalewska implemented the education reform has prevented the timely preparation of textbooks.

The content of the general syllabus for high schools has been divided into elementary level and advanced level in the following way: Topic V “Byzantium

¹ <https://www.gov.pl/web/edukacja/podstawa-programowa-materialy-dla-nauczycieli2> [25 I 2019].

² <http://www.dziennikustaw.gov.pl/DU/2018/467> [25 I 2019].

³ *Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego z komentarzem. Szkoła podstawowa. Historia [General syllabus for comprehensive education supplemented with a commentary. Primary school. History]*, ed. W. SULEJA, <https://www.gov.pl/web/edukacja/podstawa-programowa-materialy-dla-nauczycieli2> [25 I 2019].

⁴ *Ibidem*.

and the Islamic World”, where the elementary-level student is expected to be able to locate in time and space the Byzantine Empire and demonstrate basic knowledge of its cultural achievements; 2) explain the genesis of Islam and know its principal tenets; 3) present the main directions of the Arab expansion; 4) describe the hallmarks of Arabic culture and know its most significant achievements. The advanced-level student, in addition to meeting the requirements specified for the elementary level, is expected to 1) *describe the hallmarks of the Byzantine political system*; 2) *identify the stages of the Arabs’ expansion and evaluate their policy towards vanquished peoples*; 3) *discuss the impact of Islamic civilization on the Latin and Byzantine civilization*⁵. Furthermore, the Byzantine themes are also indirectly included in Topic VI “Europe in the Early Middle Ages” at elementary level, where the student is expected to be able to 3) *describe a process state creation in Europe, including their Christianization (which was expressed more explicitly at advanced level)*; 2) *describe a process of the founding of the first states in Central and Eastern Europe, including the impact of the Latin and Byzantine civilizations*⁶. Another item touching on theme with which we are here concerned here is Topic VII “Europe during the Period of the Crusades”, where the elementary-level student is expected to be able to 1) discuss the ideological and political causes as well as the nature of the competition between the papacy and the empire for control over Medieval Europe; 2) describe the political, socio-economic and religious determinants of the crusades to the Holy Land and the Reconquista, and list their ramifications. The advanced-level student is expected to meet requirements specified for elementary level, and further to this show her- or himself able to 1) explain the reasons for the Great East-West Schism of the 11th century; 2) describe and evaluate the role the monastic orders played in Medieval Europe; 3) identify the directions, characteristics and ramifications of the Mongolian invasions of Europe⁷. Topic XI “Europe in the late Middle Ages”, also includes a Byzantium-related theme. The student [...] is able to 3) describe the ramifications for Europe of the fall of the Byzantine Empire and Turkish expansion⁸.

This overview can be supplemented with some observations about a history textbook. Here we use one issued by the Nowa Era Publishing House, that which we the authors are most familiar with. Like other textbooks for the 1st grade of the reformed high school, this will be available in summer 2019 as 1 September 2019 is the start of the school year, including for the reformed high school. The Nowa

⁵ Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 30 stycznia 2018 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego, technikum oraz branżowej szkoły II stopnia [National Education Minister regulation of 30 January 2018 on the general syllabus for the comprehensive education in high schools, vocational technical high schools and 2nd degree vocational school (2-year course following 1st degree 3-year course)], <http://www.dziennikustaw.gov.pl/DU/2018/467> [25 I 2019].

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

Era textbook permits us to draw a number of conclusions. Essentially, the history of Byzantium is mentioned three times: initially during discussion of the Eastern Roman Empire (Justinian the Great and his Code, an attempt to rebuild the Roman Empire, Hagia Sophia); next during discussion of the Crusades (primarily in relation to the reasons for the First Crusade, then also respecting the ramifications of the Fourth Crusade and the establishment of the Latin Empire); and lastly in association with the Turks' expansion and the capture of Constantinople. It warrants attention that the Byzantine-related theme usually appears in a Muslim context, initially with an Arab and later with a Turkish dimension. In this respect, the general syllabus topics are no different from those of the past: the extent of knowledge about Byzantium is the same. In short, the history of Byzantium lies on the margin of the margins in the system of Polish history education. It is sad to say but well-known that in Poland history teaching is not only Polish, Roman Catholic- and Euro-centric but also based on a particular type of Occidentalism. Culturally, Poland is associated with Western Christianity. Yet in the past, Poland was a country composed of the two Christian religions: Catholicism and Orthodoxy. This fact is rarely foregrounded, but rather usually marginalized. Furthermore, Orthodox believers remain the second largest religious group in Poland. Accordingly, it is worthy of note that during history lessons Polish students do not learn about Orthodox believers in Catholic Poland.

Polish

In the teaching of both history and art history, Byzantium themes are named explicitly. It would be impossible to talk about Hagia Sophia (the Church of Holy Wisdom) and not say a word about the Eastern Roman Empire. After all, the "cathedral of cathedrals" is the most outstanding example of Byzantine architecture. Yet matters are very different when it comes to Polish literature teaching: unlike in the history curriculum, no specific topics relate to Byzantium. Students only learn about this empire in the context of other issues. Consequently, students remain unaware of Polish association with Byzantium and Eastern Christianity more generally, and teachers too are often similarly uninformed.

This is perfectly exemplified by *Bogurodzica* (lit. trans. God-bearer), a text composed by an unknown author. *Bogurodzica* has long been discussed in Polish schools as one of the most significant Polish literary works, and named a *carmen patriae*. One of the foremost experts on Polish literature, Maria Janion, considers this song about the motherland to be an *unforgettable testimony of Eastern-Western Slavdom*⁹. Other scholars concur. In the 1930s the relationship between *Bogurodzica* and the Byzantine Deesis icon was underscored. The latter depicts a centrally positioned Christ flanked by the Virgin Mary to his right and John the

⁹ M. JANION, *Niesamowita słowiańszczyzna*, Kraków 2016, p. 183.

Baptist to his left¹⁰. The structure of *Bogurodzica* resembles a *kontakion*, a Greek hymn, particularly the Western variant that developed in Italy between 9th and 11th centuries. And this leads us to the issue of Eastern and Western influences on Polish culture. Despite their differences, at the beginning of its second millennium, the heritage of Eastern and Western Christianity remained unfractured, which means that Byzantine influences were also able to reach Poland indirectly, from Italy, a country recognized as Western. The *Bogurodzica* contains Greek words. Thus, the connection between the oldest work of Polish literature and Byzantine culture is quite clear. Yet the issue at stake is whether teachers realize that this is a remarkable example of the presence of Byzantine themes in Polish literature and whether they highlight this aspect during lessons. In our view, this rarely happens.

Romanticism is the literary period where clear Byzantine connotations are mentioned and discussed during Polish lessons. They are, however, utterly negative. This is because Byzantine traces take the form of Russia, a country and culture that comes to epitomize all that is evil, the major perpetrator of the partitions of Poland and its related misfortunes. Such a depiction is particularly visible in the literary works of Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and Zygmunt Krasiński, although the latter author presents it in a more systemized manner. The most significant works analyzed at school primarily consist of those by Mickiewicz – Part III of *Dziady* [*Forefathers' Eve*], *Pan Tadeusz* [*Mr Thaddeus*] and *Reduta Ordon* [*Ordon's Redoubt*] – and by Słowacki, the play *Kordian*.

Dziady depicts the oppression suffered by the Poles prior to the outbreak of November Uprising. The East, which is Russia, epitomizes despotism, rule based on fear of the tsar and high-rank officials along with their ruthless attitude towards those of a lower rank. It is this that is staged in the much-discussed Scene 5 of the play (the senator's dream) as well as the poems included in *The Passage* (the prologue to the play). Russia is featured there as a callous country devoid of feeling. The picture of its capital, featured in the poem *Petersburg*, is terrifying – the place is gloomy and permeated with fear. In a similar fashion, the poem *Przegląd wojska* [*Inspection of the Troops*] features the tsarist system of governance. The poem's author warns representatives in the West against superficial admiration for Russian civilization that might lead to acquiescence to the tsars' state. Those inhabiting this state are pictured as an immature people who – when freedom eventually comes – will turn either into a *bright butterfly that will fly into the sky* or a moth – a *dirty night tribe*. In the play's main scene, Great Improvisation, Konrad, the hero, is not damned only because in his dispute with God he did not blaspheme, that is compare Him to the tsar, simply because he had too little time. Everything is expressed in crude language using expressions such as *the tsarist scum*. A similar image appears in *Reduta Ordon* and, although less crudely, in *Pan Tadeusz* too. The same picture of the East can be seen *Kordian*, by Juliusz Słowacki, which has

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

been a set text in school for decades. The beginning of Act 3 and the conversation between the Tsar and Great Prince in that same Act, reveal how the system of despotism works, while Scene 4, which stages the meeting of the conspirators, depicts Moscow's cruel policy towards the Poles as well as their determination to fight for freedom.

As regards set texts from the later 19th century, the period of Positivism, the Byzantine theme is only to be found in *Ogniem i mieczem* [*With Fire and Sword*] by Henryk Sienkiewicz, a historical novel about the Cossack uprising that broke out in the mid-17th century. At present, the book is no longer a set text in schools but formerly it was on the recommended reading list, which meant that teachers could choose to analyze it in Polish lessons. Yet it has always been part of the cultural awareness of Poles and we hope that it will long remain so. The book is worth attention as the themes associated with Eastern Christianity are well defined there. It is worth noting that they are not featured as one-sidedly as in Romantic literature. Contrary to opinion commonly presented in Polish writing, Henryk Sienkiewicz, a historian by profession, shows the reasons for the outbreak of the Khmelnytsky Uprising to be complex, and to a large extent the result of the unwise policy the Polish aristocracy and noblemen adopted in relation to the Cossacks, which was actually a form of economic oppression. Sienkiewicz emphasizes that cultural and religious division into Poles and Ruthenians, Catholics and Orthodox was not clear cut. The Polish "camp" included a large number of Ruthenians who proudly displayed their affiliation with the world of Eastern Christianity. They included above all the voivode Adam Kisiel, who desperately attempted to establish peace between the feuding parties, aware that the Polish-Cossack war primarily benefited the enemies of the Republic of Poland. Ruthenians were also found among the officers and soldiers serving Prince Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, who pursued a cruel and uncompromising war against insurgents. In fact, the prince came from an old Ruthenian family and only his father converted to Catholicism, like many other representatives of the Ruthenian aristocracy. A large number of the novel's protagonists, from Princess Helena Kurcewiczówna and Cossack Colonel Bohun onwards, are Ruthenians.

Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* holds a special place in Polish schools. For years it has been discussed in Polish literature lessons, and the school interpretation takes into account the novel's religious plot, Sonia's steadfast faith and the role her belief plays in the repentance and moral transformation of the main protagonist, Rodion Raskolnikov. The positive influence of Russian Orthodoxy is difficult to omit from a school reading of this novel, although there is no doubt that this feature is often paid insufficient attention.

For a short period of time (1990s), the list of recommended set texts included *Krzyżowcy* [*Crusaders*], an excellent historical novel authored by Zofia Kossak,

which deals with the history of the first Crusade. Unlike the aforementioned literary works, where it was quite difficult to find any Byzantine-related themes, here they are extensively discussed. This is a text in which readers discover quite a lot about the late 11th century history of Byzantium. Kossak details Byzantine diplomats' successful efforts to convince Europeans to embrace the idea of the Crusades. Readers learn about the imperial court, how it was organized, as well as the difficult relations between Crusaders and Byzantines. Unfortunately, in the aftermath of another education reform, this novel by Kossak was removed from the list of obligatory set texts and recommended readings and it will certainly be not reinstated... Likewise, the work of the outstanding poet Jerzy Harasymowicz, which alludes to the Ruthenian, Greek Catholic traditions, texts which teachers discussed in Polish literature lessons during the 1970s and 1980s.

Conclusion

The account presented above clearly shows that Byzantine themes form only a very small part of the high-school syllabus in Poland. In our view, this is definitely insufficient and needs to be changed. The cultural identity of modern Europe rests on three foundations: the West, the East and the Arab civilization. Yet the syllabus is focused almost exclusively on the first of these. It is probably no exaggeration to say that, paradoxically, students learn more about Islam than Eastern Christianity, even though this has had an incomparably greater impact on us. It is difficult not to get the impression that a narrowly defined "Polish Westernism" has had a negative impact on our knowledge about the origins of our culture.

We have no intention to call for any profound changes in the liberal arts syllabuses. We just want to highlight the current low level of awareness among the Polish people of one of the most crucial elements of the European heritage. The fact that a similar situation has also been observed in other countries should in no way be any consolation. This is clearly proved by what Judith Herrin, an outstanding British expert in Byzantine studies said in the introduction to her book promoting the history of the empire that ceased to exist nearly 600 years ago: *One afternoon in 2002, two workmen knocked at my office door in King's College, London. They were doing repairs [...] and had often passed my door with its notice: 'Professor of Byzantine History'. Together they decided to stop by and ask me, 'What is Byzantine History?' They thought it had something to do with Turkey*¹¹. It may be some comfort that they were at least able to correctly match the term with a geographical region. Would Polish workers be able to do this too?

¹¹ J. HERRIN, *Byzantium. The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire*, Harmondsworth 2008.

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Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 30 stycznia 2018 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego, technikum oraz branżowej szkoły II stopnia [National Education Minister regulation of 30 January 2018 on the general syllabus for the comprehensive education in high schools, vocational technical high schools and 2nd degree vocational school (2-year course following 1st degree 3-year course)], <http://www.dziennikustaw.gov.pl/DU/2018/467> [25 I 2019].

Abstract. The authors focus how Byzantine motifs are presented in the teaching of humanities subjects. The question of the presence of Byzantine motifs is essentially one about the presence of Byzantine heritage in Polish culture. With reference to two school subjects – Polish and History – the authors seek to establish what Polish school students are taught about the reach of Byzantine culture.

Present-day teaching of both political and cultural history is underpinned by Occidentalism. Only occasionally is attention paid to the “Eastern” features of Poland’s past. A good example of this is the treatment of one of the most important Polish literary texts, the school perennial, *Bogurodzica*. This draws on Greek religious hymns, contain words originating in the Greek liturgy, and also alludes to a particular type of icon. Accordingly, the connections between the oldest Polish literary text and Byzantine culture are very clear. However, when classroom teachers discuss *Bogurodzica* with their pupils, detailing the above-mentioned features, are they aware that this text is an epitome of the presence of Byzantine motifs in Polish literature? Apparently not.

With regard to the teaching of history, Byzantine motifs can be approached from at least three angles; in terms of imperial political events, in terms of religious (Eastern rite) aspects of Byzantine culture, and finally in terms of awareness of connections between Polish culture and Eastern rite Christianity, as well as Eastern nations and states viewed as heirs of Byzantine culture.

In Polish history there has been a side-lining of the nation’s break with Eastern Christianity even though during certain periods this was the faith of half the Commonwealth’s inhabitants. The marginalisation of this topic does not simply impose a limit on knowledge but it prevents the understanding of particular aspects of our history.

Keywords: Byzantium, national curriculum, teaching history, Byzantine motifs.

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UNDERSTANDING THE USE OF BYZANTINE ROUTES IN CENTRAL ANATOLIA (CA. 7TH–9TH CENTURIES)

Introduction

The Byzantine routes in central Anatolia were previously studied in the series of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*¹ by Austrian scholars. The TIB gives invaluable information about the routes in Byzantine Central Asia Minor; however, this is the first attempt to understand the use of the main routes in the region within the context of ‘transformation’ and ‘continuity’. In this regard, this paper aims to explain and understand the use of the main routes in Byzantine Central Anatolia by taking into consideration the change in the role and the status of the main urban centres².

The period from the seventh to the ninth century is known and often defined as the age of ‘transition’³. Radical changes which occurred in the political and administrative structure of the Byzantine Empire had an impact on the urbanization and the use of the main routes in Byzantine Asia Minor between the seventh and ninth century. The changes in the political/administrative and economic context that Asia Minor witnessed were more transformative, when compared to the previous centuries. The main factor behind this transformation was the situation of warfare that continued until the ninth century⁴.

¹ See K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. IV, *Galatien und Lykaonien*, Wien 1984; K. BELKE, N. MERSICH, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. VII, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, Wien 1990; F. HILD, *Das Byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien*, Wien 1977.

² This paper presents one of the case studies of my ongoing doctoral dissertation, entitled *Communications, Routes and Urbanization in Late Roman and Early Byzantine Anatolia (c. 4th–9th centuries)*.

³ The term “Dark Ages” is replaced by “Transition”. Cf. J.F. HALDON, *Commerce and Exchange in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: Regional Trade and the Movement of Goods*, [in:] *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. C. MORRISON, Washington 2012, p. 103; IDEM, *The Empire That Would not Die. The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740*, Harvard 2016, p. 3.

⁴ John F. HALDON (*The Empire...*, p. 1) mentions that the Byzantines were able to prevent the continued Arab raid after the war occurred in Acroinos (Afyonkarahisar) in Phrygia in 740. It can be suggested that the Arab world witnessed the changing dynamics in the political and administrative

Three main routes in the northwest-southeast axis are known to have passed through central Anatolia: 1) The Pilgrim's Road⁵, which ran from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Ancyra (Ankara); 2) 'The Imperial Military Route'⁶, which ran from Constantinople to Sebasteia (Sivas) and Caesarea (Kayseri) in the east and to the Cilician Gates in the south; 3) 'The Arab Invasions Route'⁷, which ran from Constantinople to the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion (Eskişehir) (Fig. 1).

1. Connecting the West to the Holy Lands, the Pilgrim's Road became the main route for the pilgrims with the rise of Christianity. Before Constantinople became the capital of the eastern Roman Empire, the Pilgrim's Road was in fact the main arterial route in Asia Minor⁸, running through the heartland of Anatolia. The main city of this route was Ancyra in Galatia. This route continued to be used after Constantine established Constantinople as the capital of the Roman Empire. Transforming into a main arterial network, this road made Asia Minor a bridge for the pilgrims travelling between the West and the Holy Lands, especially after pilgrimage spread beyond the Holy Land. The presence of *mutationes*⁹ and *mansiones*¹⁰ along the Pilgrim's Road made the route suitable for official or private travellers as well. W. Ramsay states that this route, which became the main artery in the third century AD¹¹, continued to be maintained from the fourth to the sixth century¹². By the seventh century, however, there is no evidence related to the maintenance of this route.

situation of the Arab rule after the Abbasids had defeated the Umayyads. It seems that the Arab conflict continued in the second half of the eighth century and in the ninth century as some "small states", i.e. the Umayyad Andalusian dynasty (756–1031), the Idrisi dynasty (788–985), the Aghlabi dynasty (800–900), the Tahirî dynasty (821–873), and Saffârî dynasty (868–908) emerged in the western and eastern lands under the control of the Abbasid Caliphate. M.A. KÖYMEN, *Selçuklu Devri Türk Tarihi*, Ankara 1998, p. 9.

⁵ For detailed description, information and discussion on the Pilgrim's Road, see D. FRENCH, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, Fasc. 1, *The Pilgrim's Road*, Ankara 1981; IDEM, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, vol. IV, *The Roads*, Fasc. 4.1, *Notes on the Itineraria*, Ankara 2016; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 97–101.

⁶ This route was described by William RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Amsterdam 1962, p. 197–221; also see, F. HILD, *Das Byzantinische...*, p. 33–37, 77.

⁷ K. BELKE, N. MERSICH, *Tabula...*, p. 139–144; H. AHRWEILER, *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, London 1971, p. 7–11; J.F. HALDON, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World: 565–1204*, London 1999, p. 56–59.

⁸ K. BELKE, *Communications: Roads and Bridges*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. R. CORMACK, J.F. HALDON, E. JEFFREYS, Oxford 2008, p. 298; IDEM, *Transport and Communication*, [in:] *The Archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia from the End of Late Antiquity until the Coming of the Turks*, ed. P. NIEWÖHNER, Oxford 2017.

⁹ *Places where it was possible to change and rest*, C. FOSS, *Ankara in the Byzantine Age*, BIAA Library in Ankara (n.d.), p. 3.

¹⁰ *Small towns which offered overnight accommodation*, *ibidem*, p. 3.

¹¹ K. BELKE, *Communications...*, p. 298.

¹² W. RAMSAY, *The Historical...*, p. 242.

2. ‘The Imperial Military Route’ started from Constantinople and went to Armenia, to Commagene, and to the Cilician Gates¹³. This route, which joined the west-east route¹⁴ at Dorylaion as well as the Pilgrim’s Road at Ancyra and its variants leading to Sebasteia in the north, Melitene (Malatya) in the east, and Germanikeia (K. Maraş)¹⁵ in the south is known to have been used by the armies and invaders¹⁶. However, there is no literary evidence providing direct information about the use of this route during the period in question¹⁷. It is known to have been used in the middle Byzantine period¹⁸, though.

3. ‘The Arab Invasions’ Route’, which emerged in the ‘transition’ period¹⁹ and was frequently used by the armies, is the most well-known route. Textual evidence provides specific information about the use of it. This diagonally planned new route and its variants covered the regions of Phrygia and Galatia, including Pisidia and Lycaonia. Radiating from Constantinople, the route in question ran to the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion. The main cities of this route were thus Dorylaion and Amorion in central Anatolia. This route and its variants, which also consisted of some of the existing roads and *facilitated rapid movement of men and materials between the inner provinces and the frontiers*²⁰, became the penetration corridors used by the Arab raiders²¹.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 197–221.

¹⁴ The west-east route, joining at Dorylaion, radiated from Smyrna (İzmir) and went up to Caesarea in Cappadocia. K. BELKE, N. MERSICH, *Tabula...*, p. 150–151; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 105–106; F. HILD, *Das Byzantinische...*, p. 77.

¹⁵ On the eve of the Arab raids, bridges over the Sangarios and Cydnus Rivers were constructed; city walls, castles and fortresses were built and restored by the emperor Justinian I, and thus the cities on the frontier were strengthened against the Sassanid attacks, as is mentioned by PROCOPIUS, *Works*, vol. VII, *Buildings*, trans. H.B. DEWING, ed. J. HENDERSON, Harvard 2002, p. 199, 201, 327, 329, 333–335, 341–343.

¹⁶ The eastern section of this route from Ancyra to Caesarea emerged in the sixth century, passing through Kırşehir, F. HILD, *Das Byzantinische...*, p. 83; it was preferred to the southern variant of this route via Parnassos (Parlasan) since it was shorter. W. RAMSAY, *The Historical...*, p. 199.

¹⁷ Although there is no literary evidence about the use of this route, its eastern variants over the Taurus ranges were most probably used. Raids conducted against the eastern cities and the conflict between the Byzantines and the Arabs at the frontier continued. The cities established on this route and its variants, such as Caesarea, Melitene and Germanikeia, were exposed to the Arab attacks from the second half of the seventh century to the second half of the eighth century. W. Ramsay mentions that primary sources such as the chronicles of Cedrenus and Theophanes give information about the raids at the frontier, but our knowledge about the route taken by the raiders or the imperial army is scarce regarding this period. See W. RAMSAY, *The Historical...*, p. 277; W.E. KAEGI, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge 2000, p. 67; H. AHRWEILER, *Etudes...*, p. 7–11.

¹⁸ W. RAMSAY, *The Historical...*, p. 197–221, 277; J.G.C. ANDERSON, *The Road System of Eastern Asia Minor with the Evidence of Byzantine Campaigns*, JHS 17, 1897, p. 22–44; E. HONIGMANN, *Bizans Devleti'nin Doğu Sınırı*, trans. F. İŞILTAN, İstanbul 1970, p. 36–39.

¹⁹ For the information about the variants of this route, see K. BELKE, N. MERSICH, *Tabula...*, p. 141–146; K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 97–101.

²⁰ J.F. HALDON, *Warfare...*, p. 56.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

Of these three routes, “the Arab invasions’ route” and its variants were frequently used by armies and invaders when the Arabs systematically attacked Asia Minor.

Beginning in the 640s and continuing for over a hundred and fifty years, the Arab raids focused mainly on penetrating the inlands of Asia Minor. When the Taurus and Anti-Taurus Mountains constituted the frontier zone between the Byzantines and the Arabs by the early eighth century²² (Fig. 2), the Arab troops had an opportunity to follow the main arterial route via Dorylaion and Amorion, and raided the main cities in central Asia Minor. Rather than going for the well-fortified urban centres established along the main arteries, they aimed at raiding settlements, situated far from the main routes²³, taking booty, and threatening the capital and thus the empire. These incursions, passing through the main routes in the northwest-southeast axis in central Anatolia as mentioned above, affected the political and economic condition of the empire, and had an impact on the use of the routes in question. They also changed the function and role of the main urban centres thereby reflecting the shifting political and economic dynamics during the Arab presence in central Anatolia. Determining the impact of the changes in the political/administrative and economic structure – and therefore the role of the cities – of the Byzantine Empire on the use of the main routes, their effects can be explained in two ways – through the written sources and through the archaeological evidence. In the light of these two sources of data, this paper intends to explain and understand the question of ‘transformation’ and ‘continuity’ in the main urban centres, such as Dorylaion, Amorion and Ancyra, which were established along the main route in question in Byzantine central Anatolia, and the use of this route from the seventh to the ninth century.

Understanding the use of Byzantine routes in central Anatolia

The Eastern Roman Empire witnessed significant changes during the period of ‘transition’. Radical changes that occurred in the political/administrative and economic structure of the empire had an impact on the urbanization, and the use of the main routes in Byzantine Asia Minor. From the mid-seventh to the ninth century, these changes can be summarized as follows: 1) Situation of warfare with the Arabs, and change in the frontier zone²⁴; 2) Change in political/administrative

²² E. HONIGMANN, *Bizans...*, p. 36–39.

²³ H. AHRWEILER, *Etudes...*, p. 8.

²⁴ The frontier zone changed in certain ways. *Limes Orientis* lost its importance, since the Byzantines fought their enemies far from the *limes* in the seventh century. E. HONIGMANN, *Bizans...*, p. 35. The frontier zone that was considered as such until the seventh century consisted of the line lying from Amida to Theodosiopolis, as E. HONIGMANN (*Bizans...*, p. 7–11) states. The empire lost its territories of Syria, Palestine and Egypt in the battle of Yarmuk in 636 to the Arabs, and then the Byzantines retreated to the regions of northern Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Taurus and anti-Taurus

system, and the emergence of four military divisions (*Anatolikon*, *Opsikion*, *Armeniakon*, and *Thrakesion*), later established as *themata* in the first half of the ninth century²⁵; 3) Economic developments, and change in the context and pattern of trade and commerce, and as a result²⁶; 4) Change in the status of urbanization, and the changing role of urban settlements as military centres²⁷.

Mountains. J.F. HALDON, *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History*, Basingstoke 2005, p. 68. Along with the retreat, a new frontier zone, known as *al-thughūr*, including the regions of the Euphrates, the Taurus and anti-Taurus Mountains, was created between the Byzantines and the Arabs. *Al-thughūr* is described as a 'frontier region' rather than a 'frontier line'. For detailed information, see A.A. EGER, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier. Interaction and Exchange Among Muslim and Christian Communities*, London 2014 [= LMEH], p. 2–12; also see H. AHRWEILER, *La Frontière et les frontières de Byzance en Orient*, [in:] *Actes du XIV^e congrès international des études byzantines I, Bucarest in Septembre 1971*, ed. M. BERZA, E. STĂNESCU, Bucharest 1974, p. 216–219; R.J. LILIE, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber Studien zur Strukturwandlung des byzantinischen Staates im 7. und 8. Jhd.*, München 1976.

²⁵ It is known that due to the situation of warfare the Byzantine state focused on establishing strong points, which were strategically located on the frontier areas and the inlands of Asia Minor. This was related to the insufficient defence of the field armies against the raids. Together with the soldiers being distributed across the provinces in order to be managed directly, the system of administration regarding this aspect changed in Asia Minor. The local administrative system in the provinces and the military commands garrisoned across the provinces shaped this administrative mechanism in the course of the eighth century, which is known as *themata* by the early ninth century. For detailed information about these changes in administration, see W. BRANDES, J.F. HALDON, *Towns, Tax and Transformations: State, Cities and Their Hinterlands in the East Roman World, c. 500–800*, [in:] *Towns and Their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G.P. BROGIOLO, N. GAUTHIER, N. CHRISTIE, Leiden 2000; J.F. HALDON, *Warfare...*; L. BRUBAKER, J.F. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850. A History*, Cambridge 2011.

²⁶ It seems that the condition of continuous warfare by the seventh century reduced the economic activity in Asia Minor. The state, however, continued to survive despite the economic disruption. Despite an unfavourable impact of the attacks on the economic activities, commercial activities continued in a restricted way. G. DAGRON, *The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, [in:] *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A.E. LAIOU, Washington 2002, p. 406. It is known that the economy of exchange shifted in this period, which consisted of the administered and small-scale trade, as is mentioned by A. LAIOU, *Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, [in:] *The Economic History...*, p. 735. Longer-distance commercial activities also continued in a much reduced scale. The use of land routes for large scale trade was not favoured any more as the use of sea routes was much cheaper for the transportation purpose especially in the seventh and eighth centuries, *ibidem*, p. 697–698. It should be kept in mind that in order to better understand the local and regional/inter-regional use of the main routes and their variants concerning commercial activities in Byzantine Central Anatolia during the period of Arab invasions further archaeological research is necessary.

²⁷ There is clear evidence that the situation of warfare adversely affected urbanization, and hence the communication routes in Byzantine Asia Minor, which differed from the urban changes that happened in the fifth and sixth centuries. (I discuss the change in urbanization and the use of routes between the two time spans, i.e. the 4th–6th and 7th–9th centuries, in detail in my ongoing doctoral thesis). The role of cities as developed and vivid urban centres began to change in Byzantine Asia Minor. Many cities such as Ephesus, Smyrna and Ancyra were transformed into fortresses and continued

The changes mentioned above indicate the effects of the raids. The ‘transformation’ of urban centres, which is related to the political/administrative and economic shifts during the period in question, provides information that helps us better understand the use of the main routes in Byzantine Central Anatolia. In this regard, the transformed urban centres are of importance in terms of reflecting the changing dynamics of the region²⁸.

The Byzantines were confronted, inevitably, with the difficulties of the terrain along the routes they passed during the invasions. The exposed harsh terrain, the waterless roads in central Anatolia, and the rough mountainous land made the pass of the armies a very difficult action. The Byzantines had to ensure the security of

to be inhabited as military centres rather than ‘urban centres’ in the classical understanding. In this regard, the main characteristic of the urban centres of the period from the seventh into the ninth century is that most now transformed into *kastra*, known as fortified sites. L. BRUBAKER and J.F. HALDON (*Byzantium...*, p. 538–542) state that *the transformations which affected the eastern part of the late Roman world did not necessarily involve an abandonment of formerly urban sites (poleis) in favour of fortified sites (kastra) as in the case of Euchaita, and also Amastris*. S.J. HILL, *Preliminary Survey at Amasra, Zonguldak*, [in:] VII. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, Antalya in May 1989*, Ankara 1999, p. 81–87; S.J. HILL, J. CROW, *Amasra Yüzey Araştırması Ağustos 1990-Survey at Amasra*, [in:] IX. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı, Çanakkale in May 1991*, Ankara 1992; J.F. HALDON, *The Empire...*; P. NIEWÖHNER, *Archäologie und die “Dunklen Jahrhunderte” im byzantinischen Anatolien*, [in:] *Post Roman Towns Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, vol. II, *Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans*, ed. J. HENNING, Berlin 2007 [= *Mil.S.*, 5.2], p. 123–127; *The Archaeology of Byzantine...*

²⁸ It should be kept in mind that the change in urban centres in Byzantine Asia Minor differs from one region to another. It is difficult to mention and compare all the regions in detail here as the topic is very broad. For the most recent study, see T. KAYA, *Communications in Byzantine Asia: Change and Continuity*, *Porph* (= *X^e Rencontres Annuelles Internationales des Doctorants en Études Byzantines Porphyra Confronti su Bisanzio 7, Paris in October 2017*, ed. L. CIOLFI, J. DEVOGE), 2019, p. 34–51. Small and rural settlements are not taken into consideration in this paper since there are a few in-depth surveys conducted in all the regions concerning this period. For the frontier settlements, see A.A. EGER, *The Islamic-Byzantine...*, p. 54–68; for a multidisciplinary approach to the topic, see A. ENGLAND, W.J. EASTWOOD, C.N. ROBERTS, R. TURNER, J.F. HALDON, *Historical Landscape Change in Cappadocia (central Turkey): A Palaeoecological Investigation of Annually Laminated Sediments from Nar Lake*, *Hol* 18, 2008, p. 1229–1245; J.F. HALDON, N. ROBERTS, A. IZDEBSKI, D. FLEITMANN, M. MCCORMICK, M. CASSIS, O. DOONAN, W. EASTWOOD, H. ELTON, S. LADSTÄTTER, S. MANNING, *The Climate and Environment of Byzantine Anatolia: Integrating Science, History, and Archaeology*, *JIH* 45, 2, 2014, p. 113–161; J.F. HALDON, H. ELTON, J. NEWHARD, *Archaeology and Urban Settlement in Late Roman and Byzantine Anatolia. Euchaita-Avkat-Beyözü and its Environment*, Cambridge 2018; M. CASSIS, O. DOONAN, H. ELTON, J. NEWHARD, *Evaluating Archaeological Evidence for Demographics, Abandonment, and Recovery in Late Antique and Byzantine Anatolia*, *HE* 46, 2018, p. 381–398; for a study on rural settlements, see A. IZDEBSKI, *Rural Settlements*, [in:] *The Archaeology of Byzantine...*, p. 82–90; see also R. MATTHEWS, *Project Paphlagonia: Regional Survey in Çankırı Province 1997*, [in:] XVI. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı II, Tarsus in May 1998*, ed. K. OLŞEN, H. ÇAKMAK, F. BAYRAM, F. KAYMAZ, N. TARLAN, A. ÖZME, K. ATAŞ, H. DÖNMEZ, Ankara 1999, p. 245–255; *idem*, *Project Paphlagonia: Regional Survey in Çankırı and Karabük Province, 2001*, [in:] XX. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı II, Ankara May 2002*, ed. K. OLŞEN, F. BAYRAM, A. ÖZME, İ. GENÇTÜRK, Ankara 2003, p. 219–223.

the frontier region in the Taurus and anti-Taurus Mountains after the owners of Cilicia changed from the Byzantines to the Arabs in the early eighth century²⁹. The geography and roads remained the same; the strategy used to support the army and the efforts to maintain it in good state in the frontier region changed³⁰.

Of the three main Byzantine routes inherited from the Roman roads³¹, the 'Arab Invasion's Route' in the northwest-southeast axis (NW-SE DR)³² became the main artery of central Anatolia in this period. The route starting from Constantinople and stretching to the Cilician Gates via Dorylaion and Amorion reached the gorge of Podandos (Pozantı) in the frontier region (*al-thughūr*). This strategically important route also branched off at Dorylaion (Eskişehir), Amorion (Emirdağı) and Iconion (Konya) in the west-east, northwest-southeast, and north-south directions respectively³³. The variants of NW-SE DR passed through some urban centres, such as Kotyaeion (Kütahya) and Ancyra (Ankara), established along the west-east route (W-E DR), coming from Smyrna (İzmir), and also along some other diagonal routes³⁴. Of these urban centres, Amorion and Ancyra were the capitals of the *Anatolikon* and *Opsikion Themes* with regard to the changing administrative system mentioned above (see footnote 24).

Textual evidence gives much information about the changing status and the role of the main cities in question as military centres. The Arab troops probably passed through the NW-SE DR or its variants during the raids in the years 643/644, 666/667, 708, 715/716, 778/779, 781/782, 795/796, mentioned below respectively:

²⁹ J.F. HALDON, *The Empire...*, p. 140.

³⁰ IDEM, *Warfare...*, p. 60.

³¹ D. FRENCH, *A Road Problem: Roman or Byzantine?*, IM 43, 1993, p. 445–454.

³² Our knowledge about the existence and use of this route comes from milestones, erected on this road, D. FRENCH, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, vol. III, *Milestones*, Fasc. 3.5, *Asia*, Ankara 2014, p. 165–168; IDEM, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, vol. III, *Milestones*, Fasc. 3.4, *Pontus*, Ankara 2013, p. 17–23; from cartographic sources – *Tabula Peutingeriana – Die Peutingersche Tafel*, ed. K. MILLER, Stuttgart 1962; and from both Byzantine and Arab chroniclers, and geographers, see *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, trans. et ed. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, G. GREATREX, Oxford 1997 (cetera: THEOPHANES); *Constantine Porphyrogenitus Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. et trans. J.F. HALDON, Wien 1990 [= *CFHB*, 28]; *İbn'ül Esîr İslam Tarihi: el-kâmil fî t-târîh tercümesi*, vol. IV, trans. A. AĞIRAKÇA, A. ÖZAYDIN, Y. APAYDIN, Z. TÜCCAR, M.B. ERYARSOY, A. KÖŞE, ed. M. TULUM, İstanbul 1985–1987 (cetera: IBN AL-ATHİR); *Abû'l Farac Tarihi*, vol. I, trans. Ö.R. DOĞRUL, Ankara 1999; *The History of al-Tabarî*, vol. XVIII, *Between Civil Wars. The Caliphate of Mu'awiyah A.D. 661–680 / A.H. 40–60*, trans. M.G. MORONY, Albany 1987; *Configuration de la Terre (Kitab Surat al-Ard) I*, trans. et ed. J.H. KRAMERS, G. WIET, Paris 1964, p. 189; AL-IDRİSÎ, *Kitâb nuzhat al-mushtâq fî ikhtirâq al-âfâk*, [in:] *La Géographie d'Édrîsî*, trans. P. JAUBERT, Amsterdam 1975, p. 306; *Yollar ve Ülkeler Kitabı*, trans. M. AĞARI, İstanbul 2008, p. 87–88.

³³ The variants of the NW-SE DR route were actively used by the ninth century. For detailed information about the variants of this route, see K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 97–101.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

In this year Mu'awiyah launched a summer offensive and reached Amorion, accompanied by some of the Companions of the messenger of God³⁵.

They also took Amorion in Phrygia and, after leaving there a guard of 5,000 armed men, returned to Syria. When winter had fallen, the emperor sent the same *cubicularius* Andrew, and he reached Amorion at night when there was much snow. He and his men climbed on the wall with the help of planks and entered Amorion. They killed all the Arabs, all 5,000 of them, and not one of them was left.³⁶

Maslamah and 'Abbās b. al-Walid took Amorion and the castle of Erzuliye. After taking Amorion, they captured Heracleia and Kammuniye. 'Abbās b. al-Walid organized the expedition via Bezendūn in the summer.³⁷

Maslamah headed for 'Ammūriyyah, where he encountered a large body of Byzantines. Byzantines were defeated. Maslamah conquered Hiraqlah and Qamūdiyyah. Al-Abbas made the summer campaign from the direction of al-Budandūn.³⁸

In this year Masalmas made an expedition against Constantinople. He sent in front of him Souleiman with a land army and Oumaros by sea, while he himself followed them with much military equipment. When Souleiman and Bakcharos had reached Amorion, they wrote the following to Leo, *strategos* of the Anatolics... And, taking down their tents, they departed. Meanwhile the *strategos* introduced the turmarch Nikaias with 800 soldiers into Amorion and ejected most of the women and children. And he himself went off Pisidia.³⁹

In this year Madi, the leader of the Arabs, waxed angry and sent Asan (Hasan b. Qahtaba) with a great force of Mourophoroi, Syrians, and Mesopotamians and they advanced as far as Dorylaion. The emperor ordered the *strategoī* not to fight an open war, but to make the forts secure by stationing garrisons of soldiers in them. He appointed high-ranking officers at each fort and instructed them to take each 3,000 chosen men and to follow the Arabs so as to prevent them from spreading out on pillaging raids, while burning in advance the horses' pasture and whatever other supplies were to be found. After the Arabs had remained fifteen days at Dorylaion, they ran short of necessities and their horses went hungry and many of them perished. Turning back, they besieged Amorion for one day, but finding it fortified and well-armed, they withdrew without achieving any success.⁴⁰

Qahtabah led the summer expedition with 30,000 regular troops. He reached Hammah al-Adhrūliyyah (Dorylaion) and wrought great destruction and damage in Byzantine lands without capturing a fortress or meeting an army.⁴¹

³⁵ *The History of al-Tabarī. The Conquest of Iran A.D. 641–643 / A.H. 21–23*, vol. XIV, trans. G.R. SMITH, Washington 2005, p. 164.

³⁶ THEOPHANES, p. 490.

³⁷ IBN AL-ATHĪR, IV, 479.

³⁸ *The History of al-Tabarī*, vol. XXIII, *The Zenith of the Marwānid House: The Last Years of 'Abd Al-Malik and the Caliphate of Al-Walid A.D. 700–715 / A.H. 81–96*, trans. M. HINDS, New York 1990, p. 146, talks about the same raid as IBN AL-ATHĪR, IV, 479, mentioned above.

³⁹ THEOPHANES, p. 538–539.

⁴⁰ THEOPHANES, p. 624.

⁴¹ *The History of al-Tabarī*, vol. XXIX, *Al-Mansur and al-Mahdi A.D. 763–786 / A.H. 146–169*, trans. H. KENNEDY, New York 1990, p. 206 states the same raid with THEOPHANES, p. 624, mentioned above.

That the raid, having taken place in 781/782, passed through Nacoleia (Seyitgazi)⁴² indicates the use of the NW-SE DR during the attack on Constantinople:

While the Roman army was busy with these matters, Madi's son Aaron sallied forth with an enormous armed force composed of Maurophoroi and men from all of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the desert and advanced as far as Chrysopolis after leaving Bounousos to besiege Nakoleia and guard his rear.⁴³

Once again the Arab troops came as far as Amorion in 795/796; however their endeavours proved to be in vain:

In the same year, the Arabs came as far as Amorion, but did not achieve any success and withdrew after taking captives in the surrounding country⁴⁴.

As the textual evidence demonstrates, the Arab attacks were generally conducted against the main urban centres⁴⁵. While the chronicles mention the invasions against the cities in question as well as the probable use of the NW-SE DR, the archaeological evidence provides information about change in the main urban centres, but at the same time about 'continuity' in habitation in this regard. There is no doubt that the cities serving as military centres in central Anatolia as well as in other provinces in Asia Minor did not have the characteristics of the late Roman period after the middle of the seventh century⁴⁶ (see footnote 26).

The changing character of the urban centres established along the NW-SE DR shows the degree of continuity in urbanization. It may also indicate the use of this military route in this period. Among the main cities, Dorylaion and Amorion were the local centres of communication and also played a significant role as the military bases of the *Opsikion* and *Anatolikon Themes*.

Excavations carried out at the site of Şarhöyük⁴⁷ in Eskişehir (Dorylaion) demonstrate that the city was transformed into a centre of defence and a military base⁴⁸

⁴² Nacoleia was an important settlement in the late Roman period, which also passed through the route in the north-south axis in west central Anatolia. K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 344 state that the raid in the year of 782 against western Asia Minor passed through Nacoleia in which the Seydi Stream (Parthenios) flows.

⁴³ THEOPHANES, p. 629.

⁴⁴ THEOPHANES, p. 646.

⁴⁵ Also see H. AHRWEILER, *Etudes...*, p. 7–11.

⁴⁶ L. BRUBAKER, J.F. HALDON, *Byzantium...*, p. 545.

⁴⁷ It is situated 3 km NE from Dorylaion, and S of Porsuk River (Tembris). A.M. DARGA (*Şarhöyük-Dorylaion Kazıları (1989–1992)*, [in:] *XV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı I, Ankara in May 1993*, ed. H. EREN, N. ÜLGEN, F. BAYRAM, F. KAYMAZ, A.H. ERGÜNER, Ankara 1994, p. 481) mentions that the city gained importance especially in the sixth century.

⁴⁸ See THEOPHANES, p. 575.

(Fig. 3). Dorylaion gained importance in this period since the city was at the crossroads, stretching to the Propontis (the Sea of Marmara) in the north, the Aegean coasts in the west and the Mediterranean in the south. Thus, Dorylaion joined all the routes in the directions of northwest, west and south. The city walls (Fig. 4), dated to antiquity, continued to operate in this period, as archaeological findings show⁴⁹. That the city walls of Dorylaion⁵⁰ were similar to those of Amorion demonstrates the degree of continuity in the habitation of the two fortified sites. The two military bases ensured the security of the NW-SE DR route and also of the capital. As in many other cities, i.e. Sardis⁵¹, Ephesus⁵², Miletus⁵³, Euchaita⁵⁴, the inhabitants of Amorion⁵⁵ settled in the lower town during the period of invasions (Fig. 5). Archaeological excavations carried out at Amorion are more indicative in terms of ‘transformation’ and ‘continuity’ (Fig. 6.). Excavations north of the church in the lower city proved that the excavated area continued to be inhabited in this period⁵⁶. Pottery and glass found in Amorion showed continuity in production at the site⁵⁷. Evidence such as silk textiles and local production of pottery also

⁴⁹ A.M. DARGA, 1993 Yılı Şarhöyük-Dorylaion (Eskişehir) Kazıları, [in:] XVI. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı I, Ankara in June 1994, ed. İ. EROĞLU, F. BAYRAM, H. EREN, N. ÜLGEN, F. KAYMAZ, A.H. ERGÜNER, Ankara 1995, p. 351–369; A.M. DARGA, T. SIVAS, H. SIVAS, 2001 Yılı Şarhöyük/Dorylaion Kazısı ve Karatuzla Nekropolü Temizlik Çalışmaları, [in:] XXIV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı II, Ankara in May 2002, ed. K. OLSHEN, H. DÖNMEZ, F. BAYRAM, A. ÖZME, N. GÜDER, İ. GENÇTÜRK-KILIÇ, Ankara 2003, p. 49.

⁵⁰ Located on this NW-SE DR and 11 km SW of Dorylaion, Karacahisar Castle was of an important position along the route. E. PARMAN (Eskişehir Karacahisar Kalesi 2001 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları, [in:] XXIV. Kazı Sonuçları..., p. 69) states that the castle communicated with the Kayser Castle, situated between Kotyaëion and Dorylaion, by means of beacon fire which was used during the Arab as well as the Seljuk raids. The exact dating of the castle is unknown, but it is known to have been used in the period of Arab invasions when we consider the communication system of beacon fire. Taking into consideration the ‘continuity’ of the excavated site at Şarhöyük, it is reasonable to assume that the castle, as a ‘kastron’, might have served a similar purpose as in Amorion and Euchaita, and the inhabitants of Dorylaion might have moved there in case of an attack.

⁵¹ C.H. GREENEWALT, Sardis: Archaeological Research in 1994, [in:] XVII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı I, Ankara in June 1995, Ankara 1995, p. 411.

⁵² S. LADSTÄTTER, Bizans Döneminde Ephesos: Büyük bir Antik Kentin Tarihinde Son Sayfa, [in:] Bizans Döneminde Ephesos, ed. S. LADSTÄTTER, F. DAIM, İstanbul 2011, p. 14.

⁵³ L. BRUBAKER, J.F. HALDON, Byzantium...

⁵⁴ H. ELTON, J.F. HALDON, J. NEWHARD, S. LOCKWOOD, Avkat Archaeological Project, 2007–2008, [in:] XXVII. Araştırma Sonuçları III, Denizli in May 2009, ed. H. DÖNMEZ, C. KESKİN, Ankara 2010, p. 29–51.

⁵⁵ Situated 170 km SW of Ankara. C. LIGHTFOOT, Y. ARBEL, Amorium Kazısı, 2002, [in:] XXV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı I, Ankara in May 2003, ed. K. OLSHEN, H. DÖNMEZ, A. ÖZME, Ankara 2004, p. 3.

⁵⁶ C.S. LIGHTFOOT, N. TSIVIKIS, J. FOLEY, Amorium Kazıları, 2009, [in:] XXXII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı I. İstanbul in May 2010, ed. A.N. TOY, H. DÖNMEZ, Ö. ÖTGÜN, Ankara 2011, p. 47–69; C.S. LIGHTFOOT, Y. ARBEL, B. BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN, J.A. ROBERTS, J. WITTE-ORR, The Amorium Project: Excavation and Research in 2001, DOP 58, 2004, p. 356–363.

⁵⁷ C. LIGHTFOOT, O. KOÇYIĞIT, H. YAMAN, Amorium Kazıları, 2003, [in:] XXVI. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı I, Konya in May 2004, ed. K. OLSHEN, H. DÖNMEZ, A. ÖZME, Ankara 2005, p. 249.

indicated that the city acted as a commercial *entrepôt* with no major interruption⁵⁸. Ancyra, established along the Pilgrim's Road and connected with the variants of the NW-SE DR, was also a significant military base (Fig. 6–7) in central Anatolia, becoming the capital of the *Theme Opsikion* in 776 and of the *Theme Bucellarion* in 799⁵⁹. Although Ancyra was exposed to the first wave of attacks, as were Amorion and Euchaïta⁶⁰, the city survived. It seems that its strong walls which were strengthened in the seventh and eighth centuries⁶¹ ensured the security of the city⁶² and of the main roads in the region. As predominantly a military centre and despite its limited production and trade, Ancyra continued the economic activities throughout the eighth century⁶³, as is the case with Amorion⁶⁴.

That the NW-SE DR is shorter and more passable than the Pilgrim's Road in central Asia Minor may indicate its significance. Streams such as Seydi Çayı (Parthenius)⁶⁵, Bardakçı Deresi⁶⁶ and Divle Çayı⁶⁷, and rivers such as Kocaçay (Rhynchadus), Porsuk (Tembris) and Sakarya (Sangarius) must have provided convenient access to the troops. There were 'small' settlements located on this route, and among the 'small' settlements, Nacoleia (Seyitgazi) was defined as *Stadt mit Mauerring*⁶⁸. The settlements established along the NW-SE DR such as Kaleköy (45 km NW of Karaman)⁶⁹ and Heracleia (13 km SE of Ereğli)⁷⁰ were un-walled cities with a fortress or an upper castle. Some other settlements, i.e. Orkistos (Ortaköy)⁷¹,

⁵⁸ C.S. LIGHTFOOT, O. KOÇYIĞIT, H. YAMAN, *Amorium Kazısı, 2005*, [in:] XXVIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı I. Çanakkale in May-June 2006, ed. B. KORAL, H. DÖNMEZ, Ankara 2007, p. 286.

⁵⁹ K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 127.

⁶⁰ F.R. TROMBLEY, *The Decline of the Seventh-Century Town: The Exception of Euchaïta*, [in:] *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. VRYONIS, Undena 1985, p. 74.

⁶¹ N. SEVGEN, *Anadolu Kaleleri I*, Ankara 1959, p. 52.

⁶² The Arab troops damaged the city during the attack in the year of 798/799, but did not inhabit it. K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 63.

⁶³ C. FOSS, *Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara*, DOP 31, 1977, p. 76; U. PESCHLOW, *Ancyra*, [in:] *The Archaeology of Byzantine...*, p. 203–217.

⁶⁴ According to the most recent study based on climate change and environmental sources of data, central Anatolia had a more humid climate than in the previous two centuries until the eighth century. J.F. HALDON, *Some Thoughts on Climate Change, Local Environment, and Grain Production in Byzantine Northern Anatolia*, [in:] *Environment and Society in the Long Late Antiquity*, ed. A. IZDEBSKI, M. MULRYAN, Leiden 2018, p. 19. Despite the difficulty in interpreting the impact of climate change on the habitation of cities, as there are few studies on the topic, it seems to have had some effects on continuity in local production. For discussion, see *ibidem*, p. 18–24.

⁶⁵ K. BELKE, N. MERSICH, *Tabula...*, p. 344.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 372.

⁶⁷ K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 119.

⁶⁸ K. BELKE, N. MERSICH, *Tabula...*, p. 344.

⁶⁹ F. HILD, *Das Byzantinische...*, p. 62.

⁷⁰ F. HILD, M. RESTLE, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. II, *Kappadokien*, Wien 1981, p. 188.

⁷¹ K. BELKE, M. RESTLE, *Tabula...*, p. 211.

Santabaris (Bardakçı)⁷², and Laodicea Cecaumene (Ladik)⁷³, were unfortified. These settlements were vulnerable to Arab attacks, which must have been an opportunity for the raiders. Despite this, it seems that the well-fortified cities, i.e. Amorion and Dorylaion like many others established along the main arteries, acted as barriers to the devastating attacks, and continued to be inhabited in this period.

Conclusion

This paper explains the Byzantine routes in central Anatolia, considering that the ‘transformation’ of the main urban cities into ‘fortified centres’ had an impact on the use of the main routes in the region. The route of the Arab invasions, which passed through the heartland of Anatolia in the northwest-southeast axis, was frequently used by the Byzantine armies and the Arab troops. The incursions, being the most important reason behind the political/administrative and economic changes in the Roman (Byzantine) Empire, affected the main urban centres. The transformed cities in question, which also reflect the change in the economic and political/administrative structure of the eastern Roman Empire between the seventh and ninth centuries, played an important role in the use of the routes. Established in the strategically important locations, the cities in question determined the use of the main arteries in the region. In this regard, the NW-SE DR acted as the main route of central Asia Minor, stretching to the western coasts, to the capital in the northwest, to the Taurus and anti-Taurus frontier region in the south, and to the eastern Asia Minor. It also played a significant role in the changing dynamics of the empire. Textual and archaeological evidence shows the change in the role of the main cities, mentioned above, and therefore in the use of the main arterial route in this regard.

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⁷² K. BELKE, N. MERSICH, *Tabula...*, p. 372.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 327.

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Abstract. This paper mainly focuses on the impact of the change in the political equilibrium in the East caused by the effects of the Arab invasions on the main communication routes in Byzantine Central Anatolia. Beginning in the 640s and continuing for over 150 years, these incursions had an impact on the ways in which major routes in and through the new frontier zone were used, reflecting in part the fact that during this period the Taurus mountain range constituted the natural frontier between the Byzantines and the Arabs. The main communication routes in Central Anatolia, which lie on the northwest-southeast axis, were of importance in terms of the changing role of the main urban centres established along them, since Arab attacks were directed at both major and minor urban and fortified centres in Central Anatolia, as the Byzantine and Arab sources mention. Although the main centres such as Ancyra and Dorylaion were affected by the attacks, these and most other major cities continued to exist throughout the period in question. In this regard, the continued existence of such centres determined the ways in which the major routes of communication were used. A study of the changes in the role and functions of the cities in central Anatolia may thus help to understand the use of the main routes, based on the archaeological, i.e. building structures, ceramics, etc., and textual evidence, including that from narrative sources.

Keywords: Byzantine routes, central Anatolia, Early/Middle Byzantine Anatolia, transformation, continuity.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

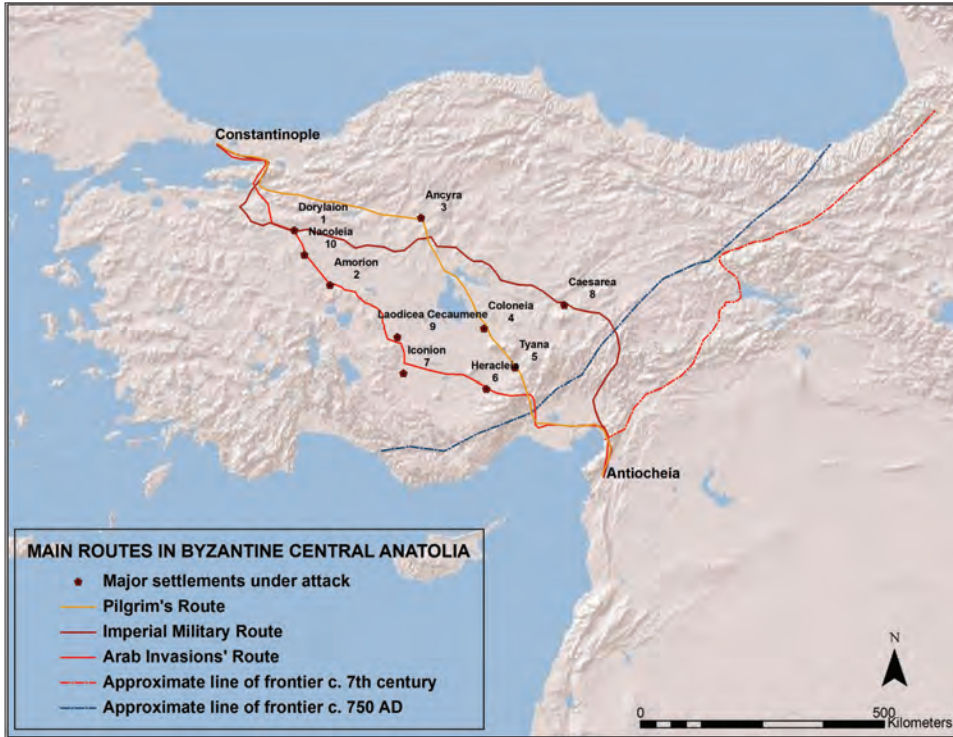


Fig. 1. Three main routes in Byzantine Central Anatolia.

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Sources: R.J. LILIE, *Die byzantinische Reaktion...*, p. 84, 134, 156, 186.

W.M. RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography...*, p. 197–221.

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Basemap: ArcGIS online basemap by ESRI, ArcGIS Software for METU

1. Dorylaion (651?, 708, 778)

2. Amorion (644/46, 669/70, 716, 796)

3. Ancyra (654?, 776, 798)

4. Coloneia (664?)

5. Tyana (706, 707)

6. Heracleia (708)

7. Iconion (723)

8. Caesarea (726/29, 732)

9. Laodicea Ce. (770)

10. Nacoleia (782)

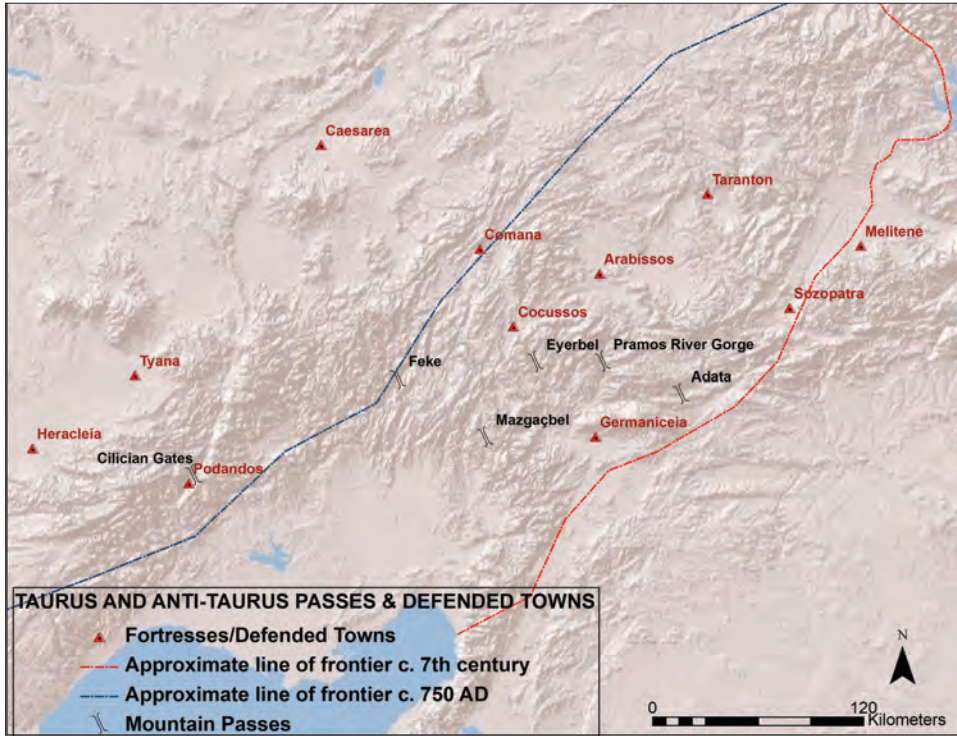


Fig. 2. Adapted from J.F. HALDON, *Byzantium...*, p. 106; W.E. KAEGI, *Byzantium...*, p. 241. Created by © T. Kaya, 2019

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Fig. 3. Eskişehir view from Şarhöyük (Dorylaion) excavation area. Photo by author, 2008



Fig. 4. Ruins of Şarhöyük (Dorylaion) city wall. *Photo by author, 2008*



Fig. 5. Amorion. Source: Emirdağ District Governorship, <http://www.emirdag.gov.tr/amorium-antik-kenti>




Fig. 6. Ankara Castle. *Photo by author, 2019*



Fig. 7. Ankara Castle. *Photo by author, 2019*



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READING AND ANNOTATING GALEN BETWEEN 1515–1531: ON SOME LATIN GALEN EDITIONS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE CARMELITES IN CRACOW

Read with piety in Western Europe, and as much by great doctors as by minor resculapes, Galen also knew his fortune in Eastern Europe. The purpose of our paper is to expand the territory of the reception of the master of Pergamum and to see how Galen was read and annotated in the period of interest from a little known corpus, that of the copies of works of Galen preserved in the library of the Carmelite convent of Cracow¹.

Among all the valuable books that this library holds, we find among others an *Articella* of Venice from 1507² (including *Liber Techni* by Galen) and one edition of Galen – the edition of Venice (1531)³. In order to arouse the interest of the

¹ The Library of the Carmelite Convent in Cracow (Karmelicka Street 19) offers an incredible opportunity not only for a book historian but also for a medical historian. Located in the Piasek district, within the convent itself, this library contains about twelve thousand antique prints. Of all the collections in the convent, that of the Swiss doctor, Anton Schneeberger (1530–1581), has already been the first approach of our part during the *Journées d'histoire de la Médecine* in Tours organized by the French Society for the History of Medicine (18–20 May 2012). See M. KOŹLUK, S. SUŁECKI, *Une petite perle de Cracovie: la bibliothèque médicale d'Anton Scherberger (1530–1581)*, HSM 46, 4, 2012, p. 441–452.

² *Articella*, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507. (*In hoc volumine parvo in quantitate, maximo in virtute continentur infrascripti codices. Liber hysagoge Joannitii. Liber Phylareti de pulsibus. Liber Theophili de urinis. Jusjurandum Hypocratis. Liber pronosticorum Hypocratis. Liber aphorismorum Hypocratis secundum antiquam translationem et novam pariter Theodori Gaze elegantissimam. Collectio aphorismorum Hypocratis ad unamquamque egritudinem pertinentium. Liber aphorismorum Damasceni. Flosculi in medicina ex Cor. Cel.extracti. Liber technii Galeni secundum antiquam translationem et novam pariter elegantissimam. Textus duarum primarum fen primi Avicenne in theorica. Textus fen quarte primi, et prime quarti in practica. Cantica Avicenne. Textus noni Almanzor de egritudinibus a capite usque ad pedes. Collecta Jacobi de Partibus in medicina pro anthomia*). See J.R. DURLING, *A Chronological Census of Renaissance Editions and Translations of Galen*, JWCI 24, 3/4, 1961, p. 251.

³ *Claudii Galeni Pergameni, medicorum, post Hippocratem principis, haec opera*, vol. V, Venetiis: in aedibus Lucaeantonii Iuntae Florentini, 1531. On *Giuntine* edition between 1528–1533 see S. FORTUNA, *Galeno a Sarnano: le Giuntine del 1531 e del 1533*, IMU 37, 1994, p. 241–250.

researchers for these copies of Galen's works, we intend above all to shed some light on their annotations and to sketch the phenomenon of scholarly reading in the first half of the sixteenth century, distinguishing between at least some of the types of annotations found in the copies concerned⁴. We will try to see how the educated reader of the time read Galen, by what intellectual paths he apprehended classical medicine and which passages of the Galenic corpus particularly attracted his attention.

Emphasizing and commenting at the margin

Let's start with the first copy, a composite volume made of two pieces: the Venetian edition of an *Articella* (1507) a little enlarged because it contains more treatises than the *Articella* canonical⁵ and *Carmina urinarum iudiciis* (Lyon, 1505)⁶.

The entire volume is richly annotated. We are particularly interested in the multiple annotations found in the copy of the *Liber Techni* by Galen (*Ars medicinalis*). Let's look at them closely because we have a first category of annotations. In the 'tertia p [ar] libri I. Tegni Ga. [leni] corpore', the annotator highlights the sentence and adds in the margin his comment which is unfortunately difficult to read. On the other hand, the sentence underlined in the text concerns the definition of the healthy body according to Galen: 'propriam ipsius sani corporis essentiam' [...] 'ipsius propriam sani corporis qualitatem' (picture 1).

In order to put this annotation in the context of Galen's thought, note that it is in the *Ars medicinalis* where Galen⁷ is dealing with the nature of the bodies (healthy, sick, neutral), explains how to understand, according to him, the nature of the healthy body⁸. Let us just recall in this connection that the teacher of Pergamum distinguished in the nature of the healthy body two possibilities: the state

⁴ J.-M. CHATELAIN, *Humanisme et culture de la note*, RBNF 2, 1999, p. 26–36.

⁵ As we see in the transcription of the title page, this volume consists in fact of treatises traditionally integrated into the canonical *Articella* (Johannitius' *Isagoge*, Filaret's *De pulsibus*, Theophile's *Urinis*, *Prognosis* of Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates (seven books translated by Theodore of Gaza), aphorisms drawn from Hippocrates concerning acute diseases (*Collectio aphorismorum Hypocratis ad unamquamque egritudinem pertinentium*) – note that in the canonical *Articella* there is also the whole of the treatise of *Regime of the acute diseases*). Our copy also includes other titles, namely: the aphorisms of Jean de Damascene, the *Flosculi* of Celse, the *Liber Techni* of Galen, the *Ars parua* of Galen, the *Liber Canonis Aboali Albinscei*, *Cantica Avicennae*, the *Nonus almansoris* of Rhazes, *Summula Jacobi de Partibus collecta in medicina pro anthomia*.

⁶ *Carmina de urinarum iudicijs: edita ab excellentissimo domino magistro Egidio cum expositione et commento magistri Gentilis de fulgineo noviter castigatis et pluribus in locis emendatis per magistrum Avenantium de camerino artium et medicine professorem*, Lugduni: per Franciscum Fradin, 1505.

⁷ For the French translation of *Ars Medicinalis* fragments, see Veronique Boudon's translation of her critical edition of Galen. See *Galen*, vol. II, *Exhortation à la médecine. Art médical*, trans. et ed. V. BOUDON, Paris 2000 (cetera: GALEN).

⁸ GALEN, p. 278.

of health present ('eo tempore') and the state of health given once and for all from birth ('quidem is semper'⁹). We may be mistaken, but we think that this fragment attracted our annotator not only because of the definition of the dual nature of health, but primarily because of the two notions used, namely the 'essentia' and the 'qualitas', which refer in the original text to those of 'eukrasia' (well-balanced temperature, good temperature) and 'symmetria' (correct proportion) – two basic notions for the definition of health in the galenic thought.

Our annotator has marked this place not without a cause. Our translation is that of Gerald of Cremona and of Laurentinus Laurentianus (Venice, 1506, as is often the case, this copy bares the alternative date of 1507)¹⁰. It is therefore the first translation of the *Ars medicinalis* into Latin. In all probability our annotator who lived later, was acquainted with other Latin versions of the *Ars medicinalis*¹¹, as for instance the Latin translation of the *Ars medicinalis* by Nicolao Leonicensi edited by Rabelais in Lyon (Gryphius, 1532, p. 277)¹², where the translator proposes the notion of 'bona temperatura' for 'eukrasia' and the notion of 'commoderatio' for 'symmetria', with their Greek equivalents marked by an asterisk at the margin. In all probability, our annotator underlined the discrepancy between the translations he knew, a divergence which testifies *inter alia* to the perplexity of the first translator (Gerald of Cremona and Laurentinus Laurentianus) and of the others when faced with translating the concepts of 'eukrasia' and 'symmetria'.

Let's summarize. This peculiarity, apparently of a stylistic nature, reflects at bottom a great embarrassment of the time, that of a nomenclature in the making and, more precisely, that of the precise application of the medical lexicon. Much has already been said and written about the strategies of translating medical literature and the linguistic problems faced by translators when the doctrines of the ancients moved from the original cultural and linguistic milieu to the new one that collected them – transmission. Medical knowledge from Greek to Arabic, from Greek to Latin¹³, and from Latin to vernacular languages. But whatever the language,

⁹ For the explanation of this fragment of Galen's text we refer to GALEN, p. 398–399, note 1.

¹⁰ See J.R. DURLING, *A Chronological Census...*, p. 251. We shall not consider here the issue of the identity of the translator (Bartholomaeus of Salerno or an anonymous translator in southern Italy ca. 1150). On this readers should refer to V. BOUDON, *La translation antique de l'Art médical de Galien*, [in:] *Storia e ecdotica dei testi medici greci*, ed. A. GARZYNA, J. JOUAINA, Napoli 1995, p. 43–55 and to her edition of the *Ars medica* de Galien, Paris 2000, p. 244–252; N. PALMIERI, *Sur les traces d'une ancienne traduction latine de l'Ars medica*, L 56, 1977, p. 504–533; F. WALLIS, *13th Century Commentaries on the Tegni: Bartholomaeus of Salerno and Others*, [in:] *L'Ars Medica (Tegni) de Galien. Lectures antiques et médiévales*, ed. N. PALMIERI, Saint-Étienne 2008, p. 127–168.

¹¹ See S. FORTUNA, *The Latin Editions of Galen's 'Opera omnia' (1490–1625) and their Prefaces*, ESM 17, 2012, p. 391–412.

¹² *Ars medicinalis*, [in:] HIPPOCRATES, *Hippocratis ac Galeni libri aliquot*, ed. F. RABELAIS, Lyons: S. Gryphius, 1532–1533 (see J.R. DURLING, *A Chronological Census...*, p. 257).

¹³ Let's just quote R. FRENCH, *Ancients and Moderns in the Medical Sciences. From Hippocrates to Harvey*, Aldershot 2000; *Les Voies de la science grecque. Études sur la transmission des textes*

a transmission of this type always posed problems such as those of linguistic confusion, and of the search for equivalent terms. Without going into detail, we also know that in order to avoid any misunderstanding, the authors were led to adopt various strategies: they sought in particular to clarify the concepts through explanatory developments, and this often by means of the paraphrase, which is also seen in the case of our copy from Cracow.

Summarizing in the margin and commenting below the text

This type of reading is quite prevalent in our copy, in the case of the second and third book of the *Ars medicinalis* which generally deal with signs. A first annotation occurs at the place where Galen deals with the bodies which are presently unhealthy and about which it is necessary to establish a diagnosis, and thus to carry out the analysis of the signs. The annotations begin when Galen begins his demonstration and deals with a particular case, that of the unhealthy dispositions of the brain.

The annotator proceeds in two stages in his reading: first he points to the margin of the title of the section, as if he used it as a means of marking the passage, and then inscribes his comment below the main text (picture 2). The writing in the margin remains easily readable (we see clearly enough: 'signa [a] egritudinis cerebri' (unhealthy dispositions of the brain), 'signa [a] egritudinis cordis' (unhealthy heart), 'signa [a] egritudinis contra naturam [h] epatis' (unhealthy dispositions of the liver to evolve against nature), [signa [a] egritudinis] 'stchomachi' (unhealthy dispositions of the belly), 'pectoris' (unhealthy provisions of the thorax) 'duo [...] dolores' (two pains). On the other hand, the comments below the text are written in lowercase barely visible so that the annotation seems almost a straight line.

As regards these, we can sometimes read, albeit with difficulty, a few words of the comments placed at the margin, as, for example, in book III. The passage in the text is devoted to the visible signs of the good coction (picture 3). Here we read 'manifest quidem digestionis signis sanorum sunt' (signs that indicate a coction clearly visible are part of the healthy signs)¹⁴. Under this passage, the annotator adds his commentary in which we can spot a few words: 'ut urina... alba... livida... frigoris... signa mortis'. This shows that the annotator evidently assimilated, not without reason, the passage dealing with the visible signs of coction at uroscopy. We know that indeed in the functioning of the body, the ancients distinguished

de l'Antiquité au dix-neuvième siècle, ed. D. JACQUART, Genève 1997; D. JACQUART, C. THOMASSET, *Lexique de la langue scientifique. Astrologie, mathématiques, médecine*, Paris 1997; V. NUTTON, *The Changing Language of Medicine, 1450–1550*, [in:] *Vocabulary of Teaching and Research Between Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. O. WEIJERS, Turnhout 1995, p. 184–198.

¹⁴ GALEN, p. 343.

four general coctions the results of which were visible at three stages of analysis: first in the excrement, then in the various humours and finally in the urine. The precise examination of the urine and its qualities (color, substance ('corpus urinae'), temperature, deposit, etc.) thus made it possible to diagnose the disease.

Noting the essentials points

The text of the commentator sometimes takes in our *Articella* obviously more amplitude. The notes appear in places where there is space (at the end of the book, on the back of the title page etc.). All these notes although they may seem relatively spontaneous (a note here, another there) nevertheless present in our treatise, for our great satisfaction, a real coherence of thematic order, namely the theme of the signs (picture 4).

(Transcription)

nigra ut cornu prendit viridis vel livida	et signat adustionem et signat mortificationem et extinctionem caloris naturalis
Livida ut plumbum alba ut aqua purrissima Lactea ut [serum lactis]	indigestionem significant omnes iste quattuor
Glaucā ut cornu lucidum Caropos ut vellus cameli Pallida ut caro semicocta Subpallida ea remissa colori Citrinia ut color pomi citri[ni] Subcitrinia ipsa remissa Ruf[f]a ut aurum purrissimum orientale [Sub]ruf[f]a ut aurum impurum Rubra ut crocus orientalis Subrubra ut crocus [h]ortulanus Rubicunda ut sanguis purus Subrubicunda ut sanguis aquosus Caropos ut vinum nigrum [cf. inopos ut uinum nigrum] Kianos ut purpura Viridis ut caulis uiridis	principium digestionis significant sed non perfecta [mediatam digestionem] perfectam digestionem [significant] excessum digestionis significant iste significant adustionem signat mortificationem

In his note the annotator scrupulously grouped the colors of the urine. On the left (in red) is the catalog of colors which, to be clearly distinguished by the eye, the one who scrutinizes them, are compared either with materials (for example 'livida ut plumbum', pale like a lead) or with fruits (e.g. 'citrinia ut color pomi citri', yellow as a lemon) or liquids (e.g. 'rubicunda ut sanguis purus', red as pure blood).

Right from time to time, there is a commentary that frames with small parentheses of the chosen colors and explains what this or that color means: some therefore mean perfect digestion ('perfect digestion'), others rather a imperfect digestion ('sed non perfecte'), others excess digestion ('excessum digestionis') or even heart-burn ('ista signat adustionem')¹⁵.

Note that this list of eighteen colors arranged in columns follows the canonical colors that are usually found systematized in the wheel of urine¹⁶, a popular device used for diagnostic sometimes found in treatises of medicine¹⁷. Note also that the color comparisons we find in our list are the same as in other such wheels. And as the edition in question does not feature a wheel of urine (despite the presence of Theophile Protospatharios urine tract, *Carmina de urinarum iudiciis*), our annotator has obviously scrupulously copied in one spot all the urine colors in order to make use of his personal list to diagnose the disease.

Without multiplying the examples, let us add that the question of the colors of the urine was one of the principal ones for our reader. Thus the following annotation (picture 5) testifies to the concern to note carefully any shade of color. Some colors of the previous list are here completed: for example (center of the photo) 'lacteus ut serum lacti, ut aqua clara', other colors are however added as (bottom of the photo): 'inopos ut color epatis and ut uinum nigrum'; 'Albus is crystalline'¹⁸. All annotations remain grouped and are linked by small parentheses. This organization gives them the character of notes.

In ancient medicine, the color of the urine does not only indicate the disease, but it also characterizes each humoral type. Recall the canon: 'a sanguine-urina rubea; a colera-urina colore nimium citrinium; melancolia-glaucum; a flegma-album'. Also, during urine analysis, apart from the color, the physician had to take into account the season of the year, the region, the age and the sex of the patient¹⁹.

¹⁵ Cf. S. ZAUN, H. GEISLER, *Die Harnfarbbezeichnungen im Fasciculus medicinae und ihre italienischen und spanischen Übersetzungen*, [in:] *Farbe im Mittelalter. Materialität, Medialität, Semantik*, ed. I. BENNEWITZ, A. SCHINDLER, Berlin 2011, p. 974.

¹⁶ Examples of these are the wheels found in U. PINDER, *Epifanie medicorum*, Nürnberg: Friedrich Peypus for Ulrich Pinder, 1506, f^o 5r^o–5v^o or in J. DE KETAM, *Fasciculus medicine; praxis tam chirurgis quam etiam physicis maxime necessaria*, Venetiae: Joannem Gregorii de Gregoriis fratres, 1522, f^o v^o.

¹⁷ For the history of the transmission of the important treatments of urine (the *Peri ouron* of Theophile Protospatharios and the *Liber uranarum* of Isaac Israeli) we refer to L. MOULINIER-BROGI, *Uroscopie au Moyen-Âge. Lire dans un verre la nature de l'homme*, Paris 2012, p. 54–55. On the colour techniques of this kind of works see S. KUSUKAWA, *Picturing the Book of Nature. Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany*, Chicago–London 2012, p. 79–80.

¹⁸ On the enrichment of colors in uroscopy see L. MOULINIER-BROGI, *L'uroscopie en vulgaire dans l'occident médiéval: un tour d'horizon*, [in:] *Science translated. Latin and Vernacular translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, ed. M. GOYENS, P. DE LEMMANS, A. SMETS, Leuven 2008, p. 237–239.

¹⁹ Cf. ACTUARIJ JOHANNIS ZACHARIAE FILII, *Graeciae Medici principis De urinis*, Trajecti ad Rhenum: ex officina Gysberti a Zyll, Bibliopolae, 1670, p. 58–61.

Similarly, the correspondence between humours and moments of the day and the night is apparent in the following annotation, which tends to systematize the predominance of moods according to the hours of the day and those of the night (picture 6). Thus, the predominance of phlegm is: ‘ad prima hora usquam ad sextam’, that of melancholy ‘a sexta usquam ad duodecimam’, that of blood ‘a duodecima usquam ad 18 [decimam octava]’, that of anger finally ‘decima octava usquam ad 1 [primam horam]’. Here the day (24 hours) is divided into four groups of six hours, each sixteen corresponding to a humoral type, which can not fail to surprise. Because this division of time, which starts at 1 o’clock and finishes at 6 o’clock, then lasts 6 hours and finishes at noon, etc., is out of step with the one sanctioned in the tradition, in Vindician, for example, which divides well the day and the night in six-hour sequences, but starting three hours earlier – or later: at 9 o’clock in the morning, at 3 o’clock in the afternoon, and so on. It is also this division that is repeated in the verses ‘Horae humorum’, widely propagated later by *Flos medicinae Scholae Salerni*:

A nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis
 Est dominans sanguis; sexque incurrentibus horis
 Est dominans cholera, dum lucis nona sit hora;
 post niger humor adest, donec sit tertia noctis;
 post hoc flegma, donec sit nona quietis²⁰.

The concern to correctly diagnose and read the signs (the urine and its colors) is also evident in the following annotation (picture 7) concerning the correspondence between the mood and the type of pulse: this is how the pulse ‘longus et latus’ is specific to ‘sanguis’; ‘longus et strictus’ characterizes anger; ‘curtus et latus’ refers to phlegm; ‘curtus et strictus’, finally, is related to the melancholic.

Drawing to better remember

All these correspondences framed in parentheses, arranged in groups, bring us in our Venetian copy to a fourth type of scholarly annotation: the mnemonic schema. Take the case of the drawing on the cover of the volume (picture 8). This diagram makes us attend a personal moment of our annotator who applies to assimilate well his course of physiology. This mnemonic figure sketched in speed during of after reading, can have no other purpose here than to help the one who made it to retain the quaternary theory with its five levels of correspondence (seasons of the year, element, wind, humours, age of life) or if one wants, with its five galenic tetrads.

²⁰ *Flos medicinae Scholae Salerni. Comprenant les travaux inédits de M. Maudry de Balzac*, ²Naples 1859, p. 49.

This theory, as we know it, formed the basis of ancient medicine, and the first traces of it are already present in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, in the treatise entitled *The Nature of Man* composed by Polybius, son-in-law of Hippocrates²¹. Without going into detail – we refer to the many works of Jacques Jouanna – we will simply recall that it is to Galen that the medical tradition attributes the glory of having brought to light the Quaternary theory, as it was inherited from Hippocrates as well as of his predecessors, Aristotle, Alkmaion of Crotona, Empedocles. Thanks to this work of systematization, Galen is known in the history of medicine as the father of ‘tetrads’, that is to say, the coordinate system based on the four elements²². After him, the Quaternary system underwent an increasingly complex development by the integration of new elements by late Greek medicine, the medieval West and the Byzantine era²³. So that in the sixteenth century, by simplifying things a little, the tetrads appeared in their more or less stable form²⁴. In the course of time new elements have been added to these tetrads, elements referring to the four main winds, the four apostles, the four planets, the zodiac signs, the four moments of the day, the four musical scales as well as the four regions of the human body, which is not small²⁵.

The number of additional components to be retained to control the humoral theory having increased considerably, one can not doubt that after a certain time it had become difficult to memorize all the correspondences between elements, seasons, ages etc. It was then that various types of methodical diagrams in various forms, linear or circular, appeared, designed to facilitate the memorization of the multiple correspondences between the macrocosm (the universe) and the microcosm (man)²⁶. Examples of these aids to memory are multiple²⁷. Among the known

²¹ We refer to the complex subject of the transmission of the theory of moods through the Pseudo-Galenic treatises to J. JOUANNA, *Un pseudo-Galen inédit: Le pronostic sur l'homme. Contribution à l'histoire de la théorie quaternaire dans la médecine grecque tardive: l'insertion des quatre vents*, [in:] *Troika. Parcours antiques, Mélanges offerts à Michel Woronoff*, vol. I, ed. S. DAVID, E. GENY, Besançon 2007, p. 302–322; IDEM, *Le Pseudo-Jean Damascène*, [in:] *Les Pères de l'Église face à la science médicale de leur temps*, ed. V. BOUDON-MILLOT, B. POUDERON, Paris 2005, p. 1–27.

²² A. BEDNARCZYK, *Medycyna i filozofia w starożytności*, Warszawa 1999, p. 102–128.

²³ Let us note here, as J. Jouanna emphasizes, the importance of two treatises of Pseudo-Galen (*Le pronostic sur l'homme* and *les Humeurs*) and the *Lettre à Pentadius* of Vindician (see J. JOUANNA, *Un pseudo-Galen inédit...*, p. 303).

²⁴ Cf. also the diagram at E. SCHÖNER, *Das Viererchema in der antiken Humoralpathologie*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 64.

²⁵ On the fortune of the quaternary schema cf. L. DESJARDINS, *Le corps parlant. Savoirs et représentation des passions au XVII^e siècle*, Paris–Québec 2001, p. 45–48.

²⁶ G. COUTON, *Écritures codées, Essais sur l'allégorie au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1990, p. 170. Cf. also M. CARRUTHERS, *Machina memorialis. Méditation, rhétorique et fabrication des images au Moyen Âge*, trans. F. DURAND-BOGAERT, Paris 2002, p. 51–52.

²⁷ Cf. L. BOLZONI, *La chambre de la mémoire. Modèles littéraires et iconographiques à l'âge de l'imprimerie*, trans. M.-F. MERGER, Genève 2005, p. 57–136; R. KLIBANSKY, E. PANOFSKY, F. SAXL, *Saturne et la mélancolie, Études historiques et philosophiques. Nature, religion, médecine et arts*, trans. F. DURAND-BOGAERT, L. ÉVRARD, Paris 1989, p. 481, 514–515.

diagrams that have already been the subject of commentary, let us recall that of Isidore of Seville who in the ‘wheels’ present in his *De natura rerum*, synthesizes the correspondences between the four qualities (hot and cold, dry and wet, combined two by two), the four elements, the four climates, the four seasons, the four moods and the four temperaments, and the four ages of life²⁸. Let us also mention the medico-astrological figures presented by Ernest Wickersheimer in “Janus”²⁹, the emblems of Barthélemy Anneau³⁰ and those of Johannes Sambucus³¹, the mnemonic engraving in the *Quinta Essentia*, a work by the alchemist Leonhard Thurneysser³², not forgetting the allegory of the four temperaments in the *Iconology* of Cesare Ripa³³ and, finally, in the medical emblems of Louis de Caseneuve³⁴.

Our diagram reads from top to bottom going towards the center. On the first level are the four seasons of the year (*uer, estas, hiems, autumnus*), the second level, the four elements (*aër, ignis, terra, aqua*), the third level the four winds (*Euros, Subsulanus, Boreas, Zephyrus*). Then come, on the fourth level, the moods (*sanguis, colera, melancholia, phlegma*), and in the fifth, the four ages of human life (*adolestentia, iuuentus, senectus, senium*). This diagram has at first sight nothing original, as it follows the *consensus rerum* that one meets since antiquity and thereafter in the verses of the Schola Medica Salernitana³⁵: that is to *aer, sanguis, pueritia, uer / ignis, aestas, cholera, iuuentus / Autumnus, terra, melancholia, senectus / Decrepitus, hyems, aqua, flegma*. On the other hand, the addition of the four winds – three of which were already considered to be main in the Homeric period (Boreas, Euros, Zephyr) – to correspond to moods of the four humours deserves our attention. Indeed, looked at it closely, the shape given to the diagram is curious. Whether it is the result of errors made by the annotator, the winds do not correspond to the canon of the winds as we know it from the Pseudo-Galen treatise³⁶.

²⁸ *La médecine médiévale à travers les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Exposition Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 31 août – 5 octobre 1982*, praef. A. GOURDON, J.-C. SOURNIA, Paris 1982, p. 39. See also B. OBRIST, *Le diagramme isidorien des saisons, son contenu physique et les représentations figuratives*, MEF.R.MÂ 108, 1, 1996, p. 95–164.

²⁹ E. WICKERSHEIMER, *Figures médico-astrologiques des IX^e, X^e et XI^e siècles*, Jan 19, 1914, p. 157–177.

³⁰ B. ANNEAU, *Imagination poétique*, Lyon: Macé Bonhomme, 1552, f^o C 2 v^o.

³¹ J. SAMBUCUS, *Les emblèmes*, Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1567, f^o H 4 r^o.

³² L. THURNEYSSER, *Quinta essentia*, Leipzig: [s. l.], 1574, p. 153.

³³ C. RIPA, *Iconologia*, Roma: appresso Lepido Facii, 1603, p. 75, 77, 78, 79.

³⁴ L. CASANOVA, *Hieroglyphicorum et medicorum emblematum Dodekakroynos*, [in:] *I.P. Valerianis Hieroglyphica*, Lugduni: apud Paulum Frelon, 1626, p. 31, 40, 63, 70.

³⁵ *Flos medicinae Scholae Salerni...*, p. 50: *Consona sunt aer, sanguis, pueritia, uerque; conueniunt ignis, aestas, choleraque, iuuentus; Autumnus, terra, melancholia, senectus; Decrepitus uel hyems, aqua, flegmaque sociantur*.

³⁶ For more details we refer to the article by Jacques Jouanna where the author has already traced the fascinating history of variations on the winds, a history which remains rather obscure. See J. JOUANNA, *Un pseudo-Galen inédit...*, p. 319.

It should also be added that beside the diagrams there are also, in the Venetian copy, annotations which resemble a list of abbreviations for apothecary measurements, that is to say manipulates, scruple, drachma, book, ounce, grain, etc.

Who did this copy belong to and who had so richly annotated it? Let's stop for a moment on the source. On the title page we see several signatures (picture 9). First, that of its first owner with a name that is difficult to identify ('sum mgri... Symon S...') but which in all probability belonged to a printer family in Cracow. We meet the signature of a second owner and it is to him that we should attribute the annotations we have presented. That owner was Marcin de Urzedowo (born in 1500 in Urzedow Lubelski, died in 1573 in Sandomierz), botanist, pharmacist, doctor, priest, and author of the first herbarium in Polish (Cracow, 1595). In 1517 he began his studies at the Jagiellonian University (*Artes Liberales*), in 1521 he received his license (*licentia docendi*), in 1525 became the title of *magister*. In 1529 he was appointed superior of the *Collegium Minor* and in 1533 dean of the faculty. Marcin de Urzedowo continued his medical studies in 1534 in Padua, where in 1538 he received a doctorate in medicine. He travelled to Hungary and Switzerland. He became the regular doctor of Jean Amor Tarnowski of Leliwa, one of the first hetmans³⁷ in the Polish army, who modernized, among other things, government-funded field hospitals, military quarter services and sappers. We also know that the copy in question belonged by successive donations to the Carmelite convent in Lvov, then to those of Cracow.

Amending with a view to a future edition of the text

We will now consider briefly the copy of the Latin edition of Galen (Venice, Iuntae, 1531), also belonging to the library, because it allows us to document a last type of reader annotations intended to amend the text in order to a subsequent edition.

The volume is distinguished by a double provenance: first, Hieronus Mazzarini – (owner since 1568) and second, the family of Nayman, rectors of the Jagiellonian University (seventeenth century). However, at the end of the volume, we discover a fragment, written in the same hand as the annotations encountered in the whole of the copy, below which figure (a rare occurrence!), a very precise date: January 29, 1543 at two o'clock in the night ('1543 die ianuari hora secunda noctis') (picture 10). The annotations are therefore, from an annotator prior to the first owner (Hieronimus Mazzarini) and thus fit within the period considered.

The name of Galen is the subject of a handwritten mention on three occasions in the copy: at the beginning where we can distinguish (*Galenii methodi medendi* cap. 6), in the middle (*Gal. in Tegni*); and at the bottom (*Gal. in 8 usu [partium]*). But it is the accumulation of annotations that we encounter in *De tumoribus* which is quite astonishing (picture 11). The annotator does the work

³⁷ A political title from Central and Eastern Europe historically assigned to military commanders.

of a real philologist; he comments, spots faults, proposes modifications, refers to other treatises. These annotations can be divided between two groups: purely graphic interventions and philological interventions. The first group includes all the changes where the annotator divides the main text into chapters ('caput 8' / 'caput 9'), signals where to insert text, marks with small square brackets words to insert ('sic', 'uidet'); marks the names of tumors in margin ('Oedma', 'Scyrrus', 'echymomata') so that they serve as easy reference³⁸. To the second group, the "philologist one", we assign places where the annotator crosses a letter in the printed text and propose another one instead (for example p. 220 line 6 'pituitaē' replaced by 'pituita'; line 6 'altera' replaced by 'alterum'), or places where he strikes out an entire word and replace it with another word (for example p. 220, line 19 'ubi contunduntur' replaced by 'ubi comprimitur'; 'enim' replaced by 'etiam', or again when he refers to other books that deal with the same issue, for example at the bottom of the page 'Ad Glauconem...'). The question of the correctness of these philological interventions remains open and awaits a separate study.

In conclusion, the pages of the copies preserved in the Cracow Library of Carmelites, of Latin editions of Galen's works, which we have just analyzed, retain traces of the scholarly reading of those who possessed and consulted them. Whether they were doctors, botanists, apothecaries, or in one case at least, editor / proof-reader, the hand-written inscriptions all testify to a conception of reading as study and of the annotation of the works as an instrument of an appropriation of Galen's thought. Marked by time and by their owners, these volumes constitute an excellent object of research. On the one hand and from the perspective of the history of the book, these copies bear witness to the circulation of Galen Latin editions in the sixteenth century far beyond the borders of Western Europe. On the other hand and from the perspective of the history of ideas, the annotations, examples of which we presented some types, reveal the spirit in which Galen was understood at the time and are a valuable document on the reception of the *corpus galenicum* on the threshold of modernity.

Translated by Justyna Sowińska

³⁸ Cf. for example the translation of GALIEN, *Des tumeurs contre nature*, Lyon: Etienne Dolet, 1540, p. 7–8.

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Abstract. Copies of early-printed books have been of interest to to-day's collectors and researchers not only for their material aspects (names of publishers and places of printing, fonts and composition, number of known copies etc.), but also because they bear signs of their often erratic history following their publication. The path followed by a particular copy of an early-printed book is reflected in its general state as an object (for instance the state of its binding), but also in its internal aspect. On the pages of a copy of an early-printed book, annotations, drawings doodles or graphics testify to the intimate relationship that its owners entertained with it.

To better understand how owners dealt with copies of the books they possessed, this paper examines the annotations found in copies of some books that belong to the Carmelite convent in Cracow. We hope to bring to the attention of scholars, copies of works of Galen housed in this library, and primarily to set a perspective on how books were read by cultured individuals of in the 16th century period. To do so, we analyse copies of the 1507 Venice edition of the *Articella* and a copy of Latin edition of Galien (*Iuntae*, Venice, 1531). We attempt to identify the intellectual perspectives from which cultured readers approached such texts in the 16th century.

Keywords: Galen editions, library of Carmelites in Cracow, scientific annotations, scholarly reading, classical medicine, marginal annotations, nomenclature.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

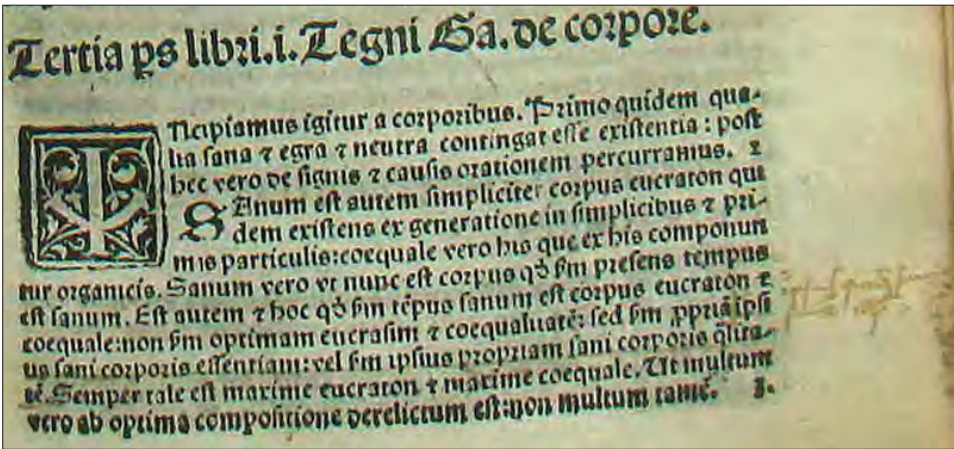


Fig. 1. Tertia pars libri I. Tegni Ga. [leni] de corpore, [in:] Articella, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507, f° b 8 r°



Fig. 2. Tertia pars libri II. Tegni Ga. [leni] de corpore, [in:] Articella, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507, f° k 1 r°

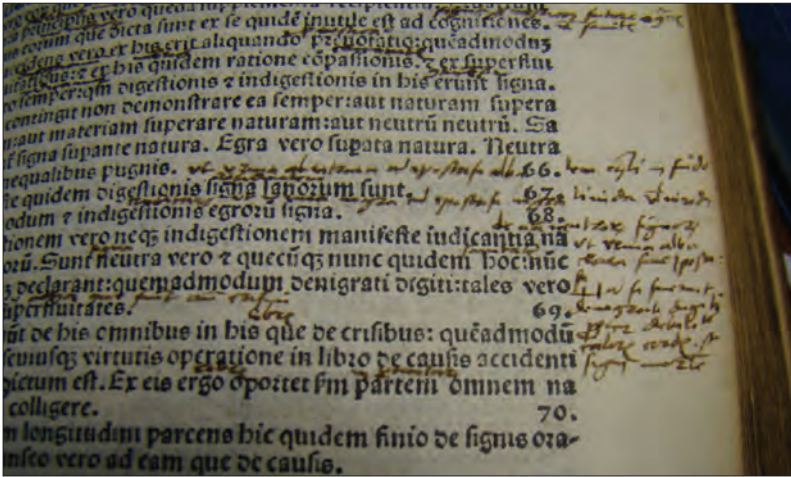


Fig. 3. Tertia pars libri I. Tegni Ga. leni de corpore, [in:] Articella, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507, f° k 2 r°

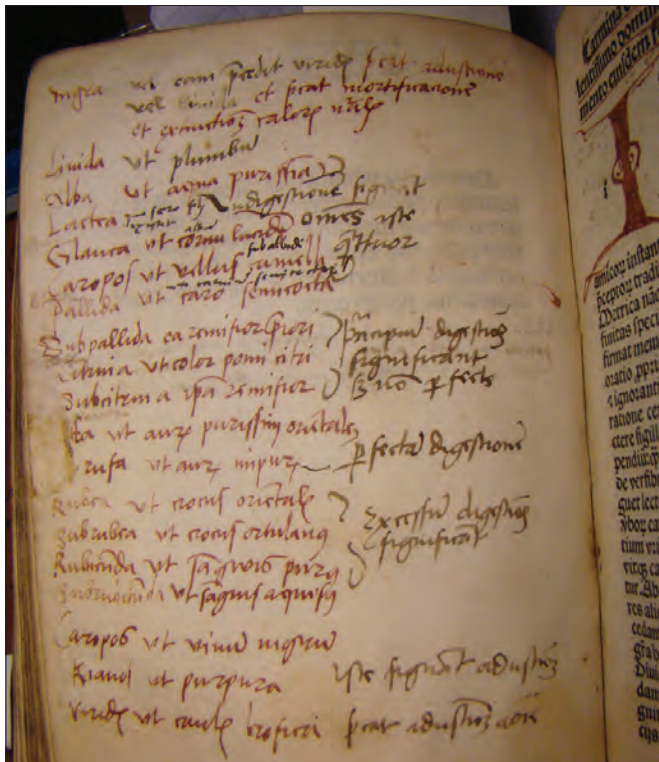


Fig. 4. Liber Theophili de urinis, [in:] Articella, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507 (cover recto)

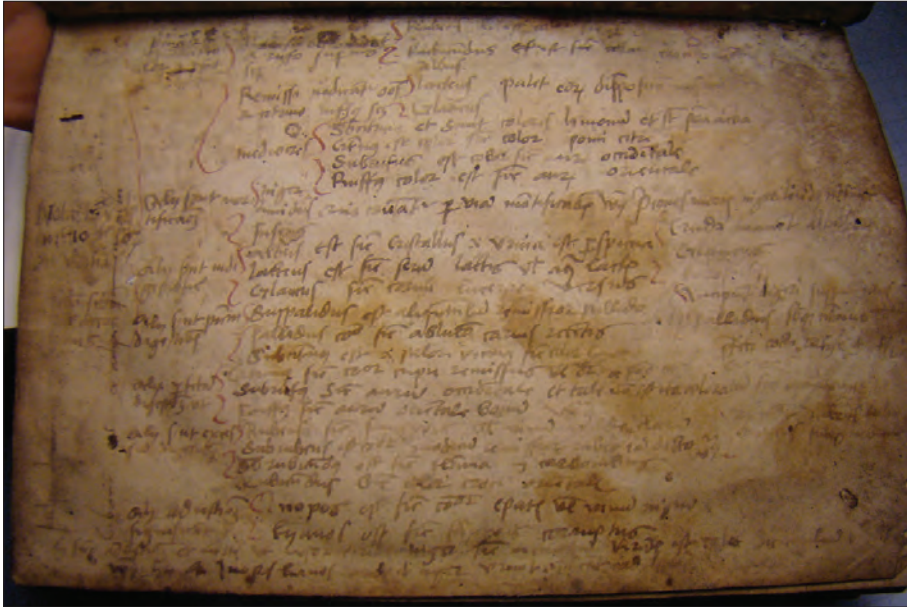


Fig. 5. *Liber Theophili de urinis*, [in:] *Articella*, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507 (cover recto)

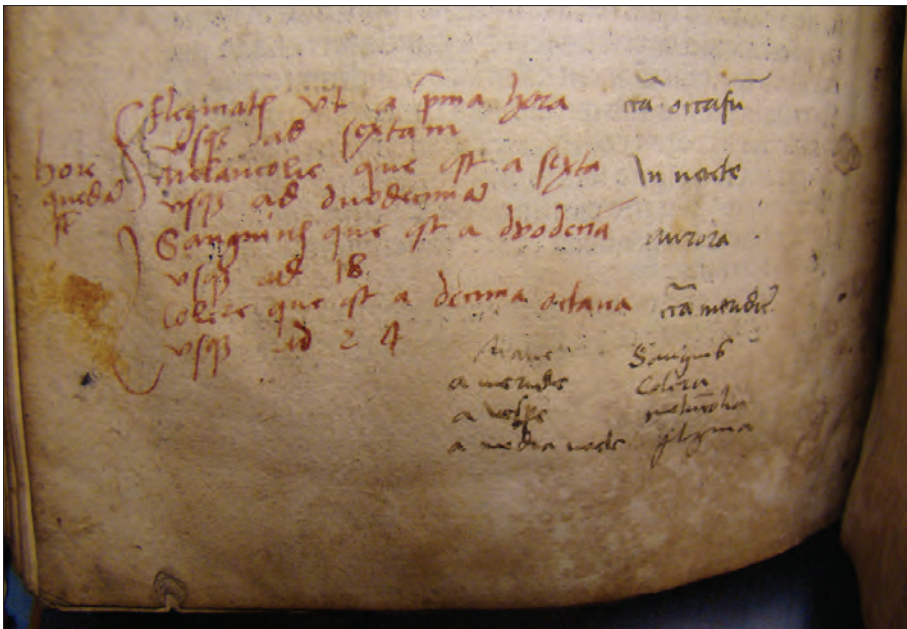


Fig. 6. *Liber Theophili de urinis*, [in:] *Articella*, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507 (cover recto)

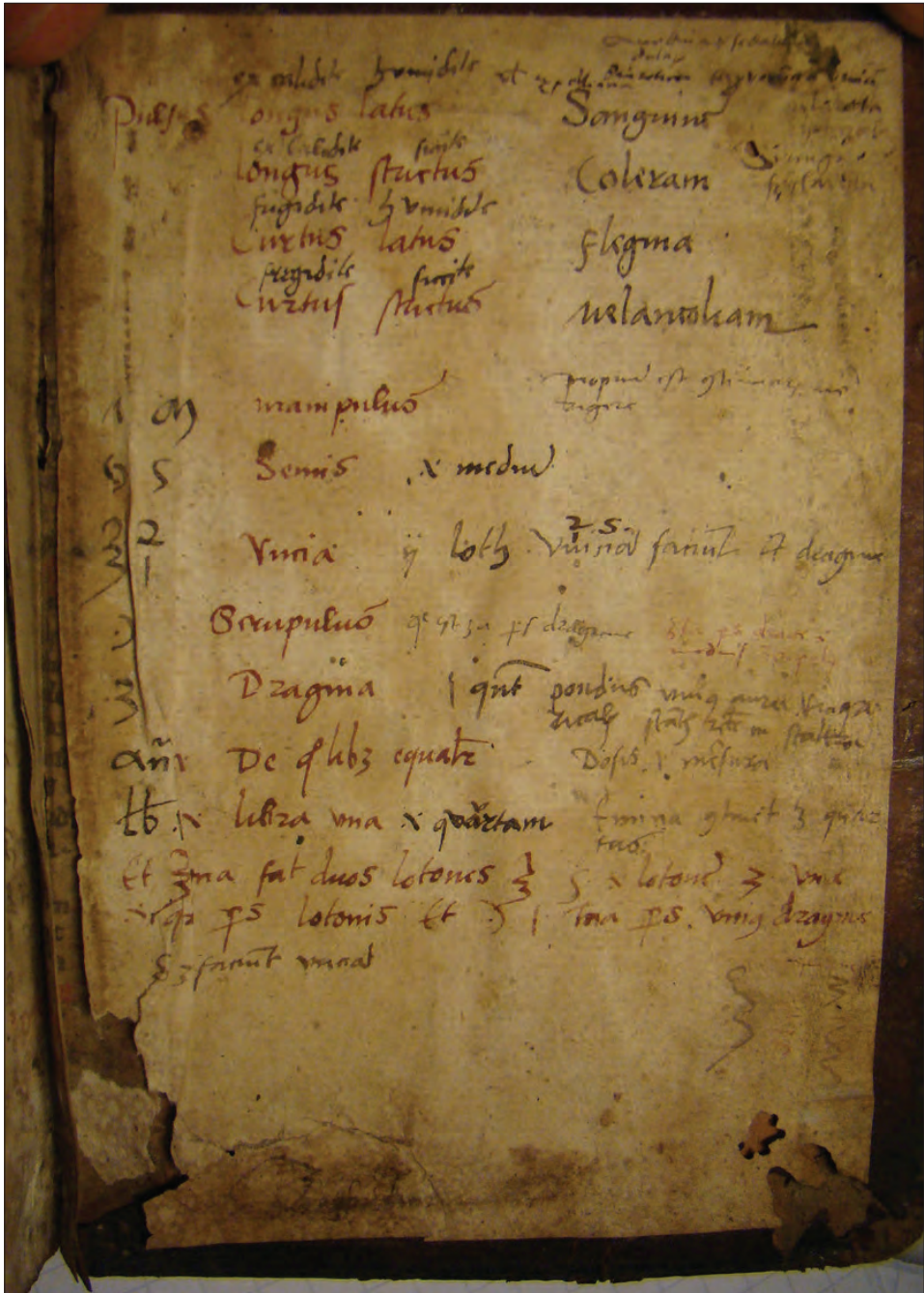


Fig. 7. Articella, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507 (cover recto)



Fig. 8. Articella, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507 (cover recto)

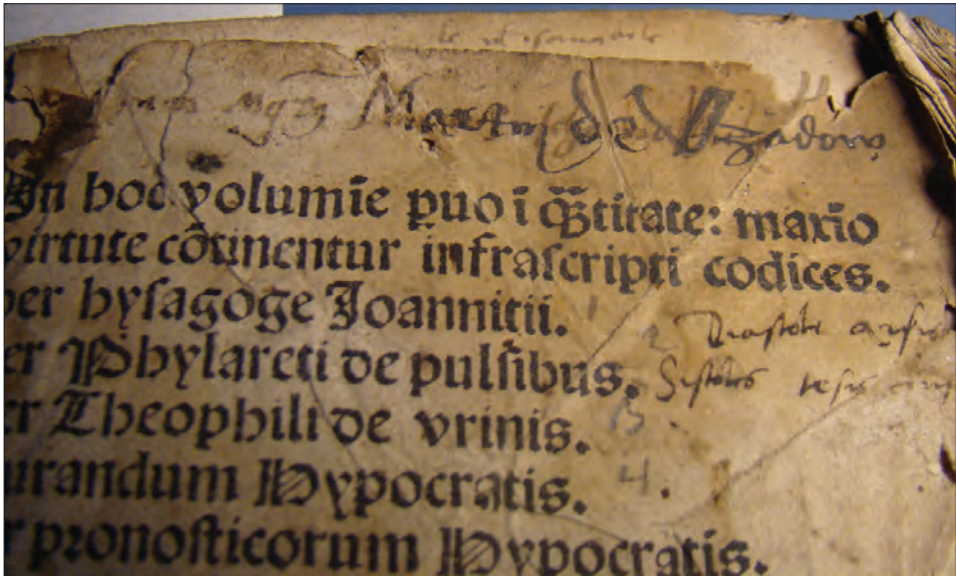


Fig. 9. Articella, Venetiis: per Petrum Bergomensem de Quarengiis, 1507 (title's page)

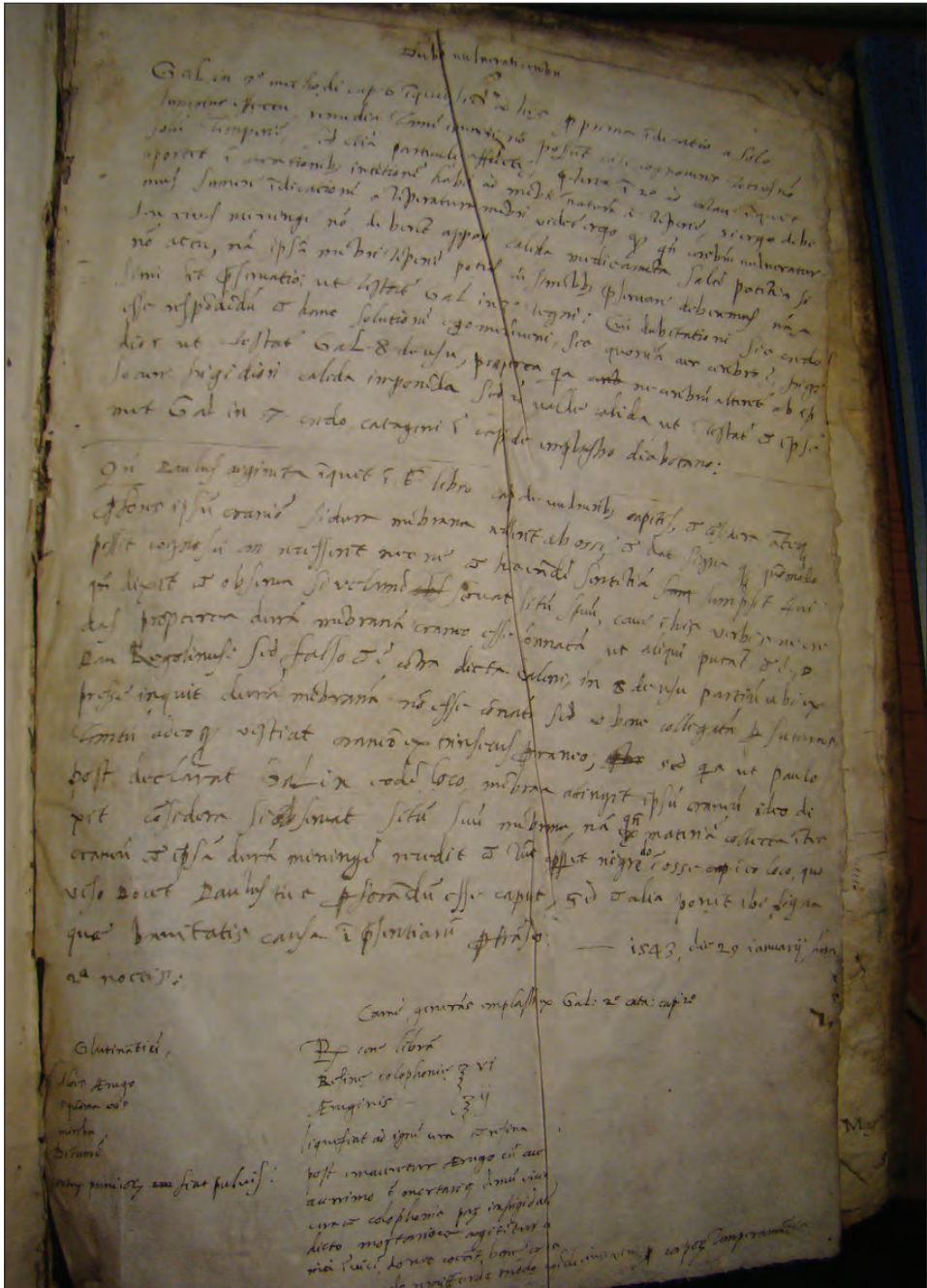


Fig. 10. Claudii Galeni Pergameni, medicorum, post Hippocratem principis, haec opera, vol. V, Venetiis: in aedibus Lucaeantonii Iuntae Florentini, 1531, (cover page)

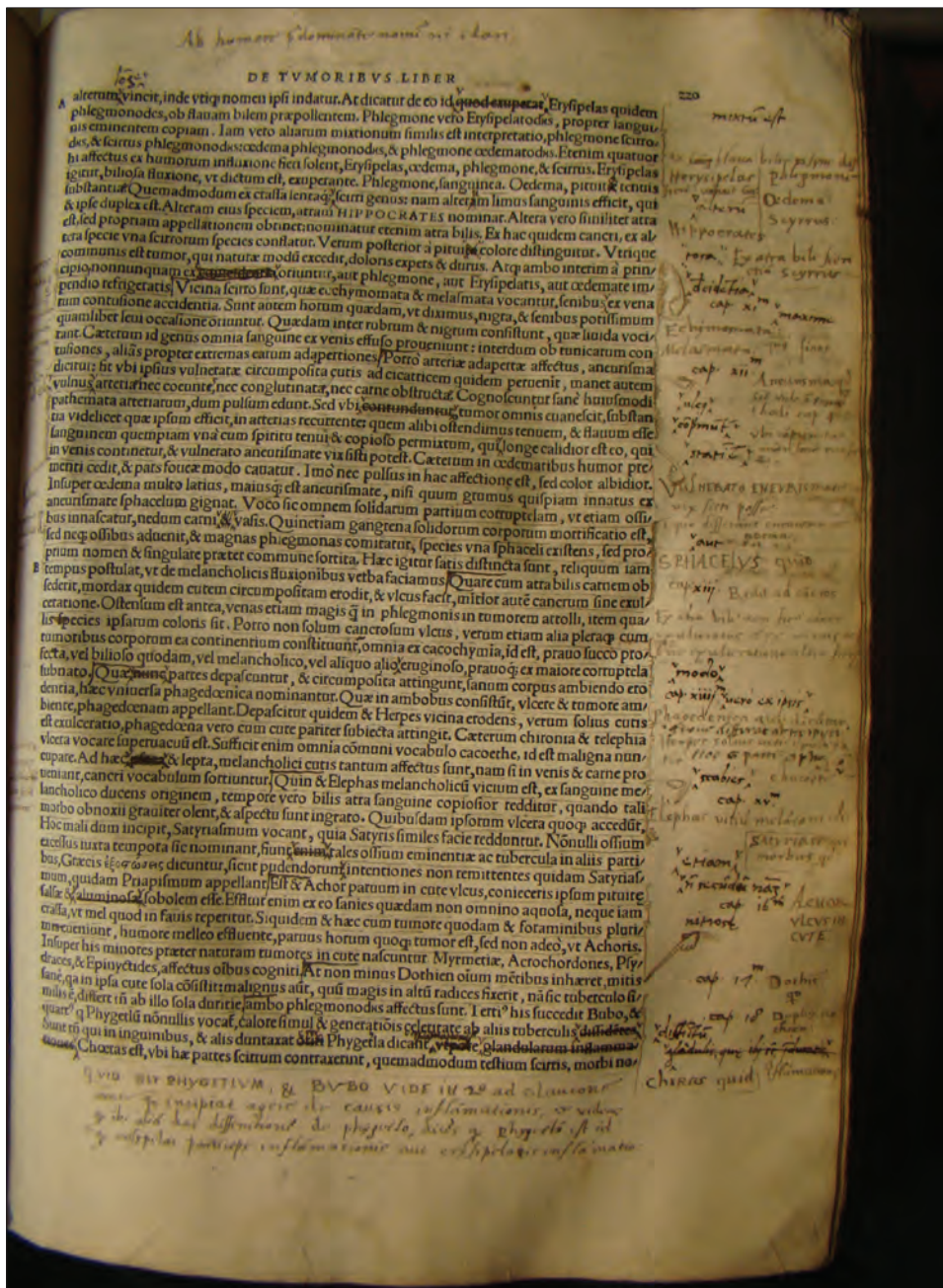


Fig. 11. GALENUS, *De Tumoribus liber*, [in:] *Claudii Galeni Pergameni, medicorum, post Hippocratem principis, haec opera*, vol. V, Venetiis: in aedibus Lucaeantonii Iuntae Florentini, 1531, p. 220

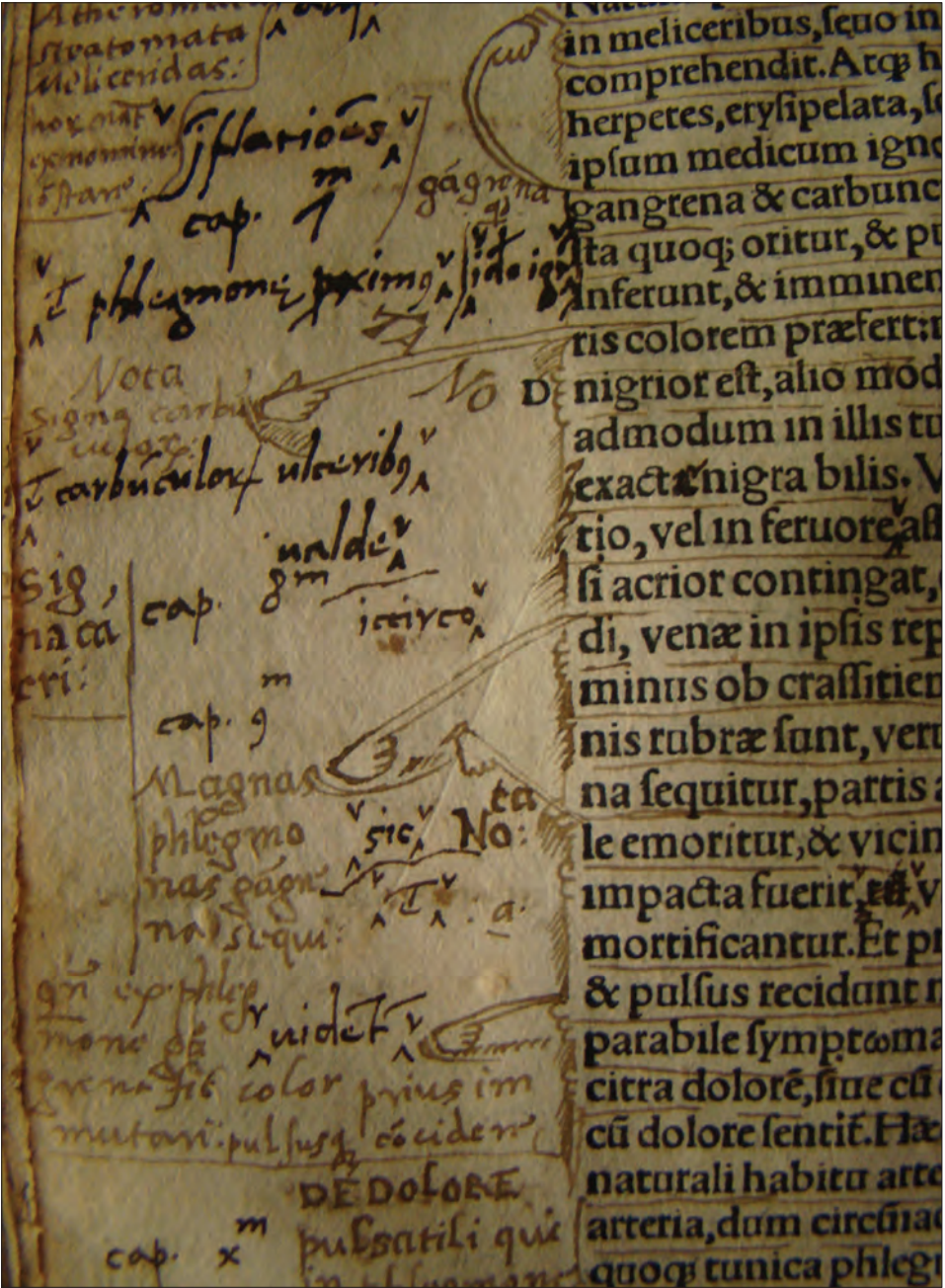



Fig. 11a. GALENUS, *De Tumoribus liber*, [in:] *Claudii Galeni Pergameni, medicorum, post Hippocratem principis, haec opera*, vol. V, Venetiis: in aedibus Lucaeantonii Iuntae Florentini, 1531, p. 220



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THE FAMILY STRATEGY FOR PURPLE – COMPARING THE METHODS OF ANDRONIKOS I AND ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS OF CONSTRUCTING IMPERIAL POWER*

Through accomplishing the coup d'état in 1081, Alexios Komnenos and his whole family turned out to be victorious, in almost thirty years of controversy over the legacy of the extinct Macedonian dynasty. This event also means the definitive victory of the aristocracy in the struggle for power in the Empire¹. During his long 37-year reign, Alexios I drastically changed the state, carrying out reforms that inseparably connected the Komnenian dynasty with the apparatus of power². His system of hierarchical dignities granted according to the degree of kinship contributed to the ongoing process of aristocratization of the Byzantine society and made it possible to create a faction consisting of many families. This enabled stabilization of the internal situation of the state, until the death of his grandson, Manuel I Komnenos³.

Almost a hundred years later, in 1182, a grandson of Alexios I, Andronikos Komnenos, made an attempt to take over the crown, taking advantage of the period of weakening of the imperial power in the hands of the regents. The juvenile Alexios II, the only legitimate son of Manuel I Komnenos, was under the influence of his mother, empress Mary of Antioch, and her lover, *protosebastos* Alexios Komnenos. Setting off from Oinaion in Paphlagonia, Andronikos carried out the first successful coup since the establishment of the Komnenoi. He was ultimately

* This article is an extended version of a paper presented during the First Colloquia Ceranea International Conference in Łódź in April 2019.

¹ M. ANGOLD, *Introduction*, [in:] *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. ANGOLD, Oxford 1984, p. 4.

² P. BUCKLEY, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene. Artistic Strategy in the Making of a Myth*, Cambridge 2014, p. 84.

³ On Alexios' reforms cf. P. MAGDALINO, *Innovations in Government*, [in:] *Alexios I Komnenos. Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium 14–16 April 1989*, ed. M. MULLETT, D. SMYTHE, Belfast 1996 [= BBT, 4.1], p. 146–166.

acclaimed as an autokrator of the Romans. However, unlike his grandfather's, his power turned out to be ephemeral, and the attempt to start a new chapter in the history of the Komnenoi dynasty ended in a complete failure. The defeat suffered in 1185 as a result of the takeover of power by Isaakios Angelos, ended not only with the tragic death of Andronikos I Komnenos, but also removed forever the decimated and discredited male line of descendants of Alexios Komnenos from Constantinople. All of this in just five years after the death of such an authority and undeniable family head as Manuel I Komnenos.

The short and turbulent reign of Andronikos I therefore marks the end of the period that can be called the "Komnenian restoration"⁴. Well aware of that were contemporary historians such as Eustathios of Thessaloniki. He stated that with the death of Manuel Komnenos, *collapsed [...] everything that was firm among the Greeks*⁵. Niketas Choniates as well states that from that moment on the fate of the Romans took a hopeless direction⁶. In fact, the years 1180–1204 comprise a separate period, characterized as the time of the political collapse of the Byzantine Empire, analogous to the second half of the 11th century. However in spite of this, the reign, as well as the figure of Andronikos Komnenos, has not lately received particular research attention⁷. The only full monograph devoted to this extremely

⁴ The term "Komnenian restoration" refers to a theory according to which the period between 1081 and 1180 was a time of a political, cultural and military expansion under the rule of the three emperors from the Komnenian dynasty. This point of view traces back at least to Ferdinand Chalandon's works, cf. F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène (1081–1118)*, Paris 1900, p. I. Modern historians tend to evaluate Alexios', John's and Manuel's achievements with more reserve, cf. M. ANGOLD, *Belle époque or crisis? (1025–1118)*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. J. SHEPARD, Cambridge 2008, p. 624–626; W. TREADGOLD, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford 1997, p. 612–666.

⁵ EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKI, *The Capture of Thessaloniki. A Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. et trans. J.R. MELVILLE JONES, Canberra 1988 [= BAus, 8] (cetera: EUSTATHIOS), p. 18–19. Cited here English edition of Eustathios uses reprinted Greek edition by Stilpon Kyriakides, cf. EUSTAZIO DI TESSALONICA, *La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, ed. S. KYRIAKIDIS, B. LAVAGNINI, trans. V. ROTOLO, Palermo 1961. About Eustathios's works cf. *Reading Eustathios of Thessalonike*, ed. F. PONTANI, V. KATSAROS, V. SARRIS, Berlin 2017.

⁶ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, vol. I, rec. I.A. VAN DIETEN, Berolini 1975 [= CFHB, 11] (cetera: CHONIATES), p. 223. On Choniates history work cf. A. SIMPSON, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study*, Oxford 2013; T. URBAINCZYK, *Writing About Byzantium. The History of Niketas Choniates*, London 2018 [= BBOS].

⁷ Since the publication of Jean-Claude CHEYNET's *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* in 1990 (Paris), which offered some reinterpretations on the subject, the reign of Andronikos I has rarely been the main research focus. Yet some contributions from the last 30 years are worth mentioning such as: N. SAVVAS, *Andronikos I Komnenos: Tyrant of Twelfth-century Europe*, MHJ 22, 1, 2019, p. 1–39; IDEM, «*Tyrannus Grecorum*». *The Image and Legend of Andronikos I Komnenos in Latin Historiography*, MG 12, 2012, p. 195–284; H. MAGOULIAS, *Andronikos I Komnenos: a Greek Tragedy*, BΣΥΜ 21, 2011, p. 101–136; N. GAUL, *Andronikos Komnenos, Prinz Belthandros und der Zyklus*, BZ 96, 2003, p. 623–660; E. PAPAGIANNI, *Andronic Ier Comnène et Jean VI Cantacuzène. Deux exemples*

interesting figure is still the work of Oktawiusz Jurewicz from 1962⁸. In numerous works on the history of the 12th century, this five-year episode between the reigns of Manuel I and Isaakios II, is described primarily in terms of two dominant views following the narratives of Choniates and Eustathios⁹. The first of these highlights the reforming activity of the usurper who tried to improve the situation of the population living in the provinces of the Empire, harassed by corrupt tax collectors. However, his actions went much further. Supposedly, he was trying to restrain the influence of aristocracy and completely reorganize the internal affairs of the empire. This issue was particularly emphasized by Alexander Každan who in his work presented Andronikos Komnenos as a reformer trying to return to the bureaucratic style of governance, similar to this of the Macedonian dynasty¹⁰.

The second view is that his reign was a reaction to the Latin influence in the court of Manuel I. According to this theory, Andronikos was playing the role of the leader of an anti-Latin party of unspecified composition. This would explain both his rebellious actions from before 1180 and the massacre of the Latin population in 1182. This point of view, especially outlined by Georg Ostrogorsky¹¹, became the basis for building a narrative about this short reign. Both of these theories met with criticism taken up by Jean-Claude Cheynet, who came to the conclusion that Andronikos' actions did not distinguish him drastically from his predecessors. They fit into the trends of 12th century imperial governance style, characterized by the participation of a group of relatives and allied aristocrats, as well as benefiting from the services of newcomers from Western Europe¹².

However, the coming to power and the rule of Andronikos I Komnenos may also be considered in terms of the changing situation of the Byzantine aristocracy, in particular of the so-called "clan" of the Komnenoi. Following this thought, the changes in the structure of the elites that took place during this period have their consequences in the process of the fall of the imperial authority, characteristic of the twenty years preceding the Fourth Crusade. In order to show the transformations that took place in the century long rule of the Komnenoi dynasty, a reference point is needed. The coup of Andronikos was the first successful takeover of power in the Byzantine Empire since the reign of his grandfather Alexios, whose rule is also a turning point in the internal situation of the Empire. The comparison

d'usurpation de pouvoir ou deux aspects de résistance, [in:] *Antichità e rivoluzioni da Roma a Costantinopoli a Mosca. Rendiconti del XIII Seminario. Campidoglio, 21 aprile 1993*, Roma 1998, p. 225–235; A. EASTMOND, *An Intentional Error? Imperial Art and "Mis"-Interpretation under Andronikos I Komnenos*, *ArtB* 76, 3, 1994, p. 502–510.

⁸ O. JUREWICZ, *Andronik I Komnenos*, Wrocław 1962.

⁹ CHONIATES, p. 325–326; EUSTATHIOS, p. 36–38.

¹⁰ А.П. КАЖДАН, *Социальный состав господствующего класса Византии XI–XII вв.*, Москва 1974, p. 264.

¹¹ G. OSTROGORSKY, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München 1963, p. 326–327.

¹² J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 433–435.

of these two emperors, therefore, seems to be the most obvious method that will characterize the changes which have taken place in the social and aristocratic structure in the Byzantine Empire over the course of one century.

The way of coming to power and constructing the imperial authority characteristic of Alexios I Komnenos is also reflected in his grandson's actions which were very similar in many respects. Both of them waited for the right moment to openly stand up against the ruler. In the case of the brothers Alexios and Isaakios, they chose the moment of weakening of the authority of imperial power during the rule of Nikephoros III Botaniates. This emperor, who was already at an advanced age, gained power as a result of a rebellion which removed from the throne Michael VII Doukas, a representative of one of the dominant aristocratic families at that time¹³. The rule of Botaniates was marked by corruption and squandering of the means of the Empire. On top of that, there was a looming threat of Normans from Italy who were dissatisfied with the removal of the Doukas family from the throne, and of Seljuk Turks who were advancing through Anatolia towards Aegean Sea and Propontis¹⁴. He was also unable to secure a succession after his death because he did not have male descendants. Thus, he appointed Nikephoros Synadenos as his successor, which, of course, did not meet with the approval of the Doukai and gave a spark to start a rebellion¹⁵.

Andronikos chose the moment of disarray after the death of Manuel I. The juvenile Alexios II, under the care of the regency council, became only a bargaining card for ambitious individuals within the extended Komnenos family. The dynasty's discrediting affair between the widow-empress Mary and *protosebastos* Alexios was a signal that initiated Andronikos' action. He was awaiting his opportunity at his seat in Paphlagonian Oinaion, where he was sent by Manuel a few months before his death¹⁶. Similarly to the situation from an earlier century, the crisis of the imperial authority became the basis for the pretender.

Both Alexios and Andronikos, at least officially, played a role of the defender of the rightful heir. The first of them, bound to the family of the former emperors by a marriage with Irene Doukas, decided to protect the interests of the young son of Michael VII – Konstantinos from the Doukas family¹⁷. The latter used to his advantage the oath made to his imperial cousin, according to which he was

¹³ D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London 1968, p. 8–10; J.F. HALDON, *Social Élités, Wealth, and Power*, [in:] *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J.F. HALDON, Chichester 2009, p. 182.

¹⁴ NICÉPHORE BRYENNIOS, *Histoire*, IV, 1, rec. P. GAUTIER, Bruxelles 1975 [= *CFHB*, 9] (cetera: BRYENNIOS), p. 256–257. On Bryennios' work cf. L.A. NEVILLE, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios*, Cambridge 2012.

¹⁵ *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, II, 2, 1, vol. I, rec. D.R. REINSCH, A. KAMBLYS, Berlin 2001 [= *CFHB*. *SBe*, 40] (cetera: KOMNENE), p. 57–58.

¹⁶ CHONIATES, p. 227.

¹⁷ KOMNENE, III, 4, 6, p. 82.

to remain faithful to his descendants inheriting power¹⁸. He therefore officially protested against the arbitrary *protosebastos* who ruled as if from behind Mary of Antioch. The aim was to protect the young Alexios II and that met with general approval from the aristocratic elite of the empire, headed by the older stepsister of the juvenile emperor – *kaisarissa* Maria Komnene¹⁹.

The key to carrying out a successful coup was also getting the support of the population and the army. Alexios Komnenos, as a famous commander, was the soldiers' favourite²⁰. His actions were also supported by members of the close family, that is his brothers Isaakios, Adrianos and Nikephoros, and many members of prominent aristocratic families such as Palaiologos, Pakourianos and Doukas²¹. The support of the latter was ensured by his and his brother Adrianos' marriage to Doukai brides. The proper preparation of the family for the possibility of returning to power was taken care of by Anna Dalassene, mother of Alexios. She connected her children through the bonds of marriage with powerful families, including the descendants of the Roman emperor Roman IV Diogenes²². With such support, Alexios was able to set off for capital, believing in his victory.

Andronikos may not have been in such a comfortable position as his grandfather, but in 1182 he was also widely supported in Constantinople. He made up for the shortcomings in the network of alliances with his appearance and predispositions that made him "worthy of the Empire"²³. He was awaited by the opponents of *protosebastos* Alexios, who were the highest-ranking members of the Komnenoi family, including his sons, John and Manuel, as well as the city population itself²⁴. In addition, he could count on the support of the mercenary Paphlagonians. They did not constitute a great force, but they turned out to be enough. When the Angeloi and the commander of the imperial fleet, Andronikos Konostephanos, also defected to his side, the victory of Andronikos became certain²⁵.

After winning and taking over the emperor's title, both emperors focused on consolidating their power. This meant the consistent neutralization of potential pretenders. Alexios, crowning himself in 1081, had a difficult task ahead of him. The instability of imperial power that characterized the previous period meant that there were many ambitious individuals (including *porphyrogenets* predestined for the role of the emperor by birth), potentially dangerous to him²⁶. These include:

¹⁸ CHONIATES, p. 227–228.

¹⁹ CHONIATES, p. 230.

²⁰ KOMNENE, II, 7, 7, p. 75.

²¹ A. CAMERON, *The Byzantines*, Oxford 2006, p. 42.

²² BRYENNIOS, I, 6, p. 84–87.

²³ CHONIATES, p. 103.

²⁴ CHONIATES, p. 230–231.

²⁵ CHONIATES, p. 248.

²⁶ P. FRANKOPAN, *The Fall of Nicaea and the Towns of Western Asia Minor to the Turks in the later 11th Century: the Curious Case of Nikephoros Melissenos*, B 76, 2006, p. 165.

the Diogenes brothers, Nikephoros Melissenos, Nikephoros Synadenos, Konstantinos Doukas and another Konstantinos Doukas²⁷. It took almost 20 years to eliminate the threat coming from them²⁸. Particularly problematic was the issue of young Konstantinos Doukas, son of Michael VII, who – as part of an agreement with his family – was appointed successor to the throne and engaged to the first daughter of Alexios – Anna. However, when John was born in 1087, it was only a matter of time before Doukas would be stripped of titles. Soon his protector and mother, the empress-widow Maria of Alania, was forced to join a monastery, and her son was deprived of the title of successor in favour of the emperor's eldest son²⁹. After the unsuccessful assassination attempt of Nikephoros Diogenes circa 1095, Alexios' power and the succession of his son John were properly secured.

Century later Andronikos turned first against Alexios II and his regents. In the long run, however, the threat to his power were numerous "clan", in particular, the relatives of Manuel I Komnenos. However, the actions of the usurper went too far, and open hostility towards the Komnenoi threatening his power had become the reason for alienation in the aristocratic environment. The neutralization of potential claimants as in the case of Alexios was aimed at ensuring succession to Andronikos' son John³⁰.

A very important element in the politics of both discussed emperors was to base their power on the faithful party consisting of relatives. As already mentioned, before he acquired purple, Alexios had the support of other aristocratic families. In the course of his reign, his numerous children, and especially daughters, allowed for the construction of a party based on blood ties and initiated the "clan" family structure that exercised power throughout the 12th century. Andronikos tried to act in the same way, but the extent to which he managed to implement this kind of policy was very limited. There were two reasons for that. Firstly, his closest family consisted of very few members, not allowing for alliances through marriages. Secondly, the enmity of aristocratic elites caused alienation and constricted the ability to establish a faction³¹.

Finally, the role of imperial power propaganda that both Alexios and Andronikos used must not be overlooked. They undertook actions reforming certain

²⁷ Leo and Nikephoros Diogenes were *porphyrogennets* and sons of Romanos IV, the latter plotted against Alexios, cf. KOMNENE, IX, 5, 5, p. 269–270. Nikephoros Melissenos was a brother-in-law of Alexios and his rival before his ascension to the throne, cf. KOMNENE, II, 8, 1, p. 75. Nikephoros Synadenos was designated by Nikephoros III as a successor, see note 13. The two Doukai were sons of emperors Konstantinos X and Michael VII, cf. D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai...*, p. 48–53, 60–63.

²⁸ By ca. 1100, all of the potential pretenders were either dead or irrelevant in the court. The dynastic plans of Alexios were finally confirmed after the unsuccessful plot of Nikephoros Diogenes, cf. J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 370.

²⁹ KOMNENE, III, 4, 7, p. 97; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse*, Louvain 1980, p. 59.

³⁰ EUSTATHIOS, 45, p. 54; CHONIATES, p. 324.

³¹ CHONIATES, p. 269.

aspects of the government in the Empire and built their image as restorers of order (τάξις) in the state. There are many examples from the reign of Alexios I in this area. We see this in the way he treated his opponents, who were punished in firm yet merciful way³². In his activity in the defence of orthodoxy against heresies, in which he personally engaged³³. But above all, the image of a good ruler in the case of Alexios I was built through his very active contribution to defending the Empire from enemies. His relentless diligence in this area was emphasized by his daughter³⁴. Andronikos, for personal and political reasons, was not so active in the field of state defence or theological disputes which he personally despised³⁵. He built his image as a restorer of the state. He directed his propaganda to the simple folk, introducing himself in iconography as an ordinary farmer³⁶. His attempts to curb corruption in the state served to construct a positive image. Not having the support of the aristocracy, he turned to the rest of society in this way. He personally eagerly compared his fate to that of the Biblical David³⁷.

At the root of Andronikos' actions were therefore the same goals that guided his grandfather. He followed the same path perhaps consciously, as he certainly knew the history of his ancestor and founder of the dynasty. Yet, despite the significant similarities and the use of the same *modus operandi*, he failed to achieve an equally spectacular success. Why? Niketas Choniates answers this question in his work, stressing the pernicious effect of the Emperor's unprecedented brutality, writing: *He would not have been the least of the Komnenian emperors had he mitigated the intensity of his cruelty...*³⁸ It is hard to deny that he has a point. However, a modern researcher will not be satisfied with this simple answer. Perhaps Andronikos' failure was not only the result of his brutal methods, as Choniates suggests, but had its ground in the situation in which he found himself.

During the reign of Manuel I Komnenos, the Komnenoi were at the peak of their power and prestige. The emperor ruled the state with the support of his faction, also referred by historians as a "clan". It was a privileged group of aristocrats connected with the Komnenoi through blood ties. Their hierarchy was strictly based on kinship and titles³⁹. The creator of this system was Alexios I Komnenos who, basing his authority on the family, stabilized the internal situation of the state.

³² KOMNENE, IX, 8, 4, p. 276.

³³ M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261*, Cambridge 1995, p. 69–70.

³⁴ KOMNENE, V, 5, 2, p. 153–154; XII, 3, 1, p. 364.

³⁵ CHONIATES, p. 331.

³⁶ CHONIATES, p. 332. I am interpreting Choniates' description literally but it should be noted that there are different views on that matter, cf. R. STICHEL, *Ein byzantinischer Kaiser als Sensenmann?*, BZ 93, 2000, p. 586–608; A. EASTMOND, *An Intentional...*, p. 503–506.

³⁷ CHONIATES, p. 333.

³⁸ CHONIATES, p. 353.

³⁹ The Komnenian hierarchy of dignities was thoroughly described in: L. STIERNON, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines: Sébaste et Gambros*, REB 23, 1965, p. 222–243.

Upholding imperial power on the family or faction was not a new phenomenon in the second half of the 11th century. It is the way it was implemented through direct connection of the family with the power apparatus that distinguished the Komnenian system⁴⁰.

In the mid-12th century, almost 90% of military offices were in the hands of aristocrats related to the Komnenoi⁴¹. Such a strong connection between the family and the state meant that any interference with the authority also became an interference with the internal affairs of the “clan”. That is why a very important task of the Komnenoi emperors was to maintain the unity of their faction. As long as its members remained loyal to the emperor, the internal peace prevailed. To achieve this, it was necessary to develop an indisputable position of the head of the family. It was connected with raising the level of the imperial authority which reached its peak during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos. When he died, however, it became apparent that without a strong figure on the throne it was impossible to control the “clan” which had grown to a large size⁴². It should be noted that from the beginning of the 12th century, the number of aristocrats possessing Alexios I Komnenos among their ancestors increased several times⁴³. Due to the lack of clear rules of inheritance in the Byzantine Empire, each of them could have considered himself as worthy of the purple.

Choniates is right heralding the advent of the period of polyarchy, the mother of anarchy at that time⁴⁴. The powerful aristocratic faction deprived of the head of the family became in truth the sovereign of the state. Alexios II was not a factor here, as he was a mere puppet in the conflict between *protosebastos* Alexios and Maria Komnene. Yet as long as the young heir to the throne lived, the “clan” remained theoretically faithful to him. This fact was also abused by the ambitious Andronikos Komnenos. His first actions were very prudent and thoughtful. He did not immediately set out for the capital, but instead waited for the development of events⁴⁵. The news of his actions came to the family residing in the capital. By declaring himself a defender of the juvenile Alexios II, he gained the support of the opponents of *protosebastos*. If Andronikos in fact would have only limited himself to supporting the rights of the heir to the throne, perhaps he would have been able to maintain his position as a co-emperor. The problem was that his ambitions went much further, and his actions were very hasty. His life ambition was to gain

⁴⁰ P. FRANKOPAN, *Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium*, EHR 122, 2007, p. 2–3.

⁴¹ A. CAMERON, *The Byzantines...*, p. 80.

⁴² P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge 1993, p. 189–190.

⁴³ Κ. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. II, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, p. 883–887.

⁴⁴ CHONIATES, p. 225.

⁴⁵ The first moves of Andronikos started probably as early as in the beginning of 1181, since it was before his daughter Maria came with news about the situation in the capital (in May 1181). Only after her arrival did he cross the borders of Paphlagonia and march towards Bithynia and then Constantinople, cf. CHONIATES, p. 229, 243–244.

sole imperial power. This claim, as both Choniates and Kinnamos mention, he inherited from his father – *sebastokrator* Isaakios, the younger brother of John II Komnenos⁴⁶. This line of the Komnenoi family always caused trouble for the reigning emperors. And again, the source of the problem lied in an unclear way of the inheritance of power, a problem which has been significantly emphasized with the introduction of family-based governments⁴⁷. Like his son, *sebastokrator* Isaakios was a person with a truly imperial predispositions⁴⁸. Initially, he supported his brother's rule, but in some unspecified circumstances, probably around 1122, a conflict started between them⁴⁹. It happened at about the same time at which John II appointed his son Alexios as successor. However, Isaakios' plotting came to naught when he died shortly after 1152⁵⁰. After the death of his father it was Andronikos who continued to undermine his cousin's rule.

Andronikos' situation was much more complicated than his grandfather's hundred years earlier. Alexios did not have against him a ruler supported by the dominating aristocratic faction in the state. Nor did he have to turn against his family. Nikephoros III Botaniates was reluctantly perceived by the Doukai who were removed from power. The wise decision of the Komnenoi was therefore to make an alliance with that family and to strive together to overthrow the usurper. We can say that the throne of the Empire was just waiting for its saviour, who would lead the state in the right direction.

Meanwhile, in 1182, even despite conflicts that broke out after the death of the last emperor, Alexios II remained the heir to the throne, at least as long as the family supported him. Therefore, if Andronikos wanted to gain power, he had to get rid of Manuel's son. Whether due to his advanced age or innate impulsiveness, he did not hesitate to act immediately. After taking over the capital in September 1182, he was crowned co-emperor, using as a pretext the need to act against the rebels in Bithynia – Theodoros Kantakouzenos, Isaakios and Theodoros Angelos⁵¹. Only a year later, did he finally get rid of Alexios II, not even trying to cover up the case, or find a scapegoat to blame for this deed⁵². This act was absolutely unacceptable and disgusting in the eyes of the Byzantines. Not only was the widely accepted successor to the throne murdered, but also it was a fratricide. This act was considered

⁴⁶ CHONIATES, p. 280; *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, rec. A. MEINEKE, Bonnæ 1836 [= *CSHB*, 23.1] (cetera: KINNAMOS), p. 53–54.

⁴⁷ Although primogeniture was dominant, there was no written rule establishing this. There were many factors influencing the choice of the successor such as: seniority, experience, appearance, popularity among the aristocrats and folk, and others. But the most important was the authority of the current ruler/dynasty.

⁴⁸ THEODOROS PRODROMOS, *Historische Gedichte*, XLII, rec. W. HÖRANDNER, Wien 1974 [= *WBS*, 11], p. 396–398.

⁴⁹ CHONIATES, p. 32.

⁵⁰ Κ. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 252.

⁵¹ CHONIATES, p. 269–270.

⁵² CHONIATES, p. 273–274.

as a horrible crime and it is worth noting that none of the previous three emperors ever dared to commit it, even as a part of righteous punishment⁵³. This meant an open declaration of war against the entire Komnenoi and all related families.

Andronikos began his actions against family and aristocracy even before he decided to finally get rid of Alexios II. One of his first targets were the daughter of Manuel I – *kaisarissa* Maria Komnene – along with her husband Renier (John) from Montferrat. It is worth noting that as long as Andronikos' position on the throne was not grounded, he tried to act in secret and not reveal his true motivations. Therefore, his first moves, which were to lock in dungeons or condemn to banishment his rivals and opponents, were done secretly⁵⁴. In the case of *kaisarissa* and *kaisar*, he bribed a certain eunuch named Pterygeonites, their servant. He poisoned them both, but slowly to avoid premature suspicion⁵⁵. It seems ironic that the greatest supporters of Andronikos Komnenos became one of his first victims. However, their support was limited only to helping to keep the young Emperor in power. It is hard to imagine that Maria Komnene would support the usurpation of her uncle and allow for her brother's murder. There is also another reason why she was the biggest threat to Andronikos' rule.

The cognatic system of inheritance functioning in Byzantium led to situations in which the first-born daughters of the emperors could aspire to take power in favour of their husbands⁵⁶. Similar circumstances can be observed already in the 11th century when after the extinction of the male descendants of Basil the Macedonian, the daughters of Konstantinos VIII became heirs of imperial power which they only transmitted to their husbands as part of their marriage. In the Komnenoi family, this phenomenon was the source of many problems. Against Alexios I rebelled the husband of his elder sister – *panhypersebastos* Michael Taronites⁵⁷. John II had to deal with the plot of Anna Komnene, the firstborn child of Alexios⁵⁸. Manuel was opposed by John Roger Dalassenos, the husband of the oldest surviving child of John II at that time – Maria Komnene⁵⁹. It was no different with *kaisarissa* Maria and her husband. In the future, they could lead to the overthrow of Alexios II, if he proved to be a weak ruler.

Finally, the matter of the AIMA prophecy circulating among the Komnenoi family cannot be ignored. It proclaimed that the Komnenoi dynasty would reign as long as there is the word AIMA (αἷμα – blood). This referred to the initials

⁵³ Banishment, stripping of dignities and wealth seems to dominate as a form of punishment for imperial relatives at that time, cf. KOMNENE, IX, 8, 3, p. 275–276; CHONIATES, p. 11, 32, 101.

⁵⁴ CHONIATES, p. 258.

⁵⁵ CHONIATES, p. 259–260.

⁵⁶ A. LAIOU, *Family Structure and the Transmission of Property*, [in:] *The Social History...*, p. 51–75.

⁵⁷ KOMNENE, IX, 8, 4, p. 276.

⁵⁸ CHONIATES, p. 10–11.

⁵⁹ KINNAMOS, p. 37–38; J. NESBITT, *Some Observations About the Roger Family*, NRh 1, 2004, p. 211–213.

of the emperors: Alexios, John (Ioannes), Manuel and Alexios⁶⁰. By converting to the Orthodox Church, Maria's husband received the name John, so according to the prophecy he could continue this cycle. Given the subsequent actions of Andronikos regarding the election of his successor to the throne, this prophecy had a big impact on the imagination of the Byzantines, so one should not underestimate its influence on politics⁶¹.

Some aristocrats also became victims of Andronikos, especially those who were directly related to the imperial family. We should mention families such as: Angelos, Branas, Vatatzes, Kontostephanos, Maleinos, Dalassenos, Kladon and Lapardas⁶². They all were dignified and held the highest titles. Two bastard sons of Manuel I Komnenos, both named Alexios, were also eventually persecuted by Andronikos. The first one was banished and fled to the Kingdom of Sicily initiating Norman invasion⁶³. The second one, legalized by Manuel, bearing the title of *sebastokrator*, was initially proposed as a husband for Andronikos' daughter Irene, before he changed his mind and blinded him⁶⁴. Apart from them, Isaakios Komnenos, son of Irene Komnene, daughter of *sebastokrator* Isaakios, Manuel's brother, rebelled in Cyprus⁶⁵. Then Andronikos accused Konstantinos Makrodoukas and Andronikos Doukas of insult to the majesty. They were devoted people of the emperor and tried to discourage their relative for rebelling against the power⁶⁶. This type of irrational behavior only worsened the situation of the usurper. There were many more victims, but unfortunately, the sources do not identify all the aristocrats who suffered punishment at that time. Their number was enormous according to the testimonies of Byzantine historians⁶⁷.

In such a situation, Andronikos could indeed believe that nobody was loyal to him⁶⁸. Nobody wanted to participate in his brutal family purge. Of the "clan" aristocracy, only his own family remained faithful to him, although at the end of his reign, his older son Manuel refused to obey him⁶⁹. David Komnenos, appointed the administrator of Thessalonica, served Andronikos out of fear for the fate of his relatives⁷⁰. Andronikos' family was not large and could not provide

⁶⁰ CHONIATES, p. 169.

⁶¹ CHONIATES, p. 292; C.M. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180–1204*, Cambridge Mass. 1968, p. 67–68. On AIMA prophecy cf. R. SHUKUROV, *AIMA: the Blood of the Grand Komnenoi*, BMGS 19, 1995, p. 161–181.

⁶² EUSTATHIOS, p. 56; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 429–430.

⁶³ CHONIATES, p. 334.

⁶⁴ CHONIATES, p. 260, 309.

⁶⁵ CHONIATES, p. 290–291.

⁶⁶ CHONIATES, p. 292.

⁶⁷ CHONIATES, p. 323.

⁶⁸ CHONIATES, p. 315.

⁶⁹ CHONIATES, p. 337.

⁷⁰ EUSTATHIOS, p. 72.

him with adequate support. He only had two sisters: Anna and Maria⁷¹. His only brother escaped to the Sultanate of Rum⁷². He had three children with his first wife – Manuel, John and Maria⁷³ – and two with his lover Theodora – his daughter Irene and the still adolescent Alexios⁷⁴. Several people were unable to oppose the “clan”, already counting more than fifty members.

Taking up the struggle with the “clan” of the Komnenoi, Andronikos deprived himself of the possibility of creating a loyal faction, which was a key element in the process of consolidating power by Alexios I Komnenos. The self-reliant reign using terror was not an option in the Byzantine Empire of the second half of the 12th century. There were too many potential and powerful pretenders who could be chosen at any time as the emperor. In this situation it is hardly surprising that Andronikos spent most of his short reign in the capital. Unlike his grandfather, he was not able to appoint a deputy from the family for the time of his absence⁷⁵. Thus he failed as a defender of the Empire, which was a crucial element in the construction of a positive imperial image⁷⁶. When the Sicilian army was moving along the via Egnatia, Andronikos was at most capable to send his son at the head of the army, but he himself had to stay close to Constantinople, to prevent the raise of a pretender.

Since obtaining the support of the aristocracy was out of the question, Andronikos tried other means of building authority. His reign is definitely characterized by more emphasis on the so-called civil aristocracy, consisting of bureaucrats, public servants and the senate⁷⁷. Many times during his reign he refers to the council's decision⁷⁸. This does not mean that he tried to reverse the aristocratization process and return to the situation from before the Komnenian restoration. Rather, it is only proof of a desperate search for support. The purpose of the usurper was not to remove the aristocracy from power, but to construct it anew based on new families. Niketas Choniates repeatedly states that the purpose of the tyrant was to destroy the Komnenoi family, at another time he mentions the desire for revenge on Manuel's relatives⁷⁹. It did not mean, however, a total disintegration

⁷¹ K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 254.

⁷² CHONIATES, p. 36.

⁷³ K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 637.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 638.

⁷⁵ Like Alexios I did with Anna Dalassene and his brother Isaakios, cf. KOMNENE, III, 6, 1, p. 100; IV, 4, 1, p. 126.

⁷⁶ CHONIATES, p. 321.

⁷⁷ I am using the term “civil aristocracy” here being aware that there were no firm boundaries between military and bureaucratic factions, cf. W. KAEGI, *The Controversy About Bureaucratic and Military Factions*, BF 19, 1993, p. 26; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 191–198; A. HARVEY, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900–1200*, Cambridge 1989, p. 3–4.

⁷⁸ CHONIATES, p. 273.

⁷⁹ CHONIATES, p. 266, 257.

of the family to which after all he himself belonged. The aim was rather to shift the dominant line of the Komnenoi from the descendants of John II to *sebastokrator* Isaac's. In other words, Andronikos' goal was to construct the "clan" again. He wanted to conduct an exchange of old families, associated with the descendants of previous emperors, for new ones, devoted to his authority. This explains why Andronikos among the allies had many members of less significant families like: Tripsychos, Dadibrenos, Kamateros, Chumnos and Hagiochristophorites⁸⁰. In the end this proved to be insufficient, because the degree of consolidation of the old families in the Empire after the rule of three generations of the dynasty was too large to allow a complete exchange of elites.

At the end of their reign, the emperor's actions became increasingly desperate. When the Norman army landed in Dyrrachion and headed towards Constantinople, it captured the second largest city in the empire – Thessalonika. At this point Andronikos' reign lost all the leftovers of legitimacy. With one back to the wall, he took all measures to stop the threat of losing power. Every sign of disloyalty was punished. Responsibility for any insubordination was borne not only by the guilty but also by their families and relatives⁸¹. Finally, Andronikos ordered the execution of all those in prisons, against which his son, the *sebastokrator* Manuel, objected⁸². In this situation it was already certain that the days of Andronikos on the throne were numbered.

During his short reign, Andronikos Komnenos also showed disregard for the residents of Constantinople. According to Choniates, he relished the stupidity of citizens⁸³. The underestimation of the inhabitants of the capital in the 12th century was a serious mistake, the consequences of which he soon felt on his own skin⁸⁴. When the rebellion of Isaakios Angelos took place, it was the people of the city who delivered support for the new emperor. This error was never committed by Alexios I, who always cared for his public image. After looting the city as a result of his coup, he undertook repentance⁸⁵. When he was forced to melt church treasures to raise funds for war with the Normans, he also publicly regretted his deeds⁸⁶. He strived to act as a truly orthodox and compassionate ruler. By funding the Orphanotropheion he took care of education and the fate of orphans⁸⁷. The prudence that characterized his rule was lacking in the case of his grandson.

⁸⁰ CHONIATES, p. 274.

⁸¹ CHONIATES, p. 343.

⁸² CHONIATES, p. 337.

⁸³ CHONIATES, p. 322–323.

⁸⁴ During the 11th and 12th century the capital population represented a significant force, cf. L. GARLAND, *Political Power and the Populace in Byzantium Prior to the Fourth Crusade*, Bsl 53, 1992, p. 18.

⁸⁵ KOMNENE, III, 5, 2–5, p. 129–131.

⁸⁶ KOMNENE, VI, 3, 1–5, p. 171–173.

⁸⁷ KOMNENE, XV, 7, 7, p. 483–484.

A comparative analysis of the actions of Alexios I and Andronikos I Komnenos shows the transformations that took place in the apparatus of power and society of the Byzantine Empire over a hundred years. After the changes that the Byzantine Empire underwent in the 12th century, the aristocracy related to the Komnenoi became the main ruling power of the state. The progressing process of state aristocratization was a natural stage in the development of medieval society, and it was no different in Byzantium⁸⁸. By accepting these changes, consciously or unconsciously, and using them in his favour, Alexios I managed to consolidate his power in the state and pass it on to the next generation of his family. The state situation in the second half of the 11th century favoured his actions. The vacuum left by the extinction of the Macedonian dynasty, the last Byzantine dynasty of non-aristocratic origin, had to be filled by a new family, and the talent and luck of Alexios I made him successful. Andronikos, following similar motivations, was unable to repeat his grandfather's result because the consolidation of the power by the Komnenoi "clan" was a one-off process and was practically irreversible. When he turned against his family, he started a fight with the entire state elite. The Komnenian system had a serious loophole. It was completely dependent on the ruler's authority. This can be described as a constant clash between the emperor trying to maintain absolute power and the faction trying to bend him to its will. The imperial authority collapsed immediately after the death of Manuel Komnenos. An unsuccessful attempt to impose power over the family by Andronikos shows how immense strength this family had after three generations. One can even say that it was not Andronikos who tried to reject the aristocracy, as some scholars saw it, but it was the aristocracy that rejected Andronikos. They found themselves a more compliant candidate for power that was Isaakios Angelos⁸⁹. This almost two-year reign is therefore the time of the disintegration of the Komnenoi family and the transition of power to the external affinal families (Angelos, Laskaris, Palaiologos) which, however, never gained an equally high status as the Komnenoi. From this vantage point, the actions of the last of the reigning Komnenos in Constantinople are an important indicator and catalyst for changes in the structure of the aristocracy and the position of the *basileus* in the Byzantine Empire.

⁸⁸ G. OSTROGORSKY, *Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium*, DOP 25, 1971, p. 6–9.

⁸⁹ CHONIATES, p. 355–356. Over the course of his rule Isaakios II tried to impose his authority over the aristocracy, which eventually led to his dethronement with the support of the Branas, Palaiologos, Petralifas, Raoul and Kantakouzenos families, cf. CHONIATES, p. 451.

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Abstract. In this paper I would like to concentrate on strategies and methods that were guiding Alexios I and Andronikos I of the Komnenos dynasty during the process of gaining and consolidating their power in the Byzantine Empire. Between these two emperors, who belonged to the same family, there exist many analogies in the way of carrying out a coup and constructing the authority based on a group of faithful aristocrats. It is crucial to highlight the active family politics which characterized both the emperors, as it was the main strategy aimed at ensuring the durability of the freshly acquired power. Between Andronikos' and his grandfather's coups passed almost exactly one hundred years. The completely different social and political situation of the Byzantine Empire in the late 12th century forced Andronikos to take a different approach. The most striking change was in the way of eliminating potential threats from the circles of Constantinopolitan aristocracy, especially when it comes to his relatives. Such a comparative analysis leads to some important observations concerning the social changes in the late 11th and 12th centuries, as well as mechanisms of seniority and precedence of power in the Komnenos family.


Keywords: Andronikos I Komnenos, Alexios I Komnenos, Byzantine aristocracy, imperial authority, twelfth century.

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NATIONS AND MINORITIES IN PSELLOS' CHRONOGRAPHIA (976–1078)

Michael Psellos (1018–1081)¹ in his *Chronographia* gives a unique insider's view into the nations and minorities which the Byzantine Empire² needed to know and understand³. He wrote mainly about court dynamics⁴ and how the empire and its allies and enemies were seen from the Palace in Constantinople. Scholars have undertaken to compare his evidence with that provided by other historians such as Skylitzes⁵, Kekaumenos⁶, Aristakes Lastiverci⁷, Nicephoros Bryennios⁸ as well as focusing on peoples and minorities which later became prominent during the Comnenian dynasty (1081–1177)⁹. However, the *Chronographia* yields valuable information about Psellos' attitude formed long before the First Crusade (1095–1099). Psellos' letter to Machetarios¹⁰ reveals that he altered his writing strategy in 1057 when Isaak I Comnenos (1057–1059) became emperor:

¹ *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*, ed. D.R. REINSCH, Berlin 2014 [= Mil.S, 51] (cetera: PSELLOS, *Chronographia*).

² A. KALDELLIS, *Ethnography after Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature*, Philadelphia 2013.

³ The Byzantine interest in the outside world is brilliantly described in CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. G. MORAVCSIK, trans. R.J.H. JENKINS, Washington 1985 [= CFHB, 1; DOT, 1] (cetera: CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*).

⁴ F. LAURITZEN, *The Depiction of Character in the Chronographia of Michael Psellos*, Turnhout 2013 [= B.SBHC, 7].

⁵ *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, rec. I. THURN, Berolini 1973 [= CFHB.SBe] (cetera: SCYL., *Hist.*).

⁶ CECAUMENO, *Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo. Stratēgikon*, trans. et ed. M.D. SPADARO, Alessandria 1998 [= Hel, 2].

⁷ *Aristakes Lastivertci's History*, trans. R. BEDROSSIAN, New York 1985.

⁸ NICÉPHORE BRYENNIOS, *Histoire*, trans. P. GAUTIER, Brussels 1975 [= CFHB.SBr, 9].

⁹ P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge 1993.

¹⁰ P. MOORE, *Iter Psellianum*, Toronto 2005. [EP 365]. Sathas 5, 108. See M.J. JEFFREYS, M.D. LAUXTERMANN, *The Letters of Psellos. Cultural Networks and Historical Realities*, Oxford 2014 [= OSB], p. 363.

new court dynamics required a new history. Therefore, each book needs to be seen separately when dealing with nations and minorities.

Book 1 [Basil II (10th January 976 – 15th December 1025)] mentions some peoples: Arabs, Assyrians, Babylonians, Iberians, Scythians. This coincides with the concerns of Basil II with the North and the South East of the empire. However, the references are single instances and are not developed into a narrative.

Book 2 [Constantine VIII (15th December 1025 – 11th November 1028)] has no references to foreign nations or minorities (like book 6a, 7c).

Book 3 [Romanos III (15th November 1028 – 11th April 1034)] only refers to Saracens and Syria. That is because of the important narrative of the failed campaign of Edessa in 1031¹¹.

Book 4 [Michael IV (11th April 1034 – 10th December 1041)] for the first time gives wider information. It refers to Babylonians, Bulgarians, Persians, Scythians. Once more the concern is North and South East.

Book 5 [Michael V (10th December 1041 – 20th April 1042)] mentions only peoples to the North: Scythians and Tauroscythians.

Book 6 [Constantine IX (11th June 1042 – 11th January 1055)] mentions Alans, Armenians, Egyptians, Iberians, Indians, Italians, Macedonians, Russians.

Book 6a [Theodora (11th January 1055 – 31st August 1056), Michael VI (31st August 1056 – 31st August 1057)] mentions no foreign peoples.

Book 7 [Isaak I (1st September 1057 – 22nd November 1059)] mentions Assyrians, Egyptians, Getai, Italians, Moesians, Parthians, Tauroscythians.

Book 7a [Constantine X (24th November 1059 – 22nd May 1067)] mentions Moesians, Persians, Syria, Triballi.

Book 7b [Romanos IV (1st January 1068 – 24th October 1071)] mentions Armenians, Curds, Franks, Persians.

Book 7c [Michael VII (22nd May 1071 – 24th March 1078)] mentions no nations or minorities (like book 2).

	976	1025	1028	1034	1041	1042	1055	1057	1059	1067	1071
	1	2	3	4	5	6	6a	7	7a	7b	7c
Alans						X					
Arabs	X										
Armenians						X				X	
Assyrians	X							X			

¹¹ PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 3, 7–11. The siege is described in SCYL., *Hist.* Romanos, III, 13 (387, 89 THURN) (within the date range September 1031 – August 1033: 15th Indiction 6540 [Romanos, III, 9 (384, 1–2 THURN)] – 2nd Indiction 6542 [Romanos, III, 17 (390, 90 THURN)]).

	976	1025	1028	1034	1041	1042	1055	1057	1059	1067	1071
Babylonians	X			X							
Bulgarians				X							
Celts	X										
Curds										X	
Egyptians						X		X			
Franks										X	
Getae								X			
Iberians	X					X					
Indians						X					
Italians						X		X			
Macedonians						X					
Moesians								X	X		
Parthians								X			
Persians				X					X	X	
Russians						X					
Saracens			X								
Scythians	X			X	X				X		
Syria			X						X		
Tauroscy- thians					X			X			
Triballi									X		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	6a	7	7a	7b	7c
	976	1025	1028	1034	1041	1042	1055	1057	1059	1067	1071

The data is striking and needs to be highlighted before it is interpreted. Books 2 (1025–1028), 6a (1055–1056) and 7c (1071–1078) do not mention any foreign nations. In the first case it is not striking since Psellos was aged 8 to 10 years old¹². The second case may be due to the recalling of Psellos to court during a short

¹² Psellos' birthdate: Before April 1034, he was not yet 16 (PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 3, 25, 1–3).

reign¹³. However the last case is surprising since the only portrait of Psellos which survives, shows him as an advisor to Michael VII¹⁴. The evidence of the *Chronographia* would indicate that his advice during 1071–1078 was not about foreign affairs¹⁵. Psellos was also too young to be writing book 1 (976–1025) while Basil II was alive¹⁶. He indicates that his first main memory was the funeral of Romanos III in 1034¹⁷. That would mean that his description of the siege of Aleppo in 1031 (when he was 13 years old) was rather hearsay¹⁸. Therefore, the direct and contemporary evidence would seem to cover book 4 to book 7b (1034–1071), reasonable since Psellos was 16 to 53 years old.

Most references to foreign peoples appear in books 6, 7 and 7a (1042–1055; 1057–1067). They amount to 58% of the total (20 out of 37). Of the 18 imperial speeches¹⁹, ten are dedicated to Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) and two to Theodora (1056). Thus, twelve speeches were delivered at the same time as the period of most references to foreign nations in the *Chronographia*. Given that these imperial speeches were recited at court, it would imply that during the period 1042–1059 Psellos was active at court, and for this reason he heard direct information about the foreign relations of the empire. The period of 1042–1059 is important since it is the time when Psellos knew the events concerning the empire and the foreign policies and pressures.

In the period 1042–1059 he does not mention Arabs or Saracens, but shows concern for Egypt (Fatimid caliphate) and the Parthians/Persians (Seljuk Turks). He is aware of the Balkans and mostly the Moesians/Scythians and Triballi. In the period 1042–1055 alone he seems aware of the Caucasus (Alans/Armenians/Iberians), while it does not concern him at other times. This is important because the mistress of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos was from Alanian²⁰. Moreover, Grigor Magistros²¹ was representative of Media (Vaspurakan). Thus,

¹³ PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 6, 13. Theodora reigned from 11th January 1055 to 31st August 1056.

¹⁴ Athos, Pantokratoros 234, f. 254 recto.

¹⁵ Psellos claims Constantine IX dictated to him a letter addressed to the Egyptian Caliph. (PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 6, 190). He also wrote the letter in the name of Michael VII Doukas to Malik Shah. *Lettre au Sultan Malik-Shah rédigée par Michel Psellos*, ed. et trans. P. GAUTIER, REB 35, 1977, p. 73–97.

¹⁶ Seven years old at the death of Basil II on 15th December 1025. He says he does not remember seeing either Basil II or Constantine VIII (PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 3, 1, 12–16).

¹⁷ PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 3, 4.

¹⁸ PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 3, 7–11.

¹⁹ *Michaelis Pselli Orationes panegyricae*, ed. G.T. DENNIS, Stuttgartiae 1994 [= BSGR]. F. LAURITZEN, *Sul nesso tra stile e contenuti negli encomi di Psello (per una datazione dell'Or. Paneg. 3 Dennis)*, MG 7, 2007, p. 149–158.

²⁰ PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 6, 151–155.

²¹ *Գրիգոր Մագիստրոսի թղթերը* [The Letters of Grigor Magistros], Alexandropol 1910. See also G. MURADYAN, *Greek Authors and Subject Matters in the Letters of Grigor Magistros*, REArm 35, 2013, p. 29–77.

the North, East and South were important according to Psellos. The west appears irrelevant to him, all the more striking since the Norman advance was against Byzantine territory in Southern Italy. The period before Psellos was active at court (1018–1042)²² sees him focusing on Arabs and Scythians almost exclusively (Celts and Iberians are briefly mentioned). The subsequent period (1067–1078) Psellos mentions Armenians, Kurds, Franks (Normans) and Persians (Seljuk Turks) alone (only 1067–1071).

Psellos' understanding of foreign nations and minorities can be divided into three phases.

- 1) Focus on Arabs and Scythians [1018–1042]
- 2) Wide range of nations [1042–1067]
- 3) Focus on Armenians, Kurds, Franks and Persians [1067–1071]

The evidence of the panegyrics tells us that the second phase represents his more detailed understanding the court's view of the outside world. In general terms the shift from phase 1 to phase 3 seems to coincide with Byzantine history: the concern for Arabs and Pechenegs, at the beginning of the century, was replaced by the arrival of the Normans and Turks in the second half of the century. The discovery of three phases is interesting, since it reveals Psellos' understanding of the world he was watching change before his very eyes. The main problem, with the terms he uses, is that it is not immediately clear today to which population he is referring. Thus, one will now propose some solutions to identify the populations he names in the *Chronographia*.

Alans (Ἀλανοὶ, Ἀλανία 6, 145; 6, 151–155) = Ossets [a. 1050–1054]²³. They are to be identified with modern day Ossets²⁴ because Tzetzes records a sentence in Alanic²⁵ which can be understood as an older form of Ossetic²⁶. It is not clear

²² F. LAURITZEN, *Psellos' Early Career at Court*, BB 68, 2009, p. 135–143.

²³ A. ALEMANY, *Sources on the Alans. A Critical Compilation*, Leiden 2000; I. GERSEVITCH, *Word and Spirit in Ossetian*, BSOAS 17, 3, 1955, p. 478–489; CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 10, 11. For Psellos on Alania see С.Н. МАЛАХОВ, *К истории алано-византийских отношений в 1045–1055 гг.*, [in:] *Власть, общество и церковь в Византии. Сборник научных статей*, ed. С.Н. МАЛАХОВ, Н.Д. БАРАБАНОВ, Армавир 2007, p. 117–129.

²⁴ An Osset is present on the road between Vladikavkaz and Tbilisi at the beginning of M. LERMONTOV, *A Hero of our time*, Bela, St Petersburg 1840.

²⁵ H. HUNGER, *Zum Epilog der Theogonie des Johannes Tzetzes*, BZ 46, 1, 1953, p. 302–307.

²⁶ Τοῖς Ἀλανοῖς προσφθέγγομαι κατὰ τὴν τούτων γλώσσαν· καλὴ ἡμέρα σου αὐθέντα μου ἀρχόντισσα πόθεν εἶσαι· ταπαρχὰς· μέσφιλι χσινὰ κορθι κάντα καὶ τᾶλλα. οὐκ αἰσχύνεσσαι αὐθέντρια μου νὰ γαμῆ τὸ μουνὶν σου, παπάς. Να φαρνετζ κιντζι· μέσφιλι, καιτζ· φουά. Σαουγγέ. Tzetzes *Theogonia* in H. HUNGER, *Zum Epilog...*, p. 305. R. BIELMEIER, *Das Alanische bei Tzetzes*, [in:] *Medio-iranica*, ed. W. SKALMOWSKI, A. VAN TONGERLOO, Leuven 1993, p. 1–28. The translation into Greek is actually in red above the lines of Ossetian only present in Vind. Phil. Gr. 118 fol. 161v. See also

the geographic area of the Alans/Ossets at this time. Important is the inscription of Bolshoi Zelenchuk (Karachay Cherkessia, Russian Federation) which appears to be written in Ossetian but with Greek letters²⁷. Moreover the church at Senty (Karachay Cherkessia, Russian Federation) has an inscription in Greek dated to 965 which refers to Alania²⁸. Alda of Alania gave the fortress of Anakoufia (Anakopia) to Romanos III²⁹. Thus the Alans/Ossetians appear to control a large area north east of the Black Sea.

Arabs (Ἀραβες 1, 31) = Arabs [a. 976–1025]. See Saracens, Assyrians, Babylonians. Generic reference.

Armenians (Ἀρμένιοι 6, 189; 7b, 34–40 [a. 1045 and 1067–1071]) = Armenians³⁰. He refers to a part of Armenia becoming Byzantine³¹, i.e. the kingdom of Ani and its incorporation into the Byzantine Empire in 1045³². Evidence of this are the Armenian and Greek inscriptions at Ani³³. The second reference is to Chatatourios an Armenian man³⁴. However, his story does not allow one to understand from which kingdom or province of Armenia he originated.

Assyrians (Ἀσσύριοι 1, 9; 1, 11; 7, 50 [a. 980; 1057–1059]) = Caliphate with capital Baghdad. The focus is on the city rather than the country. See Babylonian. An ancient name for a new reality. Ancient Assyria was located in Mesopotamia, between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. The ancient name refers to a geographic reality not an ethnic one and appears to indicate the territory controlled by the Caliphate. Given the proliferation of emirates at this time, it would indicate the limited territory under direct control of Baghdad. Therefore Assyrians indicates central Iraq of today.

A. LUBOTSKY, 11. *Appendix. The Alanic text in Tzetzes' "Theogonia"*, [in:] IDEM, *Alanic Marginal Notes in a Greek Liturgical Manuscript*, Vienna 2015, p. 51–67.

²⁷ L. ZGUSTA, *The Old Ossetic Inscription from the River Zelenčuk*, Vienna 1987.

²⁸ + Ἐνεκεν[ισ]θ(η), ἐνεώσθ(η) ὁ να[ὸς] τ(ῆς) | ὑπεραγίας θε(εοτόκ)ου ἐπὶ βασηλ[είας] | Νηκηφόρου, Βασηλ[είου] καὶ | Κωνσταντίνου | κὲ Δα(υ)δ ἐξουσηγκράτορ(ος) [Ἀλανίας] | κα(ι) Μαρίας ἐξου-σ[η]γκράτ[ο]ρ[ισ]σης | μ]ην(ῆ) Ἀπρη(λίου) β', ἡμέρα ἀγ[ή]ου Α[ντιπάσχα] (?) | δηὰ χηρὸς Θεοδώρου, μητ[ροπο]λ(ίτου) καθηγη(ασμένου) Ἀλανί(ας), ἀπ[ὸ] κ[α]τ[ί]σε(ως) κό(σμου) ἔτ(ους) ςυογ'. Ἀν[ε]γρά-φε[το] δηὰ χειρὸς [τοῦ δείνου | ἀποκρησ(ιαρίου) πατρ(ικίου) (Vinogradov and Beleckij in A.Ю. Виноградов, Д.В. Белецкий, *Нижний Архыз и Сенты – древнейшие храмы России. Проблемы христианского искусства Алании и Северо-Западного Кавказа*, Москва 2011, p. 241–245).

²⁹ τότε δὴ καὶ Ἀλδῆ ἡ Γεωργίου τοῦ Ἀβασγοῦ γυνή, τοῦ γένους οὔσα τῶν Ἀλανῶν, προσερρῆ τῷ βασιλεῖ, παραδούσα καὶ τὸ ὄχυρῶτατον φρούριον τὴν Ἀνακουφίαν. (SCYL., *Hist. Romanos*, III, 16 (389, 48–50 THURN). The effective possession of the fortress by the Byzantines is witnessed by Greek inscriptions published in A.Ю. Виноградов, *Эпиграфика. Надписи с Анакопийской горы*, [in:] Е. Ендольцева, *Искусство Абхазского царства VIII–XI веков. Христианские памятники Анакопийской крепости*, Санкт-Петербург 2011, p. 209–224.

³⁰ CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 22, 44.

³¹ PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 6, 189.

³² А.П. КАЖДАН, *Армяне в составе господствующего класса Византийской империи в XI–XII вв.*, Ереван 1973.

³³ J.P. MANÉ, *Ani sous Constantin X d'après une inscription de 1060*, TM 14, 2002, p. 403–441.

³⁴ Chatatourios 61 PBW 2016.

Babylonians (Βαβυλώνιος 1, 11; 4, 19 [a. 976–1025; a. 1040]) = Caliphate with capital Baghdad. Focus is once more on the capital. See Assyrians. An ancient name for a city close to modern day Baghdad. It would therefore refer to those people living in the capital of the Caliphate.

Bulgarians (Βούλγαροι 4, 40–47 [a. 1040–1041]) = Bulgarians during the revolt headed by Peter Delian and Alusianos. They are mentioned by name and refer to a people rather than a place in the *Chronographia*. This reflects the conflict over territory between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians which had been partially settled four years before Psellos was born. Psellos grew up with Bulgarians living within the Byzantine Empire.

Celts (Κελτοί 1, 31) = Northern Europeans (which ones?) [a. 976–1025]. Unclear which northern population he is indicating.

Curds (Κούρτοι 7b, 20 [a. 1067–1071]) = Curds. Brief mention, but important given that it indicates that the meaning of the title of Alp Arslan (1063–1072) was ‘ruler of Turks or Curds’³⁵.

Egyptians (Αιγύπτιοι 6, 159; 6, 190; 7, 50 [a. 1050–1054, 1057–1059]) = Fatimid Egyptians³⁶. Fatimid Caliphate with capital in Cairo. The references concern only the period 1050–1059 and reveal the shared concern of the Caliphate of Cairo to the events in Baghdad, namely the sieges and conquest (1058) by the Turks of Toğrul Bey (1037–1063).

Franks (Φράγγος 7b, 39 [1067–1071]) = Normans after the conquest of most Byzantine territory in Italy.

Getae (Γέται 7, 67 [a. 1057–1059]) = Uzes. The identification is certain since Scylitzes refers to the same episode giving the name as Uzi³⁷.

Iberians (1, 10; 1, 15; 1, 17; 1, 31; 6, 100; 6, 105 [a. 976–1025, a. 1047]) = Georgians.

Indians (Ινδοί 6, 159 [a. 1050–1054]) = India, land from where spices come (see also Egyptians).

Italians (Ιταλοί 6, 78; 7, 24 [a. 1043, a. 1057–1059]) = Italians rather than Normans and before the latter settled properly in Italy.

Macedonians (Μακεδόνες 6, 99; 6, 102; 6, 110 [a. 1047]) = Inhabitants of Adrianople (modern Edirne). Leo Tornikios is defined as someone who was Macedonian. He is described in the *Chronographia* only in relation to his rebellion dated to 1047³⁸.

³⁵ ὁ σουλιτάν, ὁ τῶν Περσῶν ἢ Κούρτων βασιλεὺς (PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 7b, 20, 2).

³⁶ CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 15, 25.

³⁷ SCYL., *Hist. Const.*, IX, 16 (455, 45 THURN) Getae/Uzi force Moesians/Pechenegs across frozen Danube [a. 1046/7] [ODB Uzes].

³⁸ The rebellion of Tornikios is described in SCYL., *Hist. Const.*, IX, 8, 103 (September 1046 – 13th Indiction [SCYL., *Hist. Const.*, IX, 8, 1 (435, 1 THURN)] – August 1048: 1st Indiction [SCYL., *Hist. Const.*, IX, 8 (439, 10–11 THURN)]).

Moesians (Μυσοί 7, 67; 7a, 23 [a. 1057–1067]) = Pechenegs (Πατζινάκai) crossed frozen Danube³⁹.

Parthians (Πάρθοι 7, 50; 7, 63 [a. 1057–1059]) = Seljuk Turks⁴⁰. Lead by a Sultan (σουλτάν 7, 50) [Toğrul I]. See Persians.

Persians (Πέρσαι 4, 19; 7a, 11; 7b, 13; 7b, 20; 7b, 41; [a. 1040, a. 1059–1071]) = Seljuk Turks⁴¹. Sultan is ruler of Persians or Curds (7b, 20). See Parthians.

Russians (σκάφη Ῥωσικά 6, 90–6, 95 [a. 1043]) = Rus⁴².

Saracens (Σαρακηνοί 3, 7 [a. 1031]) = Arabs living in Koile Syria whose capital is Aleppo (Psellos, *Chronographia*, 3, 7)⁴³.

Scythians (Σκύθαι 1, 13; 1, 31; 4, 43; 4, 49; 5, 15 [a. 976–1025; a. 1040; 1041]) = Pechenegs or Bulgarians?⁴⁴

Syria (Συρία 3, 7; 3, 8; 7b, 13 [a. 1031, a. 1059–1067]) = Syria (Emirate of Aleppo)⁴⁵. Local language Arabic (Psellos, *Chronographia*, 3, 8). The emirate became an ally of the Byzantine Empire after 1031 and was the first ally to confront the Turkish armies in the 1050s.

Tauroscythians (Περὶ τὸν Ταῦρον Σκύθαι 5, 25; 7, 13 [a. 1041, 1057–1059]) = *Scyths near Crimea*. This population is the only one described by a geographic paraphrase. Tauros refers to Crimea and the Scythians are those living around the Crimea but not in the Crimea. This could refer to the Varangians who were travelling between Kiev and the Black Sea especially during the time of Yaroslav the Wise (1019–1054) whose daughter married Harald Hardrada, and whose wife was also Scandinavian. Defined as ξενικόν (5, 25).

Triballi (Τριβαλλοί 7a, 23 [a. 1059–1067]) = Uzses?⁴⁶ or Serbs? It is difficult to identify the population. Psellos may be ambiguous on purpose. He is defining a geographic area. Indeed, the Triballi used to live in the area of Moesia Inferior (the area of modern-day Serbia).

These ancient names sometimes represent overlapping populations. It is worth recalling the modern names and how they are referred to:

³⁹ SCYL., *Hist. Const.*, IX, 16 (455, 45 THURN) [a. 1046/7]. [Leaders were Turach and Kegenes]. (See CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 1–8. F. CURTA, *The Image and Archaeology of the Pechenegs*, Ban 23, 2013, p. 143–202 [ODB Pechenegs].)

⁴⁰ Τοῦρκοι SCYL., *Hist. Const.*, IX, 9 (442, 87; 442, 88 THURN). CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 6.

⁴¹ Τοῦρκοι SCYL., *Hist. Const.*, IX, 9 (442, 87; 442, 88 THURN). CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, *passim*.

⁴² CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 9; Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Пселл о причинах последнего похода русских на Константинополь в 1043 г.*, ВВ 27, 1967, p. 71–84.

⁴³ CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 25, 71.

⁴⁴ CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 1–8.

⁴⁵ CONST. PORPH., *De Adm.*, 25, 71.

⁴⁶ J. СТАМЕНКОВИЋ, *Цар Константин X Дука и Михаило Псел – Историја једног односа* (Diss., University of Belgrade 2016).

- Adrianople inhabitants = Macedonians (1047)
 Aleppo Emirate = Syria (1031; 1059–1067), Saracens (1031)
 Arabs = Arabs (976–1025)
 Armenians = Armenians (1045, 1067–1071)
 Bulgarians = Bulgarians (1040–1041), Scythians (1040–1041)
 Caliphate of Baghdad = Babylonians (976–1025; 1040), Assyrians (976–1025; 1057–1059)
 Curds = Curds (1067–1071)
 Georgians = Iberians (976–1025; 1047)
 Indians = Indians (1050–1054)
 Italians = Italians (1043; 1057–1059)
 Normans = Franks (1067–1071)
 Northern Europeans = Celts (976–1025)
 Pechenegs = Scythians (976–1025; 1040–1041), Moesians (1057–1059)
 Russians = Rus' (1043)
 Turks = Persians (1040), Parthians (1057–1059), Persians (1059–1071)
 Uzès = Getae (1057–1059), Triballi (1059–1067)
 Varangians = Scythotaurians (1041; 1057–1059)

Psellos refers to nations which border with the Eastern Roman Empire or else with minorities present within the empire. In Costantine Porphyrogenetos' *De Administrando Imperio* one sees an important difference: each neighbouring nation is defined also by other countries it has on its borders. In other words, Psellos seems more concerned by the internal matters of the empire, even though he has some understanding of the foreign peoples present at the borders. While one sees a much wider understanding of foreign relations between 1042 and 1059, with an understanding of all points of the compass, it is striking that Psellos does not mention those nations which are a concern for states bordering with the Eastern Roman Empire. It is a view from the imperial palace. Psellos' network is also that of the local governors within the empire. More than half of his surviving letters are addressed to provincial governors (*kritai*).

It would appear that Psellos' understanding of nations and minorities depends on his friendship with provincial governors until 1042. When Constantine IX Monomachos became emperor, Psellos gained access to information from within the palace about the outside world. After 1059 he seems to have less information about what is going on abroad. These dates correspond to the tenure of Leichoudes

as *mesazon* (1042–1050, 1057–1059)⁴⁷. In other words, Psellos had access to information about the empire when his friends were in power⁴⁸. In particular Leichoudes as *mesazon* but also Leichoudes' son was governor of Vaspurakan⁴⁹. It is interesting that though his friend John Xiphilinos was from Trebizond, Psellos does not seem particularly interested in that area. His knowledge about Alania, Iberia and the Rus seems connected with events in Constantinople itself.

Psellos however seems to consider most of these populations as barbarians (βάρβαροι). This generic term is useful for him since it allows him to speak about his main subject (the emperor), but reveals his 'inner' view. He is less interested in differentiating foreign populations, than discussing their impact within court politics. The term barbarian seems to be a generic term, which does not reveal particular interest in the populations concerned. The word barbarian is not used in book 5, 6a, 7c confirming that Psellos is not concerned by foreign peoples in 1041–1042, 1055–1056 and 1071–1078. He seems to imply that there is a distinction between barbarian and 'Greek' culture⁵⁰. However, the most important element is that three nations are not defined as barbarian: Armenians, Macedonians, Tauroscythians. The Macedonians are defined as those connected with Leo Tornikios and his rebels. Armenians and Tauroscythians owe their 'non barbarian' status to their mercenary role. Indeed, Psellos refers to ξενικὰ δυνάμεις⁵¹. The term 'foreigner' is connected with the term alliance (ξενική συμμαχία). Therefore, barbarians are those who do not have a formal agreement with Constantinople and who tend to rebel or fight against the empire. This implies that the Scythians living around the Crimea were actually Varangian settlements. In other words the references to the Scythians around the Crimea in 1041 refer to *xenoi*, allied foreigners (at the service of Michael V), while the Rus' as a foreign people refer to their enemy status in 1043. Therefore, *barbaros* does not define a foreign nation, but a foreign enemy, instead of a foreign ally. Thus, Byzantine rebels are as local

⁴⁷ F. LAURITZEN, *Leichoudes' pronoia of the Mangana*, *3PBI* 55, 2018, p. 81–96.

⁴⁸ F. LAURITZEN, *Il mecenate Costantino Licudi e la monodia di Michele Psello in memoria di Maria Sclerena (poem 17 Westerink)*, *Pare* 8, 2018, p. 23–35.

⁴⁹ ὑποστρέφων δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς καὶ μέλλων διοδεύειν ἀπὸ τῆς Μηδίας ἦτοι τοῦ Βαασπρακᾶν (ἦρχε δὲ τότε τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας ἐκ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς Στέφανος πατρικίος ὁ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ παραδυναστεύοντος τῷ βασιλεὶ τῆς Λειχουδίας υἱός) στέλλει πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξίων συγχωρηθῆναι διελθεῖν ἀκωλύτως, ὑπισχνούμενος μεθ' ὄρκων φρικωδεστάτων ἄψαστον καὶ ἀσινή διατηρήσαι τὴν χώραν. (SCYL., *Hist. Const.*, IX, 10 (446, 79–84 THURN)). [1st Indiction September 1047 – August 1048: *Const.*, IX, 9 (439, 10–11 THURN)].

⁵⁰ PSELLOS, *Chronographia*, 6, 37.

⁵¹ ξενικὴν ἑτέραν ξυλλοχισάμενος δύναμιν 1, 13, 4; ξενικάς τε συγκροτῶν δυνάμεις 3, 7, 10–11; ξενικόν τε καὶ συμμαχικὸν εἰώθασι παρατρέφειν οἱ βασιλεῖς, λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ταῦρον Σκύθας 5, 25, 17–18; ἐν ταῖς ἀυλαῖς ξενικὸν 5, 30, 10; εἰ μὴ τις ὀλίγη μερὶς ξενικῆ, ὅποση τις εἴωθεν ἐφέπεσθαι ταῖς βασιλείοις πομπαῖς 6, 105, 8–9; τὰς παρ' ἡμῖν ξενικάς δυνάμεις 7, 10, 14–15; ὅποση καὶ στρατοπέδω καὶ ξενικαῖς ἀρκέσειεν ἂν δυνάμεσιν 7, 22, 5–6; ξενικὴν συμμαχίαν 7b, 12, 4.

as foreign mercenaries. This means that Psellos does not have a problem with foreigners but defines them by their allegiance: barbarians are enemies, foreigners are allies.

The evidence Psellos' *Chronographia* yields is essential. He is one of the foremost eyewitness accounts of the court's attitude towards nations and minorities, especially for the period 1042–1059. Before that time, he is unaware of the changes occurring in distant lands, and after that date, his role appears less informed. His understanding of foreign affairs does not imply he was central to such questions, but rather that his circle of friends was aware of such information. It seems that while Constantine Leichoudes was *mesazon*, Psellos has the widest interest in the outside world, otherwise he appears to rely on the network of *kritai* (judges) with whom he has an important exchange of letters. Therefore, Psellos sees nations and minorities from the prism of the court. First from the outer circles of the court, then as an insider thanks to Leichoudes and then once more as an outsider.

* * *

The *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos (1018–1081) reveals a limited interest in nations and minorities within and without the Byzantine Empire. He had access to information about these peoples either indirectly (1018–1042) or more directly (1042–1078). He has a greater understanding of their complexity, especially between 1042–1059 when his friend Constantine Leichoudes was *mesazon*. Psellos refers to nations and minorities in his *Chronographia* through the prism of the imperial court at Constantinople.

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Abstract. The *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos (1018–1081) reveals a limited interest in nations and minorities within and without the Byzantine Empire. He had access to information about these peoples either indirectly (1018–1042) or more directly (1042–1078). He has a greater understanding of their complexity, especially between 1042–1059 when his friend Constantine Leichoudes was *mesazon*. Psellos refers to nations and minorities in his *Chronographia* through the prism of the imperial court at Constantinople.

Keywords: Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, nations, minorities, Byzantine Empire.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REMAINS OF THE ROMAN EMPEROR, JULIAN THE APOSTATE

Julian (*Flavius Claudius Iulianus*), known as the Apostate, the Roman Emperor between 361–363, was one of the most intriguing rulers. He has inspired a great deal of interest among generations of researchers¹. He was both a just emperor, a skilled administrator, a wise commander, and a talented writer.

The literary work of Julian the Apostate is vast although it cannot be fully assessed because some of the emperor's works have been lost. The ruler left behind numerous literary pieces²: 8 orations; 2 satires – *Misopogon, or the Beard Hater*, and *The Caesars*, a polemic treatise *Against the Galilaeans*; a collection of

¹ G. NEGRI, *L'imperatore Giuliano Apostata*, Milano 1901; J. BIDEZ, *La vie de l'Empereur Julien*, Paris 1930; R. BRAUN, J. RICHER, *L'empereur Julien. De l'histoire à la légende*, Paris 1978; G. RICCIOTTI, *L'imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata secondo i documenti*, Verona 1962; G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Julian the Apostate*, London 1978; R. BROWNING, *The Emperor Julian*, Los Angeles 1978; P. ATHANASSIADI, *Julian. An Intellectual Biography*, London–New York 1992; IDEM, *Giuliano. Ultimo degli imperatori pagani*, Genova 1994; R. SMITH, *Julian's Gods. Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Apostate*, London–New York 1995; W. CERAN, *Kościół wobec antychrześcijańskiej polityki cesarza Juliana Apostaty*, Łódź 1980 (= AUL.FH 1); S. OLSZANIEC, *Julian Apostata jako reformator religijny*, Kraków 1999; L. BIELAS, *Apostazja cesarza Juliana w świadectwach antycznych pisarzy i w nowożytnej historiografii*, Kraków 2002; K. BRINGMANN, *Kaiser Julian. Der letzte heidnische Herrscher*, Darmstadt 2004; K. ROSEN, *Julian. Kaiser, Gott und Christenhasser*, Stuttgart 2006; T. SZELĄG, *Kampanie galijskie Juliana Apostaty. Argentoratum 357*, Zabrze 2007; L. JERPHAGNON, *Julien dit l'Apostat*, Paris 2008; P. RAMOS, *La véritable histoire de Julien*, Paris 2012; H.C. TEITLER, *The Last Pagan Emperor. Julian the Apostate and the War against Christianity*, Oxford 2017; M. SPINELLI, *Giuliano l'Apostata. Anticristo o cercatore di dio?*, Roma 2017; A. MARCONE, *Giuliano*, Roma 2018.

² *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. I–III, trans. W.C. WRIGHT, London–Cambridge Mass. 1962–1969 [= LCL, 13; 29; 157]; JULIAN APOSTATA, *Listy*, trans. W. KLINGER, Wrocław 1962 [= BPLA, 9]; *Cesarz Juljan Apostata i jego satyra Symposion*, trans. L. ĆWIKLIŃSKI, Poznań 1936; JULIAN APOSTATA, *List do rady i ludu ateńskiego*, trans. A. PAJĄKOWSKA, Poznań 2006 [= FHA, 7]; JULIAN APOSTATA, *Misopogon, czyli Nieprzyjacieli brody*, trans. A. PAJĄKOWSKA, Poznań 2009 [= FHA, 13]; JULIAN APOSTATA, *List do filozofa Temistiosa*, trans. A. PAJĄKOWSKA, Poznań 2011 [= FHA, 22]; JULIAN APOSTATA, *Przeciw Galilejczykom*, trans. A. PAJĄKOWSKA, Poznań 2012 [= FHA, 24]; JULIAN APOSTATA, *Cesarze*, trans. A. PAJĄKOWSKA, Poznań 2013 [= FHA, 27].

87 letters; and extensive official correspondence³. However, it should be clearly stated that his correspondence is decisively more valuable as documents of the epoch than literary pieces. Many a researcher has evaluated his literary activity critically, claiming that while it reflects the emperor's stormy and unusual life, it is marked by superficiality rather than in-depth analysis⁴. Despite their deficiencies and imperfections, Julian's letters provide a wealth of valuable information about him and his reign as well as the Roman Empire in the second half of the fourth century. Moreover, they are an excellent supplement to other sources, both Christian and Pagan.

Undoubtedly, Julian the Apostate was also one of the most educated Roman rulers.

The death of the emperor Julian the Apostate

It was a great desire of the emperor Julian the Apostate to defeat Persia, a Roman nemesis, and win back the lands that had been lost in the previous Roman-Persian wars⁵. He acted on this dream, however, his expedition to Persia resulted in the defeat of the Roman army and his death on June 26th, 363.

Julian the Apostate died under mysterious circumstances. His death and the events preceding it were depicted and interpreted in different ways, even by the participants of this tragic quest. These obscurities have triggered a lively polemic, which started in Julian's epoch and continue until this day. A number of works and articles examining the circumstances of the death of this exceptional emperor have been published⁶.

The historian Ammianus Marcellinus, an almost direct witness of the event, left a most interesting account of the wounding and the final hours of the emperor

³ *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. et ed. C. PHARR, praef. C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS, Princeton 1952.

⁴ J. WOLSKI, *Julian Apostata. Życie i twórczość*, [in:] JULIAN APOSTATA, *Listy...*, p. VII.

⁵ For more on the battles by the Roman-Persian border between 299–363, see: T. SZELĄG, *Amida 359*, Warszawa 2012; A. DRABIK, *Ktezyfont 363*, Warszawa 2016; T. SIŃCZAK, *Wojny Cesarstwa Rzymskiego z Iranem Sasanidów w latach 226–363*, Oświęcim 2016; J.S. HARREL, *Wojna o Nisibis. Obrona rzymskiej wschodniej granicy 337–363*, trans. A. PARADZIŃSKI, Oświęcim 2019; K. FARROKH, K. MAKSYMUK, J.S. GRACIA, *The Siege of Amida (359 CE)*, Siedlce 2018.

⁶ D. CONDUCHÉ, *Ammien Marcellin et la mort de Julien*, L 24, 1965, p. 359–380; I. HAHN, *Der ideologische Kampf um den Tod Julians des Abtrünnigen*, K 38, 1960, p. 225–232; R.T. RIDLEY, *Notes on Julian's Persian Expedition (363)*, *Hi* 22, 2, 1973, p. 317–330; C.W. FORNARA, *Julian's Persian Expedition in Ammianus and Zosimus*, *JHS* 111, 1991, p. 1–15; J. KURANC, *Zgon cesarza Juliana Apostaty w świetle relacji współczesnych pisarzy pogańskich*, *RHu* 14, 1966, p. 73–86; M. JACZYŃSKA, *Imitatio Alexandri. Parę uwag na temat perskiej wyprawy cesarza Juliana*, *AUNC.H* 29, 1996, p. 133–148; A. PAJĄKOWSKA, *Historyk Ammianus Marcellinus o śmierci cesarza Juliana Apostaty*, *StCN* 7, 2005, p. 9–21; D. WOODS, *Gregory of Nazianzus on the Death of Julian the Apostate (Or. 5.13)*, *Mn* 68, 2015, p. 297–303.

Julian the Apostate⁷. Marcellinus' description stands out from the testimonies of other authors, both non-Christian and Christian: Libanius', Zosimus', Gregory's of Nazianzus, Eutropius', Socrates Scholasticus', Sozomenus', Philostorgius', or Zonaras'⁸. Julian the Apostate perished at the age of thirty-two. His independent reign lasted only twenty months: from November 361 to June 363.

The mystery surrounding the circumstances of the emperor's death extends to his remains. The burial site of the emperor Julian's body has been the subject of numerous reflections, starting from the Antiquity all the way to the present day⁹.

Julian's burial in Tarsus

After the Persian quest, the emperor had planned to stay for longer in Tarsus in Cilicia. Ammianus Marcellinus confirms this fact: [Julian] *for he said that he had arranged when the campaign was finished to return by a shorter route to Tarsus in Cilicia for the purpose of wintering, and that he had written to Memorius, the governor of that city, to prepare everything that was necessary for his use*¹⁰. The historian adds: *And his not long afterwards came to pass; for his body was brought back there, and he was buried in a suburb of the city with simple rites, as he himself had directed*¹¹. Naturally, it does mean that the emperor wished to be buried in Tarsus with *humili pompa*. Julian hoped to return alive from the quest. He made all the necessary arrangements for his stay in Tarsus. Ammian confirms this unfortunate course of events: the emperor returned to Tarsus, as planned, but he was dead. Glanville Downey, on the other hand, believes that Julian made the wish to be

⁷ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *Res gestae*, XXV, 3 – ed.: *Ammianus Marcellinus*, vol. I–III, trans. J.C. ROLFE, London 1950–1952 [= LCL, 300] (cetera: AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS).

⁸ LIBANIUS, *Orationes*, XVIII – ed.: LIBANIUS, *Selected Works*, vol. I, *The Julianic Orations*, ed. et trans. A.F. NORMAN, London–Cambridge Mass. 1987 [= LCL, 451] (cetera: LIBANIUS); ZOSIME, *Histoire nouvelle*, III, 29, ed. et trans. F. PASCHOU, vol. I–III, Paris 1979–2000 (cetera: ZOSIMOS); GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS, *Oratio*, V, 18, [in:] *PG*, vol. XXXV; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum libri XIII–XVIII*, III, 215, rec. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonnæ 1897 (cetera: ZONARAS); PHILOSTORGIUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, VII, 15, ed. J. BIDEZ, F. WINKELMANN, Berlin 1981 [= GCS]; *Eutropii Breviarium ab Urbe condita*, X, 16, 2, ed. C. SANTINI, Leipzig 1979; SOKRATES, *Kirchengeschichte*, III, 21, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 1] (cetera: SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS); SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, VI, 1, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 4] (cetera: SOZOMENUS).

⁹ M. DI MAIO, *The Transfer of the Remains of the Emperor Julian from Tarsus to Constantinople*, B 48, 1978, p. 43–50; J. ARCE, *La tumba del Emperador Juliano*, Luc 3, 1984, p. 181–191; D. WOODS, *On the Alleged Reburial of Julian the Apostate in Constantinople*, B 76, 2006, p. 364–371; G. DOWNEY, *The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople*, JHS 79, 1959, p. 27–51; M.J. JOHNSON, *Observations on the Burial of the Emperor Julian in Constantinople*, B 77, 2008, p. 254–260; A.A. VASILIEV, *Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople*, DOP 4, 1948, p. 1–26; P. GRIERSON, C. MANGO, I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)*, DOP 16, 1962, p. 1–63.

¹⁰ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXIII, 2, 5, vol. II, p. 317.

¹¹ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXIII, 2, 5, vol. II, p. 317.

buried in Tarsus, should he perish, and to ensure that the burial ceremonies be modest. This complies with the lifestyle of Julian the Apostate¹². Ammianus also notes that Julian's relative, Procopius was entrusted with escorting the emperor's body: *Then Procopius was sent with the remains of Julian, in order to inter him, as he had directed when still alive, in the suburb of Tarsus*¹³.

The ruler was therefore buried in the suburb of Tarsus by the road leading to the passes of Mount Taurus, in a mausoleum next to a small temple on the bank of the River Cydnus. He was laid to rest across from the grave of emperor Maximinus Daia.

Libanius observes that *it ought more properly to have been in the Academy next to Plato's tomb so that he too might receive the honors paid to Plato by each successive generation of students and teachers*¹⁴. Hence, the rhetorician believes that Julian's ashes, as expected from a true philosopher, should have been buried at the Plato's Academy in Athens. However, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, suggests the following:

But his remains and ashes, if anyone then showed sound judgment, ought not to be looked on by the Cydnus, although it is a beautiful and clear stream, but to perpetuate the glory of his noble deeds they should be laved by the Tiber, which cuts through the eternal city and flows by the memorials of the deified emperors of old¹⁵.

The Father of the Church, Gregory of Nazianzus, recalls the fifteen-day journey of the emperor's body from Persia to Tarsus with contumely:

But as for the other, the circumstances attending his departure to the war were disgraceful (for he was pursued by mobs and townfolk with vulgar and ribald cries, as most people yet remember), but still more inglorious was his return. What was his disgrace? Buffoons and mimes escorted him, the train moved along amidst foul jokes from the stage, with piping and dancing, whilst he was upbraided with his apostasy, his defeat, and his end, suffering every sort of insult, hearing every sort of thing in which such people indulge who make ribaldry their trade, until the city of Tarsus received him (why and wherefore condemned to this indignity I know not); where he has a consecrated ground without honor, a tomb accursed, a temple abominable, and not even to be looked at by pious eyes!¹⁶

Gregory thus emphasizes that Julian's remains were either welcomed with mournful lamentations or clamorous invectives. The Father of the Church wonders why the city of Tarsus was punished with such utter disgrace of becoming the resting place of this apostate.

¹² G. DOWNEY, *The Tombs...*, p. 46.

¹³ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXV, 9, 12, vol. II, p. 555.

¹⁴ LIBANIUS, *Orationes*, XVIII, 306, p. 486.

¹⁵ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXV, 10, 5, vol. II, p. 557, 559.

¹⁶ GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS, *Orationes*, V, 18; trans.: http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/gregory_nazianzen_3_oration5.htm [13 IX 2019].

A brief account on the transfer of Julian's body can also be found in Zosimus' *New History*. The author recalls that Jovian – Julian's successor – with his personal imperial guard set out to Antioch whereas the main part of the army accompanied Julian's body to Tarsus¹⁷. It is unlikely that the entire army headed to Tarsus. Most probably, Ammianus is right in saying that Julian's body was escorted by Procopius¹⁸, surely with a unit of the army. Zosimus comments on the emperor's remains as follows: *Julian's body, which was taken to Cilicia and buried in a royal tomb in a suburb of Tarsus. And this inscription was written on the tomb: 'Having left the swift-flowing Tigris, Julian lies here, both a noble king and a valiant spearman'*¹⁹.

In his *Extracts of History (Epitome Historiarum)*²⁰, John Zonaras, a 12th-century historian, offers a great deal of interesting information. He confirms that it was the army that escorted Julian's body to Tarsus and that the emperor was buried near the city. Most likely, both Zonaras and Zosimus drew from the same source – *Universal History* by Eunapius of Sardis – of which only excerpts remain. At the end, Zonaras mentions, without giving a specific date, that Julian's body was transferred to Constantinople. All these historians agree on the burial site of Julian's body in Tarsus. It is noteworthy that the location of the sepulcher in the suburb of the city, that is *pomerio itineris*, was customary. Ammianus mentions the suburb of Tarsus²¹, and so does Zosimus (ἐν τίνι Ταρσοῦ προαστείῳ)²² and Zonaras (ἐν προαστείῳ τῆς πόλεως)²³. The historians' accounts also provide the information that several months later, emperor Jovian, a Christian, arranged the tomb ornamentation (*exornari sepulchrum*)²⁴ of his predecessor, a Pagan ruler, who – as some would argue – did not deserve such a privilege. Ammianus comments: [Jovian] *though in excessive haste to leave that place, he determined to adorn the tomb of Julian, situated just outside the walls on the road which leads to the passes of Mount Taurus*²⁵.

Epigram from Tarsus

Both Zosimus and Zonaras reveal that there was an inscription on Julian's tomb in Tarsus. The historians provide its content:

¹⁷ ZOSIMOS, III, 43, 3.

¹⁸ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXV, 9, 12.

¹⁹ ZOSIMOS, III, 34, 4; trans. – ZOSIMOS, *New History*, trans. R.T. RIDLEY, Canberra 1982 [= BA, 2], p. 68.

²⁰ ZONARAS, XIII, 13.

²¹ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXIII, 2, 5; cf. XXV, 9, 12 (*in suburbano Tarsensi*); XXV, 10, 5 (*in pomerio itineris*).

²² ZOSIMOS, III, 34, 4.

²³ ZONARAS, XIII, 13.

²⁴ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXV, 10, 5.

²⁵ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXV, 10, 5, vol. II, p. 557.

Zosimus:

Ἰουλιανός μετὰ Τίγριν ἀγάρρον ἐνθάδε κείται,
ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθός κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.²⁶

Zonaras:

Κύδνῳ ἐπ' ἀργυρόεντι, ἀπ' Εὐφρήταο βόαων
Περσίδος ἐκ γαίης, ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ
κινήσας στρατιάν, τόδ' Ἰουλιανός λάχε σῆμα,
ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθός κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.²⁷

Both inscriptions thus offer two versions of the same text. Zosimus' epigram can also be found in the Palatine Anthology but it was ascribed to the rhetorician Libanius²⁸. The last verse is a nod towards Homer, Julian's favorite poet²⁹. The Homeric tone of this epitaph agrees with the emperor's preference and suggests that it could have been written by one of the emperor's close friends: perhaps the ruler's personal physician, Oribasius. Eunapius borrowed it from Oribasius and Zosimus repeated it³⁰.

Zonaras' epigram also comes from Eunapius, however, the chronicler offers an extended version of the epitaph, which is also cited by the Byzantine historian George Kedrenos in *Historiarum Compendium*³¹. It is noteworthy that Zosimus and Zonaras claim that their epigrams were inscribed on Julian's tomb in Tarsus while Kedrenos on the tomb in Constantinople. It is hard to conclude with complete certainty which epigram was engraved in which city, considering that there is no epitaph on the sarcophagus in Constantinople. Alexander Vasiliev suggests that:

- The writing was engraved not on the sarcophagus but on a stone or plaque attached to it.
- The sarcophagus from Tarsus is not the same as the one in Constantinople, hence, it bears no inscription. It means that Kedrenos fails to mention that detail in his story, which is likely.
- The sarcophagus in Constantinople is not where Julian is buried³².

²⁶ ZOSIMOS, III, 34, 4.

²⁷ ZONARAS, XIII, 13, 24.

²⁸ *Anthologia graeca*, VII, 747, ed. H. BECKBY, München 1958.

²⁹ HOMER, *Iliada*, III, 179, ed. J. ŁANOWSKI, trans. K. JEŻEWSKA, Wrocław 1981.

³⁰ ZOSIMOS, III, 34, 4.

³¹ GEORGIUS CEDRENUS, *Historiarum Compendium*, I, 308, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonnae 1838 [= *CSHB*] (cetera: GEORGIUS CEDRENUS).

³² A.A. VASILIEV, *Imperial...*, p. 8–9, 19–20.

Julian's tomb in Constantinople

One of the porphyry sarcophagi preserved in The Istanbul Archeology Museum is believed by some to be the tomb of the emperor Julian the Apostate.

As mentioned by John Zonaras³³, the body of the emperor Julian the Apostate was transferred from Tarsus to Constantinople. Most contemporary researchers assume that after his first burial in the suburb of Tarsus in Cilicia in 363, the emperor Julian was buried again at an unspecified time in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople³⁴. This was also the resting place of his uncle, Constantine the Great. Unfortunately, the temple has not survived to the present time as it was destroyed by the Turks in 1461.

The following Byzantine sources mention the tomb of the emperor Julian the Apostate in Constantinople:

- 1) In the collection *De Ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*³⁵, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (the 10th century) writes:

Στοὰ ἡ πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ οὐσῃ πρὸς ἄρκτον κείται λάρναξ κυλινδροειδῆς, ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται τὸ δύστηνον καὶ παμμίαιρον σῶμα τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ, τὴν χροιάν πορφυροῦν, ἦτον Ῥωμαῖον.

Ἄλλος λάρναξ πορφυροῦς, ἦτον Ῥωμαῖος ἐν ᾗ ἀπόκειται τὸ σῶμα Ἰοβιανοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν βασιλεύσαντος.

The Stoa to the North of the Same Church

In this stoa, which is to the north, lies a cylindrically-shaped sarcophagus, in which lies the cursed and wretched body of the apostate Julian, porphyry or Roman in color.

Another sarcophagus, porphyry, or Roman, in which lies the body of Jovian, who ruled after Julian.³⁶

The author notes the burial site: the stoa (στοὰ), or the portico, is north of the Church of the Holy Apostles. It is unclear whether it was a standalone building or a structure adjacent to the church. The researchers do not agree on that. Glanville Downey thinks that the northern and southern stoas were two separate buildings, independent of the main body of the church but within the churchyard³⁷. Philip Grierson, on the other hand, claims that the northern stoa was the side chapel

³³ ZONARAS, XIII, 13.23–24.

³⁴ P. GRIERSON, C. MANGO, I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Tombs and Obits...*, p. 40–41; G. DOWNEY, *The Tombs...*, p. 47; M. DI MAIO, *The Transfer...*, p. 43–50; M.J. JOHNSON, *Observations...*, p. 259.

³⁵ CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, II, 42, rec. J.J. REISKE, *Bon-nae 1829 [= CSHB, 5]*; G. DOWNEY, *The Tombs...*, p. 31–32; D. WOODS, *On the Alleged...*, p. 365.

³⁶ G. DOWNEY, *The Tombs...*, p. 34.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 45–46.

of that church while the southern stoa was a separate building³⁸. Constantine Porphyrogenetos both describes the appearance of the sarcophagus, highlighting its porphyry color and cylindrical shape, and communicates his attitude towards the late emperor: the cursed and wretched (δύστηνον καὶ παμμίᾳρον) body of the apostate (παραβάτον) Julian.

2) In *Historiarum Compendium*, George Kedrenos (the 11th century) states³⁹:

οὐ τὸ δύστηνον σῶμα ἀπεκομίσθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν λάρνακι πορφυρᾷ κυλινδροειδεῖ, ἐν ᾧ ἐπέγραψεν ἐλεγείον τόδε·

His wretched body was transferred to Constantinople and laid in a cylindrical, porphyry sarcophagus, on which the following poem was inscribed:

Κύδνω ἐπ' ἄργυρόρεντι, ἀπ' Εὐφρήταο ῥοάων
Περσίδος ἐκ γαίης, ἀτελευτήτω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ
κινήσας στρατιάν, τόδ' Ἰουλιανὸς λάχε σῆμα,
ἀμφότερον βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής.

By the silver Cydnus, near the waters of the Euphrates,
In the country of Persia, having led the army but unable to complete his work
Julian, a famous emperor and a mighty warrior,
was given this tomb.⁴⁰

3) In his *Chronicle* John Zonaras (the 12th century) writes⁴¹:

Τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἡ στρατιὰ εἰς Ταρσὸν τῆς Κιλικίας κομίσασα ἔθαψεν ἐν ποαστείῳ τῆς πόλεως· οὐ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τόδε τὸ ἐπιγράμμα ἐπεγράφη·

The army conveyed his body to Tarsus and buried it in a suburb of the city. On his grave was inscribed this epigram.

The text of the epigram is identical to the one in Kedrenos' text. Zonaras adds: later his body was transferred to the imperial city: ὕστερον δὲ ἀνεκομίσθη εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων.

³⁸ P. GRIERSON, C. MANGO, I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Tombs and Obits...*, p. 36–38.

³⁹ GEORGORIOS CEDRENOUS, I, 308.

⁴⁰ Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi, based on the Polish translation from the Greek by the author.

⁴¹ ZONARAS, XIII, 13.23–24; trans. – *The History of Zonaras. From Alexander Severus to the Death of Theodosius the Great*, trans. T. BANCHICH, E. LANE, preaf. T.M. BANCHICH, London 2009 [= Routledge Classical Translations], p. 176.

Both Constantine Porphyrogenetos (κυλινδροειδής) and Kedrenos (ἐν λάρνακι πορφυᾷ κλινδροειδεῖ) use the same word to describe the shape of Julian's sarcophagus in Constantinople. On the sarcophagus that has been preserved until today, there is no inscription or even traces of it.

The date and reason for moving Julian's sarcophagus to Constantinople

Most contemporary researchers suspect that moving the tomb of the emperor Julian the Apostate occurred between the 4th and the 10th centuries⁴². It is difficult to determine a specific date. Most likely, the ruler's remains have been located in Constantinople since the year 959, which is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetos. The second burial most probably did not take place prior to 379 because Libanius only recalls a failed attempt at this project undertaken by the emperors Valens and Valentinian I⁴³.

If the transfer had taken place before 379, when *Oration 24* was written, Libanius, a zealous supporter of Julian, would have likely mentioned it. Most probably, Julian's body remained in Tarsus between 389–390 because Ammianus Marcellinus makes no mention of it in his *The Roman History*. Neither Philostorgius, who completed *Church History* in 433 nor Zosimus, who wrote *New History* in the late 5th century, speak of it. Both historians only mention Julian's burial in Tarsus but they fail to provide information about the second burial in Constantinople. This suggests that Julian's remains had not arrived in Constantinople before the early 6th century but they did so no later than 959, when Constantine Porphyrogenetos' work was created. These, however, are no more than conjectures. It should be noted that Philostorgius' text is incomplete while Zosimus, who was Pagan, was not interested in disseminating information about Julian's burial in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

The question remains: Why were Julian's remains transferred to Constantinople? Perhaps it was a result of some important event in Tarsus? To ensure that Julian's body was not intercepted by the enemy? For instance, the remains of St. Augustine were presumably moved from Hippo to Sardinia to protect them from desecration during the raids of the Vandals. Michael Di Maio suggests that the reason for that were the battles waged in the 7th century in Lesser Asia⁴⁴. These might have been the fights between the Byzantine emperor Heraclius and the Persians between 610–628. Moreover, in the 7th century, Arabs took control of the South-East part of the Byzantine Lesser Asia, including the city of Tarsus. The transfer of the remains of St. Paul the Apostle and St. John Chrysostom to Constantinople was also riddled with obstacles. Due to his anti-Christian politics, the emperor

⁴² Cf. footnote 34.

⁴³ LIBANIUS, *Orationes*, XXIV, 1–11.

⁴⁴ M. DI MAIO, *The Transfer...*, p. 46–47.

Julian the Apostate was not popular among Christians. It is therefore unlikely that the immediate Christian successors were in any hurry to bring the Pagan's remains to Constantinople and bury them in the yard of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Such a decision would have outraged the Christians, who had been ill-treated by the dead emperor. Whoever was responsible for this transfer displayed a great deal of sensitivity choosing the location of the second burial – which was neither in the church proper nor the mausoleum but the northern stoa.

David Woods proposes an interesting hypothesis according to which Julian's remains have never been moved from Tarsus to Constantinople. The researcher doubts that Julian's tomb is located in the Church of the Holy Apostles. He thinks that the bishops and dwellers of Constantinople would not have allowed for such a man as Julian to be buried there, whether it was in the church proper or the churchyard. They unanimously condemned Julian. Moreover, the fact that none of his imperial successors were his descendants nor were they related to him may have contributed to the lack of the emperors' motivation to bury Julian in the Church of the Holy Apostles⁴⁵.

It is likely that the transfer of Julian's remains to Constantinople would have indeed been opposed by the bishop, clergy, and populace. However, the opinion of these people on that matter was in reality of no great significance. The real issue is not whether they would have agreed to the burial of the Apostate at the complex of the Church of the Holy Apostles but how to determine who had the right to decide where an emperor could and could not be buried. The sources offer some indication about who had the final say regarding the imperial interment site. Only a ruling emperor could make such a decision. In 358, the Church of the Holy Apostles, where Constantine's remains were buried, was destroyed as a result of an earthquake. The bishop of Constantinople, Macedonius, gave an order to move the sarcophagus containing the imperial remains to the Church of St. Acacius. During the transfer, riots broke out in the city, probably because some of the dwellers believed that the removal violated the sanctity of the imperial burial and disgraced the memory of Constantine. The riots resulted in the deaths of several people. When the emperor Constantius II (337–361), the son of Constantine, learned about the transfer and riots, he was appalled⁴⁶. Under no circumstances was the bishop authorized to move the sarcophagus with the body of Constantine. Hence, the choice of the location for the imperial burial belonged to the ruling emperor, and not the church officials, at least in the 4th century.

It is a misconception to think that imperial burials which took place in the Church of the Holy Apostles in the 4th century were in any way regulated by the church laws, simply because in that period, there was no general church politics regulating burials. This means that neither in the Roman law nor canonical

⁴⁵ D. WOODS, *On the Alleged...*, p. 364–371.

⁴⁶ SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, II, 38; SOZOMENUS, IV, 21; ZONARAS, XIII, 11.

law was there any legal obstacle or prohibition preventing Pagans and Christians from being interred in the same place⁴⁷. Therefore, there was no legal obstacle that could hinder the transfer of Julian's remains to the Church of the Holy Apostles. Moreover, Julian, as an emperor and heir to Constantine and Constantius had the right to be buried in an imperial mausoleum.

David Woods argues that the alleged transfer of Julian's remains was not included in the sources of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries⁴⁸. He thinks that if such an important event had taken place, it would have surely been recorded by historians. It must be pointed out, however, that the information about imperial burials is not complete, e.g. the resting place of Constantine's father, Constantius Chlorus, who was adored by his military and received honorary obsequies and interment, was not recorded in any source. There is also no information about the burial site of other emperors, e.g. Gracian (367–383), Valentinian II (375–392), and a number of others. The remains of Vespasian (69–79) and Titus (79–81) were transferred by the emperor Domitian from the Mausoleum of Augustus to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* but none of the authors at the time mentioned anything about the transfer nor about its circumstances. The fact that sources omit certain events does not mean that they did not happen. Furthermore, a great deal of sources has not been preserved till the present day.

In the 10th century, imperial graves linked to the Church of the Holy Apostles were distributed among four different structures: the mausoleum of Constantine I, the mausoleum of Justinian I, the stoa south of the church, and the stoa north of the church. Probably, the fact that there were only two tombs in the north stoa – the alleged tomb of Julian an emperor Jovian – helped identify Julian's grave. One can suppose that the tombs of subsequent caesars would be close to one another. Hence, the location of Jovian's tomb in the stoa immediately suggested that the other tomb belonged to an emperor who ruled in the same period, that is, Julian. Naturally, there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. Perhaps the northern stoa was built specially to hold Jovian's tomb or, on the contrary, it had been built earlier. After Jovian's death, the mausoleum of Constantine I contained only two graves: of Constantine I, from the east side, and of Constantine II, from the north side. Hence, there was still a good share of space in the mausoleum, especially in its southern part. The mausoleum does not seem to have a clearly "familial" character. After several members of Constantine's dynasty were interred in Rome, the mausoleum soon adopted an imperial character, and not purely dynastic, thus becoming a model of the interment of emperors who were not related. The only reasonable explanation for the lack of Jovian's tomb in the mausoleum of Constantine was the fact that the northern stoa had already existed. Therefore, the subsequent emperors Valentinian I (364–375) and Valens (364–378) could decide where to

⁴⁷ M.J. JOHNSON, *Observations...*, p. 257–258.

⁴⁸ D. WOODS, *On the Alleged...*, p. 366.

bury Jovian. The grave of Jovian, whose rule was short and unremarkable, was as a result located in the northern stoa, and not in the mausoleum.

David Woods claims that the tomb identified in the Byzantine sources as emperor Julian the Apostate's, in reality, belonged to Crispus (*Flavius Iulius Crispus*, 317–326), the oldest son to Constantine the Great. The writers, who had a poor command of Latin, misread the inscription on the tomb. The evidence supporting this hypothesis is the full name of Crispus – Flavius Julius Crispus – which was probably shortened to Fl. Iul. Crispus. The Byzantine historians rarely recorded the full names of the rulers. Hence, the dwellers of Constantinople in the 10th century only knew Crispus by this name, if they heard of him at all. They probably only knew Julian by this one name, too, and not in its entirety – *Flavius Claudius Iulianus*.

David Woods also believes that Constantine, having killed his first-born son, decided to move his remains to Constantinople and inter them in a small mausoleum – in the northern stoa. Did Constantine intend to bury Crispus in the Church of the Holy Apostles and why would he transfer his remains to Constantinople if other members of his family had been buried in various other places? His mother Helena, his daughters Constantina and Helena, the wife of Julian the Apostate, were buried in Rome while his son Constans was probably laid to rest in the mausoleum in Centcelles in Spain. Why were this transfer and interment not mentioned by any of the authors, even though they do comment on the circumstances surrounding the death of Crispus? It thus seems unlikely that this was the tomb of Crispus⁴⁹.

Recapitulation

Based on the sources, it can be concluded that the body of the emperor Julian the Apostate was beyond a doubt escorted by Procopius and a section of the soldiers from the place of his death to Tarsus in Cilicia because this was where he had intended to stay upon completing his Persian campaign.

The tomb of the emperor is located in the suburb of Tarsus by the road leading to the passes of Mount Taurus, in a mausoleum next to a small temple on the bank of the River Cydnus. An inscription was engraved on the sarcophagus, which is confirmed by Zosimus and Zonaras. It was written by someone close to the dead emperor, perhaps his friend, the physician Oribasius.

The Byzantine historians Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, George Kedrenos, and John Zonaras recall the transfer of the emperor's remains to the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. They unanimously agree that the tomb of the emperor Julian the Apostate was a porphyry, cylindrically-shaped sarcophagus in the northern stoa. None of the sources mention, however, who performed this

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 369–371.

transfer and when nor why they thought it was necessary. Kedrenos notes that there was an inscription on Julian's sarcophagus in Constantinople. The one which has survived until today does not have an inscription nor any traces of it – perhaps it was not permanently affixed to the tomb. This may also suggest that there were two sarcophagi of Julian's: one from Tarsus, which has not been preserved, with an engraved epitaph; and the second from Constantinople – porphyry, cylindrical with no inscription.

The tomb of the emperor Julian the Apostate was transferred between the 4th and 10th centuries. It is difficult to determine the specific date because there are no direct sources. Perhaps the reason for the transfer was some important political event, e.g. battles with Persians or Arabs in the 7th century and the subsequent fear of the destruction of the imperial remains.

The northern stoa, where Julian was supposedly buried, was most likely not built right after his death or his body was not promptly laid there. It may be that Julian, due to his apostasy, could not be interred along with the other members of his dynasty. Nevertheless, while his apostasy may have caused a certain delay in the transfer of his body, he was a Roman emperor and this sufficed to bury him in Constantinople. The laws regulating burials in the 4th century would have allowed for the interment of Julian in the complex of the Church of the Holy Apostles. While it cannot be concluded with complete certainty that Julian's remains were indeed transferred to the capital, it should be noted that this was a possibility. The alleged transfer of Julian's remains to the Church of the Holy Apostles could have happened although the sources at that time make no mention of it. Moreover, in the 4th century, neither the Roman nor the canonical law offered any legal grounds preventing his second burial from taking place in the complex of the Church of the Holy Apostles. On the whole, insufficient source material makes it impossible to unambiguously determine what became of the remains of the emperor Julian the Apostate.

Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi

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Abstract. Julian (*Flavius Claudius Iulianus*), called the Apostate, Roman emperor in the years 361–363, was one of the most intriguing rulers. From antiquity to the present day he invariably aroused great interest, both during his life and after his death. He was a just emperor, a wise commander, and a very talented writer.

On 26 June 363 Julian the Apostate was mortally wounded during a battle with the Persians. He spent the last moments of his life discussing with philosophers Priskus and Maksimus the nobility of the soul, as we learn from the historian Ammianus Marcellinus. The ruler then showed, perhaps too ostentatiously, his greatest passion: love of virtue and fame.

Julian the Apostate died at the age of thirty-two after only twenty months of his rule. Julian's body, as Gregory of Nazianzus recalls, was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus in Cilicia, which took fifteen days. The subjects greeted the arrival of the body with a mournful lament or contemptuous insults, as the Father of the Church adds. Julian wanted to rest after death in Tarsus, in a mausoleum next to a small temple on the banks of the Cydnus River.

Then, at an unspecified time, as the chronicler Zonaras recalls, the body of Emperor Julian the Apostate was transferred to Constantinople and buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his collection *On the ceremonies of the imperial court* (book II, chapter 42) mentions the grave of Julian. Today one of the porphyry sarcophagi, kept in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, is sometimes considered the Julian sarcophagus.

The theme of this article is an attempt to determine the posthumous fate of Emperor Julian the Apostate's body, i.e. when and in what circumstances it was transferred to Constantinople.

Keywords: Julian the Apostate, Roman Empire in the 4th century AD, imperial burial, Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.

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DYNASTICITY IN THE SECOND BULGARIAN TSARDOM AND ITS MANIFESTATIONS IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY WRITING*

The idea of this essay comes both from the author's continuous studies in state ideology and cultural identity of the second Bulgarian Tsardom and from the *spiritus loci* – deeply rooted and rich dynastic traditions of the Polish medieval history carefully explored by many renowned Polish scholars and discussed in Polish historical editions. To some extent my intention was inspired by Ian Mladjov's thorough consideration of the Bulgarian monarchs' names and numbering published in "Studia Ceranea"¹.

The notion of dynasticity used in the title of this essay needs some clarification. Though dynasticity became a conventional term in current medieval history research, it is understood in different ways first of all due to its core notion of dynasty. The origin of the term leads to the mythical Dynastes, Heracles' son from Erato, one of the fifty daughters of Thespios, king of Thespia. Later on in classic Greek this name had become a metaphor for mighty autocratic ruler, and accordingly its derivative *dynasteia* was synonymous to several forms of non-democratic statehood such as tyranny or monarchy². Being often applied to ancient Syracuse

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¹ I.S.R. MLADJOV, *Monarchs' Names and Numbering in the Second Bulgarian State*, SCer 5, 2015, p. 267–310. Keeping in mind Mladjov's sharp and contributive observations, conclusions and terminology, further on I follow the principle of Anglicizing the Bulgarian royal names (despite referring to and quoting other scholars' works) accepted by "Studia Ceranea". See the witty explanation of Anglicizing given by J. Fine: *How could I say Ivan Alexander when his Greek counterpart was John Cantacuzenus?* (see J.V.A. FINE, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 2009, p. IX–X). The monarchs are numbered in compliance with the Bulgarian academic tradition (see И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, София 1999). The family and dynasty names follow Bulgarian plural forms Асеневици (Asens), Тертериевици (Terters), Шишмановци (Shishmans) etc., despite references and quotations.

² I. JORDOVIĆ, *Did the Ancient Greeks Know of Collective Tyranny?*, Balc 36, 2006, p. 17–33 (21 f. 18).

tyrannies, it was then used in the same sense for autocratic polities in early Byzantine texts. The closest to the époque of the second Bulgarian Tsardom is a passage in Anna Comnene's *Alexiade* where the female historian of royal pedigree mentioned "Samuel, the last of the Bulgarian dynasty (as Zedekiah of the Jewish)"³. Here her understanding of dynasty combined the hereditary sequence of rulers (though surprisingly wrong for the grand-granddaughter of the last true Tsar of Bulgaria before its fall, John Vladislav – 1015–1018) and monarchs governing a certain polity. Zedekiah, anointed by the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar II Tzar of Judah, was its last ruler (2Par 36, 9–11).

In scholarly literature dynasty denotes first of all the order of succession of the supreme power, as it existed in a medieval state⁴, along the lineage to descending offspring, siblings, those adopted or married to the persons of royal blood etc. It made it possible to support the continuity and stability of the monarchy. Since such a mechanism as a social fact both existed in social practice and was intellectually constructed, the dynasty could be a traditional and/or legally established institute, and/or a foundation myth of an imaged community. Both could co-exist as to establish and support (or, in some cases to invent and promote) the legitimacy of a currently existing rule. Thus dynasty in the Middle Ages was both a political and ideal pattern which was applied to reinforce and sustain the appropriate model of statehood.

Accordingly, dynasticity can be defined both as a characteristic of a monarchy and as its mental pattern. The latter leads to the understanding of dynasticity as a *post factum* concept created by history writers of medieval, modern and even contemporary times. Though it does not sound good enough from the linguistic point of view, the second Bulgarian Tsardom was definitely not as dynastic as medieval Polish Kingdom, while the latter sufficiently conceded in dynasticity to ancient China. While dynasticity was clearly expressed in medieval Polish history writing, its manifestations in the literary tradition of the second Bulgarian Tsardom are not as frequent and distinct, thus deserving a thorough search and adequate interpretation.

As soon as medieval Bulgarian history writing is concerned, it is necessary to mention that in the second Bulgarian Tsardom it was more of a trend than genre or profession⁵. In this essay the author, analyzing various medieval Bulgarian

³ *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, VII, 3, 22–23, vol. I, rec. D.R. REINSCH, A. KAMBYLIS, Berolini 2001 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 40], p. 210. English translation after V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, *Bulgarians by Birth. The Comitopuls, Emperor Samuel and Their Successors According to Historical Sources and the Historiographic Tradition*, Leiden–Boston 2017, p. 124.

⁴ See J. DUINDAM, *Dynasties*, *MWor* 1, 2, 2015, p. 69–78; C. PAZDERNIK, *Dynasty, idea of, Byzantine*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Chichester 2012, p. 2243–2244.

⁵ See B. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Българският книжовник-летописец през XIII–XIV век – опит за характеристика*, [in:] *Vis et sapientia. Studia in honorem Anisavae Miltenova. Нови извори, интенпретации и подходи в медиевистиката*, София 2016, p. 35–56.

hagiographical texts, inscriptions and marginal notes, the Synodicon of the Bulgarian church and other pieces of history writing aims to reveal the dynastic concept of the Asens from the first three royal brothers – Theodore-Peter (1186–1197), John Asen I (1186–1196) and Kaloyan (1197–1207) – to John Alexander (1331–1371) and his successors. The second research track is defined by attempts to create and support a wholesome dynastic idea (or applying another methodological prism – that of a myth) with the means of medieval Bulgarian history writing. As far as the history writing is concerned, it is worth mentioning that in the second Bulgarian Tsardom it was not a separated and refined literary tradition but a component of hagiography, hymnography, inscriptions, charters etc.⁶

In the academic historiography of medieval Bulgaria dynasticity was often represented as a natural state of things, beginning with the first Bulgarian rulers from “the old dynastic family of Bulgars Dulo”⁷ and “the Krum’s dynasty”⁸ in the 9th–10th cc., and ending with the commonly mentioned “Asen dynasty” or Asens (Асеневици). The “reign of Asens” is either represented at the limits of a hereditary line from John Asen I to John Asen III (1279–1280), extended to the whole period of the second Bulgarian Tsardom, or changed by the “dynasties” related to Asens – Terters and Shishmans after 1280. The “triadic” scheme of the rulers of the second Bulgarian Tsardom (Asens – Terters – Shishmans) appeared in the first academic *History of Bulgaria* by Konstantin Ireček⁹ and later on was developed by a vast majority of Bulgarian scholars. The unfinished *History of the medieval Bulgarian state* by Vasil N. Zlatarsky (1866–1935) considered Asens as a dynasty ruling in Tărnovo from the restoration of the Bulgarian Tsardom to 1280¹⁰. Against this background one of the few conceptually thinking Bulgarian medievalists of the 20th c. Peter Mutafchiev (1883–1943), though mentioning “the time of Asens” and “the last Asens”, underlined *strange absence of continuity, sequence and regularity in the Bulgarians’ political life*¹¹. The third volume of the fundamental *History of Bulgaria*, dedicated to the second Bulgarian Tsardom (in terms of that time – “second Bulgarian state”) demonstrated a differentiation of views on dynasticity: while D. Angelov (1917–1996) and P. Petrov avoid this concept, V. Gjuzelev in fact returned to the “triadic” periodization of the monarchy stressing that *with his enthronement Michael Shishman set the beginning of a new dynasty*¹².

⁶ See Д. ПОЛЫВЯННЫЙ, *Культурная идентичность, историческое сознание и книжное наследие средневековой Болгарии*, Москва 2018, p. 269–285.

⁷ И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна...*, p. 75, 113.

⁸ See the review of opinions and critics by Н. ХРИСИМОВ, *За панонския произход на кан Крум и “Крумовата династия”*, Доб 32, 2017, p. 377–382.

⁹ К. ИРЕЧЕК, *История на България с поправки и добавки от самия автор*, София 1978, p. 307–314.

¹⁰ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. III, *Второ българско царство. България при Асеневици (1187–1280)*, София 1940.

¹¹ П. МУТАФЧИЕВ, *Към философията на българската история. Византизизмът в средновековна България*, ФП 1, 1931, p. 28.

¹² *История на България*, vol. III, *Втора българска държава*, София 1982, p. 323.

In the first volume of *History of Bulgaria* (1999) V. Gjuzelev and I. Bozhilov (1940–2016) divided “the time of Asens” into the periods of “Asens’ patrimonium” (1185–1241), “establishment of dynastic law” (1241–1256) and rise “from usurpation to legitimism” (1256–1280). Meanwhile, in the next chapter of their common work Ivan Bozhilov called the Terters “the only dynasty which managed to break the rule of the Asens in Bulgaria”¹³, though their rule was interrupted by the reigns of Smilets (1292–1298) and his son John (1298–1299). The Terter family returned to the throne with Theodore Svetoslav (1299–1322) and lost it with the untimely death of his son George II Terter (1322–1323). According to the authors, the enthronement of Michael III Shishman (1323–1330) due to the decision of Bulgarian aristocracy meant not the beginning of the new dynasty, but restoration of old and glorious dynasty of Asens¹⁴, while the Tsar’s tragic end in 1330 and the anointment of his son, whom he had with his Serbian wife Anna-Neda exiled in 1324, divided the bolyars into a “pro-Serbian party” led by Michael’s brother Belaur and the “supporters of the Asen’s dynasty” led by the despot John Alexander – grand-grandson of Theodora-Anna – daughter of John Asen II.

Ivan Bozhilov’s outstanding prosopographical research on the family of Asens, following the approaches and terminology of Charles Du Cange and Ivan Dujcev separated the concepts of dynasty and family, plausibly connecting the direct lineage of the Asens’ dynasty with Terters and Shishmans, broken in 1280, through their kinship with the offspring of the Asen family. The lineage of the Terters was represented as dynasty in the recent monographic research by Krasimir Krastev¹⁵. The same relates to the Shishmans often shown as a separate Bulgarian royal dynasty ruling after 1323 and subdivided by Mladjov into houses (understood by him as synonymous to dynasties or “genealogical groupings”) of Shishmans and Sracimirs¹⁶. Some particular aspects of dynasticity are revealed in the studies of the monarchic institute in the second Bulgarian Tsardom¹⁷.

According to Jake Ransohoff, *Bulgarian kingship after the extinction of the main Asenid line was essentially elective and non-hereditary succession became the norm in Late Medieval Bulgaria, in practice if not in theory*¹⁸. This statement, though supported with persuasive statistics, does not exclude dynasticity as a factor of political life and important theme of history writing. Another conclusion, by Alexander

¹³ И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна...*, р. 531.

¹⁴ И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна...*, р. 562.

¹⁵ К. КРЪСТЕВ, *Българското царство при династията на Тертеревци (1280–1321)*, Пловдив 2011.

¹⁶ I.S.R. MLADJOV, *Monarchs’ Names...*, р. 274, 279, 284.

¹⁷ Г. БАКАЛОВ, *Средновековният български владетел. Титулатура и инсигнии*, София 1995; С. СТАНИЛОВ, *Българската монархия през Средните векове*, София 2003; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *История на средновековна България*, vol. II, *Християнска България*, София 2017.

¹⁸ J. RANSOHOFF, *All the Tsar’s Men: Reflections on Power and Society in Asenid Bulgaria (1257–1393)*, [in:] *Landscapes of Power. Selected Papers from the XV Oxford University Byzantine Society International Graduate Conference*, Oxford 2014, р. 253–273, 262.

Madgearu, that the *succession to power in the Second Bulgarian Empire was a matter of election by various groups of boyars, and not of dynastic legitimacy*¹⁹ develops what Ransohoff rightly states, but looks even more rigorous.

The history of royal succession in the second Bulgarian Tsardom together with hereditary ascension included marriage and adoption, co-ruling and regency, proclamation and election. According to George Akropolites, when in 1257

the Bulgarian realm was left without a legitimate heir, the leading men met in deliberation and determined to accept Constantine, the son of Toichos, to rule them. But so that he might appear to govern by inheritance, they sent an embassy to the emperor Theodore requesting that he send his eldest daughter, who was named Eirene, for union with Constantine, son of Toichos, and be joined in lawful wedlock, as she was a granddaughter of the former ruler of the Bulgarians, John Asan, and was fitted for this realm.²⁰

The only succession of three generations – from the first Asens to John Asen II – was interrupted by Boril's reign in 1207–1218. Only four uninterrupted royal lineages of two generations took place from 1186 to 1395 – from John Asen II to Kaliman Asen in 1241; from Theodor Svetoslav to George Terter II in 1322; from Michael III Shishman to John Stephan in 1331 (though interrupted with internecine); and from John Alexander to John Shishman in 1371. The sons of the last Bulgarian Tsars John Shishman (1371–1395) and John Sracimir (1365–1396) – Prince Fruzhin and Tsar Constantine – lost their domains, Tărnovo and Bdin, conquered in 1395–1396 by Bayezit I Yildirim (1389–1402)²¹.

There were three cases of passing the Bulgarian throne from brother to brother (from John Asen I to his former co-ruler Theodore-Peter in 1196; from John Asen I to Kaloyan in 1197; from Kaliman Asen to Michael Asen II in 1246). One was the succession between uncle and nephew (from Kaloyan to Boril in 1207). The other transitions were made through election (like Constantine Tikh, Michael Shishman III or John Alexander), self-proclamation followed by marriage with the royal person (like Ivailo) etc. The right of the monarchs to the throne was justified by their real or supposed descent from the first Asens or a marriage with a princess of Asen origin. It is worth mentioning that such marriages could take place both before the royal ascension (as in the case of Constantine Tikh and Eirene Lascarina Asenina) and after it (as in the case of Ivailo). At the same time, this way of dynastic continuity being useful in throne ascension, it was not necessary further on, since

¹⁹ A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)*, Leiden–Boston 2017, p. 244.

²⁰ *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, 73, [in:] FGHB, vol. VIII, ed. M. Войнов et al., София 1972 (cetera: *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*), p. 205. English translation after GEORGE AKROPOLITES, *The History*, ed. et trans. R. MACRIDES, Oxford 2007 [= OSB], p. 334.

²¹ П. ПАВЛОВ, И. ТЮТЮНДЖИЕВ, *Българската държава и османската експанзия (1369–1422)*, Велико Търново 1995, p. 25–38.

George Terter I (1280–1292) left his second wife Kyra Maria Asenina and returned to the first one soon after the coronation²².

In medieval Bulgarian and Byzantine sources the notions of royal origin and royal blood stress the legitimacy of naturally inherited throne succession. A prominent Bulgarian writer of the 10th c. John Exarch in the fourth charter of his Hexameron on the Divine creation of the celestial bodies opposed astrology with dynastic arguments:

In many countries there are rulers by birth (властели по роду) – Tsars, Princes and Kings [who rule] not due to compliance with Zodiac, nature of stars and their impact, but by kinship and heritage order and significance. And son comes to father's place, and brother – after brother²³.

Giving as examples of succession David's kin in Judah, Cyros' in Persia and Candaulos' in Lydia, John Exarch concludes:

How could there be so many cases when a son accepts his father's power? Can it be, that in all such cases the forces of Zodiac came together, and stars created a configuration for this lord, so that the one who was born at this moment gets the Tsar's power

and reinforces the statement with his own argument:

Among the Bulgarians princes from the beginning rule by birth after their fathers and after their brothers. The same, as it is heard, happens among Khazars²⁴.

This text is particularly important to understand the traditional Bulgarian view on dynasticity and its representation in the history writing. John Exarch begins with history cases classical for him and considers them against the background of his own knowledge of Bulgarian traditions and oral information on Khazars.

Special attention was paid to the same problem by Michael Psellos, whose informant on the events of Bulgarian uprising was one of its leaders – Alousian, son of the last tsar of the first Bulgarian Tsardom John Vladislav. Psellos' story of recognizing Alousian as a man of royal descent in contrast with the impostor Delyan-Dolianos, who adopted the name of the first Bulgarian Tsar recognized by

²² К. КРЪСТЕВ, *Българското...*, p. 49–50.

²³ *Шестоднев, составленный Иоанном Экзархом Болгарским по харатейному списку Московской Синодальной библиотеки слово в слово и буква в букву*, ЧИОИДР 3, 1879, f. 130a. See Russian translation in: *Шестоднев Иоанна экзарха Болгарского*, ed. Г.С. БАРАНКОВА, Москва 1998, p. 736. Bulgarian translation in: *ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, Шестоднев*, trans. et ed. Н. КОЧЕВ, София 1981, p. 163. English translation: К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria. Seventh–Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture*, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= ECEEMA, 5], p. 90. The English translation above is mine using as reference the above mentioned translations.

²⁴ *Шестоднев, составленный Иоанном Экзархом...*, f. 130b.

Byzantium, Peter (927–969), is full of *topoi* characteristics, usual for narratives on imposture and recognition of a person of royal blood. According to Psellos' story, Alousian found among the rebels a man who had known him in childhood and to fully assure him about his descent demonstrated to him his "secret sign" – *dark patch on the right elbow, with a thick tuft of rough hair grown over it*²⁵. The story itself has a lot of parallels especially in early modern Russian history, but the "royal signs" here definitely mean that divine predestination has priority over human choice. Alousian's rival Delyan, as it is shown in the illuminated Madrid manuscript of John Scylitres' Chronicle, was proclaimed Tsar under the name of Peter by being raised on a shield by the insurgents – a well-known military rite in Byzantium²⁶.

The priority of the Divine will over heredity or kinship in one's ascension to the Bulgarian throne is clearly expressed in formulas of two Tsars' charters of the 13th–14th c.:

After the death of my Tsardom, whoever might be the heir to my Tsardom, be it among the beloved children of my Tsardom, or among the relatives of my Tsardom, or anyone else chosen by God to sit on the throne of my Tsardom, anyone among the Orthodox Christians²⁷, or whoever the Lord God, the Eternal Tsar, wills to place on the throne of my Tsardom, be it the most beloved son of my Tsardom, or [some] of the brothers and relatives of my Tsardom...²⁸

In the 14th c. copy of the earlier Constantine Tikh's charter to the Monastery of St. George the Fast, in the same case an indefinite formula is used²⁹ – "whoever God wills to put on the throne of my Tsardom or some of the relatives of my Tsardom". Anyway, the limited number of such acts does not allow for more founded general conclusions.

Having in mind that the core Bulgarian political practices had been formed before Constantinople was reconquered by Michael VIII Palaeologos in 1261,

²⁵ MICHEL PSELLOS, *Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, IV, 46–48, vol. I, ed. É. RENAULD, Paris 1926, p. 80; *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*, [in:] FGHB, vol. VI, ed. M. ВОЙНОВ et al., София 1965, p. 97–98; English translation in: V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, *Bulgarians by Birth...*, p. 55–56.

²⁶ See the image in the digital copy of the Madrid Scylitres manuscript at the World Digital Library <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10625/> [21 IV 2019].

²⁷ John Alexander's charter of 1347 to the Monastery of St. Nicholas in Oryakhovo (Г.А. ИЛЬИНСКИЙ, *Грамоты болгарских царей*, [in:] *Древности. Труды Славянской комиссии Московского Императорского Археологического общества*, vol. V, Москва 1911, p. 25; А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти на българските царе*, София 2005, p. 42–43). English translation after К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria...*, p. 499.

²⁸ John Shishman's charter of 1378 to Rila Monastery (Г.А. ИЛЬИНСКИЙ, *Грамоты...*, p. 28; А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоты...*, p. 46). English translation after К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria...*, p. 506.

²⁹ Г.А. ИЛЬИНСКИЙ, *Грамоты...*, p. 19; А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоты...*, p. 35. English translation after К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria...*, p. 493–494.

it is worth recalling the evaluation retroactively given to the Epirote ruler Theodore Lascaris II (1254–1258) by the Nicaean and later Palaeologian historian and statesman George Akropolites (1217–1282):

Being naturally unsuited to the institutions of the Imperial office, he handled matters in a Bulgarian or, rather, barbarian fashion for he did not understand hierarchy or protocol or the many ancient customs which have been established in the palaces³⁰.

It seems that for Akropolites the Bulgarian way of handling matters was something in between Byzantine and Barbarian ones as a kind of their synthesis.

A characteristic trait of Acropolites' vision of the Bulgarian monarchs is his certainty that "the first Tsar" of Bulgaria (ὁ πρῶτος βασιλεὺς τῶν Βουλγάρων) was Asan – John Asen I. Acropolites ignores the proclamation of Theodore-Peter as Tsar, so vividly described by Choniates, stating that

Asan had two brothers, of whom one was called Peter, the other John. Asan kept John with him, but Peter he ordered to rule over a portion which he cut from his own province... Asan ruled over the Bulgarian race as emperor for nine years when he was murdered by his first cousin Ivanko; he immediately died. Then John, Asan's brother, ruled over the race as emperor because the Bulgarians did not want to raise Peter to the royal office, and Asan's son John was not yet of age.³¹

It looks that Akropolites' account could be based upon the version that was contemporary to him, i.e. the Bulgarian version from the beginning of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom, so his understanding of the Asens' dynasty drew a direct line from the first Asen to John Asen II, giving the latter his "highest regard", as Macrides underlines. The first meanly dated Bulgarian source mentioning the connection between John Asen II and his father is the famous inscription in the Laura of St. Forty Martyrs in Tărnovo: "I, John Asen, in Christ God faithful Tsar and autocrat of the Bulgarians, son of the old Tsar Asen..."³² The same dynastic manifestation is present in the Bulgarian additions to the Slavic translation of Constantine Manasses' Chronicle: "(ѣ) сего Василиа вьистъ Бѣлѣгарское царство подъ областію Гръвѣскои даже и до Ясѣнѣ царя бѣлѣгаром прѣваго"³³. The last part of the addition was translated "To Asen the First, Tsar of Bulgarians" by Ivan Dujchev – in Bul-

³⁰ *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, 21, p. 158. R. MACRIDES, p. 162 connects "Bulgarian" with the title of Archbishop of Bulgaria Demetrios Chomatenos, who anointed Theodore Comnene Emperor.

³¹ *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, 12, p. 154, English translation after R. MACRIDES, p. 137.

³² И. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Стара българска книжнина, vol. II, Книжовни и исторически паметници от второто Българско царство*, София 1944, p. 38; English translation is after К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria...*, p. 425.

³³ *Среднеболгарский перевод хроники Константина Манасии в славянских литературах*, ed. М. САЛМИНА et al., София 1988, p. 234; English translation is after К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria...*, p. 454.

garian, by Kiril Petkov – in English, and by myself – in Russian³⁴, while Ivan Buyukliev in his translation in verse omitted “the first” at all³⁵. In the context of all the above mentioned I would offer another translation: “Asen, the first Tsar of Bulgarians”, having in mind above all two circumstances. First, no Bulgarian Tsar in the 13th–14th cc. bearing the same name as his predecessor was numbered in medieval texts – in such cases the term “old” was used to differentiate between two namesakes (John Asen or George Terter)³⁶. Second, in the narrow context of this addition to the Chronicle of Manasses Asen is represented as the first Tsar after the Bulgarian Tsardom’s long being “under the Greek power”, and in the wider context of all the additions as a whole his reign is a milestone in the “prehistory” of the Bulgarian “new Rome” glorified in the other addition to the Manasses Chronicle³⁷.

It looks that the name and reign of John Asen I were used to create the only dynastically ordered narrative of the second Bulgarian Tsardom, reflected in the above quoted note in Slavic by Manasses and in his memory in the Synodicon of the Bulgarian church: “To John Asen Tsar Belgun, who liberated the Bulgarian people from Greek slavery”³⁸. Here John Asen I is represented as the founding person of the “new”, as distinct from “ancient”, dynasty of the Bulgarian Tsars and the cornerstone of their sequence. Theodore-Peter and Kaloyan are mentioned as his brothers, and Boril – as their sister’s son. The next after him, “the great and pious Tsar John Asen” is called “son of the old Tsar Asen” in the narrative on the restoration of the Bulgarian Patriarchate³⁹. In his turn, John Asen II became the cornerstone for the next generation of the dynasty – his sons Kaliman and Michael, brother Alexander and cousins Alexios Slav and Strez.

The earlier history of shaping the dynastic history of Asens can be reconstructed on the basis of hagiographic texts connected with the transfer of St. John of Rila’s relics from Sredets-Sofia to Tărnovo, usually dated 1195. The “historical tales” on this transfer were included in four fragments of the brief and expanded *Vitae* of the saint during the 13–14th cc. The shortest one belongs to the so called

³⁴ И. Дуйчев, *Стара българска книжнина*, vol. II..., p. 102; К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria...*, p. 454; Д. ПОЛЫБЯННЫЙ, *Культурная идентичность...*, p. 445. Mladjov translates it in between the two options: “even to the emperor of the Bulgarians Asen, the first” (I.S.R. MLADJOV, *Monarchs’ Names...*, p. 267).

³⁵ *Стара българска литература*, vol. III, *Исторически съчинения*, ed. И. БОЖИЛОВ, София 1983, p. 327.

³⁶ *Българската литература и книжнина през XIII век*, ed. И. БОЖИЛОВ, С. КОЖУХАРОВ, София 1987, p. 55, 57, 112, 114, 200, 201.

³⁷ See М. КАЙМАКОВА, *Власт и история в средновековна България, VII–XIV век*, София 2011, p. 293–296, who demonstrates the process of integration of the Bulgarian additions into Manasses’ chronicle so that they form a parallel narrative aimed to follow *the transformation of Bulgaria into new Orthodox Empire against the background of the World and Byzantine histories*.

³⁸ *Борилев синодик. Издание и превод*, ed. И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, София 2010, p. 150, English translation p. 352.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 156, 353.

Norov's Prologue, usually dated 13th c. The manuscript itself is attributed to the Pchinya monastery connected to one of St. John's followers – St. Prokhor. The fragment on *translatio* is brief and mentions “the faithful Tsar Asen” (blagovernjy Tsar Asen), describing shortly the transfer of the relics to “city of Trapesitza”, where they were “still laying”⁴⁰. The longer one is part of the famous Dragan's Menaion most likely created in Athos in the second half of the 13th c. It expands the description by talking about “the new offshoot, the Christ-loving Tsar Asen, who renewed the Bulgarian people”⁴¹ and contains detailed though traditional and *topoi*-laden description of the relics' arrival in Tărnovo. The third passage is part of the Sofia Versed Prologue dated second half of the 14th c. Only here is the Christian name of the first Asen mentioned: “Christ-loving Tsar Asen, whose name in the holy baptism was John”⁴². The tale on the relics in the Vita written by Patriarch Euthymius of Tărnovo by the last quarter of the 14th c. calls Asen “the most pious Tsar Asen, called in the holy baptism John”⁴³.

Though all four texts originate from different South Slavic lands and centers, and are not parts of a fully continuous and interconnected literary tradition it is highly possible that they reflect the gradually forming “founding myth” of the Asens dynasty which was not fully complete even in the last decades of the second Bulgarian Tsardom.

Returning to the memories of the Bulgarian Tsars in the Synodicon of the Bulgarian church we can find other traits of dynasticity though their full repertoire is not saved. After the first complex of royal memories which form an image of a mighty house of Asens springing from the root of “old” John Asen and strengthened by his “great” son John Asen, a big part of the memories is lost. The elder Palauzov's copy from the 14th c. contains only the beginning of the memory of Constantine Tikh Asen, “pious and Orthodox Tsar”⁴⁴, while the textual continuation is saved in Drinov's copy of the 16th c. Here the memories go on with “pious Tsar George Terter the Old” (sic!), “virtuously pious Tsar Shishman”, “pious Tsar Theodor Svetoslav”, “pious Tsar George Terter” and his kin, and are concluded with memories of “pious Tsar Michael” and “Tsar John Stephan, the son of the pious Tsar Michael”⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ *Българската литература и книжнина...*, p. 50.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 52. See 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.

⁴³ *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375–1393) nach den besten Handschriften*, ed. E. КАЉУЖНИАКЦИ, Wien 1901, p. 23.

⁴⁴ *Борилев синодик...*, p. 161, 354.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 162, 354–355.

The memory of John Stephan (1330–1331) is followed on the same folio of Drinov's copy by a remarkable text which, as far as I am informed, had not been an object of special consideration:

силь збо правобѣрнѣи и бл҃гочестивѣи. приснопаменѣи православнѣи цѣре, бѣгохранниаго стола българского цѣртва мнмошѣши. и по редѣ въсѣкъ зстрашающѣи. и попеуенѣи илци ѡ хѣстониенити люде порѣшенѣи и бѣго. Сливо по силѣ едино нѣкое неврѣженѣю прѣдано бы. аще и начинаемо ими, нѣ не дѡ [ко]нца съврѣшаемо и. еже и неисправлено и...⁴⁶

In two English translations, by Kiril Petkov and Maria Paneva (the last one follows accurate Bulgarian translation of the Synodicon done by Anna-Maria Totomanova), this text acquires different meanings. Petkov takes the text as another memory, though an unfinished one:

To these, then, righteous, pious, of blessed memory, and Orthodox tsars, who ruled over the God-protected throne of the Bulgarian Tsardom and arranged everything in good order and took good care of the people who carry the name of Christ who have been entrusted to them by God...⁴⁷

Paneva's translation is, to my mind, more adequate and keeps the grammar of the piece (here I am making a couple of slight corrections in it):

The Orthodox, pious and ever-memorable kings who passed by the God-guarded throne of the Bulgarian kingdom, who ruled according to the order and who took care of the people, whom God entrusted to them, bearing the name of Christ. I might have as far as I am capable also neglected some of the deeds they had started but never finished and accomplished...⁴⁸

If this translation is right, the note resembles the *formula humilitatis* usual for a medieval writer and could be followed by the lost appeal to the readers to be merciful to the scribe. In this case its connection with the above mentioned complex of memories could mean that in addition to being used for church commemoration it could be used for reading and listening. Another possible interpretation is that the unfinished text explained the absence of some names among the Tsars' memories.

For the theme of our essay the core meaning of the commemorative text is valuable. The mortal Tsars changed each other on the Bulgarian Throne, eternal against their short earthly lives. The word “*мнмошѣши*” was used in the same sense

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 162, see the copy of the manuscript page in: М. Попруженко, *Синодик царя Борила*, София 1926, p. 4.

⁴⁷ К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria...*, p. 256.

⁴⁸ *Борилев синодик...*, p. 355.

in John Alexander's charter to St. Nicholas monastery in Oryakhovo (1347): *Like those passed Tsars, holding the scepter of the Bulgarian Tsardom* (такоже и сѣщии мимошедши цѣрие. Сѣщии съдрѣжителіе скивѣтра бѣлгарскаго цѣрва)⁴⁹. In this case it definitely means 'passed forever', corresponding with the unfinished commemorative record of the Synodicon.

Another remarkable use of this word in a similar context – drawing on the oppositions of temporary versus permanent and present versus past – was registered in the records of the church court trial of Maximos Trivelis (Maxim the Greek) in Moscow in 1532. The learned monk was accused of heresy and asked by the court: *Why did you write and tell others that Christ's sitting to the right of the Father was "passing by"?* (Уто ради Христова сидение одесноу ю Отца мимошедшее писалъ еси и говорил?)⁵⁰. Maxim's response in Greek was recorded as follows: *Passing by and passed as Adam's life in the paradise and sitting out of it is as passed as Christ's sitting to the right of the Father has passed* (Мимошедшее и минуѡвшее тако же ѿадамово селение в раи и сидение прама рага мимошедше есть, тако же и Христово сидение одесноу ю Отца мимошедше есть)⁵¹. The accusation provoked long dispute and finally Maxim agreed that he had made a translation error, but there was no dogmatic deviation. Evgeny Golubinsky expressed his doubts about the dispute's essence⁵². Having in mind, that the word "mimošedšī" is used in many popular Slavic prayers, liturgical readings and hymns, it is possible to suppose that the most general sense of this word leads to definitions like temporary, unstable, or ultimately passed.

This way the expression "mimošedšim Caremъ" in the above quoted passage of the Synodicon juxtaposes the temporary Tsars to the eternal Tsardom, the Sceptre of which they had received for limited time when they occupied the Bulgarian throne. The latter is often called in Bulgarian texts of the 13th–14th cc. Tabernacle (skinia). The Throne once granted to the Bulgarian Tsars was represented as eternal Divine gift against the background of numerous changes in the Bulgarian political being⁵³. This understanding of dynasticity corresponds with the above quoted Peter Mutafchiev's words. Aimed to manage the row of *violent and sudden ascensions and dizzy falls*⁵⁴ dynasticity was among the few means to proclaim and provide the desired stability which otherwise was lacking in the second Bulgarian Tsardom. Only few of the Bulgarian Tsars could represent stability and continuity in person, and therefore dynasticity was clearly relevant.

⁴⁹ Г.А. Ильинский, *Грамоты...*, р. 24; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, р. 41; К. Ретков, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria...*, р. 497–498 omits this word.

⁵⁰ Прение Даниила, митрополита Московского и Всея Руси с иноком Максимом Святогорцем, ЧИОИДР 7, 1847, 7, р. 1.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² Е. Голубинский, *История русской Церкви*, vol. II, Москва 1900, р. 712–713.

⁵³ *Българската литература и книжнина...*, р. 50, 52.

⁵⁴ П. Мутафчиев, *Към философията...*, р. 58.

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Abstract. Analyzing various medieval Bulgarian hagiographical texts, inscriptions and marginal notes, as well as the Synodicon of the Bulgarian church and other evidence, the author aims to reveal the dynastic concepts of the second Bulgarian Tsardom (1186–1396) and literary attempts to create and support a complex dynastic idea with the means of medieval Bulgarian history writing. Such attempts were connected with two core ideas. Firstly, the state's foundation was represented as a personal merit of two Asens – father and son. Asen “the Old” adopting the throne name John marked the beginning of the Asens’ Tsardom liberating the Bulgarians from “the Greek slavery” and transferring to his stronghold Tărnovo from Sredets – the center of the Byzantine power over Bulgaria – the relics of St. John of Rila. John Asen “the Great”, his son, strengthened the Tsardom with his victories, returned the status of Patriarchy to the Bulgarian church and brought the relics of St. Parasceve to the capital Tărnovo. Secondly, the literary tradition shaped the image of the Bulgarian Tsardom as an ever-lasting Empire whose enduring attributes – Sceptre and Throne – were given by God to change the mortal monarchs.

Keywords: dynasty, dynasticity, second Bulgarian Tsardom, history writing, Asens, Terters, Shishmans.


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WHO COULD ‘THE GODLESS ISHMAELITES FROM THE YATHRIB DESERT’ BE TO THE AUTHOR OF THE NOVGOROD FIRST CHRONICLE? THE *APOCALYPSE OF PSEUDO-METHODIUS* IN MEDIEVAL SOUTH AND EAST SLAVIC LITERATURES*

In the medieval cultural circle of the Orthodox Slavs (*Slavia Orthodoxa*), i.e. those who upon the adoption of Christianity in the Eastern rite were directly influenced by the Byzantine civilization, the *Apocalypse of the Pseudo-Methodius*, originally written in Syrian in the second half of the 7th century¹, enjoyed an unprecedented popularity. It is evidenced, above all, by the appearance of as many as three independent translations of the discussed text into the Church Slavic language. Moreover, over the centuries, several paraphrases and interpolated redactions of the *Apocalypse* were created in the *Slavia Orthodoxa* area.

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¹ М.В. КРИВОВ, *Откровение Псевдо-Методия Патарского как отражение народных взглядов на арабское нашествие*, BB 44, 1983, p. 216; P.J. ALEXANDER, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, Berkeley 1985, p. 13–51; S.P. BROCK, *Two Related Apocalyptic Texts Dated AD 691/2*, [in:] *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, ed. A. PALMER, Liverpool 1993, p. 222–242; G.J. REININK, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, vol. I, Louvain 1993 [= CSCO, 540], p. VII–XL; vol. II, Louvain 1993 [= CSCO, 541], p. V–LXI; R.G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it. A Survey and Analysis of the Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Islam*, Princeton 1997, p. 263–267; L. GREISIGER, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (Syriac)*, [in:] *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. I, 600–900, ed. D. THOMAS, B. ROGGEMA, Leiden–Boston 2009, p. 163–171; *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu*, vol. III, *Listy i apokalipsy chrześcijańskie. Apokryfy syryjskie. Historia i Przysłowia Achikara. Grota skarbów. Apokalipsa Pseudo-Metodego*, ed. M. STAROWIEYSKI, Kraków 2017, p. 200–238 (see there for further literature).

The work also had an undeniable impact on native Slavic authors, whose texts contain many – more or less accurate – quotations and borrowings from the work attributed to Methodius of Patara.

Based on the analysis of the linguistic features of the text, scholars unanimously believe that the first Church Slavic translation of the *Apocalypse* was written quite early. It was probably done in Bulgaria during the reign of Symeon I the Great, i.e. at the end of the 9th century, or in the first three decades of the 10th century². It was based on the so-called ‘first Byzantine (Greek) redaction’, created at the beginning of the 8th century³. The oldest Slavic translation should be associated with the group of intellectuals from Preslav. Some sources even go as far as to suggest that the text by Pseudo-Methodius was translated by someone from the *milieu* of John the Exarch, one of the most eminent Old-Bulgarian writers⁴. The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* therefore entered the Slavic literature on the wave of intense translation activity, initiated by Symeon the Great, the ruler who was undoubtedly

² В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение Мефодия Патарского и апокрифические видения Даниила в византийской и славяно-русской литературах*, vol. I, Москва 1897, p. 121–155; S.H. CROSS, *The Earliest Allusion in Slavic Literature to the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius*, S 4, 3, 1929, p. 332, 338; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *The Problem of Prophecies in Byzantine and Bulgarian Literature*, BS 25, 2, 1984, p. 504; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations of Pseudo-Methodius of Olympus Apocalypsis*, ТКШ 4, 1985, p. 144; А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Цикълът от историко-апокалиптични творби в Драголювия сборник – произход, източници, композиция*, СЛ 25/26, 1991, p. 140; М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Преславска лексика в превода на Псевдо-Методиевото Откровение*, Pbg 18, 3, 1994, p. 44–51; ЕАЕДЕМ, *Двата старобългарски превода на Псевдо-Методиевото Откровение*, КМс 10, 1995, p. 23; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения върху цикъла старобългарски историко-апокалиптични творби от X–XI в.*, Pbg 21, 1, 1997, p. 92; М. SKOWRONEK, *О списку “Апокалипсиса” Псевдо-Методия (“Откровения Мефодия Патарского о последних временах”) Государственного архива в Бухаресте*, Pbg 35, 3, 2011, p. 83; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria*, Sofia 2011, p. 34, 40–41; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy i teksty. Studia nad cerkiewnoślowiąską kulturą literacką Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego i Korony Polskiej do końca XVI w.*, Kraków 2014, p. 147; J. ПЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie. Texte und Studien zur apokalyptischen Literatur in kirchenslavischer Überlieferung*, Tübingen 2016, p. 189.

³ В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение...*, vol. I, p. 25–69; P.J. ALEXANDER, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition...*, p. 52–60; R.G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam...*, p. 295–297; W.J. AERTS, G.A.A. KORTEKAAS, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. Die ältesten griechischen und lateinischen Übersetzungen*, Louvain 1998 [= CSCO, 569], p. 7–18; P. UBIERNA, *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (Greek)*, [in:] *Christian-Muslim Relations...*, p. 245–248; C. BONURA, *A Forgotten Translation of Pseudo-Methodius in Eighth-Century Constantinople: New Evidence for the Dispersal of the Greek Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius during the Dark Age Crisis*, [in:] *From Constantinople to the Frontier. The City and the Cities*, ed. N.S.M. MATHEOU, T. KAMPIANAKI, L.M. BONDIOLI, Leiden–Boston 2016, p. 260–276 (see there for further literature).

⁴ М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Преславска лексика...*, p. 44–51; ЕАЕДЕМ, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 40; М. SKOWRONEK, *О списку...*, p. 82; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 41; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 148.

fascinated with the culture of Byzantium and who wanted to implant as many of its civilizational achievements in Bulgaria as possible⁵.

The circumstances of adapting the work in question in the area of *Slavia Orthodoxa* seem to belie the notion that the work attributed to Methodius of Patara is one of the principal texts on the clash of the Christian world with the followers of Islam, whose popularity in the culture of medieval Europe was supposed to increase in times of growing military threat from the Muslims: Arabs and later Seljuq and Ottoman Turks. At the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, the Southern Slavs were not threatened by direct attacks of the Ishmaelites (to use the phrase that appeared in the pages of the *Apocalypse* and many other works of Eastern Christian provenance). At most, the attention of the Bulgarians could have been drawn at that time by the Arabs' invasions against the lands of the neighbouring Byzantine Empire, e.g. the attack on Thessalonica, inhabited to a large extent by the Slavic population, launched by the fleet of Leo of Tripoli in 904⁶.

Interestingly, the Old Bulgarian translation of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* quickly became known in Serbian, Rus', and even Moldavian literature. This is evidenced by surviving manuscripts that contain the text of the work in question. The manuscript from the Hilandar monastery on Mount Atos (No. 382/453, former No. 24), dating back to the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, is usually considered the oldest and most representative of them. It represents the Serbian redaction of the Church Slavic language, while retaining certain linguistic features of the Bulgarian protograph⁷. There are also several subsequent South and East Slavic copies:

⁵ M.J. LESZKA, *The Monk versus the Philosopher. From the History of the Bulgarian-Byzantine War 894–896*, SCer 1, 2011, p. 55–57; IDEM, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum. Z dziejów stosunków bułgarsko-bizantyńskich w latach 893–927*, Łódź 2013 [= BL, 15], p. 29–34.

⁶ А. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 92; V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 78; M.J. LESZKA, *Symeon...*, p. 106–115; IDEM, K. MARINOW, *Carstwo bułgarskie. Polityka – społeczeństwo – gospodarka – kultura. 866–971*, Warszawa 2015, p. 98–100. Cf. M.J. LESZKA, *Wątek arabski w stosunkach bułgarsko-bizantyńskich VII–X w.*, [in:] *Rzymianie i barbarzyńcy. Religia – polityka – kultura. Materiały V Kongresu Mediewistów Polskich*, vol. VI, ed. T. WOLIŃSKA, M. OŻÓG, K. KOLLINGER, Rzeszów 2019, p. 15–25.

⁷ К. ИВАНОВА, *За Хилендарския препис на първия Симеонов сборник*, СЛ 5, 1979, p. 57–58; V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *The Problem of Prophecies...*, p. 504; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144; А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Цикълът...*, p. 140; F.J. THOMSON, *The Symeonic Florilegium – Problems of Its Origin, Content, Textology and Edition. Together with an English Translation of the Eulogy of Tzar Symeon*, Pbg 17, 1, 1993, p. 40, 50; М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Преславска лексика...*, p. 44; ЕАЕДЕМ, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 23; М. SKOWRONEK, *О спуске...*, p. 79; V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 41; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 147; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altislavische Eschatologie...*, p. 189. The text has been published twice: В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение...*, vol. II, p. 84–101; П.А. ЛАВРОВ, *Апокрифические тексты*, СОРЯС 67, 3, 1899, p. 6–22.

- Berlin State Library, Vuk Karadžić Collection, No. 54 (48) (early 14th century)⁸;
- State Historical Museum in Moscow, ГИМ, Син. 591 (15th to 16th centuries)⁹;
- National Library in Belgrade, НБС 40 (third quarter of the 16th century)¹⁰;
- National Library in Belgrade, НБС 149 (17th century)¹¹;
- Institute of Russian Literature, St. Petersburg, ИРЛИ РАН, Богосл. 64 (19th century)¹².

In 2011 Małgorzata Skowronek, a Palaeoslavist associated with the University of Łódź, published the text of yet another copy of the oldest Church Slavic translation of the *Apocalypse*, found in manuscript No. 741 from the National Archives of Romania in Bucharest. This manuscript, dated at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, is a unique testimony to the knowledge of the work of Pseudo-Methodius in Moldavia¹³.

The first Church Slavic translation of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* is usually referred to by researchers as ‘free’. Its author focused on conveying the general meaning of the original, paying less attention to finding exact equivalents of individual Greek words in the Church Slavic language. On the other hand, regarding the factual aspects, the analysed translation is characterised by relative faithfulness to the first Byzantine redaction¹⁴. A comparison of the content of the text found in the manuscript No. 382/453 with the Greek version allows, however, to identify several interesting innovations, reflecting the worldview of the Bulgarian translator from the beginning of the 10th century.

And so Byzantium, called the ‘Empire of Greeks, that is, Romans’ in the first Byzantine redaction, in the Slavic text becomes the ‘Hellenic, that is, Greek Empire’¹⁵. Describing the peoples that attacked the Christian empire before the

⁸ F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144; М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 24; М. SKOWRONEK, *О списке...*, p. 80; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 189. This version of the source has been published in: Х. МИКЛАС, Л. ТАСЕВА, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, *Берлински сборник. Среднобългарски книжовен паметник от началото на XIV в. с допълнения от други ръкописи*, София–Виена 2006, p. 285–331.

⁹ F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144; М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 24; М. SKOWRONEK, *О списке...*, p. 79; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 147; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 189. The text has been published: Н. ТИХОХРАВОВ, *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*, vol. I, Санкт-Петербург 1863, p. 268–281.

¹⁰ М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 24; М. SKOWRONEK, *О списке...*, p. 81, 88.

¹¹ М. SKOWRONEK, *О списке...*, p. 79–80; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 189.

¹² Е.В. ЛИТВИНОВА, *Списки “Откровения Мефодия Патарского” в Древлехранилище ИРЛИ*, ТОДЛ 37, 1983, p. 383; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 189.

¹³ М. SKOWRONEK, *О списке...*, p. 74–115.

¹⁴ F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 147–148; М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 23; М. SKOWRONEK, *О списке...*, p. 82–83; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 147.

¹⁵ Cf. A. NIKOLOV, *Empire of the Romans or Tsardom of the Greeks? The Image of Byzantium in the Earliest Slavonic Translations from Greek*, Bsl 65, 2007, p. 31–39.

arrival of the Ishmaelites, defined in the Byzantine version as Turks and Avars (Τουρκοὶ καὶ Ἀβαρείς)¹⁶ – a reminiscence of the Avar attack on Constantinople in 626¹⁷ – the Bulgarian translator associates them with ethnic groups that directly threatened the Slavs: Avars and Hungarians/Madjars (УВЪРСКО И ОУГОРСКО)¹⁸. However, not much attention is paid to the ethnicity of the Ishmaelites themselves. While the first of the two passages of the work in which the ethnonym 'Arabs' (τῶν Ἀράβων) appears is translated faithfully (АРАВЬ)¹⁹, the other, however, is omitted²⁰. The translator quite consistently states that the area from which the sons of Ishmael came is the Yathrib desert (ЮВЪТЪРЫВЪ; ВЪ ПОУСТИНОУ ЮФРИВЪ; ѿ ПОУСТЫННЮ ЮТРИВА)²¹. Only at one point in the narrative, for reasons unknown to us, does Yathrib become a mountain²².

Several changes sneaked into the descriptions of the natural environment in which the Arabs–Ishmaelites lived, as well as their customs. The Old Bulgarian translator, perhaps trying not to offend the sensibilities of his readership, took pains to moderate the text. Several copies of the work (No. 382/453; ГИМ, Син. 591; НБС 40) omit the information that these nomads have a habit of going out nude²³. The mention that the Ishmaelites eat 'meat of camels prepared in skins', which was probably meant to disgust the reader, becomes a description of a tasty-sounding dish: camel meat cooked with broad beans (ЯДЪХУУ МЕСА ВЕЛЬВЛЮЖЪА ВЪ БОБОУ ВАРЕНА)²⁴. Interestingly, the author of the Slavic translation did not find the term ὄναρος difficult – it was correctly conveyed described as 'wild donkey' (ДИВЫИ ВСЕЛЬ)²⁵. Gazelles, on the other hand, became desert deer (СРЪНИ ѿ ПОУСТЫННЮ)²⁶. It is also surprising that the Bulgarian translator says that the Ishmaelites are not warriors but children of the desert – here, in the Greek text we find an observation that they are not barbarians who rule like tyrants²⁷.

¹⁶ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, *Apocalypse (Greek)*, 10, 5, [in:] PSEUDO-METHODIUS, *Apocalypse & An Alexandrian World Chronicle*, ed. B. GARSTAD, Cambridge Mass.–London 2012 (cetera: PSEUDO-METHODIUS), p. 36.

¹⁷ П. АЛИКСАНДЕР, *Псевдо-Методий и Эфиопия*, АДСВ 10, 1973, p. 21.

¹⁸ СѢГО ѿЦА НАШЕГО ЮПА ПАТАРСКААГО МЕФОДИЯ ОУКАЗАНИЕ ИСТОЮЕ Ш ЦРНИХЪ И Ш ПОСЛЕДНИХЪ ЛѢТЪХЪ, VII, [in:] В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение...*, vol. II (cetera: Slav1), p. 92. Cf. А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Повесть временных лет и ее источники*, ТОДЛ 4, 1940, p. 92; М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Преславска лексика...*, p. 44–45; ЕАЕДЕМ, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 23.

¹⁹ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 7, 1, p. 20; Slav1, IV, p. 88.

²⁰ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 13, 15, p. 58.

²¹ Slav1, III, p. 87; VIII, p. 93.

²² Slav1, IX, p. 95.

²³ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 5, 3, p. 14.

²⁴ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 5, 3, p. 14; Slav1, III, p. 87.

²⁵ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 11, 3, p. 38; 11, 17, p. 46; Slav1, VIII, p. 93; IX, p. 95. Cf. М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Преславска лексика...*, p. 50; ЕАЕДЕМ, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 43.

²⁶ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 11, 17, p. 46; Slav1, IX, p. 95.

²⁷ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 11, 17, p. 46; Slav1, IX, p. 95.

The question of the second translation of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* into the Church Slavic, independent of the one discussed above, is rather poorly examined and has long failed to attract the interest of researchers. It was not until the 1970s that Pirinka Penkova pointed out that in two late Rus' manuscripts (ГИМ, Син. 154, a copy of the so-called *Russian Chronograph* from 1512 and the Copenhagen Royal Library codex 147, containing the text of the historiographical compilation from 1676) a translation of the work attributed to the bishop of Patara can be found, different from that in the codex from the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Atos (No. 382/453)²⁸. Analyzing its linguistic features, Francis J. Thomson, Maria Yovcheva and Lora Tasseva came to the conclusion that this translation was based on the oldest variant of the first Greek redaction (without later interpolations), was made in Bulgaria, most probably under the reign of tsar Peter I (927–969), and can be associated with the Preslav circle²⁹. Very soon this work, like the first Slavic translation, had to find its way to Rus' – in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, the oldest Kiev historiographical text, compiled in the form that has survived to our days in the first decades of the 12th century, there are two fragments under the date of AM 6604 (AD 1096), which paraphrase the text of the *Apocalypse*, manifesting a number of similarities with both the first and the second translation³⁰. The issue of the scope of dissemination of the second Church Slavic translation in Old Russian literature is, however, one that requires further, in-depth studies.

This is where the question arises as to why, with one translation of the historic text in question already at their disposal, Preslav authors from the circle of tsar Peter I undertook the effort of reinterpreting the *Apocalypse* into the Church Slavic language. The answers are likely to be found in the formal specificity of both translations. The author of the second translation tried to convey the message to his readers as close to the original as possible. Not knowing about the existence of the Syrian text, he chose the earliest Greek version available to him for translation and rendered it as accurately as he could³¹. The effects of his efforts can be seen in many

²⁸ П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи на Псевдо-Методиевия летопис през XI–XIV в. и разпространението им в Русия*, СЛ 2, 1977, p. 102–113.

²⁹ F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144–151; М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Преславска лексика...*, p. 44; ЕАЕДЕМ, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 23–25, 40. Cf. А. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 92; М. SKOWRONEK, *О списке...*, p. 80–83; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 41–42; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 147–148; J. PETKOV, *Altislavische Eschatologie...*, p. 190.

³⁰ А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Повесть временных лет...*, p. 92–103; П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 109; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *The Problem of Prophecies...*, p. 504; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 152–154; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 219; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 148; J. PETKOV, *Altislavische Eschatologie...*, p. 190.

³¹ П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 106–110; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144–148; М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 23; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 41–42.

places in the translation: here, Byzantium is called the same as in the Greek version – the Greek/Hellenic, that is Roman Empire (цѣство Греческое, еже естъ Римъско)³², while the barbarians who threaten it are Turks and Avars (Тѣрци и Шери)³³. The area from which Ishmaelites came is consistently referred to as the Yathrib desert (от пвстына Штривскиа)³⁴.

However, in several places, most likely as a result of misunderstanding the meaning of the original or for reasons of morality, the Bulgarian author made some changes to the text. Like the author of the translation from the Symeon era, in the section devoted to the everyday life of the Ishmaelites he omitted information that they went out in the nude. He also mentioned that they eat prepared camel meat³⁵. As for the author of the first Slavic translation, Ishmael's sons were, in his opinion, not warriors, but children of the desert³⁶.

The analysis of the second translation of the *Apocalypse* into the Church Slavic is further hindered by the fact that it was preserved only in late Russian manuscripts. In several places, therefore, it is unclear whether the change we see was the doing of the 10th-century Bulgarian translator or the 17th-century Russian copyist. This objection concerns a fundamental issue, i.e. the impression that remains after reading the text (in its present form) that for its author the ethnonym 'Arabs' was an abstract and incomprehensible concept. It is clear, however, that when explaining fragment 7.1, the Slavic author did not understand to what people it referred to and wrote down its name in a distorted form (Н'рава)³⁷. Passage 13.15, which in the first Byzantine redaction reads: *Egypt will be devastated, Arabia will be burned with fire, the land of Abran [Hebron – Z.B.] will be desolate, and the sea-coast will be at peace*, in the second Slavic translation takes on an interesting form: Шрипет шпвстѣтъ, Арабѣ шгнем изгоритъ, земля Рвская шпвстѣтъ ѿ рати и приморская оумирит'са³⁸. The Slavic scribe (most likely a Russian copyist), having faithfully conveyed the mention of Egypt and Arabia, in place of Hebron, which caused interpretation problems to the Byzantine authors, inserted the familiar Russian Land! It is also difficult to decide at what stage of the work on the text the Greek ὄναρος became a wild man (члкъ дивни)³⁹. As we remember, the author of the oldest Slavic translation was aware of the fact that it was an undomesticated

³² Мѣодія епекп Падаринскаго, ш царствинѣ, IX, 7, [in:] F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...* (cetera: Slav2), p. 162.

³³ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 10, 5, p. 36; Slav2, X, 5, p. 163. Cf. П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 112.

³⁴ Slav2, V, 2, p. 158; XI, 1, p. 164; XI, 16, p. 165.

³⁵ Slav2, V, 3, p. 158.

³⁶ Slav2, XI, 17, p. 166.

³⁷ Slav2, VII, 1, p. 160.

³⁸ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 13, 15, p. 58–60; Slav2, XIII, 15, p. 167.

³⁹ Slav2, XI, 3, p. 164; XI, 17, p. 166. Cf. М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Л. ТАСЕВА, *Двата старобългарски превода...*, p. 34, 43.

type of a donkey. Perhaps the author of the second translation left the Greek term here (forms *онагръ*, *анагръ*, *инагръ* are confirmed in the Church Slavic texts)⁴⁰, while the later Russian copyist, having come across an unknown word, introduced a correction, changing the original meaning of the text.

Interestingly, in the first half of the 14th century, another Slavic translation of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* was written in Bulgaria. According to some researchers, the origins and dissemination of this text should be associated with the then increasing pressure of the Ottoman Turks on the Balkans (in 1354 they conquered the first bridgehead in Europe – the Gallipoli Peninsula) and the consequent revival of eschatological sentiment among the South-Slavic population. Most probably, the translation was done in the then capital city of Bulgaria, Veliko Tărnovo, in the *milieu* of the local school of writing. It was based on the first Byzantine redaction⁴¹. It has survived until our times in several copies:

- State Historical Museum in Moscow, ГИМ, Син. 38 (the so-called *Priest Philip's Codex*, made for the Bulgarian tsar John Alexander in 1344/5)⁴²;
- State Historical Museum in Moscow, ГИМ, Син. 682 (Rus' manuscript, 15th century)⁴³;
- Serbian manuscript of the Hilandar monastery on Mount Atos, No. 179 (16th century)⁴⁴;
- Russian State Library in Moscow, РГБ, 304.I.770 (beginning of the 16th century)⁴⁵;
- There are also several later Russian copies (17th to 19th centuries)⁴⁶.

As Francis J. Thomson points out, the third Slavic translation of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* is characterized by remarkable faithfulness to the Greek text on which it was based⁴⁷. Thus, the peoples who had attacked Byzantium before

⁴⁰ ЕАЕДЕМ, *Преславска лексика...*, p. 50.

⁴¹ В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение...*, vol. I, p. 156–174; S.H. CROSS, *The Earliest Allusion...*, p. 332; П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 107; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144; А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Цикълът...*, p. 140; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 92; М. SKOWRONEK, *О списке...*, p. 83; J. STRADOMSKI, *Рѣкопису...*, p. 147–148; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 190.

⁴² П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 107; Е.В. ЛИТВИНОВА, *Списки...*, p. 384; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144; J. STRADOMSKI, *Рѣкопису...*, p. 147; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 190. The text has been published: Н. ТИХОНРАВОВ, *Памятники...*, p. 213–226.

⁴³ П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 107; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144; J. STRADOMSKI, *Рѣкопису...*, p. 147; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 191. This version has been published: Н. ТИХОНРАВОВ, *Памятники...*, p. 226–248.

⁴⁴ J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 191. The text has been published twice: В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение...*, vol. II, p. 102–114; П.А. ЛАВРОВ, *Апокрифические тексты...*, p. 23–39.

⁴⁵ РГБ, 304.I.770, fol. 67–74. Cf. J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 191.

⁴⁶ Е.В. ЛИТВИНОВА, *Списки...*, p. 382–390; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 191–192.

⁴⁷ F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 148.

the Ishmaelites came are called Turks and Avars (Турци и Авари)⁴⁸. Yathrib is consistently referred to as a desert (до поустыниѧ Фрѣвьскѧжж)⁴⁹. In keeping with the well-established style of the time, the 14th-century Bulgarian translator also retained many Greek terms in the original form (e.g. ὄναγρος – онагрѣ)⁵⁰, without attempting to find a Slavic equivalent for them⁵¹. Interestingly, like the authors of previous translations, he had some problems with determining the ethnicity of the Ishmaelites. Although passage 13.15 is translated quite faithfully (apart from the troublesome Hebron)⁵², in section 7.1 he replaced Arabs (τῶν Ἀραβίων) with Avars (Аварии), probably based on the similarity of the pronunciation of the two ethnonyms⁵³.

This is not the only change that can be found in the discussed text. As in the oldest translation of the *Apocalypse* into the Church Slavic language, Byzantium is called here the 'Hellenic, that is, Greek Empire' (црѣтво Ѣллинское сирѣчь Гръчское)⁵⁴. Ishmaelites eat meat of horses and camels (ядѣхжъ мясо коньское и камилиѣ)⁵⁵ and are barbarians, children of the wilderness, who cannot be considered mighty rulers that govern in a way that pleases God⁵⁶. However, the most important innovation of the 14th-century translator is the division of the final parts of the narrative into paragraphs and assigning them titles. One of them is *Concerning the Imprisoned Tartars* (О затворенныхъ тартарохъ) and it can be assumed that the Bulgarian author identified unclean peoples, confined – according to Pseudo-Methodius – in the north by Alexander the Great, with Tatar/Mongols⁵⁷.

The fact that there are three independent Church Slavic translations of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* is a proof of the unquestionable popularity of this work in the area of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The material at our disposal, however, allows us to put forward yet another hypothesis: medieval Slavs, having included the work attributed to the bishop of Patara into their own historical and eschatological

⁴⁸ Сѣго ѿца нашего Методіа епископа Патарскаго слово о црѣтви ѡзыкъ послѣднїиѧ врѣменѧ, и извѣстно сказанїе ѿ прѣваго члѣка, до скончанїа вѣка, [in:] Н. Тихонравов, *Памятники...* (cetera: Slav3), p. 220. Cf. РГБ, 304.I.770, fol. 72: Турци и Аварї.

⁴⁹ Slav3, p. 221.

⁵⁰ Slav3, p. 220.

⁵¹ F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 148–149.

⁵² Slav3, p. 224: опущена же бждетъ Аравїа огненъ, а Фрупетъ пожеженъ бждетъ. полорїе же лирно бждетъ.

⁵³ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 7, 1, p. 20; Slav3, p. 217. Cf. РГБ, 304.I.770, fol. 70: Аварии.

⁵⁴ Slav3, p. 218.

⁵⁵ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 5, 3, p. 14; Slav3, p. 215. Cf. РГБ, 304.I.770, fol. 69: ѡдѣхъ мясо ко"ское, и камилиѧ.

⁵⁶ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 11, 17, p. 46; Slav3, p. 222.

⁵⁷ PSEUDO-METHODIUS, 13, 19–20, p. 60–62; Slav3, p. 224. Cf. P. DZIADUL, *W oczekiwaniu na Paruzję. Myśl eschatologiczna w prawosławnym piśmiennictwie słowiańskim do połowy XVI w.*, Kraków 2014, p. 147.

discourse, made creative use of it, often modifying its content and adapting it to current realities. An interesting example of such an approach to the analyzed source text is the original Old Bulgarian abridged edition, preserved in the so-called *Priest Dragol's Codex* in the National Library in Belgrade (HBC 651/632), a Serbian manuscript from the middle of the 13th century⁵⁸. It was written at a time when there was no independent Bulgarian state and the areas that once formed part of it had been under the Byzantine rule from 1018. It was most probably compiled in the second half of the 11th century, in a period that was difficult for Bulgarians after the fall of the uprising of Peter Delyan (1041), when the empire's increased fiscal pressure was accompanied by invasions of steppe peoples (Pechenegs and Cumans/Polovcians) on Bulgarian lands⁵⁹.

There is no doubt that the Old Bulgarian abbreviated redaction is based on the oldest Slavic translation of the *Apocalypse*. The version of the work preserved on the pages of *Priest Dragol's Codex* is very similar to the text found in the manuscript of the Hilandar monastery on Mount Atos (No. 382/453)⁶⁰. It contains many elements characteristic of the translation of the work of Pseudo-Methodius from Symeon's time: Byzantium is consistently referred to as 'the Hellenistic, that is Greek Empire', Yathrib is called a desert in several places in the text, and once a mountain, onagers are wild donkeys (ДИВИ ѿСЛИ), gazelles are desert deer (СРЪНИ ѿ ПОУСТЪИНЕ), and the Ishmaelites are not warriors, but children of the desert⁶¹.

However, the work, included in *Priest Dragol's Codex*, differs significantly from its original version. Its author made significant abbreviations in the text of the *Apocalypse*, dispensing with those narratives which, in his opinion, were out of date or not necessary for any other reason. Thus, the initial part of the work by Pseudo-Methodius, mainly devoted to the biblical stories, was entirely removed. The first sequence of events described in the relic is a narrative about the imprisonment of 'unclean' peoples in the North by Alexander the Great. The contents of the first Slavic translation are quoted, albeit with abbreviations and paraphrases, from paragraph 10.6, where the invasion of the Christian lands by the

⁵⁸ V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *The Problem of Prophecies...*, p. 507; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 144; A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Цикълът...*, p. 135; A. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 93–94; M. SKOWRONEK, *О сниске...*, p. 79; V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 28, 47, 220; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 147; J. ПЕТКОВ, *Altislavische Eschatologie...*, p. 193.

⁵⁹ A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Цикълът...*, p. 141; A. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 95; V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 28, 220; J. ПЕТКОВ, *Altislavische Eschatologie...*, p. 193–194.

⁶⁰ A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Цикълът...*, p. 140; V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 47–48, 220; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 147; J. ПЕТКОВ, *Altislavische Eschatologie...*, p. 193.

⁶¹ Стaгo Метoдiя иcпискoупa Патрѣскaгo oуказаниe oуказаниe истoгe в црѣхѣ и в послѣднихѣ днѣхѣ и лѣ(т)хѣ, [in:] V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...* (cetera: Abbr.), p. 229–232.

Ishmaelites is recounted. Interestingly, the issue of their ethnicity is completely diluted here. In the text of the Old Bulgarian abbreviated redaction there is no mention that they are Arabs⁶². Perhaps we are dealing here with a conscious effort on the part of a Slavic writer, who aims to show the topicality of the message of Pseudo-Methodius and to juxtapose the events he recounts with the difficulties faced by his compatriots in the 11th century. It is worth noting that in his description of the oppression to which Christians were subjected under the rule of the 'sons of Ishmael', he included an extensive interpolation on the situation of the Bulgarian people under the rule of... Byzantines:

And there will be great perdition on earth. And one man from Sredets will set forth and another man from Thessalonica, and they will meet in Vetren, bearing the gold. And they will ask each other, 'Brother, how do I reach Thessalonica?' and the other one will ask, "How do I reach Sredets?" And both, having gold, will pour it on the ground, saying: 'Woe to us, brother, for the lands remained deserted. A sheep will have the price of an ox and an ox – the price of a horse, and a horse – 30 litras; and people will sell themselves for three or four golden coins and through hunger they will kill each other. Great hatred and abomination and lawlessness will come; the whole of the earth will be filled with injustice. Woe to us, brother, poor us, when these days come, there will be a great and inconsolable moaning because of all injustices amongst people and no one will be saved [from it].'⁶³

What is happening here, then, is rather remarkable. Although the basic message of the *Apocalypse* that Christians will be freed from the yoke of infidel invaders by the Byzantine emperor at the end of time is preserved, at the same time the dichotomy that constitutes the main axis of the work of Pseudo-Methodius: 'strangers / pagans / Ishmaelites' versus 'ours / Christians / Byzantines' is made somewhat unstable: it seems that in the passage quoted above, the 'sons of Ishmael' are Byzantines and their oppressed victims are Bulgarians⁶⁴.

The most interesting and at the same time the most difficult to interpret Slavic version of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* is probably its so-called 'interpolated redaction'. For more than 120 years, this text has been the subject of discussion among specialists, and many issues related to the circumstances of its compilation, date, content and source of inspiration for its individual parts, are still waiting to be resolved. There is probably one thing that raises no doubts: the interpolated redaction is an original work of the literature of the *Slavia Orthodoxa* area, which does not have a direct original in the Byzantine literature. However, as regards the time and place of the work's writing, Russian and Bulgarian scholars disagree⁶⁵.

⁶² Abbr., p. 229–232.

⁶³ Abbr., p. 250.

⁶⁴ А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Цикълът...*, p. 141; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 95–102; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 224; J. ПЕТКОВ, *Altislavische Eschatologie...*, p. 194.

⁶⁵ V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 196; J. STRADOMSKI, *Bizantyjsko-słowiańskie pisma apokaliptyczno-eschatologiczne w zbiorach rękopisów cerkiewno-*

The former, following Vasily M. Istrin, who in 1897 released an exhaustive monograph on the Slavic versions of the *Apocalypse* and published three variants known to him: the first and the third Church Slavic translation of the text (the second one had not yet been discovered at the time) and the ‘interpolated redaction’⁶⁶, assume that the text is an Old Rus’ source, written in the 15th century⁶⁷. Bulgarian palaeoslavists, on the other hand, allow for the possibility that the text may be dated much earlier, sometimes locating it even in the 11th century. They suggest that the ‘interpolated redaction’ is a work of South-Slavic provenance⁶⁸.

Most probably, the basis for the compilation was the oldest translation of the work of Pseudo-Methodius into the Church Slavic⁶⁹. The Slavic author, however, approached the material he had at his disposal very creatively, introducing far-reaching interventions into it: abbreviations, interpolations, changes in the arrangement of the content. These interpolations, to which the redaction owes its name, are extensive, supplementing the message of the *Apocalypse* with many new elements, derived from other Byzantine works of an eschatological character, known in Slavic translation, such as the homily of Ephrem the Syrian on Parusia, *Daniel’s Apocalypse*, *Life of St. Andrew Salonite*, *Apocalypses Johannes prima et tertia*⁷⁰.

The interpolated redaction has been preserved in several dozen (mainly Russian) copies, the oldest of which can be traced back to the beginning of the 16th century. Here are the most important of them:

- National Library in Warsaw, BOZ 92 (early 16th century)⁷¹;
- Russian State Library in Moscow, РГБ, 304.I.769 (early 16th century)⁷²;
- РГАДА, 341/721 (16th–17th centuries)⁷³.

The discussed text also appears on the pages of many later Russian manuscripts (17th–19th centuries). This phenomenon can be attributed to the popularity of

-słowiańskich w Polsce, [in:] *Czas Apokalipsy. Wizje dni ostatecznych w kulturze europejskiej od starożytności do wieku XVII*, ed. K. ZALEWSKA-LORKIEWICZ, Warszawa 2013, p. 96; IDEM, *Rękopisy...*, p. 150–151; J. ПЕТКОВ, *Alt slavische Eschatologie...*, p. 194; J. STRADOMSKI, *Krzyż jako symbol władzy kosmicznej w bizantyńsko-słowiańskiej tradycji literackiej*, PFL 7, 2017, p. 209.

⁶⁶ В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение...*, vol. I, p. 175–232.

⁶⁷ Л.А. ДМИТРИЕВ, *Откровение Мефодия Патарского*, [in:] *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси (XI – первая половина XIV в.)*, ed. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Ленинград 1987, p. 284.

⁶⁸ П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 107–108; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 92, 102.

⁶⁹ Л.А. ДМИТРИЕВ, *Откровение...*, p. 284; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 150.

⁷⁰ Л.А. ДМИТРИЕВ, *Откровение...*, p. 284; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 37–38; J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 150; IDEM, *Krzyż...*, p. 210.

⁷¹ BOZ 92, fol. 231–259. Cf. J. STRADOMSKI, *Bizantyńsko-słowiańskie pisma...*, p. 96; IDEM, *Rękopisy...*, p. 151–160; IDEM, *Krzyż...*, p. 208.

⁷² РГБ, 304.I.769, fol. 18’–33’. Cf. J. STRADOMSKI, *Rękopisy...*, p. 151–160; IDEM, *Krzyż...*, p. 208.

⁷³ IDEM, *Rękopisy...*, p. 151–160; J. ПЕТКОВ, *Alt slavische Eschatologie...*, p. 194. The text has been published: В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение...*, vol. II, p. 115–131.

the *Apocalypse* among the Old Believers⁷⁴. In many *miscellanea* manuscripts we can also find fragments of the analysed work. Moreover, Pirinka Penkova is of the opinion that the text of the interpolated redaction (or of the related eschatological compilation) is in both manuscripts (ГИМ, Син. 154 and the Copenhagen Royal Library Codex 147 of 1676), containing the second translation of the work of Pseudo-Methodius into Church Slavic⁷⁵.

The Slavic interpolated redaction contains a text variant that is very far removed from the original version. Historical and narrative parts containing reminiscences of the Byzantine Empire's struggle with Persians and Arabs were removed or very abbreviated. Of the passages concerning the Ishmaelites, only passage 5.2–3, containing a description of their harsh life in the Yathrib desert, is relatively faithfully quote, along with a mention that they tended to walk around naked and eat cooked camel meat⁷⁶. Interestingly, in the interpolated redaction the ethnonym 'Arabs' is not used even once. There are also no other proper names that would make it possible to identify the people (or groups) with whom the author of the work in question associated the Ishmaelites. One can get the impression, however, that the threat from invaders of different faith was very much real for him. In those parts of the text that were borrowed by the Slavic author from other eschatological works and woven into the narrative of Pseudo-Methodius, a genuine fear of the Ishmaelites is evident, as well as the awareness of their military strength. For example, the text mentions that they would conquer the whole world and reach the walls of Rome, which they would besiege three times. The last assault would end with their victory⁷⁷. Although the name of Constantinople is not mentioned in the text, we may get the impression that the author of the interpolated redaction prophesies that the aggressors would manage to break through its gates, enter the city walls and reach the church of Hagia Sophia.

However, God would save the Christians gathered inside through his angel: tsar Michael, who came from Rome (the question of who was the prototype of this figure remains unresolved: the literature on the subject points to a number of different monarchs, from the Bulgarian prince Boris-Michael to the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos)⁷⁸. This ruler, whose character is an obvious expansion of the theme of the anonymous Byzantine emperor, who defeated the Ishmaelites in the original version of the work, expels the invaders, recovers the Holy Land for Christians, restores the clergy, rebuilds many cities and churches, re-establishes

⁷⁴ Е.В. ЛИТВИНОВА, *Списки...*, p. 382–390; Л.А. ДМИТРИЕВ, *Откровение...*, p. 284; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altislavische Eschatologie...*, p. 194–197.

⁷⁵ П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 107.

⁷⁶ **СЛОВО СЪГОВО ѠЦА НАШЕГО МЕФОДИА ТАГАНЬСКАГО Ѡ ПОСЛЕДНИХЪ ЛѢТѢХЪ**, III, [in:] В. ИСТРИН, *Откровение...*, vol. II (cetera: Int.), p. 119.

⁷⁷ Int., V, p. 121.

⁷⁸ А. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 98–102; V. ТЪРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 54, 88–90; P. DZIADUL, *W oczekiwaniu na Paruzję...*, p. 137.

passages to the roads leading to Jerusalem and India, and also ensures the empire the last 30 years of peace and prosperity before the advent of the Antichrist and the end of the world⁷⁹.

Vassilka Täpkova-Zaimova and Anissava Miltenova noted that at the end of the 15th century another paraphrase of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* was written in the Balkans, entitled: *Sermon on the Ishmaelites of the Last Times*. It has probably survived until our times in only one manuscript of Bulgarian provenance, dating back to the 17th century, currently kept in the collection of the 'SS. Cyril and Methodius' National Library in Sofia (NLCM 1051). It can be assumed that the author of the book based it on the oldest Church Slavic translation of the work attributed to the bishop of Patara. The text of the NLCM 1051 manuscript is similar to the historical version in the manuscript of the Hilandar monastery on Mount Atos (No. 382/453). The Slavic author made significant abbreviations in the translation of the *Apocalypse*, preserving first of all the fragments in which the Ishmaelites appear. There is no doubt that the author of the paraphrase in question associated the 'sons of Ishmael' described by Pseudo-Methodius unequivocally with the Ottoman Turks, who at that time were conquering subsequent territories in the Balkans, at the expense of the Byzantine Empire and the South-Slavic states. This is evidenced first of all by the interpolations introduced into the text of the *Apocalypse*. In one of them, under a annual date of AM 6867 (AD 1359), we read about that invaders 'took the ford', meaning that they crossed to the mainland (most probably it is a reminiscence of the capturing of the Gallipoli Peninsula), and then conquered many areas from the West and seized Constantinople. Based on this reference, this paraphrase dates back to the period between 1453 and the end of the 15th century⁸⁰.

As we have mentioned above, references, borrowings and quotations from the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* can be found in many original literary works, written in the area of *Slavia Orthodoxa* in the Middle Ages. There is no space to discuss them in detail in this article. One of the most important and interesting is the *Tale of the Prophet Isaiah* (previously referred to as *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle*), an old-Bulgarian compilation text written during the Byzantine rule in Bulgaria (in the second half of the 11th century or in the 12th century)⁸¹. The work of Pseudo-Methodius was probably also a source of inspiration for the Serbian monk Isaiah, who in 1371 completed the work on the Church Slavic translation of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite at Mount Atos and decided to supplement his manuscript with a short description of the dramatic

⁷⁹ Int., VI–VII, p. 123–124.

⁸⁰ V. TÄPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, A. MILTENOVA, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 548–556.

⁸¹ EAEDEM, *The Problem of Prophecies...*, p. 505; *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe Słowian Południowych*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, Kraków 2006, p. 62; V. TÄPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, A. MILTENOVA, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature...*, p. 278; I. BILIARSKY, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah. The Destiny and Meanings of an Apocryphal Text*, Leiden–Boston 2013, p. 37, 99, 263.

events that took place in the Balkans during that period, that is, the injustices suffered by the local population at the hands of the Ottoman Turks following the defeat of the South-Slavic army coalition in the battle on the Maritsa River⁸².

Another noteworthy phenomenon is the popularity of the work attributed to bishop of Patara among the authors of Old Rus' historiographic texts (the so-called *letopises*). As we have already mentioned, two quite extensive references to the *Apocalypse* can be found in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, the oldest Kiev *letopis* compiled at the beginning of the 12th century. Both fragments are dated under AM 6604 (AD 1096) and have already been the subject of a comprehensive analysis of Alexei A. Shakhmatov⁸³. The first of them appears in the context of the attack of the Polovcians on Kiev:

The godless sons of Ishmael, who had been sent as a chastisement to the Christians, even killed with the sword some of our brethren. They came forth from the desert of Yathrib in the northeast. Four races of them issued forth: Torkmens, Pechenegs, Torks, and Polovcians. Methodius relates concerning them that eight nations fled when Gideon massacred them; eight fled into the desert, and four he massacred. Others say that they are the sons of Ammon, but this is not true, for the Caspians are the sons of Moab, while the Bulgars are the sons of Ammon. But the Saracens descended from Ishmael became known as the sons of Sarah, and called themselves Sarakyne, that is to say, 'We are descendants of Sarah.' Likewise the Caspians and the Bulgars are descended from the daughters of Lot, who conceived by their father, so that their race is unclean. Ishmael begot twelve sons, from whom are descended the Torkmens, the Pechenegs, the Torks, and the Cumans or Polovcians, who came from the desert. After these eight races, at the end of the world, shall come forth the unclean peoples shut in the mountain by Alexander of Macedon.⁸⁴

Another reminiscence of the work of Pseudo-Methodius is interwoven into the description of the conversation that the author of the chronicle had with a certain Novgorod citizen (Gyuryata Rogovich)⁸⁵. He told him about the northern tribes that his servant had encountered. The Kiev chronicler was reminded of the 'unclean' barbarians who were imprisoned in the mountains of the North by Alexander the Great:

⁸² *Dar słowa. Ze starej literatury serbskiej*, ed. A.E. NAUMOW, Łódź 1983, p. 125–127, 249–250; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Наблюдения...*, p. 96.

⁸³ А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Повесть временных лет...*, p. 92–103. Cf. S.H. CROSS, *The Earliest Allusion...*, p. 334–335; П. ПЕНКОВА, *Българските преводи...*, p. 107; F.J. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translations...*, p. 152–153; L.S. СЧЕКИН, *The Godless Ishmaelites. The Image of the Steppe in 11th–13th century Rus'*, *RHis* 19, 1–4, 1992, p. 12–13; S. KOVÁCS, *The Origin of the Cumans in the Russian Primary Chronicle*, *Chr* 11, 2011, p. 125–134; P. DZIADUL, *W oczekiwaniu na Paruzję...*, p. 148; J. РЕТКОВ, *Alt-slavische Eschatologie...*, p. 197.

⁸⁴ *Лаврентьевская летопись*, Ленинград 1926–1928 [= ПСРЛ, 1] (cetera: *Лаврентьевская летопись*), p. 235; English translation: *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. S.H. CROSS, O.P. SHERBOWITZ-WETZOR, Cambridge 1953 (cetera: *Russian Primary Chronicle*), p. 184.

⁸⁵ S.H. CROSS, *The Earliest Allusion...*, p. 336–337; L.S. СЧЕКИН, *The Godless Ishmaelites...*, p. 14–16; S. KOVÁCS, *The Origin...*, p. 131; P. DZIADUL, *W oczekiwaniu na Paruzję...*, p. 148; J. РЕТКОВ, *Alt-slavische Eschatologie...*, p. 197.

Then I said to Gyuryata, “These are the peoples shut up by Alexander of Macedon. As Methodius of Patara says of them, ‘He penetrated the eastern countries as far as the sea called the Land of the Sun, and he saw there unclean peoples of the race of Japheth. When he beheld their uncleanness, he marvelled. They ate every nauseous thing, such as gnats, flies, cats, and serpents. They did not bury their dead, but ate them, along with the fruit of abortions and all sorts of impure beasts. On beholding this, Alexander was afraid lest, as they multiplied, they might corrupt the earth. So he drove them to high mountains in the regions of the north, and by God’s commandment, the mountains enclosed them round above save for a space of twelve ells. Gates of brass were erected there, and were covered with indestructible metal. They cannot be destroyed by fire, for it is the nature of this metal that fire cannot consume it, nor can iron take hold upon it. Hereafter, at the end of the world, eight peoples shall come forth from the desert of Yathrib, and these corrupt nations, which dwell in the northern mountains, shall also issue forth at God’s command.”⁸⁶

A much less known relic of medieval Rus’ historiography is the *Novgorod First Chronicle*, which is probably the oldest existing historiographical work, created in an intellectual *milieu* of Novgorod the Great. The *Novgorod First Chronicle* is certainly an extremely valuable historical source, containing much important information on the history of Rus’ and Eastern Europe in the 11th–14th centuries. The older redaction of the said text is preserved in only one manuscript, the so-called ‘synodal’ manuscript from the 13th–14th centuries (ГИМ, Син. 786), covering the events from 1016 until 1352. In this work, under the annual date AM 6732 (AD 1223/1224) we find a richly detailed description of the first Mongolian invasion of Rus’ and the Battle of the Kalka River⁸⁷. The author of the *letopis* also attempted to explain to his readers who the invaders were and why God allowed them to bring such destruction to Christian lands. His narrative clearly resonates with the tone of the vision of Pseudo-Methodius, whose authority the Old Rus’ artist evokes directly:

The same year, for our sins, unknown tribe came, whom no one exactly knows, who they are, nor whence they came out, nor what their language is, nor of what race they are, nor what their faith is; but they call them Tartars and others say Taurmen, and others Pecheneg people, and others say that they are those of whom Bishop Methodius of Patmos bore witness, that they came out from the Etrian [Yathrib – Z.B.] desert which is between East and North. For thus Methodius says, that, at the end of time, those are to appear whom Gideon scattered, and they shall subdue the whole land from the East to the Efrant, and from the Tigris to the Pontus sea except Ethiopia. God alone knows who they are and whence they came out. Very wise men know them exactly, who understand books; but we do not know who they are, but have written of them here for the sake of the memory of the Russian Princes and of the misfortune which came to them from them.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Лаврентьевская летопись, р. 236–237; *Russian Primary Chronicle*, р. 184–185.

⁸⁷ L.S. СЕККИН, *The Godless Ishmaelites...*, р. 20; P. JACKSON, *Medieval Christendom’s Encounter with the Alien*, HRes 74, 2001, р. 357; S. ΚΟΝΑΚΣ, *The Origin...*, р. 130; В.Н. РУДАКОВ, *Монголо-татары глазами древнерусских книжников середины XIII–XV в.*, Москва 2014, р. 20–44.

⁸⁸ ГИМ, Син. 786, fol. 95^v–96: То[ль] же лк[тѣ] по грѣхѣмъ нашимъ! придоша языци незнаемїи ихъ же добрѣ никто же не вѣсть кто соуть и ѿкоде изидоша! и что языкъ ихъ и котораго племене соуть

A similar narrative, perhaps borrowed from the *Novgorod First Chronicle*, can be found on the pages of several later Rus' historiographic works (i.a. the *Laurentian Codex* from 1377)⁸⁹. This issue still needs further study. At this point, however, we can conclude that the common feature of the fragments presented here is the pursuit of a specific modernization of the message of Pseudo-Methodius, including his vision into the description of events taking place in Rus' between the 11th and 13th century. What is more, the authority of the author of the *Apocalypse* often serves to legitimize attempts to explain the origins of the peoples with whom the inhabitants of Rus' had contact and to show their place in the history of the world. Thus, the nomads who threaten the Rus' state (Polovcians and Tatar-Mongols) are identified with the Ishmaelites, whose invasions on the lands of Christians are to be God's punishment for the latter's sins, while the mysterious northern tribes (Yugars) are to be associated with the "unclean people" imprisoned by Alexander the Great.

Translated by Katarzyna Gucio

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и что вѣра ихъ. а зовоуть я Татары а нини г[лаго]л[ю]тъ Таоурмены а друзѣни Печенѣзи. нини же г[лаго]л[ю]тъ яко се соуть о нихъ же Мефодии Патомьскыи епископъ съвѣдѣтельствоуеуть яко си соуть ишли ис поустына| Юстриевьскыя соуще межѣ вѣстокомъ и сѣверомъ. тако во Мефодии г[лаго]л[ю]тъ яко с кончанию времѣнъ явити[сѧ] тѣмъ яже загна| Гедонъ и поплѣнати всю зѣмлю ѿ вѣстокъ до Юфранта и ѿ Тигръ до Поньскаго моря кролкѣ Сифония. Б[ог]ъ единый вѣсть кто соуть и ѿколѣ изидоша. прѣмв[д]ни моу[жи] вѣдати я доврѣ кто книги разоумѣють. мы же ихъ не вѣмы кто соуть. нъ сѣ вѣписахомъ о нихъ памяти ради роускыхъ кн[яз]в. и вѣды яже вы[сть] ѿ нихъ ниць. Cf. *Новгородская харатейная летопись*, ed. М.Н. ТИХОМИРОВ, Москва 1964 (facsimile edition). English translation: *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471*, trans. R. MICHELL, N. FORBES, ed. C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, A.A. SHAKHMATOV, London 1914 (New York 1970), p. 64.

⁸⁹ L.S. СНЕКИН, *The Godless Ishmaelites...*, p. 21; P. DZIADUL, *W oczekiwaniu na Paruzję...*, p. 148–149; В.Н. РУДАКОВ, *Монголо-татары...*, p. 20–44; J. РЕТКОВ, *Altslavische Eschatologie...*, p. 198, 201.

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Abstract. The work of Pseudo-Methodius, whose creation (in the original Syrian version) dates back to ca. 690, enjoyed considerable popularity in Medieval Slavic literatures. It was translated into Church Slavic thrice. In all likelihood, these translations arose independently of each other in Bulgaria, based on the Greek translation, the so-called ‘first Byzantine redaction’ (from the beginning of the 8th century). From Bulgaria, the Slavic version of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* spread to other Slavic lands – Serbia and Rus’. In the latter, the work of Pseudo-Methodius must have been known already at the beginning of the 12th century, given that quotations from it appear in the *Russian Primary Chronicle* (from the second decade of the 12th century). In the 15th century,

an original, expanded with inserts taken from other works, Slavic version also came into being, known as the 'interpolated redaction'. All of the Slavic translations display clear marks of the events that preceded them and the circumstances of the period in which they arose. Above all, the Saracens – present in the original version of the prophecy – were replaced by other nations: in the *Novgorod First Chronicle* we find the Mongols/Tatars (who conquered Rus' in the first half of the 13th century).


Keywords: *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, Church Slavic, Old Bulgarian literature, Old Russian literature, *Novgorod First Chronicle*.

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THE IMAGE OF MUHAMMAD IN RICCOLDO DA MONTE DI CROCE'S *CONTRA LEGEM SARRACENORUM**

The Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, which had advanced since the 11th century, and the Crusades in the Middle East increased the exposure of Islam and Judaism to Western Christianity. The efforts to convert the Muslims and Jews who lived in the conquered territories intensified. This phenomenon resulted in the emergence of extensive Latin polemic literature, which was primarily represented by Petrus Alphonsi, Peter the Venerable, Peter of Poitiers, or Ramon Marti. This was also the time when the Latin translations of the Quran were penned by Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo¹, and the Mozarabic polemic literature was

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¹ The translation by Mark of Toledo has recently been published in a modern critical edition, vide: *Titulo Alchoranus Latinus, quem transtulit Marcus canonicus Toletanus. Estudio y edición crítica*, ed. N. PETRUS PONS, Barcelona 2008. Robert of Ketton's translation, on the other hand, is available in the 16th-century edition included in the collection *Machumetis Sarracenorum principis vita ac doctrina omnis, quae & Ismahelitarum lex, & Alcoranum dicitur, ex Arabica lingua ante C C C C annos in Latinam translata, nuncque demum ad gloriam Domini Jesu, & ad christianae fidei confirmationem, doctorum ac piorum aliquot virorum, nostraeque adeò religionis orthodoxae antistitum studio & auctoritate, velut è tenebris in lucem protacta atque edita. Quo volumine perlecto, pius & studiosus lector fatebitur, librum nullum potuisse vel opportunè vel tempestivè magis edi hoc rerum christianarum & turcicarum statu. Adjectae quoque sunt annotationes, confutationes, Sarracenorum ac rerum turcicarum à D C C C C annis ad nostra usque tempora memorabilium historiae, ex probatissimis autoribus tum arabibus, tum latinis & graecis, quorum catalogum versa in singulis tomis pagina prima reperies. Item, Philippi Melanchtonis, viri doctis. praemonitio ad lectorem, cum primis pia & erudita. Theodori Bibliandri, sacrarum literarum in Ecclesia Tigurina professoris, viri doctissimi, pro Alcorani editione apologia, multa eruditione & pietate referta, lectuque dignissima: quippe in qua multis ac validiss. argumentis & vitiligatorum calumniis respondetur, & quam non solum utilis, sed & necessaria hoc praesertim saeculo sit Alcorani editio, demonstratur. Cum Caesare Majestatis gratia & privilegio ad septennium*, ed. T. BIBLIANDER, Basel 1543. On the Latin translations of Quran vide: Z. PENTEK, *Ze średniowiecznej recepcji Koranu wśród chrześcijan. Polemiści, tłumacze i wydawcy*, [in:] *Cognitioni*

translated. Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, the author of the anti-Islamic treatise entitled *Contra legem Sarracenorum*², is considered as one of the key polemicists of these times.

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (ca. 1240–1320) was a Dominican friar who joined the monastery in 1267 and came from the area around Florence. In 1288, he set out for the Middle East to do missionary work and stayed there until approximately 1300, when he returned to Italy. The Dominican devoted his stay in the Muslim countries largely to learning the principles of Islam from within and studying the Arabic language. As a result of the experience he gained in that part of the world, Riccoldo left behind prolific literary output. The works by the Italian Dominican include –aside from *Contra legem Sarracenorum – Epistole ad ecclesiam triumphantem*, a collection of letters written in the form of a lamentation in response to the Crusaders' loss of Acre; *Liber peregrinationis*, a kind of diary from the friar's stay in the Orient; and *Libellus ad nationes orientales*, a polemic treatise targeted at Eastern Christians (the Jacobites and Nestorians)³.

Contra legem Sarracenorum was written soon after the Dominican had returned to Italy. The fact that a large number of manuscripts has been preserved, that the treatise was referenced by later polemicists (e.g. Nicholas of Cusa), and that it was widely translated (from Latin to Greek, from Greek back to Latin, and later in the 16th century, to German; the treatise was also quickly translated into Spanish, and there is a Slavonic version based on the Greek translation), all suggest that it is one of the most influential Western medieval anti-Islamic polemics. When writing it, Riccoldo used the Arabic-language Quran (whose manuscript he owned⁴) while

gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi, ed. D.A. SIKORSKI, A.M. WYRWA, Poznań–Warszawa 2006, p. 61–64.

² The critical edition of the Latin text *Contra legem Sarracenorum* was developed by Jean-Marie Mérigoux, vide: RICCOLDO DA MONTE DI CROCE, *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, ed. J.-M. MÉRIGOUX, [in:] J.-M. MÉRIGOUX, *L'ouvrage d'un frère prêcheur florentin en Orient à la fin du XIII^e siècle. Le 'Contra legem Sarracenorum' de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce*, MDom n.s. 17, 1986, p. 60–142 (cetera: CLS). There is also an Italian translation by Emilio Panella, vide: RICCOLDO DA MONTE DI CROCE, O DA FIRENZE, *Contra legem sarracenorum*, trans. E. PANELLA, <http://www.e-theca.net/emiliopanel-la/riccoldo2/cls000.htm> [28 IV 2019].

³ On the life and work of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce vide: T.E. BURMAN, *Riccoldo da Monte di Croce*, [in:] *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. IV, (1200–1350), ed. D. THOMAS, A. MALLETT, Leiden–Boston 2012, p. 678–691; M. DI CESARE, *Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Letters to the Triumphant Church; Against the Law of the Saracens; Book of the Pilgrimage*, [in:] EADEM, *The Pseudo-Historical Image of the Prophet Muhammad in Medieval Latin Literature. A Repertory*, Berlin–Boston 2012 [= SGKAKiO, 26], p. 381–382; R. GEORGE-TVRTKOVIĆ, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq. Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam*, Turnhout 2012, p. 1–42; J.-M. MÉRIGOUX, *L'ouvrage d'un frère...*, p. 1–58; E. PANELLA, *Ricerche su Riccoldo da Monte di Croce*, AFP 58, 1988, p. 5–85; J.V. TOLAN, *Saracens. Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York 2002, p. 245–254.

⁴ This manuscript has been preserved until this day and is found at the National Library of France (MS Arabe 384), vide: T.E. BURMAN, *How an Italian Friar Read His Arabic Qur'an*, DS 125, 2007, p. 93–94.

also relying on its translation by Mark of Toledo. In addition, the Dominican used the Latin translation of the anonymous Mozarabic polemic treatise *Liber denudationis* extensively⁵. Undoubtedly, Riccoldo must have been familiar with the work of Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle as well. He may also have used other sources, such as *Doctrina Mahumet*, attributed to Muhammad, *Summa totius haeresis Sarracenorum* and *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Sarracenorum* by Peter the Venerable, *Explanatio simboli Apostolorum* by Ramon Marti, the anonymous treatise *Quadruplex reprobatio*, or *De statu Sarracenorum* by William of Tripoli⁶.

Contra legem Sarracenorum represented a didactic method developed by the Dominicans, aimed at converting Muslims and Jews. It was based on refuting Islamic and Judaic dogmas while using rational scholarly arguments along with a simultaneous assumption that true faith could not be proven with mere intellect, although it did not stand at odds with it. In order to educate friars on this perspective, special schools were founded and polemic treatises were created as argumentative guides⁷. In the opening chapters, the author laid out the basic methodical assumptions of his work, reasoning that before you can understand something, you have to believe it, and that lecturing a religious Muslim on the tenets of Christianity will not be successful unless you first raise their doubts⁸. Riccoldo also applied a polemic framework that was present in such works as *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Sarracenorum* by Peter the Venerable, a Benedictine abbot of Cluny who lived in the 12th century and initiated the translation of numerous Muslim sources into Latin. The foundation of this approach was a rational demonstration that in fact, the Quran and its prophet, Muhammad, recognized the authority of the Holy Scripture. Furthermore, the framework involved using Scripture along with logical and moral arguments to negate the truthfulness of Muhammad's teachings, and ultimately, proving the superiority of the Christian faith over Islam⁹.

⁵ Thomas E. Burman edited the entirety of the Latin text of the treatise and translated it into English, vide: *An Edition and Translation of 'Liber denudationis siue ostensionis aut patefaciens' (alias 'Contra-rietas alfolica')*, ed. et trans. T.E. BURMAN, [in:] IDEM, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200*, Leiden 1994, p. 240–286 (cetera: LD).

⁶ On the sources and reception of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* vide: T.E. BURMAN, *Two Dominicans, a Lost Manuscript, and Medieval Christian Thought on Islam*, [in:] *Medieval Exegesis and Religious Difference. Commentary, Conflict, and Community in the Premodern Mediterranean*, ed. R. SZPIECH, New York 2015, p. 79–87; IDEM, *How an Italian Friar...*, p. 93–109; IDEM, *Religious Polemic and...*, p. 37–61; IDEM, *Riccoldo...*, p. 688–690; N. DANIEL, *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image*, Edinburgh 1962, p. 239; L. ENSIS, *Preface*, [in:] RICCOLDO OF MONTE CROCE, *Refutation of the Koran*, trans. L. ENSIS, London 2010, p. III–V; R. GEORGE-TVRTKOVIĆ, *A Christian Pilgrim...*, p. 25–27; J.-M. MÉRIGOUX, *L'ouvrage d'un frère...*, p. 27–58; E. PANELLA, *Ricerche...*, p. 19–38.

⁷ On the subject of the Dominican polemic strategy vide: J.V. TOLAN, *Saracens...*, p. 233–245.

⁸ CLS, III, 3–21, p. 68.

⁹ Vide: A. CERBO, *Cultura e religione islamica nella letteratura italiana del Trecento*, [in:] *Europa e Islam tra i secoli XIV e XVI (Europe and Islam between 14th and 16th Centuries)*, vol. I, ed. M. BERNARDINI, C. BORRELLI, A. CERBO, E.S. GARCIA, Napoli 2002, p. 38; R. GEORGE-TVRTKOVIĆ, *A Christian Pilgrim...*, p. 27; J.V. TOLAN, *Saracens...*, p. 252.

The author of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* considered the negation of the Quran and its teachings as the central element of criticism targeting the Islamic doctrine. He also relied on the extra-Quranic tradition (mainly via *Liber denudationis*), largely to enhance the multi-layered criticism of the Holy Islamic book¹⁰.

Scaffolding the treatise around the criticism of the Quran had an undeniable impact on the image of Muhammad painted by Riccoldo. The criticism of the prophet in *Contra legem Sarracenorum* was usually not the primary goal but was generally aimed at undermining the authority of the book revealed to Muhammad and its teachings. In addition, the unambiguously didactic and classical nature of the author's work influenced his attitude towards the figure of Muhammad. Individual chapters offered a set of responses to specific problems relating to the Quran and Muslim doctrine, which could be encountered in a debate with educated Muslims. Argumentation of a uniform and repetitive nature tended to be useful when discussing distinct issues featured in Riccoldo's criticism of the Quran. This involved copying certain threads, including those directly concerning the person of Muhammad, in subsequent chapters¹¹. All of the above produced a rather blurry image of the prophet in Riccoldo's work.

According to Michelina Di Cesare, several types of representation of Muhammad (a false prophet, the anti-saint, the precursor to the Antichrist, the final manifestation of the Antichrist, a pagan deity, or a heresiarch) were dominant in the medieval Latin literature. However, the researcher considers this division as inadequate due to the fact that these types overlap. She is more inclined to classify the literary representations of the prophet based on the subject and chronology of the work where his figure appears (in the case of Riccoldo's work, it ought to fall in line with the pseudohistorical representations of the prophet)¹². Despite the unquestionable usefulness of these observations, it seems that at least three autonomous, if overlapping, dimensions linked to the image of Muhammad emerge from *Contra legem Sarracenorum*: a heresiarch, a false prophet, and a bad human being.

¹⁰ On the Quran as the main subject of Riccoldo's criticism and the author's extremely limited use of the extra-Quranic tradition vide: T.E. BURMAN, *Two Dominicans...*, p. 81–82; R. GEORGE-TVRTKOVIĆ, *A Christian Pilgrim...*, p. 82–88.

¹¹ The didactic and repetitive method was negatively evaluated by N. Daniel, who concludes that the argumentation developed by Riccoldo da Monte di Croce is too profuse, the repetitions are redundant and at times contain elements of low reliability. However, the author seems to ignore the fact that such a methodical and problematic approach, even if literarily clumsy, could have rendered *Contra legem Sarracenorum* effective in potential polemic debates, vide: N. DANIEL, *Islam and the West...*, p. 239.

¹² M. DI CESARE, *The Prophet in the Book: Images of Muhammad in Western Medieval Book Culture*, [in:] *Constructing the Image of Muhammad in Europe*, ed. A. SHALEM, Berlin–Boston 2013, p. 10–11. A more limited palette of dominant types has been offered by John V. Tolan, who distinguished the image of Muhammad as a deity and a heresiarch, noting, however, that these types could undergo modifications, vide: J.V. TOLAN, *European Accounts of Muhammad's Life*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, ed. J.E. BROCKOPP, Cambridge 2010 [= CCRe], p. 226.

In the first chapter of his work devoted to the similarities between Islam a number of Christian heresies, Riccoldo examined the prophet through a very traditional lens, showing him as a heresiarch. The approach wherein Islam was treated as yet another Christian heresy was characteristic of the polemic texts written in Byzantium during the Muslim expansion – a quintessential example of this type of literature were the works by John of Damascus – but also in a great deal of later Latin polemics, including those written by Dominicans¹³. Although Riccoldo treated Islam as a separate religious system and he used a noticeably different tone, he did not depart from this line of thinking altogether. For instance, Riccoldo claimed that Muhammed is the accumulation of all the villainy that the devil had spread via previous heresies. He then moved on to list all the similarities¹⁴. This thread, however, is only a marginal element in the work otherwise focused on the criticism of the Quran, and not on expounding Christian dogmas to Muslims who were unprepared for it. Therefore, he does not make any more references to it in the following chapters, which have a rather strong practical application¹⁵.

Muhammad, however, is featured in the majority of the chapters in *Contra legem Sarracenorum* as a false prophet while in some fragments, he is directly presented as Satan's emissary. This approach, whose strongest accent is put on presenting the founder of Islam as a usurper of prophetic features, became prevalent from the 12th century in the Western texts devoted to Islam¹⁶. In chapter 13, Riccoldo concludes that Satan – knowing that after Heraclius' defeat of the pagan Persians, Christianity's position was too firm to be reverted to pure idolatry – decided to create something that would constitute an intermediate system between the New and Old Testament: the Quran. For this purpose, he chose a diabolical man (*hominem diabolicum*) – Muhammad. Satan would have rather entrusted this task to someone of a good reputation. Similarly, he would have chosen a different animal than a snake to tempt the first man (one that could have concealed its villainy more easily). However, since he was not allowed to do that, he was limited to flooding the world with teachings whose false nature was easily exposed, largely due to the vile person of Muhammed. Having enriched himself via his marriage to a widow, Muhammad wanted to become the leader of the Arabs but they did not want him

¹³ I.S. LEDWOŃ, *Średniowieczna apologia chrześcijaństwa wobec islamu*, PST 29, 2015, p. 200–204; J.V. TOLAN, *Saracens...*, p. 135–169.

¹⁴ *CLS*, I, 3–77, p. 63–67.

¹⁵ In this context, it is surprising that M. Di Cesare devoted quite significant attention to this depiction (considering that her second work cited earlier criticizes this type of classification) in her rather sparse characterization of Muhammed's image in *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, vide: M. DI CESARE, *Riccoldo of Monte di Croce...*, p. 382.

¹⁶ Vide: J.A.H.M. CRUZ, *Popular Attitudes Toward Islam in Medieval Europe*, [in:] *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe Perception of Other*, ed. D.R. BLANKS, M. FRASSETTO, New York 1999, p. 65; N. DANIEL, *Islam and the West...*, p. 17–20; J.V. Tolán emphasized that the image of Muhammed as a false prophet was present in *Contra legem Sarracenorum* but he did not analyze it, vide: J.V. TOLAN, *European Accounts...*, p. 236.

due to his bad reputation. This is when he supposedly decided to become a prophet. Epilepsy, from which he purportedly suffered¹⁷, made his goal easier. He used his seizures to pretend that it was an angel speaking to him. Since he was not an educated man, the devil surrounded him with a variety of heretics who helped him create his teachings¹⁸. Chapter 10, on the other hand, talks about the devil prompting Muhammad to spread Islam by the sword and kill the defiant and the infidels¹⁹.

An important argument (extensively discussed in chapter 3), which according to Riccoldo attested to the falsehood of Muhammad's revelation, was the fact that neither the Old nor the New Testament contained any announcement of his coming. This contradicted the Biblical practice wherein each subsequent prophet was announced by the previous one. Moreover, each prophet was supposed to announce the coming of Christ. While no prophet announces Muhammad, there are warnings against false prophets. Riccoldo makes a reference to Jesus' words, according to which John the Baptist was the last of the prophets after whom no more laws were revealed. In light of these assumptions, Muhammad could not be a prophet but only a fraud. Applying argumentation based on the Bible would obviously be absurd to Muslims; although they recognize the Old and the New Testaments as the word of God, they believe that it has been distorted by Jews and Christians, and as a result, omits Muhammad²⁰. This problem, however, could be solved by applying the aforementioned method of the prophet himself affirming the message of the Bible²¹. He was supposed to instruct Muslims who were in doubt to seek advice from those who had previously read the Book – that is, Jews and Christians. According to Riccoldo, this was to signify that Muhammad fully recognized the authority of the Bible because otherwise, he would not have instructed Muslims to seek advice from those followers of the religion for whom the Bible was (or part of it was) a holy book. Furthermore, Muhammad supposedly said that he would not engage in settling disputes between Jews because they already had their own

¹⁷ The story of Muhammed as an epileptic was quite widespread in the Christian part of Europe. It probably first appeared in Theophanes the Confessor's *Chronicle*, and was disseminated thanks to the Latin translations of his work (a similar mention is also encountered in *Liber denudationis*, which was used by Riccoldo, vide: *LD*, IV, 7). The fact that Riccoldo referenced it seems rather unwise from the point of view of polemics because it was not based on the Islamic tradition, and as a result, it was unlikely to convince a religious Muslim, vide: N. DANIEL, *Islam and the West...*, p. 239; J.V. TOLAN, *European Accounts...*, p. 227.

¹⁸ *CLS*, XIII, 11–40, p. 117–118.

¹⁹ *CLS*, X, 17–24, p. 109–110.

²⁰ Riccoldo references the fragment of the Quran, according to which Jesus in fact announced the coming of Muhammed: *Euangelizo uobis de legato Dei qui ueniet post me, et nomen eius Machomettus*, cf. the Quran, LXI, 6. According to William Montgomery Watt original quranic accusations intentionally concerned misinterpretations of some passages of the Scripture made by Jews and Christians. With time Muslim accusations evolved into opinion that Jews and Christians changed and corrupted original text, vide: W. MONTGOMERY WATT, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, p. 205–206.

²¹ Cf. the Quran, V, 42–43; X, 94.

law sent from God²². This, on the other hand, was to prove that he affirmed the Old Testament. It led to the following statement: if Muhammad, recognized by Muslims as the unchallengeable authority, deemed the contents of the Old and the New Testament as absolutely true, the followers of Islam should also consider them as such. Consequently, if the Bible provides arguments undermining the truthfulness of Muhammad's teachings, Muslims should accept them. The cited examples and logic used in this fragment by the author of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* were not a product of his independent reflections. Nearly identical argumentation had previously been used by the creator of *Liber denudationis*, and Riccoldo only adapted it for his purposes²³.

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce believed that the falsehood of Muhammad as a prophet was evidenced by the fact that he performed no miracles and that he resorted to violence in order to spread his faith. Chapter 7 discusses this issue most extensively. Muhammad claimed that God forbid him from performing miracles so he would not suffer what other miracle-performing prophets suffered, still unable to convince the disbelievers. In this situation, Allah's emissary was to spread Islam with the power of his army²⁴. This was contradictory to the claims made by Muslims themselves who argued that the story in which Muhammad supposedly cut the moon in half could be classified a miracle. The lack of miracles was to render Muhammad completely unreliable compared with other prophets, such as Moses or Elijah who performed them in abundance. According to Riccoldo, miracles would have attracted people more effectively than coercion. Moreover, using military power and violence cast Muhammad in a very negative light compared with other prophets, who reached their goals peacefully. The author of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* also notices a certain contradiction in Muhammad's supposed actions: on the one hand, he refused to perform miracles; on the other, such an event as the so-called nocturnal journey, which the prophet was to make from Mecca to Jerusalem on the back of a fantastic mount named Al-Buraq to ascend into Heaven²⁵, could be treated in the category of a miracle. In this case, Riccoldo based his deduction regarding Muhammad's lack of miracle-performing powers on the contents of *Liber denudationis*²⁶ (he quoted the Quranic verse on the prohibition to perform miracles, made a similar reference to Muhammad's journey to Jerusalem, referenced the supposed cutting the moon in half and condemned the violence-based conversion). Other fragments of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* also touch upon Muhammad's non-performance of miracles and his embarking on the path of violence that was worthy of condemnation²⁷.

²² *CLS*, III, 5–53, p. 70–72.

²³ Vide: *LD*, III, 1–3, 5.

²⁴ Cf. the Quran, XVII, 59; XXI, 5–7.

²⁵ *CLS*, VII, 3–95, p. 87–90.

²⁶ Vide: *LD*, III, 5; IV, 1, 2, 6, 7.

²⁷ *CLS*, I, 78–79, 99–101, p. 67–68; XV, 301–303, p. 135.

Chapter 4, devoted to the criticism of the literary dimension of the Quran, discusses the aforementioned story (which comes from the extra-Quranic tradition) about the prophet's cutting the moon in half. Asked by his companions to demonstrate a miracle, Muhammad split the moon in half, tucked its hemispheres in his shirt sleeves, and purportedly put it back together. This motif was considered by Riccoldo as a pure fairytale, almost frivolous and at odds with the literary style known from the Bible, which the author deemed to be one of the indicators of the revelation's truthfulness²⁸. However, in this fragment, Riccoldo commits a serious logical fallacy (most probably due to a non-reflexive adaptation of the approach used in *Liber denudationis*). Specifically, he uses this story to criticize the literary dimension of the Quran while being aware that this narrative is merely an extra-Quranic commentary on a deeply enigmatic verse²⁹. This miracle is again mentioned in chapter 15, where it is described as outright impossible³⁰.

Chapter 14 is entirely devoted to the description of the nocturnal journey, which is a commentary on the verse according to which Muhammad was transferred from Mecca to Jerusalem so God could bestow his blessing upon him³¹. The narrative about the instant journey of the prophet on the back of a fantastic mount known as Al-Buraq and Muhammad's experiences in Heaven was treated by Riccoldo as fairytale-like and incoherent with the teachings of Islam's founder. It was to stem from the fact that Muhammad, who described himself elsewhere as an ordinary man, simultaneously puts himself above angels, and, although he claims that he performs no miracles, he reaches Jerusalem and Heaven in a way that could undoubtedly be deemed as miraculous³². However, the inconsistency which Riccoldo finds between the story about the nocturnal journey and the declaration about the non-performance of miracles does not seem well-grounded. The narrative does not suggest that the journey and Muhammad's stay in Heaven, despite bearing the obvious marks of a miracle, were an effect of the prophet's miraculous powers but merely that their supernatural character was a result of God's doing as well as his helpers', such as archangel Gabriel or Al-Buraq. This story is also discussed in one of the chapters of *Liber denudationis*³³. Most probably, it was the main inspiration for Riccoldo, although the Dominican might have learned this story in a different way. At that time, the story about the nocturnal journey was

²⁸ *CLS*, IV, 53–62, p. 78. J.-P. Mérioux believed that Riccoldo referenced the story based on *Liber denudationis*, vide: *CLS*, footnote 19, p. 78–79. Although a large section of the narrative demonstrates an unambiguous dependence from the Mozarabic treatise, the fact that *Liber denudationis* does not contain the information about how the moon was put together may raise some doubts. This suggests that Riccoldo may have been familiar with another tradition, cf. *LD*, IX, 11–16.

²⁹ Cf. the Quran, LIV, 1.

³⁰ *CLS*, XV, 303, p. 135.

³¹ Cf. the Quran, XVII, 1.

³² *CLS*, XIV, 3–85, p. 122–125.

³³ Vide: *LD*, XII, 1–7.

widely known in the North-Italic intellectual circles (the Latin translation of the story known as *Liber scale Muhammadi* and created by Bonaventure de Siena already existed), which is evidenced by Dante's work, for instance³⁴.

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce is convinced that in the Quran, when Muhammad commanded belief in God and his messenger³⁵, he postulated equaling his person with God. Such an interpretation would be at odds with the prohibition on worshipping anyone else but God, articulated by the founder of Islam as well as with the actions of other prophets, none of whom made similar claims³⁶.

The falsehood of Muhammad's revelation was also supposedly evidenced by the fact that in the Quran itself, the figure of the prophet was presented in a much less laudable manner than that of Jesus. In order to demonstrate the inferiority of Islam's founder in relation to Christ, in chapter 15, Riccoldo performed a comparison of the Quranic contents that reference them, again heavily leaning on the contents of *Liber denudationis*³⁷. While Jesus was the Son of God, presaged to his mother via the Annunciation and consecrated with the Holy Spirit, Muhammad was described only as an orphan and a wanderer. While Christ was the Word of God, Muhammad was merely an uncertain prophet, unable to say whether he was on the right path or what would happen to his followers after his death. Jesus came from the line of Isaac, the faithful heir to Abraham; Muhammad, on the other hand, from the line of banished Ishmael. Whereas Christ was immaculate and performed miracles, Muhammad was a sinful man who did not perform miracles. Jesus was also presented as a great teacher inspired by the Holy Spirit, which put him in contrast with the illiterate Muhammad. According to the Quran, Jesus did not die and, as a result, did not rise from the dead. Instead, he was ascended into Heaven by God (*Deus assumpsit eum*). Muhammad, by contrast, died (several sentences earlier, Riccoldo cites a belief that his death was not very dignified – the prophet was supposedly poisoned by a Jewish woman)³⁸. Also in this analysis, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce was not impervious to several logical inaccuracies. He based his value judgement of Isaac and Ishmael's bloodlines on the argumentation drawn from the Bible (cited from *Liber denudationis*), and not the Quran³⁹. The inclusion of Muhammad's supposed poisoning is also extra-Quranic in nature.

³⁴ A. CERBO, *Cultura e religione islamica...*, p. 34–35.

³⁵ Cf. the Quran, IV, 136.

³⁶ *CLS*, XV, 254–271, p. 133–134. Depicting Muhammed as one of the deities worshipped by Muslims, and the Islam as the idolatry, was popular in the early Western texts discussing this type of subject, such as *The Song of Roland*. The cited fragment of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* undoubtedly draws from this archaic, from the perspective of the 13th and 14th centuries, approach, vide J.A.H.M. CRUZ, *Popular Attitudes...*, p. 57.

³⁷ Vide: *LD*, X, 5–7; cf. also the Quran, IV, 158; V, 110; XXXIV, 24; XLVI, 9; XCIII, 6–8.

³⁸ *CLS*, XV, 273–323, p. 134–136.

³⁹ Riccoldo omitted the fact that although borne out of a slave, Ishmael was the first-born son of Abraham. Riccoldo also does not mention the Biblical foreshadowing of the greatness of Ishmael's descendants.

The most serious accusation towards Muhammad, contrasted with the perfection and mercy of Christ, was made by the author of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* in chapter 10, where he called the prophet a precursor to the Antichrist. A similar fragment also appears in chapter 1⁴⁰.

In chapter 6, Muhammad is portrayed as a supposedly false prophet due to the circumstances in which he created his book. The fact that he only spoke Arabic and claimed that it was in this language that the Quran was revealed to him was to undermine his universality and mission to speak to all peoples. When certain people – a Persian, a Jew, and a Jacobite (according to Riccoldo, the latter was the legendary monk Bahira)⁴¹ – came to the prophet, an accusation was made that Muhammad's teachings were not his but that they were passed on to him. He was to reply that it was not possible because the visitors did not speak Arabic. However, he could not produce a counterargument to the rebuttal that he could have heard the relevant ideas in another language and translated them into Arabic⁴². In chapter 13, Riccoldo emphasizes that Muhammad was illiterate and mentions again that he was tutored by Jews and Nestorians (from whom he supposedly borrowed the belief that Jesus was not God but human) as well as Jacobites (the author offers here more information about Bahira, who was to remain loyal to Muhammad until his death, which according to some, came at the hand of the prophet himself). The truthfulness of Muhammad's mission was also supposedly subverted by the fact that the prophet's successors were only able to write down the Quran after intense disputes and that there were several versions of it. In this light, the book did not deserve to refer to itself⁴³ as testimony sent from God, who will protect it (*nos descendere fecimus recordationem, et nos eam custodientes erimus*)⁴⁴. The fragment regarding the Jew, the Persian, and the Jacobite was also drawn from *Liber denudationis* with some modifications made by the author of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (e.g. in *Liber denudationis*, Bahira was not accompanied by a Jew or a Persian). Furthermore, the part referring to Bahira's death as well as Riccoldo's narration about the process of the creation of the Quran are also largely dependent on this source⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ CLS, I, 35–40, p. 65; X, 25–27, p. 110. In his article's brief note on Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (which does not refer directly to *Contra legem sarracenorum* but is implied) Fahd Mohammed Taleb Al-Olaqi suggests that the Dominican depicted the prophet as the Antichrist, vide: F.M.T. AL-OLAQI, *Western Polemic Writings about Muhammad's Prophethood*, ASSRJ 3, 5, 2016, p. 143. However, this seems inaccurate because although Riccoldo does emphasize Muhammed's supposed connotations to Satan, nowhere does he call him the Antichrist but only the Antichrist's precursor.

⁴¹ On the figure of Bahira vide: A. БАҢКОУ, *The Monk Encounters the Prophe – The Story of the Encounter between Monk Bahira and Muhammad as It Is Recorded in the Syriac Manuscript of Mardin 259/2*, CRS 3, 2015, p. 349–357; B. ROGGEMA, *The Legend of Sergius Bahira. Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam*, Boston–Leiden 2009, p. 11–210.

⁴² CLS, VI, 57–78, p. 85–86.

⁴³ Cf. the Quran, XV, 9.

⁴⁴ CLS, XIII, 41–79, p. 118–120.

⁴⁵ Vide: LD, V, 1, 2; VI, 1, 3.

Contra legem Sarracenorum also paints the image of Muhammad as simply an evil man, who not only was not inspired by God but who was a deeply immoral and degenerate person. All this stripped his teachings even of purely utilitarian value, which could be found in the works by pagan philosophers who were respected in the Christian world⁴⁶.

Riccoldo viewed Muhammad as a man who did not understand the notion of virtue. He supposedly equaled happiness with fleeting sensual pleasures and material goods. Neither did he derive it from an intellectual act, as ancient philosophers did, nor from learning about God, as Christian thinkers did. The laws he created were supposedly tailored to his personal desires and appetites, and allowed him to justify his offenses (it was even specially modified for that purpose). Muhammad was a sinner who did not even try to repent for his wrongdoing, which sharply separated him from the sinful but repentant rulers of Israel, such as David or Salomon⁴⁷. The thread of Muhammad's immorality is undoubtedly intertwined with the narration about his approval of violence and treating it as a key means of spreading Islam.

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce devotes a great deal of attention to Muhammad's sexual promiscuity. He cites the story in which the prophet, having felt lust for Mary the Copt, supposedly laid with her, which was disapproved of by his wives. He promised them that he would never do it again. However, it was difficult for him to deliver on this promise, as a result of which, he announced that God released him from all the promises. His wives did not deem this declaration believable, suggesting that Muhammad contrived it. Having heard it, the prophet was purported to become enraged and speak with the voice of God, ordering them to regret their words, which the terrified women did. The author references another story with a similar overtone, in which the prophet desired to marry the wife of his adopted son – Zaid. He supposedly received God's permission, who told him to fear God, and not people. When obtaining Zaid's consent to surrender his wife, the prophet was to additionally lie to him, claiming that he wanted to marry her not out of his own whim but because God himself instructed him to do so⁴⁸. These stories, commenting on rather vague Quranic verses⁴⁹, are quoted by the author of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* on the basis of *Liber denudationis*⁵⁰. Riccoldo emphasizes that lust was generally condemned by philosophers and fathers of the Church. In contrast to them, Muhammad boasted his potency, which was rather surprising, considering the fact that he only fathered one daughter⁵¹.

⁴⁶ M. Di Cesare noted the presence of such a depiction in *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, however, she did not analyze it in any depth, vide: M. DI CESARE, *Riccoldo of Monte di Croce...*, p. 382.

⁴⁷ *CLS*, V, 3–33, p. 80–81; VIII, 3–22, p. 90–91.

⁴⁸ *CLS*, VIII, 22–57, p. 91–92.

⁴⁹ Cf. the Quran, XXXIII, 37; LXVI, 1–5.

⁵⁰ Vide: *LD*, VII, 1–10.

⁵¹ *CLS*, VIII, 58–66, p. 92. In fact, according to the Muslim tradition, the prophet fathered more offspring, however, his sons died during infancy, and his daughters in their pre-adolescent years.

To recapitulate, *Contra legem Sarracenorum* presents the image of Muhammad as a heresiarch, a false prophet, and an evil, immoral man. Though distinct, these depictions blur together and their individual elements overlap at times. Notably, Muhammad is described as an emissary of Satan and the precursor of the Antichrist, which in *Contra legem Sarracenorum* constitutes a part of a more general characteristic of the founder of Islam as a false prophet. Muhammad also appears, although to a marginal degree, as a person usurping divine features. According to M. Di Cesare, both these threads were considered as distinct types of the prophet's depiction in medieval literature, although in Riccoldo's work, they have no such character and only complement his image of a false prophet. The image of Muhammad in *Contra legem Sarracenorum* reveals an unambiguous reliance on the text of *Liber denudationis*, which provided Riccoldo da Monte di Croce with a key source of information on the subject of the prophet. The author seems to depend more on the Mozarabic treatise than on the direct text of the Quran, which is frequently quoted via none other than *Liber denudationis*⁵². Aside from the depictions characterized which refer directly to the prophet, Muhammad is presented in *Contra legem Sarracenorum* predominantly as the creator of the Quran (even taking into consideration the controversies surrounding the participation of his followers in the composition of the book's contents), which is the focal point of the author's interest and which Riccoldo describes as irrational and false. In this case, however, it is difficult to speak of an attempt at outlining a concrete image of Muhammad because these reflections apply less to the person of the prophet and more to the contents of the work that he supposedly created, which is largely analyzed (with certain, above-mentioned exceptions) in isolation from the figure of the creator himself.

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The only daughter who outlived her father was Fatima. Perhaps these circumstances confused Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and led him to believe that Muhammed had only one daughter. On the subject of the prophet's offspring, see M. RODINSON, *Mahomet*, ⁴Paris 1994, p. 79–80; *Women in Islam. An Anthology from the Quran and Hadiths*, trans. et ed. N. AWDE, London–New York 2000, p. 10.

⁵² Vide: T.E. BURMAN, *How an Italian Friar...*, p. 100–105.

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Quran

Machumetis Sarracenorum principis vita ac doctrina omnis, quae & Ismahelitarum lex, & Alcoranum dicitur, ex Arabica lingua ante C C C C annos in Latinam translata, nunquam demum ad gloriam Domini Jesu, & ad christianae fidei confirmationem, doctorum ac piorum aliquot virorum, nostraeque adeo religionis orthodoxae antistitum studio & auctoritate, velut è tenebris in lucem protacta atque edita. Quo volumine perlecto, pius & studiosus lector fatebitur, librum nullum potuisse vel opportunè vel tempestivè magis edi hoc rerum christianarum & turcicarum statu. Adjectae quoque sunt annotationes, confutationes, Sarracenorum ac rerum turcicarum à D C C C C annis ad nostra usque tempora memorabilium historiae, ex probatissimis autoribus tum arabibus, tum latinis & graecis, quorum catalogum versa in singulis tomis pagina prima reperies. Item, Philippi Melanchtonis, viri doctis. praemonitio ad lectorem, cum primis pia & erudita. Theodori Bibliandri, sacrarum literarum in Ecclesia Tigurina professoris, viri doctissimi, pro Alcorani editione apologia, multa eruditione & pietate referta, lectuque dignissima: quippe in qua multis ac validiss. argumentis & vitiligatorum calumniis respondetur, & quam non solum utilis, sed & necessaria hoc praesertim saeculo sit Alcorani editio, demonstratur. Cum Caesare Majestatis gratia & privilegio ad septennium, ed. T. BIBLIANDER, Basel 1543.

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Abstract. *Contra legem Sarracenorum* written by the Dominican Riccoldo da Monte di Croce was considered one of the most influential medieval Christian anti-Islamic polemics. The treatise was devoted to criticism of the Quran, which was also reflected in the way Muhammad was presented there. It offers an image of the prophet that is rather blurry considering that the author's focus is on the contents and the form of the book. Despite that, at least three distinct categories regarding the image of Muhammad can be distinguished in *Contra legem Sarracenorum*. He was portrayed, first and foremost, as a heresiarch, as a false prophet (most of the information about the prophet included in this work is used to support that view), and simply as an evil man. The image of Muhammad outlined by Riccoldo is largely dependent on the contents of the Mozarabic polemic treatise *Liber denudationis*, which the author used profusely. Muhammad is present in *Contra legem Sarracenorum* mainly in an indirect way as the creator of the teachings contained in the Quran. Generally speaking, in this specific aspect, one cannot speak of constructing an image of the prophet because in these fragments, the polemic conducted by Riccoldo focuses not so much on the person of Muhammad as on the contents of the book ascribed to him, in isolation from the creator.

Keywords: Christianity, *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, Islam, Muhammad, anti-Islamic polemic, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, Medieval religion.

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DOUBLE TRANSLATIONS AS A CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE OF THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC TRANSLATION OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S COMMENTARIES ON ACTS

Introduction

The New Testament book *Acts of the Apostles*, although part of the Church life throughout Eastertide, was apparently “seldom preached upon”¹. John Chrysostom's series *Homiliae 55 in Acta apostolorum* (CPG 4426) is one of the very few extant commentaries on this New Testament book, and it is by far the most important among them. Chrysostom's homilies on *Acts* have come down to us in more than 100 complete or partial copies, according to *Pinakes*² – a testimony to their popularity in Byzantium. The homilies had an ancient Armenian version dating from 1077, apart from various epitomes and fragments in the catenae³, but it is unclear whether there existed an Armenian translation earlier than 1077⁴. Even though some commentators suggested that the 11th century translation

¹ Preface, [in:] *The Homilies of S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, on the Acts of the Apostles, Translated, with Notes and Indices*, vol. II, trans. J. WALKER, J. SHEPPARD, ed. H. BROWNE, Oxford 1852 [= LFHCC, 35] (cetera: CHRYSOSTOM), p. V. In his study E.R. SMOTHERS stresses on the importance of Chrysostom's work and points out that until the discovery and publication in 1921 of the Armenian version of Ephraem's Commentary, Chrysostom's was considered to be the first one of its kind, cf. E.R. SMOTHERS, *Le texte des homélies de saint Jean Chrysostome sur les Actes des Apôtres*, RSRe 27, 1937, p. 513.

² <http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/> [1 VIII 2019].

³ Some more information on the Armenian catenae see in: R.V. CHÉTANIAN, *La version arménienne ancienne des “Homélies sur les Actes des Apôtres” de Jean Chrysostome. Homélies I, II, VII, VIII*, Leuven 2004 [= CSCO.SA, 27–28], p. XX–XXXII. Rose V. CHÉTANIAN, the editor and translator of the Armenian versions of homilies 1, 2, 7, and 8, presents a rather fuzzy picture: *Other than many fragments in catenae, the original text is presented in two manuscripts, one of them containing a complete translation done in 1077 from the Greek (ibidem, p. VII)*. This translation was revised in the 12th–13th century, *ibidem*, p. XXXVIII–XL.

⁴ An undated Armenian translation is mentioned in CPG 4426. At the beginning of her survey, R.V. CHÉTANIAN states: *La question qui se pose est de savoir si ces épitomés ont été faits à partir des traditions arméniennes ou s'ils reproduisent des épitomés grecs qui existaient déjà; si tel est le cas, il*

replaced an earlier one that was lost, there is no firm evidence in this respect⁵. The currently available data do not support the assumption that other ancient translations of John Chrysostom's homilies on *Acts* existed before the 10th century, apart from an early Latin translation which is now lost⁶. Such being the case, the earliest preserved non-Greek version of these homilies is the Old Church Slavonic translation originating from the city of Preslav in the first quarter of the 10th century.

Chrysostom's Commentaries on Acts in the Zlatostruy Collection

The Old Church Slavonic translation of the Chrysostomian series is not complete and, unlike the 11th-century Armenian version⁷, it is not reliable as regards the Greek text. Not only is it selective and partial, but also it does not always correspond to the known Greek text. I will address some of these issues below.

At least 18 (out of 55) homilies on *Acts* were translated into Old Church Slavonic, namely the ethica of homilies 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 12, 18, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 34, 36, 44, 45 and fragments from homilies 37, 45 and 48. The translated texts were included in the renown *Chrysorrhoeas* collection (*Zlatostruy*) as individual homilies or as part of compilations⁸. Considering the fact that the circulation of these homilies in the medieval Slavonic world was closely entwined with *Zlatostruy*, some features of the entire collection are particularly relevant to our understanding of the individual texts on *Acts*:

1. The *Zlatostruy* collection is preserved only in late copies (mostly from 14th–15th century onwards). All of them attest to later stages of the text history with secondary changes such as revisions, omissions, additions, etc.

faudrait s'interroger sur la date à laquelle a été faite la traduction en arménien, sur le(s) traducteur(s), sur le lieu de traduction (ibidem, p. XXIII).

⁵ R.V. CHÉTANIAN calls it "une information difficilement vérifiable" and abstains from postulating a lost "Golden Age" translation, *ibidem*, p. XXXVIII–XXXIX.

⁶ Cf. E.R. SMOTHERS, *Le texte des homélies...*, p. 518, note 1. See e.g. the following definitive statement about Syriac: *There is no indication in the Syriac tradition that the Homilies on Acts were ever translated into Syriac* (J.W. CHILDERS, *Studies in the Syriac Versions of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on the New Testament* (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford 1996, <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/td:602337526> [23 IV 2019]), p. 8, cf. also p. 6, note 25).

⁷ Cf. R.V. CHÉTANIAN, *La version...*, p. XVII: *la version arménienne des Homélies sur les Actes des Apôtres apparaît comme un auxiliaire non dénué de prix. La connaissance de celle-ci est un outil indispensable pour l'établissement du texte grec.*

⁸ More on the Greek sources of *Zlatostruy*, its versions, its language, and other problems, see in: F.J. THOMSON, *Chrysostomica palaeoslavica. A Preliminary Study of the Sources of the Chrysorrhoeas (Zlatostruy) Collection*, Сур 6, 1982, p. 1–65; Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй: старобългарски хомилетичен свод, създаден по инициатива на българския цар Симеон. Текстологическо и извороведско изследване*, София 2013; А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Златоструят в преводаческата дейност на старобългарските книжовници*, София 2016.

2. There are several versions of *Zlatostruy*, most notably the *Longer* (L) and the *Shorter Zlatostruy* (S) with 138 and 81 homilies respectively. They have 62 homilies in common, L is more faithful to the Greek sources (and presumably to the initial translation), but S is preserved in the oldest copy – a 12th century manuscript from the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg, F.п.I.46⁹.
3. The original translation was made in the first quarter of the 10th century in Preslav as a project initiated and supervised by the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon (893–927). Although no manuscript from this time-period has survived, the later copies are considered relatively reliable in respect of the original translation, especially the first 45 homilies of the longer version L¹⁰.
4. The homilies in the *Zlatostruy* collection were translated by more than one translator (and most probably by more than two) – the homilies differ in terms of principles of translation, usage of concurring means of expression, and vocabulary¹¹. We can cautiously suggest, that the Bulgarian compilers and translators selected the texts from numerous manuscripts containing John Chrysostom's works and divided them between each other.

In this context the *Commentaries on Acts* occupy an important place in *Zlatostruy*. With partial translations of 18 homilies – ethica and fragments – it is the best represented homiletical series in the Old Bulgarian collection (other Old Church Slavonic homilies selected from Chrysostom's commentaries include e.g. 17 homilies on the *First Epistle to Corinthians*, 10 homilies on the *Epistle to Romans*, 7 on the *Gospel of Matthew*, etc.). All but one of the translated homilies on *Acts* are included in L (four homilies in the first part L1–45, the others in the second part L46–137), and all of them are present in the other *Zlatostruy* versions (the longer L, the shorter S, the Hilandar version, and others). It allows us to make the safe assumption that these homilies were part of the original collection – the one translated and compiled in the early 10th century Preslav before the additions and revisions characteristic for the later stages of formation of the collection¹².

⁹ None of the manuscripts of L is edited, S has several editions, the earliest copy from the 12th century is edited in Т. ГЕОРГИЕВА, *Златоструй от XII век*, Силистра 2003.

¹⁰ There are many pieces of evidence to the time and place of the translation, the most compelling being the original preface, where Tsar Symeon is mentioned, cf. Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй...*, p. 7–12; А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Златоструят...*, p. 9–10. Some of the manuscripts with fewer scribal errors and deviations from Greek date from the 15th century and contain only the first 45 homilies of L, e.g. Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, MS No 33.2.12, Russian State History Museum, Moscow, collection of the Chudov monastery, MS No 214, and others. More on the manuscripts see in Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй...*, p. 21–28.

¹¹ А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Преводачески подходи в сборника Златоструй (Златоустовите коментари върху I Кор.)*, [in:] *Кирило-Методиевски четения 2015. Юбилеен сборник*, ed. А.-М. ТОТОМАНОВА, Д. АТАНАСОВА, София 2015, p. 18–32.

¹² This complicated issue is well clarified in Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй: старобългарски хомилетичен свод...*, p. 73–82.

On the other hand, the Slavonic translation of the *Commentaries on Acts* differs from the other homilies in *Zlatostruy*. There are many discrepancies between the Slavonic texts and their Greek counterparts, explanatory and expanded renditions of some phrases and passages are very common, and in some cases, the abridgements and transformations are so big that the Greek source is unrecognisable. There are two possible explanations of this incongruity: 1. the medieval Bulgarian translators had at their disposal a manuscript with a very different Greek recension of Chrysostom's homilies on *Acts* that did not coincide with either the "rough" or the "smooth" recensions we know today¹³; 2. all the selected homilies on *Acts* had only one Slavonic translator (or perhaps two – a "radical" and a more "conservative" one), and the discrepancies come down to the translator's free approach to the original. The evidence is not convincing enough to support either of these explanations, but one specific type of deviations of the Slavonic translation from the Greek source is particularly interesting – the double translations.

Double translations

The term "double translation" (doublet, Doppelübersetzung) denotes the technique where *one* word from the source text is rendered with *two* words in the translation. It allows keeping the equivalence between the source and the target language both in terms of form and sense, hence it is considered a method of literal translation¹⁴. The researchers give two main explanations of the phenomenon – when marginal notes and glosses were incorporated into the main text, or when the translator used two words for emphasis and clarity. The double translations are a widely used method across various time-periods and languages – there are examples in the Septuagint, in medieval translations, in the oriental traditions, as well as in translations into modern languages¹⁵. In the medieval Slavonic literature

¹³ Despite all the differences, at least half of the Slavonic homilies follow accurately the Greek source and they almost always stand closer to the so-called "rough" recension, cf. А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Гръцките версии на Златоустовите коментари върху Посланието на ап. Павел до Тим и Деяния на апостолите в сборника „Златоструй“*, Pbg 40, 3, 2016, p. 29–42.

¹⁴ The theoretical basis of the double translations in Old Church Slavonic is best explained in several works of E. Hansack, e.g. E. HANSACK, *Zum Übersetzungsstil des Exarchen Johannes*, WS 24, 1, 1979, p. 121–171; IDEM, *Die theoretischen Grundlagen des Übersetzungsstils des Exarchen Johannes*, WS 26, 1, 1981, p. 15–36; IDEM, *Zur Technik der Doppelübersetzung. Zwei Beiträge aus slavistischer Sicht: 1. Die Praefatio Brixiana. 2. Notker der Deutsche*, AnzSP 18, 1987, p. 79–127. An outline of the medieval understanding of identity between sense and form in translation, with an extensive bibliographical apparatus, is available in: F.J. THOMSON, 'Sensus' or 'Proprietas Verborum'. *Mediaeval Theories of Translation as Exemplified by Translations from Greek into Latin and Slavonic*, [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. VÖLKL, E. WEDEL, Neuried 1988, p. 675–691.

¹⁵ From Hebrew into Greek: J. COOK, *The Septuagint of Proverbs. Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs?*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= VTS, 69], p. 13–16; W.E. GLENNY, *Hebrew Misreadings or Free*

the most prominent author and translator known for his extensive use of double translations is John the Exarch. This linguistic device is so typical of his work that it helped identify and ascribe the anonymous translation of Chrysostom's *Vita* to John the Exarch himself or someone from his circle in the first decades of the 10th century¹⁶. However, double translations are not unique to this particular author from the Preslav literary school. They are present in other Slavonic translations as well, e.g. in the so-called *Nomokanon* of Methodius from the 9th century, in the translation from Latin of the Gospel commentaries of Pope Gregory the Great in the 10th–11th century, and in the monk Isaiah's translation of pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in the 14th century, to name a few¹⁷.

The *Zlatostruy* collection also belongs to this group of texts. The homilies are not linguistically uniform and they reveal varying styles of multiple translators, but most translations can be defined as free yet relatively accurate. As pointed out above, Greek words and phrases often have descriptive and explanatory Slavonic renderings, and double translations are only part of the verbal inequivalence in the collection. Six out of the 18 homilies on *Acts* included in the collection are not

Translation in the Septuagint of Amos?, VT 57, 2007, p. 531–533; M. DHONT, *Double Translations in Old Greek Job*, [in:] *Die Septuaginta – Orte und Intentionen. 5. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 24.–27. Juli 2014*, ed. S. KREUZER, M. MEISER, M. SIGISMUND, Tübingen 2016 [= WUNT, 361], p. 475–490; M. VAN DER VORM-CROUGHS, *The Old Greek of Isaiah. An Analysis of its Pluses and Minuses* (Doctoral thesis, Leiden University 2010, <http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/16135> [18 IV 2019]), p. 25–60, (a whole chapter of the dissertation is devoted to double translations with clear definitions and many examples from the Septuagint of Isaiah). From Greek into Latin: J.E. MURDOCH, *Euclides graeco-latinus. A Hitherto Unknown Medieval Latin Translation of the 'Elements' Made Directly from the Greek*, HSCP 71, 1967, p. 297, note 81. From Arabic into Latin: S. DI VINCENZO, *Avicenna's Isagoge, Chap. I, 12, 'De Universalibus': Some Observations on the Latin Translation*, Or.JPTSIS 40, 2012, p. 457–467. Additional literature is available also in: S. FAHL, D. FAHL, *Doppelübersetzungen und Paraphrasen in der kirchenslavischen Übersetzung des 'Corpus areopagiticum' durch den Mönchsgelehrten Isaija*, [in:] *Многоязычные переводы в Южнославянском средневековье. Доклады от международной конференции, София, 7–9 июля 2005 г.*, ed. Л. ТАСЕВА, София 2006, p. 446, note 6.

¹⁶ In his earlier publications E. Hansack is explicit and unambiguous about the significance of the double translations, e.g.: *Das Vorhandensein von Doppelübersetzungen in der V[it]a Chr[ysostomi] [...] dürfte nach heutigen Kenntnissen als das sicherste Kriterium für eine Abstammung des Textes 'aus der Schule des Exarchen Johannes' zu bewerten sein*. E. HANSACK, *Die Vita des Johannes Chrysostomos des Georgios von Alexandrien in kirchenslavischer Übersetzung*, vol. II, Freiburg i. Br. 1980 [= MLSDV, 10.2], p. 24. For a more nuanced opinion in his later works with additional literature and commentary see: S. FAHL, D. FAHL, *Doppelübersetzungen und Paraphrasen...*, p. 446, note 5.

¹⁷ Cf. H. KEIPERT, *Doppelübersetzung und Figura etymologica im methodianischen 'Nomokanon'*, [in:] *Christianity among the Slavs. The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, ed. E.G. FARRUGIA, Roma 1988 [= OCA, 231], p. 245–259; J. REINHART, *Une figure stylistique dans la traduction vieux-slave des "Homélies sur les Évangiles" de Grégoire le Grand en comparaison avec les textes scripturaires*, [in:] *Colloques internationaux du CNRS. Grégoire le Grand. Chantilly, Centre culturel Les Fontaines, 15–19 septembre 1982*, ed. J. FONTAINE, R. GILLET, S. PELLISTRANDI, Paris 1986, p. 597–606; S. FAHL, D. FAHL, *Doppelübersetzungen und Paraphrasen...*, p. 445–466.

suitable for a comparative study, because they deviate significantly from the available Greek texts either due to revisions or because of a different Greek original. Another two translations are fragmentary and are also not discussed here. In the remaining ten homilies, there are at least 90 instances of double translations (nouns, verbs, and adjectives only), some texts containing up to 24 examples. The examined homilies are the following¹⁸:

- L12 Inc.:** *ГѢ ВЪДЖШЕ НЕ ПРОСТО СЕ ИЗВЪРАНИГЪ...* (MTA 43, ff. 100v–103v). *InAA hom. 34, PG, vol. LX, col. 250–252.*
- L40 Inc.:** *ТО ДЪН ЛИ БОГЪ НЕМОЩНА...* (MTA 43, ff. 251v–254v). *InAA hom. 23, PG, vol. LX, col. 182–184.*
- L41 Inc.:** *КЪДЕ СЖТЪ ОУБО ЖЕНЪ ИЖЕ ВЪСІЖ НОЩЪ...* (MTA 43, ff. 254v–257r). *InAA hom. 26, PG, vol. LX, col. 202–204.*
- L42 Inc.:** *НЪ ДА ПОМАНЕМЪ Н ТЖ НОЩЪ...* (MTA 43, ff. 257r–258v). *InAA hom. 36, PG, vol. LX, col. 261–262.*
- L86 Inc.:** *ДА НЕ МОЗЪТЕ МЪНЪТИ КЪ НАМЪ СЕ ТЪУНИЖ ВЕСЪДОУЈЕМО...* (MTA 43, ff. 448v–450v). *InAA hom. 44, PG, vol. LX, col. 312–314.*
- L88 Inc.:** *ВЪДЖШЕ НЪ РЕКЪША ОУ НЕРОЖЕ...* (MTA 43, ff. 452r–454r). *InAA hom. 45, PG, vol. LX, col. 317–319.*
- L90 Inc.:** *НЕ ТОЛЬМА ВО ЧЛОВЪЦИ НА БЛАГОДЪКАНИЕ ОУЩИЖТЪ СЪ...* (MTA 43, ff. 456v–459r). *InAA hom. 6, PG, vol. LX, col. 60–62.*
- L102 Inc.:** *ИКОЖЕ ВО Н СЪ ХРИСТОСОМЪ ІАДЖШЕ Н ПИЖШЕ...* (MTA 43, ff. 490v–493r). *InAA hom. 1, PG, vol. LX, col. 22–26.*
- L104 Inc.:** *О ВЕЛИКЪ ДНЕВЪ...* (MTA 43, ff. 494r–497r). *InAA hom. 24, PG, vol. LX, col. 187–192.*
- S22 Inc.:** *СНХЪ Н МЪ ПОДРАЖАНИГЪ...* (F.п.І. 46, ff. 43v–46v). *InAA hom. 3, PG, vol. LX, col. 38–42.*

Although all the homilies attest to the use of double translations, the examples are unevenly distributed among them. Homily S22 has by far the most instances (24), followed by L41 (17 instances), L86 (12), L12 (11), L40 (7), L90 (7),

¹⁸ This list of homilies follows their attestation in the longer *Zlatostruy* (L). The earliest and most accessible complete copy of L1–137 – manuscript No 43 from the Moscow Theological Academy, 1474 (cetera: MTA 43), is available at <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=5&manuscript=043>. Homily S22 is present in the shorter *Zlatostruy* (S) and its earliest copy from Saint Petersburg's Public Library F.п.І. 46 (12th century) is edited in Т. ГЕОРГИЕВА, *Златоструй...*, p. 104–110. All examples are cited after these two manuscripts. The Greek sources are cited according to their edition in vol. LX of *Patrologia Graeca*.

L102 (5), L88 (4), L104 (2), L42 (1). Few of them seem to be of secondary origin such as later scribal revisions or integrated glosses, e.g. this sentence from L41 containing two pairs of double translations, **χαλκοτύπος** '(copper)smith'¹⁹ – **златарь н крѣвнн**, and **σφῦρα** 'hammer' – **млатъ кладнво**: PG, vol. LX, col. 203 *ὁ χαλκοτύπος σφῦραν οὕτω βαρεῖαν καταφέρων / like the smith who lets fall such a heavy hammer*²⁰ – МТА 43, f. 256r **акы златарь н крѣ[м]внн. млатъ кладнво. толь тажько на римо вѣзводѣ**. In this phrase there are many variant readings between the manuscripts, e.g. instead of **златарь н крѣвнн** (the mistake **крѣмвнн** is also widely spread) one Hilandar manuscript²¹ has only **крѣвнн**, the 12th century copy of S – **коузнѣци**; instead of **кладнво**, there are variant readings **кладнвѣ**, **кладнвы**, even a correction to **кладѣ**, and S and the Hilandar manuscript have only **млатъ**. It is easy to suggest that the proto-Bulgarian word **крѣвнн** needed a more common clarifying synonym (**златарь**), but it is more difficult to explain the asyndeton **млатъ кладнво** – **млатъ** is attested as early as Codex Suprasliensis, but **кладнво** is a rare and perhaps regional variant that may have joined the main text from the margins²².

Despite the fluctuation of some readings, most of the instances can be considered genuine, originating from the initial translation. In an attempt to prove this and to support the central proposition of this study – that double translations are a linguistic and stylistic device typical for the Slavonic translator of the homilies on *Acts* – I will examine in some detail nearly half of the examples. They constitute several types, although not all double translations can be easily ascribed to one of these groups.

1. Proper Doppeliübersetzungen: one of the two translations renders the form (or etymology) and the other – the meaning of the Greek word.

Many examples meet this requirement perfectly, e.g.:

ἐκκλησία – L41 **црѣкы рекѣше съборъ**, where **съборъ** 'assembly' is the etymological translation, and **црѣкы** 'church' conveys the usual meaning of **ἐκκλησία** in Christianity;

¹⁹ English meanings of the Greek words are mostly based on the definitions in *LSJ* and G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961.

²⁰ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. I, p. 379.

²¹ This manuscript, Hilandar 386, Serbian, 14th century, is a rare South Slavonic copy, considered a separate version of *Zlatostruy*, closer to S, cf. Кл. ИВАНОВА-КОНСТАНТИНОВА, *Неизвестна редакция на Златоструй в сръбски извод от XIII в.*, ЗИК 10, 1976, p. 89–107; Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй...*, p. 137–154.

²² In addition to this example from *Zlatostruy*, the word **кладнво** is attested also twice in the Old Testament (3Reg 6, 7 and Is 41, 7) and in Cosma's *Oratio contra Bogomilos*, cf. М. ТОТОМАНОВА-ПАНЕВА, *Книги Царства в славянската хронографска традиция*, София 2019 [= КМс, 27], p. 132.

φιλόανθρωπος – L42 **УЛОВЕЌКОУЮЩЬИ И МИЛОСТИВЪ** with ‘loving mankind’ being the formal equivalent, and ‘merciful’ – the semantic one;

ἀλγέω – L86 **ЖАЛНТИ И БОЛѢТИ**, where ‘feel pain’ renders the form, and ‘grieve’ – the meaning;

οἱ κατορθοῦντες ‘the righteous’ – L40 **ДОВЕРИИ И ПРЪМИИ** (‘straight, upright’ – the form, ‘good’ – the meaning);

καθαρός – L86 **БЕЗЪ ЗАЗОРА И ЧИСТЪ** (‘clean’ – the form, ‘flawless’ – the meaning);

ἀναπνέω ‘take breath, recover’ – L41 **ОПЪДЪХНЪТИ И ОΥΣΤΟΥΔΗΤΗ СѦ** (‘take breath’ – the form, ‘cool down’ – the meaning), etc.

In most of the cases the two translations are connected by the conjunction ‘and’, but there are also more complicated and descriptive phrases, such as:

ἄμοιρος ‘without share, bereft of’, here in the context of baptism – PG, vol. LX, col. 23 ἀπελθὼν ἄμοιρος τῆς χάριτος / *departs this life with no portion in that grace*²³, i.e. unbaptized – the Slavonic translation in L102 has **ПОГАНЪ НЕ ПРННМЪ ДАРА ТΟΥ** with the periphrastic, albeit not entirely literal translation “who did not receive this gift”, and **ПОГАНЪ** bearing the overall meaning ‘pagan, heathen’.

One example is particularly interesting and indicative. The Greek word **ψυχή** ‘soul’ has a simple and exact Slavonic match – **ДОУША**, yet in the *Zlatostruy* homilies on *Acts* it is repeatedly rendered with double translations ‘soul and mind’, ‘soul and heart’ (**ДОУША И ОУМЪ**, **ДОУША И ЖТРОБА**) in at least four different homilies.

S22 has two instances:

PG, vol. LX, col. 39 Οὐδὲν πλοίου κλυδωνιζομένου διενήνοχεν ἢ τοῦ ἱερέως ψυχή / *The soul of a Bishop is for the world like a vessel in a storm*²⁴ – F.п.І. 46, f. 44a **НИЧНМЪЖЕ ЛОДНІА ПОГРЪЗНОУТН ЧОТЪЩА. НЪСТЪ ОУНЪШН НІЕРЪНСКА ДЪША И ОУМЪ**;

PG, vol. LX, col. 42 ἐπεὶ τῇ λυπουμένη ψυχῇ καὶ παρενοχλεῖν δοκεῖ / *to a sorrowful heart it seems even to be a trouble*²⁵ – F.п.І. 46, f. 46a **А ПЕЧАЛЬНЪ ДЪШН И ОУМОУ. АЩЕ СНАЕТЪ ТО И ТΟΥГОУ ТВОРИТЪ**.

Homily L90 is also consistent in this respect:

PG, vol. LX, col. 61 Ἀλλὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐρημίας ἥδιων πολλῶ τοῦ μακροθύμου ἢ ψυχῇ / *But sweeter far than this solitude is the soul of the longsuffering*²⁶ – MTA 43, f. 458r **НЪ ПАКОѦ ПОУСЪТИНѦ СЛАЖНЪ ЕСТЬ ДУМЪ И ДЪША ТРЪПЪЛЕНАГО УЛКА И КРОТКАГО**

²³ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. I, p. 17.

²⁴ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. I, p. 47.

²⁵ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. I, p. 52.

²⁶ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. I, p. 92.

(later in the same passage ψυχή is rendered with оумъ at least two more times, the other double translation from this sentence – μακρόθυμος ‘long-suffering, patient’ кротъкъ ѡ трѣпѣливъ – is also repeated below).

The example from L41 is a repetition of the whole phrase:

PG, vol. LX, col. 202 Ταῦτα πάντα ἱκανά ἐστι διαναστῆσαι ψυχὴν / *All this is enough to arouse the soul*²⁷ – MTA 43, f. 255r **Н СЕ ДОВОЛЕѢ ТИ ВЪЗЪВОУДНТИ ДШС Н ОУМЪ ОУСТАВНТИ** (ψυχή is rendered with оумъ at least once more below).

The double rendition of ψυχή in L86 is adapted to the context:

PG, vol. LX, col. 313 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εὐρυχωτέραν ποιεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν / *It makes the soul more spacious than the heaven*²⁸ – MTA 43, f. 450r **НБСЕ ШНШОУ ТВОРН ДШС Н ОУТРОБОУ** (followed by 2Cor 7, 2 **ВМЪЕСТНТЕ СД ВЪ МД РЕВЕ АПЛЪ**, where the idea of κτροβα as a vessel is contextually more appropriate).

I am not aware of another Slavonic work in which ψυχή is translated as доуша н оумъ and it is one of the characteristic features of the Slavonic translation of Chrysostom's homilies on Acts²⁹.

Although these examples are in perfect agreement with what E. Hansack refers to as “stylistic doublets”³⁰, the translator's pursuit of an accurate formal and semantic equivalence is not the only *raison d'être* of double translations. The Slavonic translation tends to explain and sometimes to adapt the Greek text to its audience and often does not adhere to the formal features of the original.

2. Complementary double translations: when the Greek word has a complex meaning or does not have a single Slavonic counterpart and the two translations complement one another.

Several examples belong to this type, e.g.:

σφριγᾶω ‘to be vigorous, in full health and strength’ – L12 **ЮНЪ Н ТΟΥΥНЪ ВЪИТИ** ‘to be young and lush’, where neither of the Slavonic words is an exact match to the Greek verb, but together they convey the meaning well;

²⁷ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. I, p. 378.

²⁸ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. II, p. 600.

²⁹ Nevertheless, the Slavonic оумъ for ψυχή is attested in some of the earliest manuscripts, such as Clozianus and Suprasliensis, cf. *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*. (*Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*), vol. I–LII, ed. J. KURZ et al., Praha 1958–1997 (s.v. оумъ).

³⁰ *Entscheidend für das Verständnis und damit für die Wiedergabe der Mehrfachübersetzungen ist die Erkenntnis, daß es sich bei ihnen nicht um Synonyme im herkömmlichen Sinn (= semantisch leicht differenzierte Wörter) oder gar um Varianten handelt – so wurden sie bisher verstanden – sondern um stilistische ‘Dubletten’, deren jede in ihrem Stil (“wörtliche” oder “sinngemäße Übersetzung als Stil verstanden) genau dasselbe ausdrückt wie ihr Partner im anderen Stil*, E. HANSACK, *Zum Übersetzungstil...*, p. 135.

προσκυνέω ‘fall down and worship’ – L88 **КЛАНІАТН СѦ Н МОЛІТН СѦ** with the same meaning;

παννυχίς ‘watching all night, vigil’ – L41 **ВЪСТАНИИ Н МОЛНТВА** ‘rising and prayer’ (in the same homily there is another – single – translation of **παννυχίς** as **ОБНОЩІИ**, whereas in S22 the translation is descriptive – **НОЩІЮ СТРАЖЕМЪ БА МОΛΑΨΙΕ**);

συναλίζομαι ‘come together’, literally ‘eat salt with’ – L102 **ІАСТН Н ПНТН** (a reference to Act 1, 4, the Old Church Slavonic translation of *Acts* has only **ІАСТН**).

This kind of double translations is indicative not of inaptitude, but rather of translator’s ingenuity. The careful wording of the Slavonic translation is evident in a passage about self-restraint in L12 (*InAA hom. 34*), where the words **φιλοσοφία** and **φιλόσοφος** are rendered several times with double translations. The question about the early Christian shift in the meaning of **φιλοσοφία** has been widely discussed in the past several decades³¹. A simplified outline of the meanings of this term in patristic literature, and in John Chrysostom in particular, can be presented as follows³²: pagan philosophy (negative, inferior) – philosophy as a system of beliefs and practices – Christian doctrine (viewed as superior) – Christian way of life – ascetic (monastic) way of life – self-restraint and control – martyrdom (endurance in suffering). In the *Zlatostruy* collection ‘philosophy’ and its derivatives are mentioned many times, both in pagan and in Christian context. Some of the most common Slavonic parallels are **МЪДРОЛЮБИИ**, **ЛЮБОМЪДРОСТВО**, **ПРЪМЪДРОСТЪ**, **МЪДРОСТЪ** (‘wisdom’, ‘love of wisdom’) and even the untranslated Greek word **ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΗΙΑ** in L8, but also **ВЪЗДРЪЖАНІИ** (‘temperance’) in L13, L25, L27. The double translations in L12 are unique to this homily and are part of a larger variety of solutions, e.g.:

φιλοσοφία **КРЪКОСТЪ Н СЪМЫСЛЪ** ‘strength and reason’, **φιλόσοφος** **СЪМЫСЛЕНЪ НЛИ ВЪЗДРЪЖА СѦ** ‘reasonable or self-restrained’, **ΚΡΕΠΥΚЪ Н ВЪЗДРЪЖА СѦ**

³¹ Here are some of the articles on this topic that were available to me, they provide a more extensive list of additional literature: G.J.M. BARTELINK, “*Philosophie*” et “*philosophe*” dans quelques œuvres de Jean Chrysostome, RAM 36, 1960, p. 486–492 (a continuation of G. Bardy’s previous research on this matter in the works of authors from Clement of Alexandria to Eusebius of Caesarea – G.J.M. BARTELINK is focused on Chrysostom’s works in volumes XLVIII–L of PG); A. GUILLAUMONT, [rec.:] Anne-Marie Malingrey. “*Philosophia*”. *Étude d’un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des présocratiques au IV^e siècle après J.-C.*... – RHR 164, 2, 1963, p. 244–246 (a review article on A.-M. MALINGREY’s doctoral thesis on the use of ‘philosophy’ from Pythagoras to John Chrysostom); J.L. QUANTIN, *A propos de la traduction de ‘philosophia’ dans l’ ‘Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae’ de Saint Jean Chrysostome*, RSR 61, 4, 1987, p. 187–197 (a reflection not only on the meaning of ‘philosophy’ in Chrysostom’s early work but also an emphasis on the ambiguous nature of the term – the author insists that this ambiguity should be preserved in translations).

³² Cf. G.J.M. BARTELINK, “*Philosophie*” et “*philosophe*”..., as well as G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek...* (s.v. **φιλοσοφία**).

‘strong and self-restrained’, κρῆπκκτῷ ‘strong’, φιλοσοφέω εἰς μικρῶν ἐπιτρονήτην ‘to control in temperance’.

The translator’s intent can be seen in the overall context:

InAA hom. 34 (PG, vol. LX, col. 250–251): καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλογα φιλοσοφεῖν διδάσκουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀλόγων θηριωδίαν ἀνέχονται καταγόμενοι. Αἶνιγμα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔστι. Καὶ ποῦ τὰ ἄλογα φιλόσοφα, φησίν; Ἡ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι φιλοσοφίας εἶναι μεγάλης, ὅταν κύων δακνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν καὶ θηρεῦσαι, παρουσίας ἀπέχρηται τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ τράπεζαν ὄρων παρακειμένην, καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ κατεπείγοντος ἀναμένει τὸν δεσπότην; Αἰσχύνθητε ἑαυτοῦς· παιδεύσατε τὰς ὑμετέρας γαστέρας οὕτως εἶναι φιλοσόφους. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἀπολογία. Ἄλογος φύσει δυνήθεις ἐνθεῖναι οὔτε φθειγμένη οὔτε λογισμὸν ἐχούση τοσαύτην φιλοσοφίαν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον δυνήθη σαυτῶ.

L12 (MTA 43, f. 101r-v): ннн скотѣ вѣннѣтъ. в' мѣроу стѣпѣ (v.l. стѣпѣ), а самн вѣ скотѣ ласкосер'дѣ в' падаюше. н боуѣнши егѣ вываюше. бесѣда то естѣ тоуѣю речешн. Тѣ гдѣ скотѣ можете быти смысленѣ. нан вѣзѣрѣжа сѣ то хѣда лн то крѣпостѣ естѣ н смыслѣ. еѣа ψесѣ алѣненѣ сы гладѣ. н стѣпѣ н емѣ заецѣ. то же готѣвы пади не пастѣ. а вѣ оустѣ дрѣжа. оуае жѣтѣ гдѣнна, да стѣдѣте сѣ самн себе. наоуѣнше своѣ врѣка. да вы боуѣоуѣ така крѣпка, н вѣзѣдрѣжае сѣ. то како не бо нмѣте моуѣн ѡвѣщѣати. да скотѣ можете наоуѣнши н наказаѣти на все. а самн себе не можете наказаѣти. смысленн оуѣше по нестѣнѣѣ.

Trans.: (The masters starve their dogs so that they be quick on the prey)... and the brute creatures indeed they teach to be **temperate**, while they let themselves sink down into the gluttony of the brutes and are more unreasonable than them. The thing is a riddle. “And how can a beast be **reasonable or temperate**?” But is it a small **strength** [of will] **and reason**, when a dog gnawed with hunger and suffering, after having caught a hare, does not eat the ready meal before him, but holds it in his mouth and waits for his master? Be ashamed of yourselves: teach your bellies to be as **strong and temperate**. You have no excuse. You can instruct and teach everything to an irrational creature, and you cannot teach it to yourselves, who are truly reasonable?³³

In this episode ‘philosophical’ means ‘temperate, self-restrained’ (close to ‘ascetic’, one of the Christian meanings of the word), but also ‘reasonable, wise’ (σοφός) because of the opposition ἄλογος/λογικός, animal/human in this context. The Slavonic complementary double translation of φιλοσοφία as ‘strength and reason’ delivers the idea both of strong will and wisdom, and this is maintained further with φιλόσοφος as ‘reasonable or self-restrained’ and ‘strong and self-restrained’. The repetitive consistency of the translation, on the one hand, and its flexible variety, on the other, bear evidence to the fact that double translations are a deliberate and skilful linguistic device and a characteristic feature of the style of the translator.

³³ The English translation is based on CHRYSOSTOM, vol. II, p. 479, where the words in question are translated as ‘philosophy’, ‘philosophical’ etc. Here it is adapted to the Slavonic text.

3. Synonyms: the two words in the double translation are synonyms and convey the original meaning equally well.

The double translations in this group usually correspond to a single meaning of the Greek word, whereas the previous two types (proper and complementary double translations) cover at least two different meanings or nuances of a complex word. Usually, the Slavonic synonyms in these cases are not interchangeable, e.g. one of them could be a common word, and the other – an archaism or a dialectism, but sometimes it is difficult to explain why the translator chose to use two equal words instead of one. Some of the most typical examples are the following:

σιγή ‘silence’ – L41 **млъванні и цогванні**

The second Slavonic word with the same meaning ‘silence, quietness’ is very rare, but not unique, cf. the verb **цогвати**, also in a double translation of another Greek word in this homily:

ήσυχία ‘silence’ – L41, MTA 43, f. 254v **какѡ ти все цогвѣи бесѣ плнща**³⁴.

There is another double translation of the same Greek word:

ήσυχία – L90, MTA 43, f. 457v **в неже велко млъванні естѣ и тишо все**.

It seems that the idea of ‘silence’ attracts the use of synonyms, although one word would have been enough, cf.:

σιγάω ‘keep quiet’ – S22 **млъвати и не бесѣдовати ннѣсже**.

σκυθρωπός ‘sad, gloomy’ is translated in L86 as **дрѣхлѣ и скръьнѣ** (perhaps the two words differ stylistically, although both are widely used in many Slavonic works in various genres).

The next examples show no obvious stratification between the synonyms, cf.:

θρήνος (θρήνων) ‘lament, dirge’ – L41 **слъзьнѣи (и) плачьнѣи**;

πενία ‘poverty’ – L40 **оубожьство и нищета**;

καταφρονέω ‘look down upon, despise’ – L90 **прѣобидѣти и неврѣши**.

³⁴ The words **цогванні** ‘silence’ and **цогвати** ‘be quiet’ are rare, I. SREZNEVSKIJ gives only one more example from a 16th century manuscript, cf. И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. I–III, Санкт-Петербург 1893–1912 (s.v. **цогванні**). Usually **цогкѣ** means the opposite – ‘noise’. There is an interesting parallel with a similar double translation in the 14th-century translation of *Corpus Areopagiticum* by the monk Isaiah: **ἀψόφως** – **безѣ цогка и неплнщаѣ**, cf. S. ФАИЛ, D. ФАИЛ, *Doppelübersetzungen und Paraphrasen...*, p. 451.

The use of synonyms as double translations adds to the stylistic and lexical richness of the Slavonic texts, but it may also point to hesitation and indecisiveness in the process of translating.

4. Contextual synonyms: the two Slavonic translations are an unlikely pair outside the context, but are a good match for the particular Greek text.

It is a matter of discussion whether some of the examples belong here, but this is an apprehension applicable to most classifications. Some instances provide an interesting insight into the translator's work, where word choice is aimed at the Slavonic audience as much as it conveys the meaning of the Greek source.

In L41 **στενωπός** 'narrow passage, alley' is rendered as **СТЪГНА Н ДВОРЪ** 'street and yard' and this translation is used twice in the homily:

PG, vol. LX, col. 204 Ἐκεῖνοι δι' ἀνθρώπινον νόμον περιΐασιν ἐν κρυμῶ βοῶντες μεγάλα, καὶ **διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν βαδίζοντες** / [The night-watchers], *by man's law, go their rounds in the cold, shouting loudly, and walking through lanes and alleys*³⁵, MTA43, f. 256v **ТН БО ВЛѢЪСКА ЗАКОНА Д'ЕЛА Н БОДЗНН. ХОДѢ ВЕЮ НОЩЬ ТР'ЕПЕШОУЩЕ ЗННОЮ. Н ВЪП'ЮЩЕ ВЕЛ'МН СКВОЗ'Е СТЕГНЫ ХОДАЩЕ. Н БЛЮДОУЩЕ ДВОРЫ** (the whole phrase διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν βαδίζοντες is repeated);

PG, vol. LX, col. 202 Ἄν διακύψης **εἰς τὸν στενωπὸν**, οὐκ ἀκούση οὐδὲ φωνῆς· ἂν ἴδῃς **εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν**, πάντας ὅψει καθάπερ ἐν τάφῳ κειμένουσ / *If thou (look out of window and) lean over into the street, thou wilt not hear even a sound; if thou look into the house, thou wilt see all lying as it were in a tomb*³⁶, MTA43, f. 256v **ЩЕ БО СНИКНЕСИ НА СТЕГНЫ <с> ПОЛАТЫ ТО НЕ СЛЫШИШИ ГЛѢСА, Н'И ННОГО ННУТ'Ѣ. ЩЕ ЛИ СНИКНЕСИ ВЪ ДВОРЪ СВОН С ПОЛАТЫ. ТО ВСЕ ВИДИШИ АКЫ ВЪ ГРОБѢ ЛЕЖАЩЕ.** Although the second example is not a double translation and **ДВОРЪ** could be a mistake instead of the correct ***ДОМЪ**, I think it is no accident that the same words **СТЪГНА** and **ДВОРЪ** are used in this context.

The next examples are less controversial: the word **βασιλειον** (τὰ βασιλεια) 'kingly dwelling, palace' is rendered in two different homilies with similar double translations – in L40 as **ПОЛАТЫ Н ВЛАСТЕЛЕ** and in S22 as **ВЪ ПОЛАТЫ КЪ ВЛАДЪКАМЪ**. Both solutions are contextually appropriate and suggest a single translator. The closest counterpart of **βασιλειον** in the earliest Slavonic literature is **ПОЛАТЫ Ц'КЕАРА** in Supr. 199, 2, no other double translation is attested³⁷.

³⁵ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. I, p. 380. It is interesting to point out, that the English translators also use a double translation here – 'lanes and alleys'.

³⁶ CHRYSOSTOM, vol. I, p. 378. In the English translation there is a note concerning the word **στενωπός**: *the lanes or alleys in the quarters formed by intersection of the broad streets, ibidem, note γ.*

³⁷ For further reference cf.: *Řecko-staroslověnský index. (Index verborum graeco-palaeoslovenicus)*, vol. I, ed. E. BLAHOVÁ, Praha 2008 (s.v. βασιλειος).

Some of the other contextual synonyms are the following:

ἄλογον ‘speechless, without reason; animal’ – L12 **конь или скотъ или** ‘horse or another animal’ (the word means ‘horse’ in medieval and modern Greek, at least from 6th century onwards³⁸, and the Slavonic translator was apparently aware of it);

ξένος ‘foreign; guest’ – L88 **нищъ и странънъ** ‘destitute and foreign’ (it is clear that the translator adds some Christian nuances to the idea of hospitality – to welcome the stranger, who happens to be poor).

The last group of examples includes several related Greek words with consistent Slavonic double translations:

δόκιμος ‘trustworthy’ is rendered in S22 as **искоуцьнъ и славьнъ** ‘skilful and renowned’, and **ἀδόκιμος** ‘unsatisfactory, discredited’ – as **ненскоуцьнъ и неславьнъ**;

εὐδοκμέω ‘to be of good repute, to be distinguished in’ in L40 is **славьнъ и искоуцьнъ быти** (‘to be renowned and skilful’).

The two Slavonic notions of ‘fame’ and ‘skill’ are not synonyms outside the context. These examples could also fit in the first two groups of double translations. On the one hand, their combined meanings depict the complex semantical structure of the Greek word, i.e. they are complementary to each other (group 2), and on the other, the Slavonic word **славьнъ** is an etymological translation of the root **-δοκ-**, cf. **δόξα** ‘repute, glory’, whereas **(не)искоуцьнъ** is a standard parallel to the Greek **(ἀ)δόκιμος**³⁹ (group 1).

The classification of the double translations is not only an attempt to confine each example to a group – as it became apparent, some attributions can be disputed – but also to point out the variety in their structure and inner logic. The Old Church Slavonic translation of Chrysostom’s homilies on *Acts* is far from literal, sometimes it is pleonastic compared to the Greek source. Here the double translations are both a method to accurately convey the sense of the original and a stylistic device typical for the translator.

Consistency of translation and comparison with other Old Church Slavonic texts

E. Hansack considered the use of double translations a distinctive feature of the production of a single translator (John the Exarch) or a group of translators from his school. Evidence from other works reveals that this was a more broadly used,

³⁸ See e.g. E.A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, Leipzig 1914 (s.v. ἄλογος).

³⁹ Cf. *Řecko-staroslověnský index...*, (s.v. ἀδόκιμος); *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského...* (s.v. искоуцьнъ).

but not ubiquitous linguistic method in all periods of Slavonic literacy⁴⁰. The presence of double translations may not be enough for identifying an anonymous translator, but it does distinguish certain (groups of) works as opposed to others. A more valid argument for identification is the consistency of translation, i.e. whether the translator uses the same combinations of doublets.

One of the best examples of multiple uses of the same double translation is the last instance cited above, where two different homilies (S22 and L40) have used three times the combination *нєкѡгѣѣнѣ нє єлавѣнѣ* for *δόκιμος* and its derivatives. The same homilies have another doublet in common (not identical, but of the same root): τὰ βασιλεία 'kingly dwelling, palace' *πολαπѣ нє влаетѣлє* L40, *вѣѣ ποлапѣ кѣ владѣѣкѣмѣ* S22. Some similarities can be traced also between S22, L41, and L90, e.g. the rendering of *ψυχή* as *доуша нє оуѣмѣ* in all of them (and nowhere else) and the tendency to translate 'silence' using two words (*σιγή* and *ήσυχία* in L41, *ήσυχία* in L90, and *σιγάω* in S22 all have double translations, the examples are listed above). On the other hand, there are many variations, e.g. the doublets for 'silence' are not the same, *παννυχίς* has at least three different renderings in L41 and S22 (see above), and the interesting Greek verb *ἐξίστημι* 'drive s.o. out of his senses; *intr.* be out of o's wits' is translated in L90 as *вѣѣзѣѣкѣпѣтѣ нє нєпѣѣпѣтѣ оуѣмѣ* (*ἐκστήσειεν ἄν τῶν κατὰ φύσιν φρενῶν*), and in S22 as *оуѣмѣ πογοуѣнєѣтѣ нє нѣпѣрѣѣнѣ оуѣѣкаѣѣ ѣѣ* (*οἱ ἐξεστηκότες*). Variation does not necessarily mean independence of translations – sometimes there are as many as three different double translations of a Greek word in a single homily, cf. S22 *σκανδαλίζειν* 'cause to stumble, lead into sin', rendered as *пѣѣкѣнѣѣѣкѣнѣ ѣѣѣѣѣтѣ нє влѣзѣнѣ* 'offend and deceive', *зѣѣлѣ ѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣ ѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣ нє влѣзѣнѣ* 'there will be evil and deceit to the heart', and *пѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣ нє влѣзѣнѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣ ѣѣ* 'accusing and deceived' (*οἱ σκανδαλιζόμενοι*).

The conformity between the double translations in S22, L40, L41, and L90 is by no means a matter of coincidence. It supports the assumption that these homilies were translated by a single Bulgarian translator who tended to explain and expand on the Greek original. This conclusion results in another important issue. Homily S22 is not present in the longer *Zlatostruy* (L), and L90 is from the second part of L (L46–L137), which was added to the first 45 homilies at a later stage. If they were produced by the same translator as the homilies from the first part of L (L40 and L41 and possibly some others), it is beyond doubt that all of them were part of the original Old Bulgarian collection *Zlatostruy* from the early 10th century. This is a solid argument in favour of the unity between the first part of L, its second part, and the shorter *Zlatostruy* (S).

The comparison with the translations of John the Exarch also yealds some noteworthy results. E. Hansack gives more than 200 examples of doublets from

⁴⁰ See the literature in notes 16 and 17 above.

Exarch's translations of *Hexaemeron* (Š.), *De fide orthodoxa* (*Ekth.*), and *Vita Chrysostomi* (*V.Ch.*)⁴¹. Some of them are close to the examples from *Zlatostruy*:

ὕμνεϊν – Š. хвалити н славити⁴², L41 молити н хвалити;

λόγος – Š. съмгыслъ н слово⁴³, L12 оумъ н мгыслъ;

*ἀδυναμία – *Ekth.* немощь н лѣнность⁴⁴, ῥαθυμία – L102 лѣнность н слабость;

*δεικνύναι – Š. съказати н наоуѣати⁴⁵, ἐξηγεῖσθαι *V.Ch.* оуѣа съказати⁴⁶, ἐντίθημι – L12 наоуѣити н наказати;

ἐπιθυμεῖν – *V.Ch.* желати н хотѣти, жьдѣти хотѣ, жадѣти н хотѣти⁴⁷, S22 желѣти н жадати (ἐπιθυμία – желаннѣ сановѣноѣ н жаданнѣ);

πρόνοια – *V.Ch.* промгыслъ н строн, L40 промгыслъ н строн, L41 пеналя н проудъ, cf. проноεῖν – *V.Ch.* пещи сѣ н стронити⁴⁸.

The similarities, although too general, do not exclude a possible connection or mutual influence between the two groups of texts, which originate from the same area, time-period, and literary circles. However, the few concurring instances are not sufficient for positive identification of the anonymous translator of the homilies in *Zlatostruy*.

J. Reinhart gives another perspective to the topic⁴⁹. In his research on hendiads as a stylistic device he finds ca. 30 parallels between the double renderings in the 10th–11th-century Slavonic translation from Latin of the homilies of Pope Gregory the Great (*Bes.*), and the Scripture (especially *Psalms* and *Proverbs*). He argues that some of the examples are direct stylistic and lexical borrowings, due to the exceptional influence of the Bible on medieval literature, although the phenomenon should not be overestimated⁵⁰. Few of them comply with the examples from the *Zlatostruy* collection, e.g.:

Bes. ad delectationem на радоданнѣ н на слажъша, cf. Ps 34, 9 *exultare et delectari*, *Ps. Sin.* възрадовати сѣ, насладнѣти сѣ (LXX ἀγαλλιάσεται, τερφθήσεται), and Ps 67, 4 *epulari et exultare et delectari*, *Ps. Sin.* възвеселити сѣ, възрадовати

⁴¹ E. HANSACK, *Zum Übersetzungsstil...*, p. 138–171. E. Hansack claims that the overall number of the verified instances is five-time more, but he includes also pronouns, conjunctions, and particles, as well as many examples from parts of the text without Greek Vorlage.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 139.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 145.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 153. The example is without Greek, E. Hansack reconstructs *ἀδυναμία.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 154. The example is without Greek, E. Hansack reconstructs *δεικνύναι.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 155.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 157–158.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 158, 162. The two variants from *Zlatostruy* are very suitable for their respective contexts.

⁴⁹ J. REINHART, *Une figure stylistique...*, p. 597–606.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 602–603.

сѧ, наслѧднѧтѧ сѧ (LXX εὐφρανθήτωσαν, ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν, τερφθήτωσαν)⁵¹ – L86 ἡδονή сѧстѧ н радостѧ;

Bes. praedicare казѧтѧ н оуѧнѧтѧ, cf. Ps 93, 12 *erudire et docere, Ps. Sin.* наказаѧтѧ, наоуѧнѧтѧ (LXX παιδείσης, διδάξης)⁵² – L12 ἐντίθημι наоуѧнѧтѧ н наказаѧтѧ (the same in *Š.* and *V.Ch.*, see above).

These examples support the idea, that double translations are of different origins, some of them are phraseological expressions which circulated between multiple texts, while others are unique and serve as distinctive stylistic features.

Chrysostom's commentaries on *Acts* are not the only texts in *Zlatostruy* with double translations. Some of the attested examples in the other homilies are the following: L2 ἀσινής сѧдрѧвѧ н бєзѧ вѧрѧдѧ, εἰδωλομανής κουμνηρѧ н неистовѧ-сѧтѧоуѧ, τὸν νόμον πληροῦντες законѧ влюдѧщѧ н сѧкѧонѧывѧваижѧщѧ н; L3 ἀφόρητος λιπѧтѧ н зѧлѧтѧ, βασιλεία ρѧн н цѧсарѧсѧтѧво, ἐπήρεια οβαждєннѧ н напѧсѧтѧ, παρακαλέω мола н оуѧтѧшаѧѧ, συλλογίζομαι прѧгѧлаголатѧ, прѧмѧγислѧнѧтѧ, φέρω прѧсѧтѧтрѧпѧкѧтѧ н понєстѧ; L4 διαβάλλω ποχοуѧиѧтѧ н (по)пѧзаѧтѧ⁵³, τιμή ѧсѧтѧ н сѧнѧтѧ; L6 αἰρετικός зѧловѧрѧнѧтѧн ѧрєтѧкѧтѧ⁵⁴, ἄλογος вєслѧвєсѧнѧтѧн сѧотѧтѧ, κεραυνός грѧмѧтѧ н трѧсѧканнѧ; L7 εὐτελής ρѧдѧннѧкѧ н сѧмѧдѧтѧ, πεπλανημένος прѧєлѧщѧнѧтѧ н плаваѧѧ, χαλκοτύπος коузѧнѧцѧ н крѧѧннѧ⁵⁵; L9 γεωργός зємлєдѧтѧтѧ н пѧсѧтѧоуѧчѧтѧ; L11 τοῦ παραδείσου ἡ τρυφή ποροдѧнѧтѧн ρѧн; L21 ἐντρέπομαι сѧмѧиѧтѧтѧ сѧ н сѧтѧдѧтѧтѧ сѧ, κρίνομαι ρѧзоуѧмѧѧѧтѧтѧ сѧ н ρѧсѧждѧтѧтѧ; L33 ἐκὼν лювоѧѧѧ н хоуѧѧннѧѧѧ; L35 δίκη отѧсѧждєннѧ н казѧнѧ, ὠφελέω пользѧѧ сѧтѧѧорѧнѧтѧ н оуѧтѧѧѧ; L37 καρῆβαρία пѧжѧкѧголавнѧ рєкѧтѧшѧ шоуѧмѧнѧсѧтѧѧ⁵⁶. Without a thorough study, it is impossible to determine the origin of each double translation and its possible implications about the identity of the translator(s).

Conclusions

The Old Church Slavonic translations of John Chrysostom's *Commentaries on Acts*, which were included into the early 10th-century collection *Zlatostruy*, have many features in common suggesting that they were translated together, possibly by one or two translators (since some of the homilies radically deviate from the available Greek texts) in the literary circle around the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon (893–927). One of the traits they share is the frequent use of double translations. The study shows that doublets can be viewed both as a manifestation of rigorous

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 601, no. 16; *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského...* (s.v. радѧннѧ).

⁵² J. REINHART, *Une figure stylistique...*, p. 601, no. 7.

⁵³ Cf. *V.Ch.* διαβάλλω ποτѧзаѧтѧ рєкѧтѧшѧ клеветѧтѧтѧ, E. HANSACK, *Zum Übersetzungsstil...*, p. 147, as well as S22 οἱ σκανδαλιζόμενοι ποτѧзаѧѧщѧнѧ н влѧзѧнѧщѧнѧ сѧ.

⁵⁴ Cf. *V.Ch.* αἵρεσις ѧрєсѧ рєкѧтѧшѧ зѧловѧрѧнѧ, E. HANSACK, *Zum Übersetzungsstil...*, p. 141.

⁵⁵ Cf. L41 χαλκοτύπος зѧдѧтѧрѧ н крѧѧннѧ, mentioned above.

⁵⁶ Some additional examples and commentary on the extensive and interesting vocabulary of the collection see in: A. ДИМИТРѧѧ, *Златѧстѧуѧтѧ...*, p. 81–444.

principles of literal translation and as a stylistic device aiming at synonymity and linguistic variety. On the one hand, they are a distinctive feature that defines the translator's style and sets one group of texts apart from other Old Church Slavonic translations. On the other hand, the use of double translations in many different texts makes them part of a large and complex network of medieval intertextuality.

Double translations in the Old Church Slavonic translation of Chrysostom's homilies on Acts (List)

- ἀγρός – хлѣбъць нли село L41
 ἀδόκιμος – неискочьнь н неславьнь S22
 αἰτία – внигы нмѣти н отвѣщати S22
 ἀκίνδυνος – безъ бѣды н безъ казни да бы сѧ не боиати S22
 ἀκτίνες ἡλιακαί – свѣтлове слъньца сего н логъѧ S22
 ἀλγέω – жалити н болиети L86
 ἀλογηθέω (ἀλογηθεῖς) – оумлъвати н оуспрамити сѧ L88
 ἄλογον – конь нли скотъ ннъ L12
 ἄμοιρος – поганъ не приимъ дара того L102
 ἀναπίπτω – обоумрѣти (н) отънемоши L41
 ἀναπνέω – отъдъхнѣти н оустоудити сѧ L41
 ἀνιάτος – бѣда н болиезнь L86
 ἀνίσταμαι, ἀνακτάομαι – възстати, възвестити сѧ н оукрѣпити сѧ самъ L104
 ἀπαζιώω – отмиетати н прѣбондѣти L88
 αὐθάδεια – велнynie н прѣзърѣниие (v.l. велнваниие н прѣзоръ) L41
 βασιλείος (βασιλεία) – полатъ н властеле L40 / въ полатъ къ владыкамъ S22
 βλασφημέω – нмiena кыдати н хоулити S22
 δάκνω – срьдыца досаши н прѣурѣниие сътворити S22 / cf. descriptive (δάκνομαι)
 како ли досажетъ срьдыца болиезнь L102
 δεινὰ πάσχω – велнко люто приѣти н въ велнкъ бѣдъ въпастн L104
 διαλέγομαι – оуыити н бесѣдовати L86
 διανίστημι – възвоудити н възставити L41
 δόκιμος – искочьнь н славьнь S22
 ἐκκλησία – цркы рекъше съборъ L41
 ἐντίθημι – наоуыити н наказыати L12
 ἐξίστημι – възвѣстити н испитити (оума) L90 / (οἱ ἐξεστηκότες) оумъ погубивъын
 н напрасьно оужасѧ сѧ S22
 ἐπιθυμέω – желѣти н жадати S22
 ἐπιθυμία – желаниие сановьное н жаданиие S22
 ἐπιμέλεια – потроуждениие н прѣлежаниие L12
 ἐπιτάττω – велѣти н стронити S22
 εὐδοκιμέω – славьнь н искочьнь быти L40

- ἡδονή – сласть и радость L86
 ἦθος – нравъ и обыван S22
 ἡσυχία – како ти въсе шогунтъ бес планца L41 / велнко мльваннне ѿстъ и тнхо
 въсе L90
 θρήνος (θρήνων) – слъзьнъин плауьнъин L41
 καθарός – везъ зазора и чнстъ L86
 καλός – добръ и сладъкъ S22
 καταλίπτω – оустъпатн и оубъиватн L86
 καταφρονέω – прѣвондѣтн и невѣщи L90
 κατηγορέω – на нъи глаголатн и осъждатн L12
 каторθόω (οἱ каторθοῦντες) – добръи и прѣмъи L40
 κραυγή – клнчь (v.l. плнщъ) и млтѣжъ L90
 κρίσις – зазнратн и сжднтн S22
 λόγος – оумъ и мгысль L12
 λύω – съказатн и раздрѣшнтн L40
 μακρόθυμος – кротъкъ и тръпѣливъ L90
 νόμος – оуставъ и строн / законъ и строн L12
 ξένος – ннщъ и страннъ L88
 παννυχίς – вѣстаннне и молнтва L41 / ношннъ стражеитъ бога молаше S22
 παραινέω – оунтн и проущатн на добро L86
 πενθέω – жалнтн и плакатн сж L86
 πενία – оубожество и нищета L40
 πρόνοια – певаль и трогдъ L41 / промгысль и строн L40
 προσκυνέω – кланятн сж и молнтн сж L88
 προστασία – строеннне и попененнне чадннъ S22
 ῥαθυμία – лѣнность и слабость L102
 σήλω (ἐν οἴκῳ πελονηκότι, v.l. σεσηπότι)– оутъль и гннлъ L102
 σιγάω – мльватн и не бесѣдоватн ннчьсоже S22
 σιγή – мльваннне и шогваннне L41
 σκανδαλίξειν – прѣвѣрѣнннѣ творнтн и блазнъ / зъло срьдъцоу бгытн и блазнъ
 / (οἱ σκανδαλιζόμενοι) потъзайжцен и блазнашцен сж S22
 σκοπέω – съмотрѣтн и блкстн L12
 σκυθρωπός – драхлъ и скръбьнъ L86
 σπουδή – тъщаннне и врьтѣннне S22
 στενωπός – стъгна и дворъ L41
 συναλίζομαι – пастн и пнтн L102
 σφριγάω – юнъ и тогънъ бгытн L12
 σφῦρα – млатъ кладнео L41
 σχίζω – раздратн сж и раздѣлнтн L86
 σωφρονίζομαι – вѣстѣгнжтн сж и наказатн сж L90
 τέρπω – краснтн и глогмнтн L12
 τιμωρία – казнъ и мжка S22

- τραχύς – бѣситръ и тѣжѣкъ S22
 τρυφήλος – пнръ твора и пнтаѣа L41
 ὕβρις – ховѣнь и недовръ S22
 ὑμνέω – молнтн и хвалнтн L41
 φαῦλος – слабѣ или сквернь L40
 φιλόανθρωπος – ѡловѣколюбѣць и мнлостнѣвѣ L42
 φίλος – лювнмѣ и другѣ L102
 φιλοσοφία – крѣпостѣ и сѣмѣслѣ L12
 φιλόσοφος – сѣмѣслѣнь или вѣздръжа сѣ / крѣпѣ(кѣ) и вѣздръжа сѣ L12
 φοβερός – грѣдѣ и стращѣнь L86
 χαλκοτύπος – златарѣ и крѣвнн L41
 ψυχή – доуша и оумѣ L41, S22 (*bis*), L90 / доуша и жтровоѣ L86

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Abstract. The Old Church Slavonic translation of John Chrysostom's commentaries on *Acts of the Apostles* (CPG 4426) is attested in 18 *ethica* and fragments included in the Old Bulgarian collection *Zlatostruy* from the early 10th-century Preslav. The Slavonic homilies have many peculiarities in common suggesting that they were translated together presumably by one translator. One of their common features is the frequent use of double translations (*Doppelübersetzungen*). In the article nearly half of the 90 examples in 10 homilies are examined and divided into four groups – proper double translations, complementary double translations, synonyms, and contextual synonyms. The study shows that in several cases the Slavonic translation is notably consistent and repetitive, but more often it aims at variety and clarity. The examples from the *Zlatostruy* homilies on *Acts* are compared to other Old Church Slavonic translations (e.g. to the works of John the Exarch and to other homilies from *Zlatostruy*), but the similarities are not sufficient for identifying the anonymous translator(s). The use of doublets in the examined texts is viewed both as a linguistic device for a faithful translation and as a stylistic feature typical for the translator of these homilies. However, this phenomenon is attested in many other medieval literary traditions, which makes the *Zlatostruy* homilies part of a larger textual tradition.


Keywords: double translations, John Chrysostom, Old Church Slavonic translations from Greek, *Zlatostruy*, homilies on *Acts*, Preslav literary school.

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ON THE ORIGINS OF KOMITATS IN THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE

We do not know when exactly Khan Kroum assumed power (circa 796–814), but at the beginning of his reign he found a stabilized Bulgarian state. The newly created situation also involved a change in the internal organization of the country. Khan Kroum introduced new legislation¹ binding on all subjects of the state, which came to replace the former tribal law². This was accompanied by the administration of the newly conquered Byzantine territories, which is well illustrated by the Hambarli inscription³. Apparently, the whole state needed new administration, and that was going to be the *komitats*⁴. The earliest reliable account of the division of the Bulgarian state into komitats (ten in number) is provided by Hincmar for the year 866⁵. It is within the time frame between the carving of the Hambarli inscription and Hincmar's account that the emergence of komitats on Bulgarian territory must be sought.

In his classic *Istoriya na Balgarskata Darzhava prez Srednite Vekove* [*History of the Bulgarian State in the Middle Ages*], Vassil Zlatarski mentions only in passing the existence of komitats when discussing the revolt of the boyars after the conversion to Christianity⁶. Further on, in relation to the coming of the Komitopuli (Cometopuli)⁷ dynasty to the political scene, he elaborates at length on the

¹ *Suidae Lexicon*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, p. 310.

² И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, София 1999, p. 140; М. АНДРЕЕВ, Ф. МИЛКОВА, *История на българската феодална държава и право*, София 1993, p. 27–29; Ф. МИЛКОВА, *Законодателството на хан Крум*, [in:] *България 1300. Институции и държавна традиция*, vol. II, ed. Е. БУЖАШКИ, София 1982, p. 242.

³ В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи*, ²София 1992, p. 186–193.

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⁵ *Annales Bertiniani*, [in:] *FLHB*, vol. II, p. 287.

⁶ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I, *Първо българско царство*, pars 2, *От славянизацията на държавата до падането на Първото царство*, София 1927 [repr. 1994], p. 45, 51.

⁷ The name of the *Komitopuli* dynasty and the term *komit* (pl. *komiti*) have been rendered in the text in their native Bulgarian spellings in order to highlight their common origin.

problem of the origin of the name Komitopuli. Examining the context in which it was used, he assumes that the lexeme was not used in its Byzantine meaning⁸, but was derived from the Old Slavic word *кѣмѣтъ* meaning 'a distinguished, illustrious person who held a prominent place in society and hence in the army'⁹.

It was not until the 1970s that the problem of the internal organization of the First Bulgarian Empire attracted greater interest and started to be investigated as the subject of research studies. Thus, in his monograph *Srednovekovnata Balgarska Darzhava: uredba, harakteristika, otnosheniya sas sasednite narodi* [*The Medieval Bulgarian State: Organization, Characteristics, Relations with Neighbouring Peoples*], Hristo Kolarov addressed the problem of komitats alongside the problems of the governance of the state and its representatives and structures. In his view the internal reformation of the state was initiated by Kroum, but it was really fulfilled by Omurtag and his heirs to the throne¹⁰. The reform involved the division of the country into districts called *komitats* which were entrusted to *komiti*¹¹ who were appointed by the ruler to carry out the administrative and civil governance, while their most superior military leaders were the *tarkans*. Although for Hristo Kolarov the exact number of the komitats cannot be established, he nevertheless specifies the existence of the following komitats: Danube–Tisa, Belgrade, Branichevo, Vidin, Sredets, Devol, Drastar (Дръстъръ), Dnieper etc. According to this author, *like a wreath, they surrounded the Bulgarian lands in Moesia and Thrace – which were set apart in a main, autonomous unit known by the name 'the Centre' or 'the Inner District'*. The komitats functioned both as administrative districts and as *border barriers that were the first to come under enemy attacks, and only if they could not repulse them using their own forces, the central army went into action*¹².

The first to come up with a specific suggestion concerning the time of emergence and nature of the komitats was the great Polish medievalist Tadeusz Wasilewski¹³. In his view the Bulgarian komitats came into existence simultaneously with the Christianization of the state, and what was mentioned in *Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum* as *non bonam vos eis legem* applies to this new administrative division rather than to the limitations imposed by Christianity¹⁴. He believes that the territories of the komitats coincided with the territories of the corresponding ecclesiastical dioceses, indirect evidence for which he finds in some hagiographical texts, but he does not specify them. In this way, the ecclesiastical

⁸ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, р. 634.

⁹ *Ibidem*, р. 635.

¹⁰ Хр. КОЛАРОВ, *Средновековната българска държава (уредба, характеристика, отношения със съседните народи)*, Велико Търново 1977, р. 7–8.

¹¹ On the spelling of the term *komit* (pl. *komiti*) see note 7 above.

¹² Хр. КОЛАРОВ, *Средновековната българска държава...*, р. 8.

¹³ T. WASILEWSKI, *Origine de l'organisation administrative des "comitates" en Bulgarie medievale*, EB 14, 1, 1978, р. 84–88.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, р. 85.

organization was superimposed on political culture, and this was a characteristic feature not only of the Bulgarian state¹⁵. This in turn, according to Wasilewski, makes it possible to establish the number of *komitats*, which corresponded to the number of dioceses¹⁶. For him the model of *komitats* can be sought in the neighbouring regions situated on the periphery of the Kingdom of the Franks – the Duchy of Bavaria, Carantania and the Duchy of Friuli¹⁷.

Coinciding with Wasilewski, in Bulgaria Ivan Venedikov was the first to bring the question of the military and administrative organization of the early medieval Bulgarian state to the forefront¹⁸. According to Venedikov, the *Komitat* of Sredets was the first that was established. Following a line of reasoning based on indirect evidence, he arrived at the conclusion that it was set up by Khan Kroum and suggested that the title of *komit* was borne by the local Byzantine governor and was later on adopted by the Bulgarians and the new local governor¹⁹. Regarding the origin of the title, he points out several times that in Latin *komit* and *komitat* mean ‘count’ and ‘county’ respectively²⁰. Furthermore, Venedikov emphasizes the fact that the late Roman title *comes* (pl. *comites*) was also kept in Byzantium where the title *κόμης* was borne by the military head of the Theme of Opsikion (*κόμης τοῦ Ὀψικίου*) and of the one of South Italy and Sicily, stressing the point that a large number of Balkan Slavs were settled in the Theme of Opsikion at the end of the 7th century. And while for Venedikov the use of this title is easily explicable about Latin-speaking Italy, this is not the case about the interior of Byzantium where the Theme of Opsikion was situated. He tries to offer an explanation which, however, he himself finds not satisfactory: that the word was probably also used in the old province of Thrace where the Slavs who were settled in Opsikion hailed from. Thus he assumes that the title was of Byzantine origin²¹, but notes that in inscriptions instead of *κόμης*, the word in nominative is spelled *κόμητος*²².

Regarding the problems of centralism and regionalism in the First Bulgarian Empire, Georgi Nikolov also directs his attention to some problems related to *komitats*. He notes that *komit* was one of the few Byzantine titles which found their way into and were established in the Bulgarian administrative system during the 9th–10th centuries²³, with the new administration of the Bulgarian lands beginning

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 86–87.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ И. ВЕНЕДИКОВ, *Военното и административното устройство на България през IX и X век*, София 1979.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 77–80, and especially p. 80.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 56, 65.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 65–66.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 66.

²³ Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Централизъм и регионализъм в ранносредновековна България (края на VII – началото на XI в.)*, София 2005, p. 89–90.

as early as the reign of Khan Kroum²⁴. Special mention must be made of his point that the komitats in some cases governed compact masses of non-Bulgarian population (meaning the Byzantine population resettled beyond the River Danube)²⁵.

A new, summarizing study on the problem of komitats appeared almost 30 years after Ivan Venedikov's piece of research. Entitled *Balgariya i Vizantiya. Voenna Administratsiya VII–IX v. [Bulgaria and Byzantium: 7th–9th Centuries Military Administration]*, Zhivko Zhekov's monograph focuses particularly on komitats. He assumes that the earliest evidence (although dated ambiguously) giving information about the existence of komitats in the Bulgarian state is the one about the Byzantine captives settled in 'Bulgaria beyond the Danube' and their revolt against the local authorities headed by a κόμης²⁶. Based on this assumption, the author tries to date this first mention and hence the emergence of komitats in early medieval Bulgaria. Doubting the reliability of the information about the Bulgarian rulers Vladimir and Michael the Bulgarian mentioned there, Zhekov relies on the other ruler mentioned – the Byzantine Emperor Theophilos (813–842), and dates the event to the first years of Khan Presian's reign²⁷. Basing his analysis on this piece of information and examining retrospectively the events and the Bulgarian rulers who reigned during the period, he reaches the conclusion that the emergence of komitats should be dated to the reign of Khan Omurtag (814–831)²⁸. The author finds evidence in support of his argument in the uprising of the Timocians²⁹, citing the setting up of komitats as the reason (and cause) for their breaking away³⁰, while he believes the term *rectores* in *Annales regni Francorum* is to be understood as *komeses*³¹. According to Zhekov, the fact that Hincmar mentioned ten komitats does not mean that they had all been established simultaneously, but it was apparently a gradual process³². Venedikov's thesis that the first komitat to

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 90.

²⁶ *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, [in:] FGHB, vol. V, p. 156–157; *Pseudo-Symeonis Chronographia*, [in:] FGHB, vol. V, p. 172; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS, [in:] FGHB, vol. VI, p. 136–137. Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия. Военна администрация VII–IX в.*, София 2007, p. 255–256. One should bear in mind that this particular evidence comes from the works of historians from the circle of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos which provide no credible evidence about the Bulgarians: the information about them is severely distorted and of legendary character. Cf., e.g., the unidentifiable Μιχαήλ Βουλγάρου mentioned in the same passage. *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, p. 156.

²⁷ Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 256.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 256–257.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 257.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 258.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 258, 259, 260. Further in the text, probably under the influence of the use of *komes* in the piece of information under consideration in Leo the Grammarian about the Byzantines settled beyond the Danube, the author consistently calls komiti by the Greek term 'komeses'.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 257–258.

be established was that of Sredets is considered unfounded by Zhekov because of lack of evidence about any Byzantine *komeses* in the Balkans, while the other position of *komes* in the Byzantine army – a commander of a 150–400 strong unit – was a rank too low for a commander of such a strategically located city³³.

Zhekov advances the thesis that there was a direct relationship between the Bulgarian military activity in the north-east and the emergence of the first komitats. The Byzantines that were settled in the Bulgarian lands beyond the Danube, on the one hand, increased the population of these sparsely populated territories, while at the same time acting as a buffer against the Pechenegs and Magyars advancing from the east, but on the other hand, they also created problems, the most serious, according to Zhekov, being the spread of Christianity³⁴. The author's thesis is that setting up a komitat with the aim of controlling the Byzantines settled there and their loyalty to the state was one of the possible ways for the central authority to maintain control of these territories³⁵. For him this means that the establishing of such a komitat should be dated to before the beginning of the campaign towards the Dnieper during which the *kopan* Korsis perished³⁶, and also before the campaign against Thomas the Slav. In Zhekov's opinion, the campaign against Thomas the Slav required special preparations in the rear areas so that Bulgarian troops did not have to fight simultaneously on two fronts. Drawing attention to the fact that the uprising of Thomas began in 819–820, while Omurtag intervened in 823, the author accepts that Byzantium at that time could not be actively engaged in foreign politics and this was a suitable time for a military campaign in the north-east, the preparations for which also involved the setting up of this komitat³⁷. The preparations for the campaign against Thomas the Slav, so the argument goes, began with the building of the *aul* at the River Ticha serving as a base and starting point for the advance to the south. The building of this *aul*, according to the author, has been dated reasonably precisely to 821–822. For him this date can be accepted as *terminus ante quem* for organizing the komitat controlling the River Danube delta, that is, its establishment was in the period 818–821, and this komitat provided a model for the setting up of the next ones³⁸.

On the origins of komitats as a system Zhekov avoids taking a view, citing lack of concrete evidence in the sources about using the institutional models of neighbouring states. He makes a comparison with the possible sources of the model³⁹. With steppe empires (Turks, Avars and Khazars) his research does not reveal

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 260–261.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 261–264.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 264.

³⁶ Cf. В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи...*, p. 227–229 (no. 59).

³⁷ Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 264.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 264.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 279.

any points of contact⁴⁰. The relation of komitats to the Frankish counties because of possible Latin origin of the word *komit* is considered unlikely, an observation further supported by the differences in the way of life of the leading ethnic elements in the two states, Proto-Bulgarians and Franks – nomads and settled population respectively, and the almost non-existent contacts between the two states before the reign of Khan Omurtag⁴¹. Byzantine influence, in particular the theme system, is found in the principles that were applied – the stationing of military units in komitats, but also considered are the big differences in the komiti's functions compared to the ones of the theme strategoi⁴².

In her summarizing monograph on the early medieval Bulgarian ruler and the state administration of the First Bulgarian Empire, Tatiana Slavova notes at the very beginning of the review of the available information on komiti that this was 'certainly a Greek title', and already in the title of the paragraph designates it as κόμης⁴³. A comprehensive review of all the mentions of komiti known from sources is done⁴⁴, and using the descriptions of their functions according to the texts, an attempt is made to define the nature of their duties in the early medieval Bulgarian state. This review, however, shows that the author confuses the functions of the *komes* as governor of a district with those of the *komes* as commander of a band in the Byzantine army⁴⁵. A survey on the uses of the lexeme in Old Bulgarian translated texts in its variant forms *комисъ*, *комини*, *комитъ*, mostly in the hagiographical literature, indicates that it was mainly a substitute for prefect of a province from the original texts, while the rendering of *patrikios* as *комисъ*, and on one occasion even as *къназъ*, is further proof of the title's high status⁴⁶, completely ruling out the possibility considered by Zlatarski of it being synonymous with *къметъ*⁴⁷.

Summarizing the leading views on the origin of komitats presented here – those of Kolarov, Wasilewski, Venedikov and Zhekov, a number of flaws become evident. This points to the conclusion that the topic cannot be considered exhausted and there are many questions about the internal division of the early medieval Bulgarian state that have not been answered and need to be dealt with. It is for this reason that attention should be paid to the flaws in their theories, after which another hypothesis about the emergence of the system of komitats on the territory of the First Bulgarian Empire will be proposed.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 280–281.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 281.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 282.

⁴³ Т. СЛАВОВА, *Владетел и администрация в ранносредновековна България. Филологически аспекти*, София 2010, p. 153.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 155.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 156–157.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 157–158.

⁴⁷ On the origin and meaning of *къметъ*, see Р. СТАНКОВ, *О лексических моравизмах в древних славянских рукописях*, [in:] ПКШ, vol. IX, p. 40–41.

Clearly discernible in Venedikov's theory is the internal contradiction which troubled him when offering an explanation as to where the system of komitats in the early medieval Bulgarian state could have been borrowed from. On the one hand, perfectly evident to him is its relation to the Western European title count and hence the territory a count governed – county; on the other hand, he also puts forward an explanation he finds not satisfactory, and one which is quite indirect, about its relation to the Slavs from the Theme of Thrace settled in Opsikion – the only theme on the territory of Byzantium where the title *komes* was used. At the same time, the author strongly emphasizes a contradiction: in Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions the word is always spelled κόμητος in nominative, not κόμης as was the variant form used at that time in Byzantium. A later article provides an overview of the issues of the administrative organization of the First Bulgarian Empire in which the author ignores this contradiction, only stressing the correspondence between *komit* and the Latin for *count*⁴⁸. The article makes no mention of the fact that the first komitat to be established on the territory of early medieval Bulgaria was that of Sredets, so it can be assumed that the author has reconsidered his view on this point, too. He now discusses the gradual incorporation of new territories into the Bulgarian state in the following order: the lands between the Danube and The Carpathians; the lands between the Danube and Syrmia (Srem) along with the lands along the Struma; then with Khan Presian also the lands along the upper and middle reaches of the River Vardar etc.⁴⁹ One should also consider here the reasons given by Zhekov against the possibility that the Komitat of Sredets could have been the first komitat established on Bulgarian territory, citing lack of evidence about any Byzantine *komeses* in the Balkans, while the other position of *komes* in the army was a rank too low for a commander of such a strategically located city⁵⁰.

Many more are the ambiguities and contradictions noticeable in Zhekov's thesis. His thesis is based on a rather confused piece of information found in Leo the Grammarian and Georgius Monachus Continuatus about Byzantine captives moved and settled in 'Bulgaria beyond the Danube' and their flight from there at the time of the Bulgarian ruler Βαλδῖμερ⁵¹. Although Zhekov makes an effort to date this information relying on the Byzantine Emperor Theophilos (813–842) mentioned there, it nevertheless remains not clearly located in time. Furthermore, a detail which was only discussed by Venedikov, but Zhekov has overlooked, deserves attention. It concerns the title which the local ruler in question had. It is κόμης⁵², not κόμητος as was the traditional form – in Bulgarian context – of the

⁴⁸ Ив. ВЕНЕДИКОВ, *Административна уредба на Първата българска държава*, [in:] *България 1300. Институции и държавна традиция*, vol. I, ed. Ев. БУЖАШКИ, София 1981, p. 149.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 260–261.

⁵¹ *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, p. 156–157; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS, p. 136–137. Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 255–256.

⁵² *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, p. 156; GEORGIUS MONACHUS CONTINUATUS, p. 136.

word denoting the governor of a komitat in the early medieval Bulgarian state. Going back to the two meanings of the title in Byzantine context, a governor of a theme (as an exception), and a commander of a band, it should be noted that in its second meaning, that of a low-ranking military officer, the title was not unfamiliar during the period in question on the territory of the Balkan Peninsula, and specifically to the Bulgarians. A good illustration of the fact that the Bulgarians were aware of its meaning is provided by the use of κόμης in Khan Omurtag's inscription of Syuleymankyoy, which preserved some of the clauses of the Byzantine-Bulgarian 30-year peace treaty⁵³. In the clause on the exchange of prisoners of war in this treaty, *komeses* are listed in the third place after *tourmarchoi* and *spatharioi*⁵⁴. The order in which they are mentioned proves beyond doubt that what was meant in this particular case was commanders of bands, and thus it is quite impossible to accept κόμης as a prototype of such a high-ranking position as *komit* was with the Bulgarians. Careful analysis of the context of the episode under consideration described by Leo the Grammarian and Georgius Monachus Continuatus does not allow to establish with any certainty which of the two uses of the title was specifically meant.

The search for indirect ways of determining the precise date of the emergence of what Zhekov believes was the first komitat of the early medieval Bulgarian state also reveals several weak points. His thesis is grounded in the idea that there was a connection between the Bulgarian activity in the north-east and the emergence of the first komitats. This is the perspective from which the author also sees the settling of Byzantines in the sparsely populated territories to the north-east of the River Danube delta – to act as a buffer against the surging waves of steppe peoples, in this particular case Pechenegs and Magyars. At the same time, they are viewed by him as causing problems, the most serious, according to him, being the spread of Christianity. It is hard to believe that Christianity in itself would be so dangerous in such a half-savage, heavily barbarian environment! Applying the same logic, although not being Christians, much more dangerous to Bulgaria (and to Byzantium as well) were the unconverted steppe tribes. It was not by chance that the Byzantines in question were settled opposite them. Moving population from newly conquered or rebel territories to other places with the aim of establishing buffers was a widely used method which is well known from the history of the Byzantine Empire⁵⁵. It was on this method tested by the neighbouring country that

⁵³ В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи...*, p. 164–166 (no. 41).

⁵⁴ In the Greek text (p. 164) the title is in the form κομίτο[v] because of the objective case. My sincere thanks go to doctoral student Simeon Antonov for his help while working with the Greek texts.

⁵⁵ E.g., the migration of the Mardaites (686–687) and the Slavs to Opsikion (688) during the reign of Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) – THEOPHANES CONFESSOR, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. III, p. 265; Ю.А. КУЛАКОВСКИЙ, *История Византии*, vol. III, (602–717 гг.), Киев 1915, p. 255–256. For a study summarizing migration during the reign of Justinian II, see Г. ОСТРОГОРСКИ, *История на Византийската държава*, trans. Ил. СЛАВОВА, София [s.a.], p. 192–194.

the Bulgarian policy to resettle the Byzantine prisoners of war in the 9th century in such buffer territories was based. The danger in this particular case was not the spread of Christianity, but the contact of the Byzantines of 'Bulgaria beyond the Danube' with the central Byzantine authority. In this way, they became potential enemies in the rear of the central Bulgarian authority. Thus, it was not the setting up of a hypothetical *komitat* that would have helped establish fuller control over the Byzantines resettled in the interior, but rather preventing their communication with Byzantium.

The setting up of this *komitat* is dated by Zhekov to before the Bulgarian campaign towards the River Dnieper during which the kopan Korsis perished, and before the campaign against Thomas the Slav⁵⁶. Viewing the two conflicts as inter-related and proceeding from the principle that a state should not wage war simultaneously on two fronts, he reaches the conclusion that the most suitable time for the campaign in the north-east towards the Dnieper and the setting up of the first *komitat* (in his terminology, the north-eastern one) was the period between 818 and 821. This conclusion can only be accepted in half. With the situation described, the proposed period would have been the most suitable for conducting a military campaign towards the Khazar Khaganate, but it might have had different aims and not necessarily required long preparations if dictated by unforeseen circumstances⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ The years of the beginning of the uprising of Thomas the Slav given by Zhekov and quoted above, 819–820, are misleading as even the specific date of its beginning is well known. The revolt began immediately after the assassination of Leo V the Armenian (813–820) during the Christmas service (see С.Б. ДАШКОВ, *Императоры Византии*, Москва 1996, p. 149) when Thomas did not recognize the newly proclaimed Emperor Michael II (820–829), and the proper beginning of the uprising itself was in the spring of 821 on the border with the Abbasid caliphate (J.B. BURY, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802–867)*, London 1912, p. 86–87), that is, it began at least a year later than the date given by the author. It is unlikely that for the mounting of a surprise attack on Thomas the Slav, who was besieging Constantinople, it was necessary for a static fort to be built which would have remained far in the rear of the Bulgarian troops during possible military operations deep into Byzantine territory. Its building would have taken up considerable time and resources, which would in no way have contributed to a surprise attack. Besides, in the Chatalar inscription itself, celebrating the building of a 'small *aul*' (on the problem of the identification of this 'small *aul*', see В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи...*, p. 222–224) there is no mention of it having been built as a starting point for a military campaign, and such an important fact in view of the political situation of the time would have hardly been omitted. The expression in the inscription...*to trample well the emperor underfoot...* is part of a well-known Byzantine practice of acclamation of Eastern (Sasanian) origin (В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи...*, p. 82–83, 220–221) and should hardly be associated with any particular events.

⁵⁷ On the question of the reasons for the Bulgarian campaign towards the River Dnieper, see Н. ХРИСИМОВ, *Българската държавност в старата Родина (VII–XI в.): така наречената Черна България*, [in:] *Българска национална история*, vol. II, *Древните българи. Стара Велика България*, ed. Пл. ПАВЛОВ, Велико Търново 2013, p. 288–290.

We cannot cite any instances where important state reforms were introduced before a military campaign, still less when the result of the campaign would have been difficult to predict. This is even more so with such an ‘experiment’ concerning elements disloyal to the state as the Byzantine settlers were, and when the result their activity would produce would have been known very well in advance. It is much more plausible and as a matter of course that reforms be introduced after a military campaign or social upheaval in the country. Regardless of their result, there would be certain lessons learned that could provide a basis for the necessary changes (reforms) to be brought about. This is how the adopting of Khan Kroum’s laws is presented in the *Suda* – after the successful campaign against the Avars and the Bulgarian ruler’s discourse with the Avar aristocrats⁵⁸. And while this piece of information about Khan Kroum might sometimes be considered legendary, the information about the processes of setting up the theme system in Byzantium, which contributed to its survival after the Arab expansion and was preserved in a sustainable way until the 11th century, by no means can be defined as legendary⁵⁹. Such should have also been the situation in the case of the emergence of komitats in early medieval Bulgaria. With the inconsistencies demonstrated and arguments presented above, the thesis about the emergence of komitats in the period between 818 and 821 in the Bulgarian north-east cannot be considered acceptable.

Before we explore another possibility of borrowing the system of komitats, it is necessary to turn our attention to the condition of the Bulgarian state and the geopolitical situation in which it was placed at the end of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century. This was partly done at the beginning of the presentation, but the matter needs to be further examined as, to a large extent, it would provide the direction in which it is possible to seek any possible analogies with the administrative division that functioned in the First Bulgarian Empire from the 9th century to its very demise, one that has achieved great fame due to the name of its last royal dynasty – that of the Komitopuli. Besides the internal stability achieved, Bulgaria began to pursue expansionist policy, with its first major territorial acquisitions being to the north-west at the expense of the Avar Khaganate towards the middle reaches of the River Danube and Transylvania. This expansion subsequently also continued to the west and south-east at the expense of Byzantine territories⁶⁰. As a result of this more than two-fold expansion, on the territory of the Bulgarian state lived a large number of tribal and ethnic groups – that is, the state became multiethnic in character. Until that moment all those tribal and ethnic groups that

⁵⁸ *Suidae Lexicon*, p. 310; *Suda Online* <<http://www.stoa.org/sol/>> Headword: Βούλγαροι Adler number: beta, 423 [15 VIII 2018].

⁵⁹ Ж. Жеков, *България и Византия...*, p. 186–208 and the bibliography given there.

⁶⁰ See П. КОЛЕДАРОВ, *Политическа география на средновековната българска държава*, vol. I, (679–1018), София 1979, p. 32–33.

inhabited the Bulgarian territory settled the lawsuits and disputes between them according to the traditional law, and the Byzantines observed the Christian laws. With the aim of eliminating these differences, Khan Kroum introduced state legislation binding on all subjects of the state⁶¹. At the same time, for the first time Bulgaria was placed in a situation of having immediate neighbours, as before that there had been buffer territories between her and her neighbours⁶². These new neighbours included Byzantium, and later also the state of the Franks, Serbian principalities, Great Moravia, Croatia and others. The next step in the country's internal politics, which was not carried out by Khan Kroum, was the issue of the administration of its dramatically increased territory. In summary, the factors that determined the emergence of the new internal administration of Bulgaria were both internal and external, and should not be considered separately by any means, but comprehensively.

With this situation in view, we must look again at those neighbours of Bulgaria which she considered rivals at that time – Byzantium and the Frankish Empire. In the two states, the issue of their internal division and government was decided in two radically different ways. In Byzantium, the introducing of the theme

⁶¹ See note 56.

⁶² This was the situation with Byzantium until the second half of the 8th century when Bulgaria's southern neighbour began to gradually regain its territories in Thrace (see К. СТАНЕВ, *Тракия в Ранното Средновековие*, Велико Търново 2012, p. 86–109), and if we take into account the Stara Planina factor (see П. МУТАФЧИЕВ, *Балканът в нашата история*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Книга за българите*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, София 1987, p. 65–89; К. МАРИНОВ, *Планинската верига Хемус и българската политическа граница през ранносредновековния период (Общ поглед)*, [in:] *Балканите – език, история, култура*, vol. IV, *Материали от Четвъртата международна научна конференция „Балканите – език, история, култура“*, Велико Търново, 18–20 октомври 2013 г., ed. Кр. МУТАФОВА, Велико Търново 2015, p. 105–120; ИДЕМ, *Стратегическата роля на Старопланинската и Средногорската вериги в светлината на българо-византийските военни сблъсъци през VII–XI век*, ИРИМГ 2, 2014, p. 111–134; ИДЕМ, *The Haemus Mountains and the Geopolitics of the First Bulgarian Empire: An Overview*, ЗРВИ 51, 2014, p. 17–32; ИДЕМ, *В дербите на Хемус (За някои страни в ролята на планината през периода VII–IX в.)*, Pbg 37, 4, 2013, p. 60–73; ИДЕМ, *Góry Hemos jako miejsce schronienia, baza wypadowa i punkt obserwacyjny w świetle bułgarsko-bizantyńskich zmagaj zbrojnych okresu wczesnego średniowiecza*, BP 20, 2013, p. 5–17), Bulgaria had at that time, too, a buffer territory to the south. To the northeast, towards the Khazars, the territories between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper in the 8th century were not settled and acted as a buffer between the two states (see В. КОЗЛОВ, *Население степного междуречья Дуная и Днестра конца VIII – начала XI веков н.э.: балкано-дунайская культура*, Казань–Санкт-Петербург–Кишинев 2015; О.В. КОМАР, *Хозарський каганат у VIII–X ст.*, [in:] *Україна: хронологія розвитку. Давні слов'яни та Київська Русь*, vol. II, ed. П. ТОЛОЧКО, Г. ИВАКІН, О. МОЦЯ, Київ 2009, map on p. 119). To the northwest, towards the Avars, on the territory of the Central Balkans no evidence of habitation has been found dating from the 8th century (see I. BUGARSKI, M. RADIŠIĆ, *The Central Balkans in the Early Middle Ages: Archaeological Testimonies to Change*, [in:] *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art*, vol. I, *Process of Byzantinisation and Serbian Archaeology*, ed. V. ВІКІЇ, Belgrade 2016, p. 91–99), and to the north of the River Danube, the Carpathian Mountains acted as a wide natural buffer separating the Bulgarians from the Avars.

system, which formed the basis of its internal government, began as early as the 7th century. In the Frankish Empire, Charlemagne introduced a new territorial division – the marches. It is clearly evident from the comprehensive review of the theme system done by Zhekov that there were no points of contact with komitats in Bulgaria⁶³. The territorial division of the Frankish Empire – the marches as structure and principles of division, however, has remained outside of the main line of comparison and enquiry of the researchers exploring the issue. Therefore, they will be considered here in detail.

Marches as a phenomenon in the Frankish Empire emerged during Charlemagne's reign. The first three marches – those of Bretagne, Avar, and Spain, appeared during the last decade of the 8th and the first decade of the 9th century⁶⁴ and were sparsely inhabited regions surrounded by inhabited territories⁶⁵ combining a frontier and a boundary⁶⁶. Although first mentioned in 779 in the Capitulary of Herstal⁶⁷, the term remained of limited use during Charlemagne's reign⁶⁸. At first marches were set up in the border territories newly conquered by the Franks. The territory of each of them included several counties. The marches combined military and administrative functions⁶⁹. They were governed by margraves, but the latter term only came into existence as late as the 13th century, while before that *dux limitis*, *praefectus limitis* and *marchio* were used. In 838 was the first mention of *marchio* also in the sense of governor of such a district. The term *comes* or *comes et marchio* had the same meaning⁷⁰. In medieval Latin texts the title was spelled *comes*⁷¹, which was due to the overlapping of the functions of margrave and those of the late antique *comes civitatis*⁷².

⁶³ Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 186–218. The opinion expressed about some similarities with the theme system based on the coincidence that in both themes and komitats military forces were stationed is much too formal to be taken into account (see *ibidem*, p. 282).

⁶⁴ H. WOLFRAM, *The Creation of the Carolingian Frontier-System c. 800*, [in:] *Transformation of Frontier from Late Antiquity to Carolingians*, ed. W. POHL, I. WOOD, H. REIMITZ, Leiden–Boston 2001, p. 243.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 233.

⁶⁶ J.M.H. SMITH, *Fines Imperii: The Marches*, [in:] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II, c. 700–900, ed. R. McCORMICK, Cambridge 2008, p. 176–177. The linear type of boundary is close to the modern concept of 'boundary' sharply separating a territory from another. From this point of view, a march could be either the internal boundary of a border region or a clearly defined external boundary. The zonal frontier is of the buffer zone type, in which there are uninhabited or desert lands between the territories of two states.

⁶⁷ In its variant form *marka*, the term is of Proto-Germanic origin and means 'border land' (*LMA*, vol. VI, p. 300) or 'edge' (H. WOLFRAM, *The Creation...*, p. 233).

⁶⁸ It is worth noting that the term *marca* was used as a synonym for *limes*, *terminus* or *finis*. From the way it was used, it is evident that the term was closer in meaning to frontier zone rather than to boundary. See H. WOLFRAM, *The Creation...*, p. 234.

⁶⁹ *LMA*, vol. VI, p. 300–301.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁷¹ *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. VIII, *Macbeth – Mystery plays*, New York 1987, p. 133.

⁷² *LMA*, vol. III, p. 76, 78.

The march situated closest to Bulgarian territories – the Avar March, emerged after the incorporation of the lands of the Bavarian duke Tassilo III into the Frankish Empire in 788 and the setting up of the Bavarian march⁷³. The Franks thus became immediate neighbours with the Avars, and that same year they already had three serious military confrontations between them in the contact zones in the region of Friuli and Lower Austria⁷⁴. Regardless of the continuing confrontations and the special military commanders appointed in order to protect these territories from the Avars – Eric in Friuli, subordinate to Pepin, the King of the Lombards, and Gerold, Prefect of Bavaria, directly subordinate to the Frankish King, they remained subordinate to higher-ranking governors⁷⁵. According to C. Bowlus, after 799 (more likely after 803) Charlemagne sent a special margrave who was semi-independent from the Prefect of Bavaria⁷⁶. To H. Wolfram, *terminus ante quem* for the setting up of the Avar March is 817 and the issuing of the *Ordinatio imperii*⁷⁷, i.e. not later than that time it was functioning up to the north-western Bulgarian border, and after 826 was reorganized as a result of the Bulgarian invasion along the middle reaches of the Danube⁷⁸.

The ‘internal’ independence of margraves (*comes*), along with their being directly subordinate to the ruler, made marches viable as territorial and administrative units of the Frankish Empire. On the one hand, the margrave was close to the points of military conflict and could react swiftly to an assault or other activity, and when necessary he could be reinforced by troops sent from the central parts of the state. On the other hand, attempts at separatism on the part of any of the margraves could quickly be neutralized by the forces of the central authority. This made the ‘centre – periphery’ system constituted by the central part of the Frankish Empire and the marches extremely convenient to govern and viable as structure. Seen as a whole, the system of marches did not represent any novelty but used a well-functioning old model inherited by the Roman Empire, even though there was no direct continuity between the two states. That was the model of provinces in which there was one centre of the state (Rome and the Italic Peninsula) and provinces subordinate to it.

Coming back to *komitats*, we need to specify all that is known (or unknown) of them. To begin with, the earliest account where *komitats* are mentioned – that of Hincmar of 866, tells us of the existence of ten *komitats*. The known sources to date have not provided us with direct or indirect evidence about the

⁷³ H. WOLFRAM, *The Creation...*, p. 237–238.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 238.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 239–240; C.R. BOWLUS, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars: The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907*, Philadelphia 1995, p. 71.

⁷⁶ C.R. BOWLUS, *Franks...*, p. 71.

⁷⁷ H. WOLFRAM, *The Creation...*, p. 239–240.

⁷⁸ C.R. BOWLUS, *Franks...*, p. 90–113.

internal structure of komitats or about their centres. They are referred to as located along the west and north-eastern borders of the state.

What is known about komitats is mostly based on researchers' conclusions. Regarding their functions, authors take two polarized views. According to Zlatarski, they only had military functions⁷⁹, while Angelov takes the view that they were only civil governors⁸⁰. More recently, based on the presence and mentioning of *komiti* in Old Bulgarian texts, Slavova arrives at the conclusion that they carried out both military and civil functions⁸¹. Regarding the way they were appointed to their positions, there is a divergence of opinion between different scholars. For Zlatarski, starting from the assumption that *komit* was derived from *кѣмѣтъ*, they came from the local population in the komitat, were elected, and confirmed by the central authority, while others (of Proto-Bulgarian descent) were directly appointed by the ruler⁸². According to Angelov, however, their position was held by right of succession⁸³. The two views presented are either based on a position on the origin of the word taken a priori (Zlatarski), or (most likely) on evidence about events or persons from the second half of the 10th century, such as komit Nikola and the Komitopuli (Angelov).

The comparison with marches and their governors shows not a few correspondences. Worth noting also is the fact that the earliest mentions of komitats concern the north-western Bulgarian border, situated closest to the Franks. Based on the known evidence about the functions komitats served, it can be asserted confidently that they also performed, like the marches, the functions of a linear type of boundary and of a zonal frontier. And just like the marches, they brought (compulsorily) different ethnic groups [Slavic tribes, Byzantines, Avars (?) etc.] under a unified leadership appointed by the central state authority.

Similarities can also be observed between *komiti* and *marchio* (*comes*). Both the Frankish and Bulgarian governors performed both military and civil functions.

Despite these correspondences, the contacts between early medieval Bulgaria and the Frankish Empire/Kingdom may seem to have been quite recent if we take into account the prevailing opinion that they were only established during the second decade of the 9th century⁸⁴. Commonly ignored is, however, the information provided by Monachus Sangallensis about the conquering of the Avar seat of Hring by Pepin, Charlemagne's son in 796. He described how Charlemagne

⁷⁹ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ [гес.], Г. БАЛАСЧЕВ, *Новонайдениятъ надписъ отъ времето на царь Симеона...* – СЛУНК 15, 1898, p. 37.

⁸⁰ Д. АНГЕЛОВ, М. АНДРЕЕВ, *История на българската държава и право*, София 1972, p. 110; Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Комит*, [in:] *КМЕ*, vol. II, И-О, ed. П. ДИНЕКОВ, София 1995, p. 384.

⁸¹ Т. СЛАВОВА, *Владетел...* p. 156–157.

⁸² В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. I, pars 2, p. 636.

⁸³ Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Комит...*, p. 384.

⁸⁴ See V. GJUSELEV, *Bulgarisch-Fränkische beziehungen in der Ersten Hälfte des IX Jhs.*, BbG 2, 1966, p. 15–39; W. РОХЛ, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.*, München 2002, p. 327.

within eight years subdued [the Avars] in such a manner that he did not allow even small traces of them to remain. But the Bulgarians he left because after the destruction of the Huns it seemed to him they were not the least dangerous to the Frankish Kingdom⁸⁵. This evidence was already put into scholarly circulation by Zlatarski as further proof of the existence of a common border between Bulgaria and the Frankish Empire as early as after 805, during Khan Kroum's reign⁸⁶. Even if the thesis about such an early common border between the two states (as early as circa 796) is not accepted, one could hardly deny the possibility of contacts between the two states and even skirmishes between Bulgarian and Frankish detachments during the actions of annexing the territories of the Avar Khaganate by the two states and the division of the Avar legacy⁸⁷. It is precisely in these circumstances that the Bulgarians may have first acquainted themselves with the structure of the Frankish border districts – the marches, specifically, the closest to the newly acquired territories Avar March.

Later, in connection with the conflict about the Slavic tribes – the Timociani and others⁸⁸, along the western Bulgarian limits who broke away from Bulgarian authority, the two states maintained constant contact through emissaries⁸⁹. Reaching the year 827, after the failed attempt to find a diplomatic solution to the problem about these tribes which concerned both states, the Bulgarian side sent a military corps transported by ships along the River Drava. There the Bulgarian forces conquered with fire and sword the Slavs who lived in Pannonia, banished their princes and appointed Bulgarian governors (*expulsis eorum ducibus, Bulgaricos super eos rectores constituerunt*)⁹⁰.

Some scholars believe that the acts mentioned above can be seen as the appointing of local komiti on the part of the Bulgarian state⁹¹. The Bulgarian acts in Pannonia of replacing the local leaders with governors appointed by the central

⁸⁵ *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series (SS rer. Germ. N.S.)*, vol. XII, *Notkeri Balbuli, Gesta Karoli Imperatoris*, Berolini 1959, col. 51; MONACHUS SANGALLENSIS, [in:] *FLHB*, vol. II, p. 285.

⁸⁶ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. I, pars 2, p. 248.

⁸⁷ A similar view is held by Pl. Pavlov who believes that the Bulgarian intervention in this conflict was perceived as a hostile act by the Franks. See ПЛ. ПАВЛОВ, *Политическото наследство на Аварския хаганат и българските владетели (IX–XI в.)*, [in:] *ППИК*, vol. III, p. 59. On the Bulgarian participation in the division of the Avar legacy and the subjugation of the Avars by the Bulgarians, see note 56 above.

⁸⁸ R. RAU, *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, vol. I, *Die Reichsannalen. Einhard: Leben Karls des Großen. Zwei „Leben“ Ludwigs. Nithard: Geschichten*, Darmstadt 1968 [repr. 1987; = *AQDGM*, 5], p. 116–117; EINHARDUS, [in:] *FLHB*, vol. II, p. 35. The number and identification of the tribes, with the exception of the Timociani, pose a problem and will be the subject of another study by the author.

⁸⁹ See the years 824, 825, 826 in *Annales Regni Francorum*; R. RAU, *Quellen...*, p. 138–145; EINHARDUS, p. 36–38.

⁹⁰ R. RAU, *Quellen...*, p. 150–151; EINHARDUS, p. 38.

⁹¹ Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 258, 259, 260.

authority seem very similar to the Frankish way of appropriating newly conquered foreign (vassal) territories. In the same manner, after the conquest of the Kingdom of the Lombards, its last king Desiderius (756–774) was removed from power and Charlemagne assumed the title of *Rex Francorum et Langobardorum*. In addition, Charlemagne's son Pepin was given the lands of the former kingdom as possession and was bestowed the title of King of Italy⁹². The same process can also be observed in Bavaria where in 788 the last of the local dynasty Duke Tassilo III was dethroned and replaced with a prefect (margrave)⁹³.

This replacement of the local Slavic princes in Pannonia with governors appointed by the central authority can be assumed to have been the beginning of the adoption of the model of marches/komitats in early medieval Bulgaria. The course of action followed by the Bulgarian troops, the removal of the local tribal governors from power and their replacing with ones appointed by the central authority reveal even more similarities between the emergence of the first Bulgarian komitats proposed here and Frankish marches.

For further support for the advanced thesis we must go back to the correspondence noticed by Venedikov – that in Latin *komit* and *komitat* mean 'count' and 'county' respectively. Referring to the relevant Frankish official texts of the time, we only need to see *Annales Regni Francorum* by Einhard, which, for the year 826, describing the relations with the Bulgarians, mentions rumours that have spread that the Bulgarian ruler was dethroned or killed by one of his boyars, and further also about Bulgarian troops advancing towards the Frankish borders. In order to check whether the rumours were true towards the Pannonian border, which was the main point of contention in the Bulgarian-Frankish dispute, the count palatine Bertrich was sent to the counts in charge of the Avar March, Balderich and Gerold. The titles of the three are written in the Latin text as *comites*, as is the Latin spelling of the Bulgarian *komiti*⁹⁴.

The existence of komitats and komiti can be established along the western Bulgarian border (the events examined above), along the north-eastern border (the case of the flight of the Byzantine settlers in 'Bulgaria beyond the Danube'), while the most abundant evidence exist about the south-western territories of the state from the time of Prince Boris' reign to the second half of the 10th century⁹⁵. It is worth noting that no record of the presence of such officials or a komitat exists about the border most critically important with respect to conflicts – the south-eastern one, leading to the capital of Byzantium. On the one hand, this seems strange, but on the other, it might be that these were not established intentionally. It is most likely that immediately after they have been conquered, these territories

⁹² J.M.H. SMITH, *Fines Imperii...*, p. 170.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 170; H. WOLFRAM, *The Creation...*, p. 237.

⁹⁴ R. RAU, *Quellen...*, p. 144–145; EINHARDUS, p. 37–38.

⁹⁵ On the identification and location of the particular komiti see Т. СЛАВОВА, *Владетел...*, p. 156–157.

were made directly subordinate to the central authority in the Bulgarian state as they were fiercely disputed by the two neighbours. In this way, when circumstances dictated, the central authority was able to react swiftly and repel attacks from Byzantium⁹⁶. It is this direct subordination, although in a wartime situation, that is reflected in the Hambarli inscription⁹⁷, which tells us that the ruler's brother was appointed commander of the army's centre (and commanding the whole army), while the *kavhan* and the *ichirgu-boila* were subordinate to him⁹⁸. These territories were too close to the heart (the capital, whether Pliska or Preslav) of the Bulgarian state to be left to local governance, that is, for a komitat to be set up. With indirect governance (by means of a komitat) these territories became more vulnerable and more difficult to control. This accounts for the lack of evidence about komitats from Byzantine sources.

Directly related to the problem of komitats is also the problem about the oft-mentioned both in Byzantine⁹⁹ and Bulgarian¹⁰⁰ narratives and in Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions¹⁰¹ terms 'inside' and 'outside'. Alexander Gilferding was the first to turn his attention to the use of the concepts 'outside' and 'inside', relating them to the central district of the state and the border districts¹⁰². Zlatarski did not fail to notice these antipodes either, devoting them a special article in which he examined the correspondences between the appellations used when addressing part of the boyars in the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII and the use of the same terms in the *Miracle of Saint George with a Bulgarian*¹⁰³. According to his definition

⁹⁶ On the presence of Bulgarian garrisons along the Byzantine border manned by population resettled from the central parts of Bulgaria, see Б. БОРИСОВ, *До тук стига България (Бележки по хронологията и развитието на селищната мрежа в Южна България по времето на Първото българско царство)*, [in:] *Оттука започва България. Материали от втората национална конференция по история, археология и културен туризъм „Пътуване към България” – Шумен, 14–16.05.2010 година*, ed. Ив. ЙОРДАНОВ, Шумен 2011, p. 231–251; ИДЕМ, *Археологические свидетельства праболгарского присутствия на юге Балкан*, ПАРХ 2, 2, 2012, p. 50–65; ИДЕМ, *Археологически данни за българо-византийските отношения през Ранното средновековие от територията на днешна Южна България (VII – третата четвърт на X в.)*, Епо 26, 2, 2018, p. 373–382.

⁹⁷ В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи...*, p. 186–187.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 191.

⁹⁹ *Constantine Porphyrogenetos: The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. А.М.М. TALL, Leiden–Boston 2017 [= ВАus, 18], p. 681; *Constantini Porphyrogeniti III. De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, [in:] FGHB, vol. V, p. 222. The expression in which these terms occur is rendered in the English translation as *How are the rest of the boyars, both within [the court] and outside?*

¹⁰⁰ А. КАЛОЯНОВ, М. СПАСОВА, Т. МОЛЛОВ, „Сказание за железния кръст” и епохата на цар Симеон, Велико Търново 2007, p. 198; Я. ХРИСТОВ, *Щрихи към „Сказание за железния кръст”*, Благоевград 2012, p. 34–35.

¹⁰¹ See, e.g., В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи...*, p. 235–237 (nos. 65, 66).

¹⁰² А.Ф. ГИЛЬФЕРДИНГЪ, *Собрание сочинений*, vol. I, pars 1, *История сербовъ и болгаръ*, pars 2, *Кирилъ и Мефодий*, pars 3, *Обзоръ чешской истории*, Санктъ Петербургъ 1868, p. 28.

¹⁰³ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *Кои са били вътрешни и външни боляри?*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Избрани произведения*, vol. I, ed. П. ПЕТРОВ, София 1972, p. 298–312.

of the two terms, the 'Inner' Boyars were those who lived 'inside' the ruler's residence, while the 'Outer' Boyars were those who did not hold an office with the ruler, that is, did not hold a position of power, but lived 'outside' the centre of the state on estates of their own, always ready, however, to come to the state's aid¹⁰⁴. This problem is more thoroughly discussed by Venedikov. Examining the revolt of the boyars after the conversion to Christianity, based on Hincmar's account and the *Responsa Nicolai papae ad consulta Bulgarorum*, he arrives at the conclusion that the rebel forces came from the komitats. He also makes another important point – apparently, at that time the Bulgarian ruler had a large and powerful army at his disposal to resist the troops coming from the komitats, which, to him, offers proof of the existence of an inner district¹⁰⁵. Considering the evidence provided by Constantine Porphyrogenetos about the Inner and Outer Boyars, and making an allusion to Byzantium where Constantinople was 'inside', and the themes (provinces) were 'outside', he notes that some scholars assume that 'inside' Bulgaria is to be understood as the capital (Pliska, Preslav, or Ohrid), while 'outside' were the komitats. He also wonders why Gilferding understands 'outside' as border districts, since, in this case, 'inside' should not be understood as the capital, but as the inner district of the state. To Venedikov, this is in contradiction with the idea that Bulgaria was organized like Byzantium, but was rather like the Frankish state and its marches¹⁰⁶. Zhekov is skeptical about the existence of an inner district in the early medieval Bulgarian state, and thinks that the terms 'inside' and 'outside' used in Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions refer to whether the particular commander was killed within the limits of the state or outside it. He is similarly skeptical about the interpretation of the text of Constantine Porphyrogenetos¹⁰⁷.

It is evident from the views discussed above that there is a difference of opinion as to what is to be understood by 'inside' and 'outside' with regard to the early medieval Bulgarian state. If we assume that 'inside' was understood as the capital, this will imply a great concentration of power in the centre and a number of semi-independent aristocrats gravitating for various reasons towards the authority in the capital. More likely seems the possibility that 'inside' was the central district of the state, the nucleus around which the gradually expanding state was built, and around the state were the 'outer' districts. These districts 'outside' do not in the least rule out the possibility of their being the komitats (which Venedikov is unwilling to assume), which were territories incorporated additionally into the state also serving border-guarding functions. In this case too, the similarity with the Frankish state itself invites comparison. There, the traditionally used

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 309.

¹⁰⁵ Ив. ВЕНЕДИКОВ, *Военното...*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 20–21.

¹⁰⁷ Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 283–284.

ruler's formula was: *both within the kingdom and outside it in our marches*¹⁰⁸. Thus, marches and komitats reveal still more similarities, while the differences from the supposed Byzantine model of komitats become even more significant.

The earthen ramparts, as Koledarov believes, can be assumed to have been marking the territory 'inside' the state, clearly indicating the location of this central part on the two banks along the lower reaches of the River Danube¹⁰⁹.

* * *

Over and over again in Bulgarian historiography after Zlatarski¹¹⁰ and particularly after Y. Andreev¹¹¹, the position has been consistently adopted that komiti were not directly subordinate to the ruler and the central authority, but to another institution – *boritarkhans*¹¹². Zhekov holds a different opinion, drawing attention to the fact that the Βοριτακάγγω (boritarkhan)¹¹³ in Belgrade, mentioned by Theophylact of Ohrid, is presented as bearing the Byzantine title ὑποστράτηγος¹¹⁴. He disagrees with Venedikov's interpretation that the terms *stratigos* and *ypostratigos* were synonymous and it 'cannot be a matter of dispute' that they denoted governor of a theme (district)¹¹⁵. In Zhekov's opinion, there was only one isolated case in which an *ypostratigos* performed the functions of governor of a theme, and in most of the cases described, this title was only borne by active military commanders¹¹⁶. In the context of the establishing of the Theme of Thrace, Nikolay Kanev also observes that the earliest attested high-ranking Byzantine administrator in charge of the theme (the same one whom Zhekov defines as the sole exception) was *Theodor, the apo hypaton, patrikios, komes of the imperial Opsikion and the ypostratigos of Thrace*¹¹⁷. To him, in the case of Theodor, within the

¹⁰⁸ *Capitularia Hlotharii I. et regnum Italiae (no. XV)*, 851. aestate, [in:] MGH.Ca, vol. II, p. 74, 17–18 (no. 205, *Hlotharii, Hludowici et Karoli conventus apus marsnam secundus; Adnuntiatio Hlotharii*): *et infra regnum et extra regnum per marchas nostras*; English translation – J.M.H. SMITH, *Fines Imperii...*, p. 177.

¹⁰⁹ П. КОЛЕДАРОВ, *Политическа география...*, p. 14.

¹¹⁰ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ [реc.], Г. БАЛАСЧЕВ..., p. 30–33.

¹¹¹ Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *Наръшката надпис на князя Симеона и административното устройство на българското государство в конце IX и начале X в.*, EB 14, 3, 1978, p. 121–131.

¹¹² See Gy. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, Berlin 1958, p. 97, 166, 299–300, 355; Хр. КОЛАРОВ, *Средновековната българска държава...*, p. 8; Ив. ВЕНЕДИКОВ, *Военното...*, p. 57–62; Г. НИКОЛОВ, *Централизъм и регионализъм...*, p. 89.

¹¹³ I. ILIEV, *The Long Life of Saint Klement of Ochrid. A Critical Edition*, Bg 9, 1995, p. 97, 673.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 97, 677; *Vita s. Clementis Achridensis*, [in:] FGHB, vol. IX, pars 2, p. 30; Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 283.

¹¹⁵ Ив. ВЕНЕДИКОВ, *Военното...*, p. 59.

¹¹⁶ Ж. ЖЕКОВ, *България и Византия...*, p. 283.

¹¹⁷ Н. КЪНЕВ, *Мястото на стратегията на Тракия във византийската рангова йерархия през IX–X в. според тактиконите от това време*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Византинобългарски студии*, Велико

context of the Byzantine administrative-rank system he should be interpreted not in the sense of deputy *stratigos*, but as ‘acting’ this function during the absence of the office holder¹¹⁸. It seems even stranger for an ex-consul and *patrikios*, such as Theodor, who had been put in charge of a separate theme like Opsikion, to have been subordinate to another head of theme¹¹⁹. By *ypostratigos* is to be understood the office of the sub-*stratigos*, directly subordinate to the *stratigos* and substituting for him in some functions¹²⁰. More particularly, the function of the *stratigos* was governor of a theme and military leader of the troops at his command¹²¹. Therefore, the designation of the boritarkhan/tarkhan as sub-*stratigos* in the life of St. Clement of Ohrid can serve as a point of reference in defining his official position as against the Byzantine hierarchical system. On these grounds, it could be asserted with reasonable certainty that the order of the rank subordination did not descend from boritarkhan to komit, but vice versa. The fact that they are mentioned in reverse order (immediately after the ruler follows the boritarkhan and then the komit) in the inscription of Narash¹²² can be interpreted in the sense that the direct responsibility for this sector of the border rested with the tarkhan, who was subordinate to the komit. Furthermore, their being referred to together in this inscription is further proof that these two offices combined both military and administrative functions.

* * *

The thesis about the origins of komitats advanced here relates komitats in a number of aspects to the marches that emerged earlier in Charlemagne’s state. Available evidence and the analogies from the Frankish context make it possible for them to be described as separate districts situated at the periphery of the state, governed by komiti directly appointed by the ruler. And as Kolarov puts it, *like a wreath, they surrounded the Bulgarian lands in Moesia*¹²³. Their emergence can be linked to the Bulgarian-Frankish conflict over the Slavic tribes that broke away from Bulgaria, which was ended with the replacing of their leaders with governors appointed by the central authority. We do not have any evidence of the existence of komitats in a south-easterly direction – towards the capital of Byzantium – the major conflict zone in the international relations of the First Bulgarian Empire. These territories, as well as the territories constituting the core

Търново 2013, p. 130–131, fn. 2; G.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum consiliorum nova et amplissima collection*, vol. XI, Leipzig 1901, p. 209.

¹¹⁸ Н. КЪНЕВ, *Мястото на стратегията...*, p. 130–131, fn. 2.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*.

¹²² В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи...*, p. 182–185 (no. 46); Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *Нарышская надпись...*

¹²³ Хр. КОЛАРОВ, *Средновековната българска държава...*, p. 8.

of the early medieval Bulgarian state, were under the direct control of the central authority and were often referred to by the term 'inside', in contradistinction to 'outside' which denoted komitats.

The introduction of an administrative division into the Bulgarian state on the model of the Frankish state ensured secure control at the periphery of the state when there was a strong central authority, but with a weak central authority and relaxed controls over the border districts, it would contribute to the increase of the centrifugal forces.

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Abstract. The article gives a critical review of previous views on the origin of komitats as administrative units in the Early Medieval Bulgarian State. Among the Bulgarian researchers, the opinion of their Byzantine origin prevailed, while the only Western researcher dealing with the problem, T. Wasilewski, advocated the thesis of their relationship with Western Europe, suggesting some of the conclusions of I. Venedikov. It is concluded that at the beginning of the 9th century, when Bulgaria expanded its territory almost doubled, its population is multiethnic and already has direct neighbors in the face of Byzantium and the Frankish state needed a new administrative division. The administrative division of the two countries is decided in two fundamentally different ways. In search of ways to solve the problem, the Byzantine themae system and the marks of the Frankish state are presented. Between komitats and the themae system the similarities are only formal, whereas the comparison with the marks proved to be much more efficient. In this case, similarities are found with regard to their location, their way of setting up, the powers and the way of appointing their governors, as well as the names and powers of the governors. The presence of komitats on the northern and western borders of the Early Medieval Bulgarian state was established, but not in the direction of Constantinople. These parts are directly subordinate to the central government, and this division of 'inside' and 'out' is characteristic of both early-medieval Bulgaria and the Frankish state of that period. It is

pointed out the possibility that the Boritarkans are an intermediary between the central authority and the komitats, and on the basis of the source data the possibility is presented that they are directly subordinated to the komiti.


Keywords: First Bulgarian Empire, Byzantium, Frankish state, komitats, marks, administrative units, comes, komit.

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EMPEROR BASIL II AND THE AWARDING OF BYZANTINE HONORIFIC TITLES TO BULGARIANS IN THE COURSE OF THE CONQUEST OF BULGARIA (976–1018)

With the establishing of the state centre of Bulgaria south of the River Danube, Byzantium now had a dangerous rival that over nearly three and a half centuries would be the main and, in fact, the sole competitor of the Byzantine Empire for hegemony in the Balkan Peninsula. The Bulgarian state became one of the most important foreign political realities for Byzantium throughout this long period. Regardless of its current state (as well as the current state of the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations), Bulgaria was, to a greater or lesser degree, inevitably a ‘thorn in the side’ of the Constantinopolitan rulers, if nothing else, because it was the only foreign power, and a considerable one at that, which for purely geographical reasons was always able to permanently threaten the immediate hinterland of the Byzantine capital – that is, the very heart of the empire. Viewed from this perspective, it seems quite logical for Byzantine emperors and elite to have pursued for centuries their dreamed goal of destroying Bulgarian statehood and restoring Byzantine authority as far as the River Danube, a goal which, after numerous unsuccessful attempts to be achieved, during the reign of John I Tzimiskes (969–976) seemed to have been attained at last.

Pretty soon, however, it dawned on Byzantium that the conquering of the eastern limits of the Bulgarian Empire along with the capital Veliki Preslav and the capture of Tsar Boris II and his family not only did not lead to the final destruction of the Bulgarian state, but over the following four decades the latter even became a worthy adversary again as a result of the successful resistance movement of the Kometopuli (Cometopuli) and most of all the energetic and capable reign of Samuel, which, at times, threatened the very foundations of the Byzantine presence in most of the Balkan Peninsula. For the successor to basileus John I Tzimiskes and a legitimate member of the Macedonian dynasty Basil II (976–1025) who at last came to the throne in January 976 – more than a decade and a half after he was declared emperor by his father Romanos II (959–963), the conquest

of Bulgaria and its placing under permanent Byzantine domination became his main and relentlessly pursued aim, and to the achieving of this aim which eventually had to crown his reign he devoted all his efforts, even turning it to a degree into a fixed idea and the meaning of his life, and thus it is not fortuitous that he went down in history by the sobriquet Boulgaroktonos.

Regardless of the fact that Basil II officially only considered the Bulgarians to be rebels against his authority, he had to use his whole arsenal of possible means – military, diplomatic and other – in order to achieve the final success in the epic, half century long battle for subjugating the Bulgarian state. During the course of this battle, a particularly interesting – and a most effective – tool in this arsenal of means used by Basil II was the awarding of Byzantine honorific titles to members of the Bulgarian elite.

The effectiveness of this tool was due, in the first place, to the more or less high position guaranteed in Byzantine society and in the corresponding court ceremonial which the particular title brought its bearer. In fact, anyone acquainted with the imperial doctrine of Byzantium and the principles of the Byzantine rank hierarchy at the time was aware that the awarding of an imperial titular rank was not just supposed to mean joining an internal state hierarchy, be it of the oldest and most authoritative Christian empire, but admission to the universal hierarchical pyramid itself which was considered the primary building structure of harmony in the oikoumene, in other words – in the entire earthly Christian world.

In the second place, of no less importance was the fact that each Byzantine title was accompanied by its corresponding life annuity – the *roga* (ρόγα), which was annually paid in gold by the Byzantine imperial treasury, and the higher the honorific title, the more significant the amount of the accompanying *roga* was¹. The *roga* was a secure and often considerable income, and also paid in money, not in kind, which unlike the primary sources of income for the members of the landowning and the service aristocracy – their lands and the offices they held, depended neither on the vagaries of nature nor on any particular conjuncture, and in no way directly involved carrying out any duties, while its amount was often comparable to or even exceeded the rest of the incomes of the aristocrat or dignitary awarded an honorific title.

¹ E.g., the *roga* which was due to the holder of the title of *protospatharios* was one litra of gold, that is, 72 nomismata annually, which was quite high an income not only in the time of Basil II; the one accompanying the title of *patrikios* amounted to the substantial sum of 288 nomismata, while the one for *magistros* probably even reached the vast amount of 1,116 nomismata annually. On the question of the *roga* accompanying Byzantine titles, see especially P. LEMERLE, *Roga et rente d'état aux X^e-XI^e siècles*, REB 25, 1967, p. 77–100. See also J.-C. CHEYNET, *Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XI^e s.*, B 53, 1983, p. 469–471; Н. КЪНЕВ, *Византийската титла магистър през IX – началото на XII в. Приносът на сфрагистиката за съставяне на листа на носителите на титлата магистър*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Византинобългарски студии*, Велико Търново 2013, p. 235–236, note 23.

It is evident then that the appeal of Byzantine titles was in itself great enough, and therefore, by awarding them, the basileus was able to strike powerful chords in human nature, namely the pursuit of honours, a place in society, power and riches. Undoubtedly, Basil II understood well the role of human vanity, avarice and hunger for power as the factor motivating not a few people and took advantage of that whenever it was possible, so in this respect awarding honorific titles was for him a perfect tool, which he used judiciously, with foresight and – usually – with great success². Like his predecessors, Basil II used this tool in a very wide geographical area: from Italy in the west to the Armenian and Georgian lands in the east, but unlike them, he was the only Byzantine basileus to make extensive use of awarding Byzantine honorific titles in his relations with the Bulgarians, and it can be asserted confidently that this was entirely placed in the context of the conquering of Bulgaria and making the Bulgarians Byzantine subjects. Certainly, for Constantinopolitan rulers the awarding of Byzantine titles to aristocrats and rulers ‘foreign’ to the empire meant in principle their accepting Byzantine suzerainty, but did not of itself necessarily imply the loss of independence for the estates of the ‘foreign’ person awarded a Byzantine title and their direct incorporation into the Byzantine Empire, and quite often marked more or less specific vassal relations.

It should be emphasized, however, that at the end of the 10th century and in the first two decades of the 11th century when the policy of Basil II of awarding honorific titles regarding the Bulgarians was carried out, there was no such option of preserving independence, and in each case awarding a title could only and without exception have entailed subordination to Byzantium and acknowledging the direct authority of the basileus – i.e. renouncing the cause of Bulgarian independence and statehood. In this respect, of utmost importance for Basil II were undoubtedly those cases in which members of the Bulgarian imperial family were awarded high Byzantine titles.

² This can be traced well both in terms of internal policy and foreign policy. With regard to internal policy, highly characteristic is the way in which in 989 Basil II dealt with Bardas Skleros: the latter agreed to renounce forever his claim to the emperor’s crown in exchange of a number of privileges, the first among which was his being awarded the extremely high title of *kouropalatēs*, which belonged to the higher order of titles in Byzantium (see JEAN SKYLITZÈS, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, trans. B. FLUSIN, comm. J.-C. CHEYNET, Paris 2003 (cetera: SKYLITZÈS), p. 283. On Bardas Skleros, see W. SEIBT, *Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie*, Wien 1976, p. 29–58). On the use of Byzantine honorific titles as a tool in foreign policy during the reign of Basil II, see, e.g., Н. КЪНЕВ, *Византинобългарски студии...*, p. 66–72, 245–246, 248; ИДЕМ, *Куропалати извън Византийската империя през IX–XI век*, Епо 11, 1/2, 2003, p. 82–83, 85.

The awarding of Byzantine titles from the hierarchy for the eunuchs to Roman of Bulgaria

Boris II's brother Roman of Bulgaria was one of the members of the Bulgarian imperial dynasty who was awarded high Byzantine titles and was the first such member with regard to whom Basil II used the tool under consideration³. In 971, together with his elder brother Boris (who, after having been deprived of imperial dignity, was awarded the high title of *magistros* by John I Tzimiskes⁴), he was taken to Constantinople where he remained in honorable captivity until 976 or 977 when the two brothers fled to the free Bulgarian lands. Unlike his elder brother, sources do not indicate that during this period Roman was awarded any Byzantine titular rank and most likely this is due to the fact that he was not awarded one. The silence of the sources is not the only reason to believe that Boris II's younger brother was not awarded a Byzantine honorific title at that time. Bearing in mind that, still, he was not equal in status to his elder brother and the then head of the Bulgarian imperial family, and that Boris, as noted above, was awarded the rank of *magistros*, theoretically Roman could only have been awarded the title of *patrikios*, which was hierarchically high enough and equally accessible both to eunuchs and non-eunuchs. A lower titular rank than the one of *patrikios* would not have been possible in this case at least because it would not have been suitable for a member of the Bulgarian imperial family – even though former by then – who, at the same time, was a comparatively close relative of the Byzantine imperial dynasty, and furthermore a lower title would not at all have corresponded to the very high one conferred on Boris II after his dethronement. It is known, however, that after his recapture in 991 Roman was awarded the titles of *patrikios* and *praipositos* by Basil II, which clearly shows that he did not have them before, and therefore in 971, after he was taken to Constantinople, he was not awarded any rank title⁵.

³ It is not impossible to assume that a few years earlier Basil II offered an honorific title to Samuel's brother Aaron, but this, firstly, can only be an assumption as it is not attested in the sources, and, secondly, even if Basil II tried to use bestowing a certain honorific distinction on Aaron in order to win him over, still, the latter at that time was not considered a member of the Bulgarian imperial dynasty (even with regard to the perfectly possible kinship between the Kometopuli and the Kroum dynasty), so Roman was the first indisputable member of the imperial family who was awarded titular ranks by Basil II.

⁴ See Лев ДИАКОН, *История*, ed. Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, Москва 1988, p. 83; IOANNIS SCYLITZES, GEORGIOS CEDRENUS, *Historiarum compendium*, [in:] FGHB, vol. VI, ed. G. CANKOVA-PETKOVA et al., Serdicae 1965 (cetera: SCYLITZES-CEDRENUS), p. 274.

⁵ In view of the close kinship of Roman with the still underage at that time legitimate emperors from the Macedonian dynasty Basil II and Constantine VIII (Roman's maternal grandfather Christopher Lekapenos and Basil II and Constantine VIII's paternal grandmother Empress Helena Lekapene were brother and sister), a possible awarding of a comparatively lower title to Roman would have damaged not only his personal prestige (as well as the prestige of the Bulgarians and their imperial family more

After Boris II's untimely death, Roman remained the last male member of the imperial family of the direct line of descent, and together with Samuel led the struggle of the Bulgarians against Byzantium, residing in Skopje until his capture in 991. Since, while still very young, he was castrated during his stay in Constantinople in 962–963 on the order of the *parakoimomenos* Joseph Bringas⁶, in view of the tradition that eunuchs could not ascend the throne, Roman was probably never crowned Tsar of Bulgaria, although it is not impossible that he received entirely legitimately a imperial title while still very young – before his father died and before he was castrated, if we assume that together with his brother Boris they had been proclaimed co-rulers by Tsar Peter I⁷. Although by that time Roman had long been castrated, the Bulgarians respected the imperial rights of the last direct descendant of the dynasty and he had the supreme

generally), but it would ultimately have lowered also the prestige of the Byzantine basileis themselves and of the Empire. From this perspective, it was more acceptable to John I Tzimiskes not to award Roman of Bulgaria any titular rank rather than conferring a lower one on him. Also, it would be difficult to assume that Roman received the titles of *patrikios* and *praipositos* in 971 and they were taken away from him 'in his absence' after his flight to the Kometopuli in 976/977, and that in 991 he received them again by Basil II, at least because it is emphasized in the sources it was Basil II who awarded him these titles, not that they were restored to him or conferred on him again.

⁶ In some scholars' opinion, Roman was castrated not on the order of Joseph Bringas in 963, but after the Bulgarian imperial family were captured and taken to Constantinople in 971, on the order of John I Tzimiskes who wanted to make doubly sure that the Bulgarian dynasty would come to an end since *Tsar Boris II had no sons, and Roman as being castrated also had no chance of producing progeny* – see Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е в средновековна България*, София 2012, p. 576. Such a dating can also provide part of the explanation as to why Roman did not receive a honorific title by John I Tzimiskes in 971, especially if his castration had initially to be kept secret, as the ceremony of awarding Byzantine ranks itself, as a rule, showed whether the particular rank was from the hierarchy for eunuchs or from the one for non-eunuchs – i.e. whether the person awarded was castrated or not. On the Byzantine rank hierarchy in this period, see Н. КЪНЕВ, *Византийският йерархичен модел от IX–XI в.*, АДСВ 39, 2009, p. 142–163.

⁷ I believe this assumption would definitely resolve the apparent contradiction between the fact that it was impossible for a castrated person to be proclaimed tsar and that, at the same time, the sources attest to Roman's being a eunuch and Tsar of the Bulgarians. If, together with his brother Boris, Roman was proclaimed tsar and co-ruler by his father Peter when he was still a Bulgarian prince 'of full value', that is, before he was castrated by the Byzantines, then he received entirely legitimately his imperial title at the time when there was no obstacle for him to be proclaimed tsar. In this situation, he had already had the rank of tsar at the time he was made eunuch, and, at least to the Bulgarians, he could have only been stripped of his rank by the legitimate Bulgarian tsar-autocrat. Bearing in mind the circumstances surrounding Roman's castration and that there was no opportunity whatsoever for the legitimate taking away of his imperial title in 971–977, as well as later – when he was already the only direct descendant of the imperial dynasty, to the Bulgarians he apparently continued to be tsar until his very death. To the Byzantines, however, Roman was certainly not tsar and it was not by chance that he is not called as such in the Byzantine sources. For a comprehensive review of the scholarly discussion and the opinions expressed about whether Roman was a tsar or not (and of the relevant sources), see А. СЪБОТИНОВ, *България при цар Самуил и неговите наследници (976–1018)*, vol. I, София 2008, p. 574–590.

authority in the state, really ruling together with Samuel. It is no coincidence that Samuel did not use the title Bulgarian *tsar* and *autokrator* before Roman's death in 997. Having been taken into Byzantine captivity for a second time, Roman was awarded the high titles of *patrikios* and *praipositos* by Basil II, and was appointed *strategos* of Abydos⁸. At the time of his awarding, the dignities of *patrikios* and *praipositos* were virtually the two highest titles for a eunuch in the rank hierarchy of the empire because after 985 for forty years – until the death of Basil II, there were no holders of the title of *proedros*, a title which in this period was purely formally leading the hierarchy of rank positions accessible to eunuchs: because of the basileus's unwillingness to name whoever it may have been as *proedros*, the title was actually out of 'hierarchical' circulation as long as December 1025 or the beginning of 1026⁹. Roman's position in the governance of Bulgaria, whatever its dimensions may have been, was undoubtedly a legitimizing factor in Samuel's struggle against Byzantium. From this perspective, to Basil II awarding the two high titles was neither only a compensation to Roman for having been deprived of his position nor just bestowing high honours on him as befitted a close relative after all. It was intended most of all to serve as a demonstration and a hint to the Bulgarians: since the last direct descendent of the legitimate imperial dynasty had become a *patrikios* and a *praipositos* and especially since he had become the *strategos* of Abydos – i.e. an official of the Emperor's and a high-ranking officer in the provincial administration of the empire, then he had recognized the basileus's authority as a subject of his. Consequently, submitting himself, he also submitted Bulgaria to Byzantine authority, which meant, therefore, that further struggle and Samuel's authority were illegal, while those who would submit themselves to Basil II, like Roman, would benefit from the Byzantine basileus's benefactions and benevolence.

⁸ See SCYLITZES-CEDRENIUS, p. 283. On Roman see also Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 576–577; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите във Византийската империя*, София 1995, p. 350, № 440 (and the bibliography given there).

⁹ Since 963, above the titles of *patrikios* and *praipositos* in the hierarchy for the eunuchs was the newly introduced title of *proedros*, but after the death of its first holder – the illegitimate son of Romanos I Lekapenos Basil, who being a brother of the grandmother of the ruling basileus Basil II was among the closest relatives of this emperor, the latter, without abolishing this highest title for eunuchs, 'took it out of use' and, in practice, *patrikios* and *praipositos* in the period 985–1025 were again the two highest titular levels accessible to eunuchs, as it was the case until 963. Virtually the same situation as with the title of *proedros* was also the one with the other two high titles introduced at the time of Nikephoros II Phokas which were accessible to eunuchs – *vestarches* and *vestes*: their use in the hierarchy for the eunuchs was also 'frozen' for a long time by Basil II without them being abolished, and for the last one or two decades of the 10th as well as the first years of the 11th century there is no reliable evidence of any promotions of eunuchs to the titles of *vestarches* or *vestes*. On the honorific title of *proedros*, see Н. КЪНЕВ, *Титлата проедър като част от първоразредните почетни титли във Византия през X–XI в. Проедри и протопроедри, засвидетелствани по сфрагистични данни*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Византинобългарски студии...*, p. 144–227. On the titles of *vestes* and *vestarches*, see the references given in note 33 below.

Samuel's daughter Miroslava and her husband

The next instance of awarding a member of the Bulgarian ruler's family a Byzantine honorific title also served the political line of destroying the Bulgarian state that was determinedly followed by Basil II. In this case, however, for the first time in the history of Byzantine-Bulgarian relations, the person to be awarded an honorific title was not a man, but a woman – Samuel's daughter Miroslava¹⁰, who was actually the first foreign woman in Byzantium to receive the title of *zoste patrikia*¹¹. Miroslava was married to the Byzantine aristocrat and ethnic Armenian Ashot Taronites taken captive by her father in 995, the son of the Thessalonikan doux Gregory Taronites who was killed by the Bulgarians, because, according to John Skylitzes's account, she had been so deeply in love with him that even threatened Samuel she would kill herself if he did not join her in lawful marriage with Ashot.

In actual fact, Samuel's son-in-law was only a second generation Byzantine aristocrat and direct descendant of the dynasty – dethroned only about thirty years earlier – of the Armenian principality of Taron¹² that was annexed by Byzantium during Nikephoros II Phokas' reign. The Taronites, including Ashot's father and uncle, were some of the strongest supporters of the mutineer Bardas Skleros in his struggle against Basil II¹³. It is possible that Samuel, who was also of Armenian descent on the maternal side, believed he could rely on the descendant of the princes of Taron in his struggle against Byzantium not only because of his daughter's love for him and that is why he put his new son-in-law in charge of the governance and defence of the Dyrrachion district. Soon after the wedding, Ashot and Miroslava left for Dyrrachion. There, however, Samuel's daughter was persuaded by her husband to defect to the basileus and the couple fled on board a ship of the Byzantine fleet located near Dyrrachion. After their arrival in Constantinople, Emperor Basil II awarded Ashot the highest possible honorific title accessible at the time to a person not belonging to the Imperial

¹⁰ On Miroslava, see SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 279. Cf. И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 331, № 401; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 471.

¹¹ On the title of *zoste patrikia* (or just *zoste*, as it quite often occurs in written sources), see A. VOGT, *Histoire des institutions: note sur la patricienne à ceinture*, EO 37, 1938, p. 352–356; R. GULLAND, *Contribution à l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. La patricienne à ceinture, η ζωστή πατρικία*, Bsl 32, 1971, p. 269–275; J.-C. СНЕУНЕТ, *Patricienne à ceinture: une femme de qualité. Au cloître et dans le monde. Femmes, hommes et sociétés (IX^e–XV^e siècle)*, [in:] *Mélanges en l'honneur de Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq*, Paris 2000, p. 179–187; Н. КЪНЕВ, *Византийската титла патрикия-зостии (IX–XI в.)*. Приносът на сфрагистиката за попълване на листата на носителките на титлата, И 4, 2011, p. 173–198.

¹² The independent Armenian principality of Taron (whose princely family was called in Byzantium by the name Taronites) was incorporated into the Empire during Nikephoros II Phokas' reign in 967/968. See К.Н. ЮЗБАШЯН, *Армянские государства эпохи Багратидов и Византия IX–XI вв.*, Москва 1988, p. 125, 175.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 125.

family, namely *magistros*. What is more interesting in this case, however, is the fact that Miroslava was elevated to a position higher than that of her husband's as she received by Basil II a title two levels higher – *zoste patrikia* – belonging to the highest and most inaccessible class of titles in the rank hierarchy of Byzantium which were awarded very rarely and were, as a rule, only reserved for the closest relatives and the members of the basileus' family. The dignity of *zoste patrikia* was the only Byzantine title intended for women, and until then all its holders had been in a direct family relationship with the ruling emperor. It was considered so high that it was quite often left 'vacant' as no available candidate was worthy enough of it and of suitable descent.

Very relevant, in this situation, is the question why Samuel's daughter was awarded such a high title by Basil II. As the wife of one of only a few *magistroi* in the empire at that time, Miroslava was already of high enough standing, ranking, along with the few other *magistrisses*, immediately after the princesses of the Macedonian dynasty and therefore above all the other members of the Byzantine elite. Why then Basil II, who demonstrated consistent conservatism in following the rules and principles of the imperial rank hierarchy, made such a significant concession going beyond the achieving of the possible political goals of the act in question and created a double precedent: on the one hand, allowing the title of *zoste patrikia* to be borne for the first time by a foreign woman, even if a princess, and, on the other hand, for the first time again, the *zoste patrikia* was not a direct blood relative of or a closest relation to the basileus?

Awarding Miroslava the dignity of *zoste patrikia* was recognition of her imperial descent, yet this by no means meant Basil II regarded Samuel as a legitimate Bulgarian tsar. On the contrary, for the basileus of the Byzantines the end of the Bulgarian Empire was already brought with the dethronement of Boris II by John I Tzimiskes in 971, and the Bulgarians struggling against Byzantium were only rebels and secessionists from his authority. The imperial descent of Samuel's daughter was, undoubtedly, traced through the line of her grandfather *komit* Nikola's relation to the Bulgarian imperial dynasty, which in turn, through the marriage of Tsar Peter I to Maria/Irene Lekapene (whose father was a brother of Empress Helena, Basil II's grandmother), was in close family relationship not only to the Lekapenoi, but also to the Macedonian dynasty in Byzantium. Thus, Miroslava not only had the blood of the Bulgarian imperial family in her veins, but she was also a female relative, although not so close, of the Byzantine basileus Basil II himself, so by awarding the Bulgarian princess the dignity of *zoste patrikia* he did not really go against the established traditions very significantly concerning this particular high title, and did not create such a precedent as it may seem on the face of it. In a way, Basil II's actions in the case of Samuel's daughter followed the same Byzantine course of action as with all the other members of the Bulgarian imperial house during the period 971–1018 who received Byzantine

honorific titles, and did not differ considerably from the manner the cases of Boris II and Roman were dealt with.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that in this case, too, Basil II was aiming at a very specific effect by awarding Miroslava this particular high title – an effect that would have been difficult to bring about by any other means and which was undoubtedly related to the particular picture the situation in Bulgaria provided and the development of the Bulgarian-Byzantine conflict. The time of Miroslava's awarding coincided chronologically with a new stage of Samuel's reign when Roman could no longer have been used as a legitimizing and stabilizing factor of the Bulgarian statehood in his capacity as the formal head of the Bulgarian state, and, therefore, Samuel had a period ahead of him during which he now had to win recognition from his subjects as Bulgarian tsar and autocrat. It is during this period that Basil II, using Ashot Taronites and Miroslava's flight, had the chance through the latter to make a move which got a powerful message across to Samuel's subjects. Awarding Samuel's daughter the title of *zoste patrikia*, Basil II brought about a much more powerful effect than if he had contented himself with only awarding Ashot the title of *magistros*, thus making Miroslava *magistrissa*, because Miroslava's flight to Byzantium might itself, after all, have been regarded as a deeply moving love affair in which the love for and devotion to one's husband exceeded the love for and loyalty to one's father, and, viewed from this perspective, it did not damage so much Samuel's prestige and authority among the Bulgarians. If Basil II had contented himself with only elevating Ashot to the rank of *magistros*, it would have seemed that it was Ashot who ultimately betrayed the Bulgarian cause and defected to the Byzantine side, while his wife was rather the victim of her love – i.e. her flight to Byzantium would have had in itself a much more modest effect as a message to the Bulgarians and as a call for rejecting Samuel and defecting to Basil II's side. Accepting, however, the title of *zoste patrikia* – i.e. the only specifically 'lady's title' in Byzantium, Miroslava received a Byzantine rank not as someone's wife (as in the case of *magistrissa*, which did not directly require her own consent since she became one as the wife of a *magistros*), but in her personal capacity, thereby expressing most clearly her recognition of the Byzantine basileus's authority in exchange for the extremely high position in the imperial hierarchy bestowed on her. With this, Basil II undoubtedly dealt a very serious blow to the Bulgarian ruler and sent a very powerful message to the rebellious Bulgarians trying to convince them that since even Samuel's own daughter did not recognize him as a tsar and voluntarily submitted to the basileus, whose authority she regarded as legitimate, then Samuel was not a tsar at all, but only a mutineer and usurper, and that the Bulgarians must not obey him, but must stop the struggle against Byzantium and submit to the legitimate emperor Basil II as Samuel's daughter herself had done. At the same time, demonstrated again were Basil II's generosity and goodwill to all who had voluntarily submitted

to him – i.e. it is evident that the message in the case of awarding Miroslava the high title was multifaceted and with lasting effect, and was certainly a carefully calculated blow on the part of the Byzantine basileus to Samuel's legitimacy as Bulgarian tsar, which to Basil II justified the significant concession he made to Miroslava elevating her to the rank of *zoste patrikia*.

The awarding of Byzantine titles to the members of the Bulgarian imperial family in 1018

The concluding episode in the Byzantine course of action we traced above consistently followed by Basil II concerning the members of the Bulgarian imperial family came in 1018. It was a kind of repetition on a larger scale of what happened in 971 and symbolized above all the final subjugation of Bulgaria by Byzantium. After Tsar Ivan Vladislav's death (1015–1018) at the siege of Dyrrachion in February 1018, his widow Maria declared her readiness to capitulate to Basil II through the mediation of the Bulgarian Church's primate David¹⁴, and soon after that – after the surrender of Ohrid – bringing her three younger sons and six daughters, she presented herself before the basileus who '*raciously received her and ordered to be guarded deferentially*'¹⁵. The former tsarina was awarded the title of *zoste patrikia*¹⁶, and on Basil II's return to Constantinople took part in the Emperor's triumph, like Boris II in 971, walking ahead of the basileus – the victor and conqueror of Bulgaria¹⁷. Again, as in the previous case with Samuel's daughter Miroslava, what catches the attention is the extremely high dignity bestowed on Maria. Within only about twenty years, two members of the Bulgarian imperial family became *zostai patrikiai*, occupying, on the one hand, the highest possible position in the Byzantine system of rank precedence for women, and becoming, on the other hand – in view of their title – the highest ranking persons in hierarchical terms among the imperial elite at the end of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century, ranking immediately after the two emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII and after Constantine VIII's three daughters. And since the title of *zoste patrikia* was single – i.e. there could not be more than one holder at one and the same time, its bestowing on Tsar Ivan Vladislav's widow indicates that it was vacant at that time which means the previous known *zoste patrikia* Miroslava was most probably not among the living.

¹⁴ SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 290–291: *Immediately after that the emperor approached Strumitsa and the Archbishop of Bulgaria David came up to him with a letter from Maria – Ivan's wife, who was promising to renounce Bulgaria if her requests were granted.* On Maria, see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 249–250, № 167; see also Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 446–447.

¹⁵ SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 291–292.

¹⁶ SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 295.

¹⁷ SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 296.

Despite their mother Mariya's capitulation to Basil II and the submitting of the capital Ohrid and nearly all Bulgarian territories to his authority, Ivan Vladislav's three elder sons – Prusian (or Presian II who, even though having reigned for a short time, should technically be considered the last Bulgarian tsar before Bulgaria's final submission to Byzantine authority), Aron and Alusian – managed to flee into the Tomor mountain and carried on the anti-Byzantine struggle as some of the last defenders of Bulgarian independence. After a prolonged siege, later in the same 1018 they surrendered to Basil II, who received them in Devol on a high tribune, *calmed them with favourable and kind words* and honoured them with high titles: Prusian – with *magistros*, and his brothers – with *patrikios*¹⁸. The Bulgarian princes became part of the highest stratum of the Byzantine rank elite, which then consisted of the comparatively limited number of the title holders in the range *magistros* to *patrikios*. As *magistros*, in view of the current picture of the rank ordering in the system of court precedence, Prusian was one of a very few holders of the high dignity, who were at the very top of this hierarchical order and above whom there were only one higher ranking person in the hierarchy – the *zoste patrikia* – the former tsarina Maria of Bulgaria who, as noted above, was occupying the position immediately following those who were above all earthly hierarchy – the Byzantine emperors and the *porphyrogenetai* (purple-born) princesses, Constantine VIII's daughters.

In fact, Prusian's mother was the only person at that time that had a higher *honorific title* than her son's – both within Byzantium itself and beyond it in the countries where the awarding of Byzantine titles to members of the local ruling dynasties was traditionally used as an element of the empire's foreign policy.

On the one hand, by awarding high titles to the members of the Bulgarian imperial family in 1018, Basil II was undoubtedly trying to incorporate them into the highest stratum of the Byzantine elite and thus finally eliminate the leadership of the Bulgarians' struggle against the imposing of Byzantine authority. On the other hand, bestowing high Byzantine rank distinctions on the former Bulgarian tsarina and the Bulgarian princes Prusian, Aron and Alusian by Basil II does not seem anything out of the ordinary, at least in view of the number of precedents set since 971.

The awarding of Byzantine titles to members of the Bulgarian aristocracy as part of Basil II's policy of subjugating Bulgaria

Besides the members of the imperial family, Byzantine honorific titles in this period were also bestowed on members of the Bulgarian aristocracy. During the first two decades of the 11th century when he concentrated all his efforts on the struggle for subjugating Bulgaria and especially in the last years of this struggle, Basil II

¹⁸ SCYLITZES-CEDRENIUS, p. 292.

Boulgaroktonos made efficient use of awarding Byzantine honorific titles in order to win over some of the most prominent and important nobles. The high titular dignities awarded to members of the Bulgarian elite were part of the price paid for recognizing the empire's authority. Among the Bulgarian nobles who were awarded honorific titles by Basil II in the process of conquering Bulgaria might be mentioned Nikulitsa¹⁹, Krakra²⁰, Bogdan²¹, Dragomŭzh²², the brothers Nicholas and Teodor Chryselios²³, Dimitŭr Polemarh (Demetrios Polemarchos)²⁴, and Elemag²⁵, who were awarded the rank of *patrikios*, and Dobromir, who was even

¹⁹ SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 281. See also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 347, № 432; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 520–521.

²⁰ SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 290. See also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 322, № 391; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 404–405.

²¹ SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 291. See also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 229, № 132; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 70.

²² SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 290. On him, see also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 306–307, № 341; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 193.

²³ Sons of the *proteuon* of Dyrrachion, John Chryselios. Their Bulgarian descent is beyond any doubt. In 1005 (or 997?) Samuel's son-in-law who had fled from Dyrrachion, Ashot Taronites, brought Basil II a letter from John Chryselios in which John was promising the basileus to surrender the city to him if he was honoured together with his sons with the title of *patrikios*. *The emperor confirmed by a letter that he would fulfil his promise, and Dyrrachion was surrendered to 'patrikios' Eustathios Daphnomeles. Chryselios's sons were awarded the title 'patrikios' since he had already died.* See SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 279–280. See also Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 517; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 356, № 452 and № 453 (and the bibliography given there).

²⁴ On him, see В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I.2, София 1971, p. 647, 681; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 172–173.

²⁵ At the time of Ivan Vladislav, Elemag was governor of Beograd (today Berat in Albania, not Belgrade on the Danube – see Г. НИКОЛОВ, *Едно сведение за българската история: Ioannes Scylitzes (Cod. Ambr. C. 279), [in:] Civitas Divino-Humana. В чест на професор Георги Бакалов*, София 2004, p. 335–338) and was one of the last Bulgarian nobles to surrender to Basil II. He has been attested as *patrikios* in relation to the plot in Thessaloniki in 1019 to restore the Bulgarian Empire (together with Gavra) but, undoubtedly, he received the title before that – when he submitted to the basileus in 1018. See SCYLITZES-CEDRENU, p. 296, β. Cf. И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 115–116 and p. 307–308, № 343; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 208–209. This case shows that it is perfectly possible that other Bulgarian nobles, too – of whom Skylitzes mentions that they submitted to the emperor without referring to any titles they were awarded – actually received such titles by Basil II. Regarding *patrikios* Gavra who participated with Elemag in the plot in Thessaloniki mentioned above and is sometimes numbered among the Bulgarian boyars (В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, vol. I.2, p. 742; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 129; Т. СЛАВОВА, *Владетел и администрация в ранносредновековна България. Филологически аспекти*, София 2010, p. 290), more plausible seems the argument for him being of non-Bulgarian descent, which is why Ivan Bozhilov did not include him in the prosopographical catalogue of his monograph on the Bulgarians in Byzantium (see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 116 and 129, note. 52; on the origin

granted a title higher than *patrikios* – the title of *anthypatos*²⁶. Worth noting is the fact that all the Bulgarian boyars mentioned received very high titles – not a single one of them was at a level lower than *patrikios* which is an indication, in the first place, of how substantial concessions Basil II was ready to make for the sake of achieving his ultimate goal. Apart from the persons listed above, in the final stage of conquering Bulgaria in 1018 Byzantine honorific titles which were significant enough, but not of the first order²⁷, were granted to some members of the younger generation of Bulgarian aristocrats. Nikulitsa the Younger, who was the son of Samuel's renowned associate of the same name and who surrendered to Basil II in Skopje in 1018 like Lazaritsa, the young Dobromir and Nestoritsa did a little bit later²⁸, is an example of a Bulgarian noble who received a prestigious honorific title which, however, did not belong to the class of the titular ranks of the first order in Byzantium. As John Skylitzes notes, he was granted the title of *protospatharios* and the office of *strategos* by the basileus²⁹.

Certainly, it was far from always being the case that the Bulgarians who received the high titles became loyal subjects of the basileus as the case of Nikulitsa the Elder (the father of Nikulitsa the Younger) demonstrates, who, ignoring Basil II's benefactions (including the prestigious dignity of *patrikios* he was granted), twice fled back to Samuel and paid for his loyalty to the Bulgarian cause with imprisonment³⁰, or the case of Elemag in Thessaloniki, who as early as 1018 or 1019, together with the *patrikios* Gavra, made an attempt to restore 'Bulgarian authority'³¹.

of the patronymic Gavra, see D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London 1968, p. 120).

²⁶ SCYLITZES-CECRENUS, p. 280–281. On him, see also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 305, № 338; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 177–178.

²⁷ Titles of the first order from the hierarchy for the 'Bearded Ones' (i.e. non-eunuchs) were those within the range *patrikios* to *magistros* (in ascending order of precedence). Above them were the titles of the higher 'imperial' echelon (*zoste patrikia* to *kaisar*) and below them were the titles from the middle echelon of the Byzantine hierarchy, the highest of which – *protospatharios*, was still considered significant enough during this period so as to be granted to *strategoí* and various high-ranking officials. See, e.g., Н. КЪНЕВ, *Византийският йерархичен модел...*, p. 153–154.

²⁸ SCYLITZES-CECRENUS, p. 292. On them, see also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 305, № 339, 327, № 395 and 346–347, № 431. It is quite possible, although it is not expressly referred to, that they also received, like Nikulitsa the Younger, honorific titles by Basil II, for example *protospatharios* or *spatharokandidatos*, as Skylitzes notes they were 'honoured in a royal manner'.

²⁹ SCYLITZES-CECRENUS, p. 291, γ. See also И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите...*, p. 347, № 433.

³⁰ See SCYLITZES-CECRENUS, p. 281, 291.

³¹ See note 25 above.

* * *

It should be emphasized that during the time of Basil II, who, by the way, with regard to rank hierarchy exhibited apparent conservatism and respect for its traditions and rules, *patrikios* remained the title which unambiguously, as in the previous centuries, granted its holder the right to belong to the higher rank elite of the empire, in a way opening the gates to this elite as being basic to it. In actual fact, at that time the number of *patrikioi* and of the holders of higher titles than that one was not at all so great. During the whole half-century period of Basil II's rule, the total number of the holders of the title of *patrikios* seems to have remained within only several dozens, while at any particular time – i.e. at one and the same time, the number of *patrikioi* was of course even more limited³². The same holds true to a much greater degree for the *magistroi*, who were several times less in number than the *patrikioi*, and at any one time of Basil II's reign there were no more than several *magistroi* at the same time. Generally speaking, the rest of the Byzantine titles of the first order – *vestarches*, *vestes* and *anthypatos*³³, provided roughly the same picture. Basil II was most definitely not an emperor who easily conferred high titular distinctions either in Byzantium or beyond it. In Byzantium itself at his time, the rank promotion of the highest ranking Byzantine dignitaries usually reached its limit with the titles of *patrikios* and *anthypatos*. It was only on rare occasions that some of the most successful and closest to the emperor's royalty army chiefs, courtiers and high-ranking state officials – such as Nikephoros Ouranos or Constantine Diogenes – were elevated to the rank of *magistros*, *vestarches* or *vestes*. Even the closest relatives of the imperial dynasty in the first quarter of the 11th century were *patrikioi* – Basil Argyros, whose daughters, as the basileus's nieces, were used by Basil II to forge marriage alliances with the governors and rulers of Venice and Georgia, as well as his brother, the Eparch of Constantinople and future emperor Romanos III Argyros – and no one in the empire thought their titles did not correspond to their

³² On the holders of the title of *patrikios* in this period known from the sources, see R. GUILLAND, *Patrices du règne de Basile II et Constantin VIII*, JÖB 20, 1971, p. 83–108. It is sphragistical data that allows us to form a relatively precise idea of the number of *patrikioi*: in any case for the period under consideration it remains a double-digit number. See Н. КЪНЕВ, *Приносът на сфрагистиката за разкриване девалвацията на византийските почетни титли в йерархията на т. нар. система на предимство от средновизантийския период – примерът с титлите магистър и патрикий (границата на VIII/IX – границата на XI/XII в.)*, ИП 68, 5/6, 2011, p. 265–272.

³³ On them, see R. GUILLAND, *Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Proconsul, ἀνθύπατος*, REB 15, 1957, p. 5–41; Н. КЪНЕВ, *Византийската титла вест и нейната еволюция през XI в.*, ЕКЧ 10, 2, 2007, p. 92–106; ИДЕМ, *Византийските титли вестарх и протовестарх и приносът на сфрагистиката за съставяне на листа на техните носители (втора половина на X – началото на XII в.)*, АДСВ 38, 2008, p. 135–163. See also Н. КЪНЕВ, *Приносът на сфрагистиката...*, p. 269.

high standing³⁴. *Patrikioi* and/or *anthypatoi* were also the heads of some of the greatest and most influential families of Byzantine dynatoi in the first quarter of the 11th century, such as Bardas Phokas³⁵, Basil Skleros³⁶ or John Kourkouas³⁷.

In his foreign policy, Basil II used the awarding of honorific titles very carefully and for him this was far from being a formal, still less – obligatory, addition to the treaty relations with a particular Byzantine ally or vassal. For example, outside of Bulgaria, in the Balkan Peninsula Basil II only conferred a Byzantine honorific title on the Croatian prince Stephan Držislav (969–997; a king since 988) whom he granted the title of *patrikios*. Interesting in this case is the fact that Basil granted the high title to the Croatian ruler as part of his efforts to gain him as an ally of the empire particularly against Samuel's Bulgaria and in response to the latter's strengthening position in the Western Balkans³⁸.

Not very numerous either were the cases of awarding Byzantine titles by Basil II to foreign rulers and aristocrats in Italy. At that time, in relation to the strategic partnership Basil II was establishing with Venice in the Adriatic Sea at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, Basil II for the first time in the history of the Byzantine-Venetian relations granted Venetian doges titles belonging to the Byzantine titular ranks of the first order. Thus, in 998 he awarded the then doge, Pietro II Orseolo, the high titles of *anthypatos* and *patrikios*, and later – his elder son and co-doge Giovanni (the husband of the emperor's niece Maria Argyrina) the title of *patrikios*, and after Giovanni's death probably also Pietro II Orseolo's younger son and successor as doge Ottone Orseolo (1009–1026)³⁹. Also, during Basil II's reign, Byzantine honorific titles were only conferred on some of the Longobardian rulers in South Italy who acknowledged Byzantine suzerainty such as Manso I, duke of Amalfi (966–1004), who was *patrikios*, or his successor John II who was elevated to the rank of *anthypatos*⁴⁰. The rulers of Amalfi were considered some of the important Byzantine vassals and allies in South Italy, and in a later period even two of them – John II and John III, were awarded the higher title of *vestes*⁴¹. As an *anthypatos* and *patrikios* at the time of Basil II can

³⁴ SKYLITZÈS, p. 296, 313. See also J.-F. VANNIER, *Familles byzantines. Les Argyroi (IX^e–XII^e siècles)*, Paris 1975, p. 9–41.

³⁵ R. GUILLAND, *Patrices...*, p. 84.

³⁶ SKYLITZÈS, p. 309, 321. He was the husband of Roman and Basil Argyros' sister Pulcheria, and was later elevated by Roman III to the rank of *magistros*.

³⁷ R. GUILLAND, *Études...*, p. 13.

³⁸ On this problem, see Н. КЪНЕВ, *Византинобългарски студии...*, p. 66–67.

³⁹ R. GUILLAND, *Patrices...*, p. 87; Н. КЪНЕВ, *Византинобългарски студии...*, p. 69–70. After them, the title of *patrikios* would only be granted much later to the doge Domenico Contarini (1043–1071) by Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055).

⁴⁰ See Н.П. СКАБАЛАНОВИЧ, *Византийское государство и церковь в XI в.*, Санкт-Петербург 1884, p. 155, note 3.

⁴¹ See *ibidem*, 154 and note 14, 155 and note 3.

also be mentioned Duke Marino II (968–997), but he had actually received his titles already during the reign of John I Tzimiskes⁴².

In line with the Byzantine traditions of the time, Basil II used the awarding of imperial rank distinctions to a greater degree in his Eastern policy, and in some cases there was an exact copying of the model provided by the course of action pursued towards Bulgaria in 971 and 1018. Between 1016/1017 and 1021/1022 the ruler of Vaspurakan, Senekerim-Hovhannes Artsruni, resettled with his family in Byzantium and submitted his state to Emperor Basil II receiving in exchange the title of *magistros* and the lifetime possession of the Byzantine cities of Sebasteia, Larissa and Abara⁴³. Analogous was the case of Hovhannes-Smbat III (1017–1041) who was forced in 1021/1022 to bequeath his lands to the empire, for which he was guaranteed their lifetime possession and was granted the title of *magistros*⁴⁴.

In this respect Byzantium's policy was certainly based not only on the 'Bulgarian precedents' but also on previous Armenian and Georgian ones of the 10th century. It was already Nikephoros II Phokas who compensated the successors to the principality of Taron annexed by him by granting each of them the title of *patrikios*⁴⁵, while Basil II himself in 990 even awarded the most powerful among the Georgian rulers of the time, David III (Bagrationi), Prince of Tao (961–1001), the rank of *kouropalates*, having forced him before that to bequeath to him his principality⁴⁶. Yet, unlike the way Basil II acted towards Bulgaria, in most of these cases besides the high titles, the particular Armenian or Georgian rulers either received territorial compensation in the form of lifetime possession or retained lifetime authority over their lands, which were to come under direct Byzantine administration only after their death.

As part of Basil II's Eastern policy, in 1001 the Georgian king Gurgun II (c. 975–1008) was honoured with the rank of *magistros*, and his son – Bagrat III, the future king of united Georgia (1008–1014) – was elevated to the dignity of *kouropalates*⁴⁷. Basil II also granted the distinction of *patrikios* to prominent Georgian and Armenian aristocrats such as Chortuanel, a nephew of the famous

⁴² R. GUILLAND, *Études...*, p. 12.

⁴³ There is a discrepancy in the sources regarding the title Senekerim was granted. According to Skylitzes, Basil II made him *patrikios* and *strategos* of Cappadocia, but the Armenian sources and Kekaumenos mention that he received the title of *magistros*. See SKYLITZÈS, p. 296; КЕКАВМЕН, *Советы и рассказы. Сочинение византийского полководца XI века*, ed. Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, Москва 1972, p. 282. Cf. К.Н. ЮЗБАШЯН, *Армянские государства...*, p. 150–156; В.П. СТЕПАНЕНКО, *О причинах и датировке передачи Васпуракана Византии*, ВВ 38, 1977, p. 72–79.

⁴⁴ See К.Н. ЮЗБАШЯН, *Армянские государства...*, p. 157–159.

⁴⁵ SKYLITZÈS, p. 234–235. See also К.Н. ЮЗБАШЯН, *Армянские государства...*, p. 125.

⁴⁶ See Н. КЪНЕВ, *Куропалати...*, p. 82, 90 and note 10 (and the sources given there).

⁴⁷ See М. ЛОРДКИПАНИДЗЕ, *История Грузии XI– начала XIII века*, Тбилиси 1974, p. 50 and note 13.

general and later Athonite monk John Tornikios – at the end of the 10th century, the cousins of the first Bagrat and Chortuanel, as well as the brothers Perse, Pheudate and Pakourian – at the very beginning of the 11th century⁴⁸. It is also known that during the military operations against Bulgaria at the beginning of the 11th century the Georgian Theodate Iberos (the Iberian), who was a holder of the dignity of *patrikios*, distinguished himself⁴⁹.

The awarding of members of the Armenian and Georgian aristocracy Byzantine titles by Basil II aimed at confirming the Byzantine influence and where possible – the direct authority, of the empire over particular Armenian or Georgian regions, and it was not fortuitous that the persons who received titular dignities joined the ranks of the Byzantine aristocracy. It is evident that in its policy in the East, too, Basil II followed a course of action which to a great extent was analogous to the model he followed in conquering the Bulgarian lands.

The survey of the awarding of Byzantine titles at the time of Basil II makes it possible to trace the sheer scale of his actions in this respect with regard to the Bulgarians, and hence the big scale of the concessions within the Byzantine rank hierarchy this emperor was ready to make for the sake of the final subjugation of Bulgaria. The number of the Bulgarians holders of high titles was considerable enough when expressed as a percentage of the total number of the holders of titles of the first order in Byzantium for this period. Most probably it was about a tenth, and possibly even higher. Viewed from the perspective of foreign policy, this number exceeded at least twice all the other cases of awarding significant titular distinctions outside of Byzantium in pursuing Basil II's European policy, and if not higher, it is at least comparable in quantitative terms to the granting of high titles in following the Eastern policy of the empire during Basil II's reign. Never before, as well as never after that did a Byzantine emperor use the awarding of high honorific ranks on such a big scale regarding the Bulgarians as Basil II did, but certainly the highly significant dimensions of this incorporation of members of the Bulgarian elite into the highest echelons of the Byzantine rank hierarchy was entirely within the context of the destruction of the Bulgarian state and submitting Bulgaria to the authority of the Byzantine Empire.

⁴⁸ SKYLITZÈS, p. 283–284. See also R. GUILLAND, *Patrices...*, p. 92; К.Н. ЮЗБАШЯН, *Армянские государства...*, p. 138, 142, 145–146.

⁴⁹ See R. GUILLAND, *Patrices...*, p. 95–96.

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Abstract. This article examines the question about the policy of honouring members of the Bulgarian imperial family and Bulgarian aristocracy with Byzantine honorific titles pursued by Emperor Basil II Boulgaroktonos (976–1025) in the course of the conquest of Bulgaria. It outlines the scale of this policy of Basil II – its goals and the reasons for adopting it. A review of the place and the importance of the particular titles in the rank hierarchy of Byzantium is presented. The comparison with other regions and cases of conferring Byzantine honorific titles clearly shows how crucially important the conquest of Bulgaria was: it is evident from the concessions the Emperor was ready to make to the Bulgarian ruling elite.


Keywords: Bulgaria, Byzantium, Emperor Basil II Boulgaroktonos, Byzantine honorific titles, Byzantine rank hierarchy.

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VIGNETTE OF CONSTANTINOPLE ON THE TABULA PEUTINGERIANANA. THE COLUMN OF CONSTANTINE OR THE LIGHTHOUSE

*Tabula Peutingeriana*¹, the original of which is dated for the 2nd half of the 4th century, and its parchment copy from the 13th century preserved until our times, has 555 vignettes². These vignettes were drawn in such a way as to make their hierarchy easily noticeable. Three of them are large and show Rome, Constantinople and Antioch, six others refer to important cities-fortresses of the Roman empire (Ancyra, Aquileia, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Ravenna, Thessalonica), whereas the remaining vignettes indicate small, provincial towns, lighthouses and other place names³.

¹ *Tabula Peutingeriana*. • Source of the original: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 324 (Time of drawing the original: 2nd half of the 4th century, Parchment copy: 13th century; Size of the original: approximately 34 cm high and 674 cm long). • Text of the legends on the map: K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius, genannt Die Peutinger'sche Tafel in Farben des Originals*, vol. II, Ravensburg 1888; IDEM, *Die Peutingersche Tafel oder Weltkarte des Castorius*, Stuttgart 1916; A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana*, Roma 1967 [= SMMIR, 7], p. 213–246; IDEM, *La "Tabula Peutingeriana"*, Bologna 1978; L. BOSIO, *La Tabula Peutingeriana. Una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico*, Rimini 1983 [= IMAC, 2], p. 83–120; E. WEBER, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324*, vol. I, *Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat*, Graz 1976; *Tabula Peutingeriana. Die einzige Weltkarte aus der Antike*, comm. M. RATHMANN, 2nd Darmstadt 2017 • Source of illustrations (tab. I/1–2 and 4–5): K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. II; <https://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html> [5 II 2019] – “*Tabula Peutingeriana*: real-size reproduction with permission of the National Austrian Library”. Cf. also notes 18–19.

² A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta...*, p. 65. Cf. G. TRONCONE, *I viaggi dipinti. Osservazioni sulla Tabula Peutingeriana*, [in:] *La via delle aquile nella terra dei lupi. Atti del convegno, Conza della Campania, 28 agosto 2012*, ed. C. GRASSI, Nusco 2013, p. 119. K. MILLER gave a slightly different number of vignettes on this map: *Wir zählen in Europa 311, in Africa 62, in Asien 161, zusammen 534 Vignetten* – IDEM, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius, genannt Die Peutinger'sche Tafel*, vol. I, *Einleitender Text*, Ravensburg 1887, p. 89.

³ Cf. R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte der peutingerschen Tafel*, MIÖG 7, 1886, p. 209, 211, 215–216; K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 89–97; O. CUNTZ, *Die Grundlagen*



Tab. I. Vignettes of lighthouses from *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

As far as the lighthouses are concerned, *Tabula Peutingeriana* has got two such vignettes: the lighthouse of Chrysopolis (tab. I/1) and the lighthouse of Alexandria (tab. I/2). These vignettes are identical. Konrad Miller (21 XI 1844 – 25 VII 1933) believed that also the lighthouse of La Coruña, called the Tower of Hercules as well (tab. I/3)⁴, located on the fragment of a map, which has been lost, showing the Iberian Peninsula and Western England, must have resembled the two lighthouses mentioned above. This type of lighthouse, however, was not the only one, which was presented by the drawer of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. For such a building is presented quite differently on the vignette of the port in Ostia (tab. I/4) and the

der Peutingerschen Tafeln, H 29, 1894, p. 588, note 4; H.F. TOZER, *A History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge 1897 [= CGSer], p. 310–311; K. MILLER, *Die Peutingersche Tafel...*, p. 2; W. KUBITSCHKEK, *Karten*, [in:] *RE*, vol. X.2, *Ius liberorum – Katochos*, Stuttgart 1919, col. 2138.36–2139.21; H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften des Abendlandes*, Leipzig 1923 [= IHINW, N.F. 1], p. 6; A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta...*, p. 65–66; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, praef. P. LEMERLE, Paris 1974 [= BBE, 7], p. 57, 66; O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the Early and Late Roman Empires*, [in:] *The History of Cartography*, vol. I, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J.B. HARLEY, D. WOODWARD, Chicago 1987, p. 239; K. ZALEWSKA-LORKIEWICZ, *Ilustrowane mappae mundi jako obraz świata. Średniowiecze i początki okresu nowożytnego*, Warszawa 1997, p. 23; E. WEBER, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Poznań 1998 [= XP, 4], p. 20; B. SALWAY, *Travel, "Itineraria" and "Tabularia"*, [in:] *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*, ed. C. ADAMS, R. LAURENCE, London–New York 2001, p. 45, fig. 3.3; p. 46, fig. 3.4; p. 47; IDEM, *The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map*, *IMu* 57, 2, 2005, p. 125; D. DRAKOULIS, *The Study of Late Antique Cartography through Web Based Sources*, eP 2, 3, 2007, p. [166]–[167] (= https://www.e-perimetron.org/Vol_2_3/Drakoulis.pdf [8 II 2019]); L. GRIG, *Competing Capitals, Competing Representations: Late Antique Cityscapes in Words and Pictures*, [in:] *Two Romes. Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. GRIG, G. KELLY, Oxford 2012 [= OSLA], p. 50; P. KOCHANEK, *Winiety metropolii Pentarchii na mapach średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych*, *VP* 34, 2014, p. 216; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column: The Column of Constantine in Early Byzantine Urban Landscape*, *METU* 33, 1, 2016, p. 136.

⁴ Source of illustrations (tab. I/3): K. MILLER, *Die Peutingersche Tafel...*, the Peutinger's Tabula attached to the text.



Fig. 1. Fragment of the eastern part of Mediterranean (Sea) of *Tabula Peutingeriana* (the reproduction by K. MILLER – 1888). Source: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_Peutingeriana#/media/File:TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg [5 II 2019].

alleged lighthouse, which was a part of the vignette of Aquileia (tab. I/5)⁵. The two first lighthouses are like three-storey towers with distinctly marked arcade entrances similar windows and a flame on top, whereas the two latter ones were presented as towers ending with conical roofs. The lighthouse at Ostia has two storeys, whereas the alleged lighthouse of Aquileia is a two-storey one.

As it has already been remarked in the title, the subject of this article is the vignette of Constantinople. Hermann Thiersch (12 I 1874 – 5 VI 1939), writing his dissertation on the lighthouse in Alexandria, found that also the vignette of Constantinople on *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows a lighthouse⁶, on top of which a naked male figure is standing, which is holding a spear in its left hand, and a globe – in the right hand. To confirm his thesis the author included a reproduction of that vignette in the text of his treatise⁷. However, the problem is that H. Thiersch used the vignette of Constantinople placed on the reproduction of *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which was made on the basis of the mediaeval copy in 1888 by K. Miller (fig. 3). The reproduction of the vignette made by K. Miller substantially differs from the drawing on the copy of the map from the 13th century, kept in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (fig. 2). K. Miller decided that the building crowned with the naked statue has windows on the first and second storey. Following that suggestion H. Thiersch believed it was a schematic presentation of

⁵ Cf. S. FRANZOT, *Aquileia e altri porti romani. Analisi della terminologia portuale nelle iscrizioni romane*, Aquileia (Udine) 1999, p. 55; B. GIARDINA, *Navigare necesse est. Lighthouses from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2010 [= BAR, 2096], p. 274, fig. 90.

⁶ H. THIERSCH, *Pharos: Antike, Islam und Occident. Ein Beitrag zur Architekturgeschichte*, Leipzig und Berlin 1909, p. 24: *Die Peutingersche Karte [...] vorstellt [...] einen dreifach horizontal abgetreppten Turm mit Fenstern und Türen, das oberste Stockwerk deutlich zylindrisch und oben darauf eine Kolossalfigur mit langem Zepter, ganz in der Haltung wie auf den Pharen der alexandrinischen Münzen und der Gemme von Aigeai. Es ist schwer verständlich, wie noch Miller in seiner Herausgabe der Karte und ihm folgend selbst Oberhammer [...] in diesem Turm ein Bild der Porphyrsäule Constantins sehen kann. Diese Säule hat einer solchen Darstellung niemals auch nur von ferne ähnlich gesehen.*

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 25, fig. 35.

a lighthouse, which reinforced his hypothesis, according to which the Alexandrian lighthouse was to be a model for the later lighthouses built in the Mediterranean Sea basin. H. Tiersch's mistake involved his trust in the accuracy of K. Miller's drawing and had not consulted it with the mediaeval copy from Vienna. Consequently, he became the godfather of the opinion that the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows a lighthouse. His thesis was adopted (among others) by Ferdinando Castagnoli (18 VI 1917 – 28 VII 1988)⁸, Annalina Levi (13 V 1913 – 5 XI 2008) and her husband Mario Levi (2 I 1908 – ? V 1976)⁹, and also by Michel Reddé¹⁰. Somewhat cautiously approached this issue Oswald A.W. Dilke (26 IV 1915 – 10 VII 1993), who wrote that it is [...] *a high column (rather than a lighthouse)*¹¹, and Baldassarre Giardina amphasizing that *the structure (of this monument is) too slim to have been a lighthouse*¹². However, H. Tiersch's mistake has not remained unnoticed. The reason for it was explained as early as a few decades ago. Probably the first one who noticed the difference between the drawing of Constantinople vignette made by K. Miller and the vignette on the 13th century copy of the map kept in Vienna was Hans Gross in 1913¹³, and then in 1917 Wilhelm Kubitschek (28 VI 1858 – 2 X 1936)¹⁴. In this context it is worth adding

⁸ F. CASTAGNOLI, *Faro*, [in:] *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*, vol. III, *Dan – Herc*, ed. R. BIANCHI-BANDINELLI, Roma 1960, p. 596.

⁹ A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta...*, p. 129; *ibidem*, p. 153–154: *Quello che ci spinge a considerare questo monumento come un faro piuttosto che come una columna [...] è il fatto che esso presenta dal basso in alto quegli stessi elementi costitutivi, vale a dire il basamento e le sezioni a larghezza decrescente che già abbiamo riscontrato presenti in varie rappresentazioni di fari, più sopra esaminate. E per di più, in questo caso, a riscontro delle varie finestre od aperture che in varie figurazioni di fari [...] sono state ricavate nelle pareti, possiamo tuttavia riscontrare delle tracce di aperture anche se ci riesce difficile stabilire che si tratti di vere e proprie porte o finestre. Quanto poi alla statua virile eretta alla cima del monumento, no riesce difficile riscontrarne la similitudine con varie figurazioni di questo tipo e soprattutto con quella del Faro di Alessandria.*

¹⁰ M. REDDÉ, *La représentation des phares à l'époque romain*, MEFR.A 91, 2, 1979, p. 854, 871. Cf. M.-H. QUET, *Pharus*, MEFR.A 96, 2, 1984, p. 801, note 29: *La vignette qui caractérise Constantinople représente la Colonne de porphyre, mais non un phare, comme ont pu le penser A. et L. Levi et M. Reddé.*

¹¹ O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps...*, p. 239.

¹² B. GIARDINA, *Navigare necesse est...*, p. 74, 171. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 261, fig. 63 (Description of Constantinople's vignette): *The harbour of Constantinople and the column (or the lighthouse) of Constantinus in segment VIII of the Tabula Peutingeriana.*

¹³ H. GROSS, *Zur Entstehungs-Geschichte der Tabula Peutingeriana*, [Bonn] 1913 [repr. Amsterdam 1980], p. 68, note 3.

¹⁴ W. KUBITSCHKEK, [rec.:] K. MILLER, *Itineraria Romana...*; IDEM, *Die Peutingerische Tafel...*; H. GROSS, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte... – GGA 179, 1917, p. 9*: [...] *Thiersch in seinem schönen und geistreichen Werk Pharos (1909) ein unfreiwilliges Opfer der Millerschen Kastoriustafel wird, deren ganz falsche Darstellung der neben der Vignette von Konstantinopel gezeichneten Säule er (statt der der Wiener Photographie, die 21 Jahre vor dem Pharos-Buch erschienen ist!) S. 25 Fig. 35 wiederholt und S. 24 kommentiert. Auf den Widerspruch zwischen der Wiener Photographie und der Kastoriustafel in diesem Punkt hat auch Groß, Entstehung S. 68, 3 hingewiesen; ein Vergleich des Originals zeigt, daß der Schaft der Säule durch keine Fenster oder Türen unterbrochen ist; vielleicht war er rot bemalt;*



Fig. 2. The Constantinople vignette on the 13th century copy (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). Source of the original: <https://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html> [5 II 2019] – “Tabula Peutingeriana: real-size reproduction with permission of the National Austrian Library”. Cf. note 1.



Fig. 3. The Constantinople vignette on the reproduction by K. MILLER (1888): *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. II (= https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_Peutingeriana#/media/File:TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg [5 II 2019]).

that the contemporary researchers most frequently reproduce the vignette, which is on the Vienna 13th century copy of *Tabula Peutingeriana*¹⁵. K. Miller's version of the vignette, in turn, is copied much less frequently¹⁶.

It should, however, be reminded that K. Miller is not the author of that inexact scheme of Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*. For the graphic suggestion of such a scheme of the vignette could be found already in the *editio*

die von oben nach unten durchlaufende, nur durch die Gesimse unterbrochene schwarze zarte Mittelinie muß noch ihre Erklärung finden. Cf. ibidem, p. 41.

¹⁵ Cf. H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften...*, p. 6, fig. 3; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, tab. IV; L. BOSIO, *La Tabula Peutingeriana...*, fig. 22; R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Three Christian Capitals. Topography and Politics*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1983, p. 57, fig. 53; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. III.1, *Atherion – Eros*, Zürich-München 1986, p. 231, fig. 1; O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps...*, p. 240, fig. 14.2; J. ENGEMANN, *Herrscherbild*, [in:] RAC, vol. XIV, *Heilig – Hexe*, Stuttgart 1988, col. 982, fig. 2; J. MIZIOLEK, *Sol verus. Studia nad ikonografią Chrystusa w sztuce pierwszego tysiąclecia*, Wrocław-Warszawa 1991 [= SHS, 46], fig. 59; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus. Die Verchristlichung der imperialen Repräsentation unter Konstantin dem Großen als Spiegel seiner Kirchenpolitik und seines Selbstverständnisses als christlicher Kaiser*, Berlin-New York 1992 [= AKi, 58], fig. 6; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike. Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos*, Mainz 1996, tab. 19, fig. 2; E. WEBER, *Tabula Peutingeriana* (1998)..., p. 14, fig. 9; C. BERTELLI, *Visual Images of the Town in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, [in:] *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G.P. BROGIOLO, B. WARD-PERKINS, Leiden-Boston 1999 [= TRW, 4], fig. 2; C. BARSANTI, *Costantinopoli e l'Esgeo nei primi decenni del XV secolo: la testimonianza di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, RINASA 56 (III serie – anno 24), 2001, p. 172, fig. 49; I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce. Riflessioni su Costantino e il sole*, MEFR.A 115, 2, 2003, p. 1040, fig. 8; S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2004, p. 193, fig. 19; *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. N. LENSKI, Cambridge-New York 2006, fig. 3; B. GIARDINA, *Navigare necesse est...*, p. 261, fig. 63; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge 2012, p. 37, fig. 24; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife of Constantine's Column*, JRS 27, 2014, p. 311, fig. 6; J. BROTTON, *Great Maps. The World's Masterpieces Explored and Explained*, London 2015, p. 29; p. 31, fig. 4; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 136, fig. 15; Δ.Π. ΔΡΑΚΟΥΛΗΣ, *Η Κωνσταντινούπολη στη δυτική μεσαιωνική χαρτογραφία (εικονογραφημένα οδοιπορικά – παγκόσμιοι χάρτες – λιμενοδείκτες – νησολόγια)*, Βκα 33, 2016, p. 113, fig. 2; S. BASSETT, *The Topography of Triumph in Late Antique Constantinople*, [in:] *Der römische Triumph in Prinzipat und Spätantike*, ed. F. GOLDBECK, J. WIENAND, Berlin-Boston 2017, p. 519, fig. 17.4.

¹⁶ Cf. K. GROSS-ALBENHAUSEN, *Zur christlichen Selbstdarstellung Konstantins*, K 78, 1, 1996, p. 173, fig. 1; A. BERGER, J. BARDILL, *The Representations of Constantinople in Hartmann Schedel's "World Chronicle", and Related Pictures*, BMGS 22, 1998, p. 37, fig. 12; B. SALWAY, *Travel...*, p. 45, fig. 3.3; *Tabula Peutingeriana. Le antiche vie del mondo*, ed. F. PRONTERA, Firenze 2003 (on the cover of the book); T. BARNES, *Constantine. Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Late Roman Empire*, Chichester 2011, fig. 9B; *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, Warszawa 2011 (photo on the cover of the book); P. KOCHANEK, *Winiety metropolii Pentarchii...*, p. 216, tab. I, fig. [4]; IDEM, *Vignetten von Konstantinopel in den mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Karten. Die Entwicklung eines graphischen Topos der Stadt*, VP 38, 2018, p. 412, tab. I, fig. 13; p. 437, tab. VIII, fig. 13.

princeps of the map, prepared in 1598 by Marcus Welser (20 VI 1558 – 23 VI 1614)¹⁷ – fig. 4. The new edition of that map was presented in 1753 by Franz Christoph von Scheyb (26 II 1704 – 2 X 1777)¹⁸. That edition also contained a new version of Constantinople vignette – fig. 5. The edition of *Tabula Peutingeriana* by F.C. Scheyb was repeated in 1824 (with some corrections) by Konrad Mannert (17 IV 1756 – 29 IX 1834)¹⁹, who also took over his vignette of the metropolis upon Bosphorus. In this way the Constantinople vignette made available to the 13th century European science by F.C. von Scheyb in 1753 entered the cartographic circuit, becoming a certain kind of standard. Its position was also strengthened by Ernest Desjardins (30 IX 1823 – 22 X 1886), who, in his work concerning this very map, published in the years 1869–1874 also used F.C. von Scheyb's edition²⁰. K. Miller followed the authority of his predecessors and repeated the graphic scheme of Constantinople vignette, the author of which was, in fact, F.C. von Scheyb. H. Thiersch, in turn, interpreted one of the elements of this vignette as a scheme of a lighthouse. On one hand, it can be said that H. Thiersch's history of misidentification reaches back to the 18th and even 16th century and is closely connected with the history of the subsequent editions of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. On the other hand, however H. Thiersch's mistake was the result of his persistent aiming at the strongest supporting with iconographic material of his thesis about the history of lighthouses in the antiquity. Consequently, he interpreted the Constantinople vignette in such a way as to make it correspond to the needs of his dispute. In this situation the reproduction of the vignette made by F.C. von Scheyb, and copied by K. Miller, suited perfectly the idea of H. Thiersch.

Meanwhile, K. Miller himself never identified the above mentioned element of the Constantinople vignette with the lighthouse. His description of that vignette of the year 1887 is the following:

¹⁷ *Tabula Itineraria ex illustri Peutingerorum bibliotheca quae Augustae Vindelicorum beneficio Marci Velseri septemviri Augustani in lucem edita*, Antverpiae: Apud Petrum de Hondt, 1598. History of editions of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, cf. K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 26–39; O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps...*, p. 238.

¹⁸ F.C. DE SCHEYB, *Peutingeriana tabula itineraria quae in Augusta bibliotheca Vindobonensi nunc servatur accurate exscripta, numini maiestatique Mariae Theresiae Reginae Augustae dicta*, Vindobonae: Ex typographia Trattneriana, 1753 (the Peutinger's Tabula attached to the text). Cf. *ibidem*, p. I–XII: *Index regionum, insularum, fluviorum, urbium & omnium locorum, quae in Tabula Peutingeriana adnotantur*. Cf. also W. KUBITSCHKEK, [rec.:] K. MILLER, *Itineraria...*, p. 41.

¹⁹ C. MANNERTUS, *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana primum aeri incisa et edita a Francisco Christophoro de Scheyb MDCCLIII denuo cum codice Vindoboni collata, emendata et nova introductione instructa*, Lipsiae 1824 (the Peutinger's Tabula attached to the text). Cf. *ibidem*, p. 45–63: *Index nominum quae in Tabula Peutingeriana continentur*.

²⁰ E. DESJARDINS, *La table de Peutinger d'après l'original conservé à Vienne, précédée d'une introduction historique et critique*, Paris 1869–1874 [repr. Innsbruck 2015] (the Peutinger's Tabula attached to the text). Cf. W. KUBITSCHKEK, [rec.:] K. MILLER, *Itineraria...*, p. 41.



Fig. 4. The Constantinople vignette after M. WELSER (1598). Source of the original: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5962742p/f1.zoom> [30 IV 2019].



Fig. 5. The Constantinople vignette after F.C. von SCHEYB (1753). Source of the original: <https://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000000953> [30 IV 2019].

In *Konstantinopel* sehen wir das Bild eines Feldherrn, den buschigen Helm auf dem Haupte, die Linke auf den Schild gestützt und die Lanze zur Seite, die Rechte ausgestreckt, um seinen Willen kundzugeben. Daneben erhebt sich eine riesige Säule mit dem Standbild eines Herrschers, welcher die Lanze in der Linken und die Erdkugel in der Rechten hält. Obwohl Konstantinopel durch seine vielen Säulen berühmt ist, so ist es doch kaum möglich, hier an eine andere Säule zu denken, als an die Konstantins-Säule, [...] Porphyrs-Säule, *Columna purpurea* genannt, [...].²¹

Thus, according to K. Miller, it is not about the lighthouse, but about the Column of Constantine. The figure sitting on the throne, in turn, is *Feldherr*, that is, the supreme commander of the army, and the figure standing on the column is *Herrscher*, that is, the ruling Lord/Ruler. K. Miller did not state directly that the ruler was Constantine the Great (27 II c. 272 – 22 V 337 AD; Roman emperor: 306–337 AD). Instead, he used the phrase: *Standbild eines Herrschers* – statue of a ruler. However, using the expression: *die Konstantins-Säule* suggests that exactly this emperor is being mentioned. It is worth reminding here that the identification of the column that can be seen on the Constantinople vignette with the Column of Constantine appeared as early as before the publication of K. Miller's work in the text by Rudolf Hotz (13 XII 1852 – 13 II 1917) of 1886²². The thesis of these two authors was repeated in 1923 by Hermann J. Hermann (12 X 1869 – 10 V 1953)²³, and four years later by Jan R. Wartena (30 I 1897 – 17 XI 1983)²⁴.

Neither is K. Miller the first historian of cartography to describe the vignette of Constantinople. Before him at least a few other researchers had done so. In the 18th century these were, among others: a Jesuit Joseph B. Heyrenbach (24 V 1738 – 20 IV 1779), whose work was written in 1768, but it came out in print as late as in 1852, as his posthumous work²⁵, as well as Gerard Meerman (6 XII 1722 – 15 XII 1771), whose text was printed in 1773. In the 19th century, in turn, the vignette was described i.a. by: the above mentioned Konrad Mannert in 1824; the Croatian Franciscan Matija P. Katančić (12 VIII 1750 – 24 V 1825), whose monumental work was also published in 1824; Johann N. Seefried in his article from 1870; another description is from 1874, and its author is Dionys Grün (8 I 1819 – 26 II 1896); ultimately, in 1886 R. Hotz presented his description of the vignette.

²¹ K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 50. Cf. IDEM, *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana*, Stuttgart 1916, p. XXXII. Cf. also E. OBERHUMMER, *Constantinopolis*, [in:] *RE*, vol. VII, *Claudius mons – Cornificius*, Stuttgart 1900, col. 1013.4–8; W. KUBITSCHKEK, [rec.:] K. MILLER, *Itineraria...*, p. 9.

²² R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte...*, p. 215–216.

²³ H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften...*, p. 7.

²⁴ J.R. WARTENA, *Inleiding op een uitgave der Tabula Peutingeriana*, Amsterdam–Paris 1927, p. 91. Cf. P. ARNAUD, *L'origine, la date de rédaction et la diffusion de l'archétype de la Table de Peutinger*, BSNAP 1988, p. 309.

²⁵ Cf. T.G. VON KARAJAN, [Einleitung], [in:] J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana. Ein nachgelassenes Werk*, Wien 1852, p. [3].

J.B. Heyrenbach's description is short. The author focused mainly on the vignette of Rome. He considered the drawing of Constantinople together with the scheme of the Eternal City and described both the vignettes in the following way: *Rom und Constantinopel in der Gestalt einer sitzende gekrönte Person, mit einer Lanze, in der Linken einen Schild, auf einem Thronstuhl [...]*²⁶. The same author added a bit lower: *Die Bauart des Thrones bei den Hauptstädten ist [...] von einem Geschmacke des mittleren Zeitalters*²⁷. J.B. Heyrenbach treated the description of Rome and Constantinople vignettes exclusively as one of the arguments, which was to help him prove his thesis. In accordance with this thesis *Tabula Peutingeriana* kept in a library in Vienna was not the original, which had been made in 393, as it was generally believed at that time, following the authority of F.C. von Scheyb²⁸, but the copy from the 13th century. J.B. Heyrenbach claimed that it was this copy that had been mentioned in *Annales Colmarienses minores*, where a Dominican friar wrote, referring to the year 1265: *Mappam mundi descripsi in pelles 12 pergamini*²⁹. The same fragment of *Annales Colmarienses minores* F.C. von Scheyb also quoted in his work of 1753³⁰, but that researcher definitely rejected the hypothesis that this statement referred to *Tabula Peutingeriana*. J.B. Heyrenbach polemized with such a position of F.C. von Scheyb³¹. That polemic was inspired by Johann C. Gatterer's (13 VII 1727 – 5 IV 1799) opinion. In 1767 he assumed without any evidence that the Vienna copy of that map originates from the 13th century³². J.B. Heyrenbach got acquainted with the above opinion of J.C. Gatterer through the dissertation published in 1768 by August L. Schlözer (5 VII 1735 – 9 IX 1809), who, however, wrongly claimed that J.C. Gatterer dated the Vienna copy of *Tabula Peutingeriana* for the 12th century³³. Then J.B. Heyrenbach, in the same year

²⁶ J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 8.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

²⁸ F.C. DE SCHEYB, *Dissertatio de Tabula Peutingeriana*, [in:] IDEM, *Peutingeriana tabula itineraria...*, p. 15–29 (= Caput II: *Tabulam Peutingerianam Theodosii Magni cura & mandato A.C. CCCXCIII. adnotatam depictamque esse statuitur*).

²⁹ *Annales Colmarienses minores a. 1211–1298*, ed. P. JAFFÉ, [in:] *Annales aevi Suevici*, ed. G.H. PERTZ, Hannoverae 1861 [= MGH.SS, 17], p. 191.35; *Annales Basileenses a. 1266–1277*, ed. P. JAFFÉ, [in:] *Annales aevi Suevici...*, p. 200.8: *Mappam mundi correxi circa Margretae* (i.e. July, 20). Cf. J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 13. Cf. also note 37.

³⁰ F.C. DE SCHEYB, *Dissertatio de Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 30.

³¹ J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 14–22.

³² J.C. GATTERER, [rec.:] *Wenceslai Hagek a Liboczan, Annales Bohemorum e Bohemica editione Latine redditi* – AHBM 4, 1767, p. 325: [...] sie [*Tabula Peutingeriana*] vielmehr ins 13te Jahrhundert gehört. Cf. IDEM, *Register über alle sechzehn Bände der Allgemeinen historischen Bibliothek*, AHBM 16, 1771, p. 304: *Peutingerische Tafeln [...] gehören nicht ins 3te, sondern 13te Jahrhundert*; IDEM, *Praktische Diplomatie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1799, p. 168: *Also ist die Peut. Tafel im 13ten Jahrh. geschrieben worden*.

³³ A.L. SCHLÖZER, *Probe Russischer Annalen*, Bremen–Göttingen 1768, p. 75: *Die Peutingerische Chartre, auf die sich Jordan so viel zu Gute thut, wird nächstens durch Hr. Prof. Gatterern ihr Ansehen*

– 1768 – wrote the text analyzed here, where he proved that the Vienna copy was created exactly in the year 1265. Unfortunately, his dissertation lay dormant in manuscript between the year 1768 and 1852. It cannot be excluded, however, that the thesis of J.B. Heyrenbach, in spite of having been presented in a manuscript only, was known to a small circle of researchers. However, its scope of effect is difficult to verify. Consequently, it should be recognized that until the year 1852 it did not function in the European science.

The Latin description of the vignette in turn, the author of which is G. Meerman, has the following wording:

Tab. VIII. igitur ad Bosporum Thracium repraesentatur mulier solio insidens, Minervaeque, ut videtur, induta habitu, qua Orientis Imperatricem designare sese voluisse autor ostendit adjecto *Constantinopoleos* indicio, itemque columna, cui imposita statua hominis nudi, dextra globum, sinistra hastam tenentis, quam indicare columnam Imp. Arcadii suspicor. [...]. Nulla vero Orienti femina praefuit ante Irenen [...]. Consequens est, huius Augustae effigiem non nisi ad Irenen referri posse.³⁴

Thus, G. Meerman decided that a woman is sitting on the throne (*mulier solio insidens*) clad like Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom and warfare (*Minervae induta habitu*), whom he identified as the empress Irene of Athens (c. 752 – 9 VIII 803; empress regnant of the Byzantine Empire: 19 IV 797 – 31 X 802). He identified the column (*columna*) with a naked statue of man on top (*statua hominis nudi*) with the Column of Arcadius. In this way he silently suggested that this male statue is the statue of the Emperor Arcadius (1 I 377 – 1 V 408; Eastern Roman emperor from 395). Identification of the column on the vignette with the Column of Arcadius certainly is not accidental. For if G. Meerman saw the Constantinople vignette in F.C. von Scheyb's version, he might have decided that the column resembles the Column of Arcadius, which was demolished in Istanbul in 1719, of which he might have known that it resembled the Roman Trajan's Column, so it had internal, spiral stairs and, what is more important, small windows, lightening them up, as well as the entrance door in the plinth and the door leading to the upper "observation deck" of the column³⁵. The Column of Constantine lacked these elements. In this case G. Meerman did not make a mistake, but interpreted the column, together with the statue, in accordance with what he saw on the Constantinople vignette presented twenty years before by F.C. von Scheyb. The

verlieren, und aus dem dritten ins 12te Jahrhundert verwiesen werden. Cf. J.B. HEYRENBACH, *Anmerkungen über die Tabula Peutingeriana...*, p. 6.

³⁴ G. MEERMANNUS, *Commentarius in epigramma anonymi vel potius Sedvlii presbyteri, de tabula terrarum ivssv Theodosii Ivrioris Imp. facta*, [in:] *Anthologia veterum latinorum epigrammatum et poematum sive catacleta poetarum latinorum*, vol. II, ed. P. BYRMANNI, Amstelaedami: ex Officina Schovteniana, 1773, p. 395.

³⁵ Cf. *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym...*, phot. 16, 19; A. KOMPA, *Konstantynopolitańskie zabytki w Stambule*, AUL.FH 87, 2011, p. 181–182.

Column of Arkadius, in turn, as it is well known, was erected to commemorate the victory of that emperor in 400 over the rebellious Goths, led by Gainas. No wonder then that the patron of that victory is *mulier solio insidens, Minervae induta habitu*. It is only the identification of that woman with the empress Irene of Athens seems to be a sort of inconsistency in G. Meerman's reasoning. For he could restrict himself to stating that Minerva herself is sitting on the throne.

According to chronology, the next description of the Constantinople vignette by K. Mannert is the following:

Aequae insignis Segm. VIII alia se offert pictura qua orientalis imperii caput *Constantinopolis* ornetur. Eodem quo Romae modo throno insidentem vides viri figuram cum thorace et pallio, nec tamen coronatam, sed caput tectum casside alte crispata, qualem medii aevi equites aurati gestare solebant, sinistra manu hastam cum clypeo rotundo tenet, dextra indigens statuam altissimae turris apici instantem, ornatam globo in dextra, hasta longissimae mensurae in dextra [should be: sinistra] manu. Ejusmodi figuram Romanis haud convenire in aperto est, nec enim eum habitum, nec galeas plumatas, nec rotundos usui habebant clypeos. Et quo minus posterioribus Byzantinis imperatoribus huic ornatui simile quidquam fuisse cogites, impediunt quas habemus eorum effigies, alio sumptuoso habitu indutae, caput corona singulari forma tectae. Homo igitur medii aevi latinus artis suae specimen editurus simul suam prodidit aetatem. Vt enim formae minime quadrant in imperatorem graecum, ita omnino conveniunt equiti germanicorum populorum; temporis spatium indicant, quo Balduinus Flandriae comes imperatoribus sede imperiali deturbatis potitus est Constantinopoli. Qua de causa figura throno quidem insidet nec tamen coronata, nec globum manu tenens. Initium hoc latinorum regnum sumsit a. 1204, amissum a. 1261 per Graecorum conatus. Eodem igitur intervallo scriptor suam absolvit Tabulam. Ne prolata levioris putentur momenti, diligentius picturae locum consideranti patebit, ad omnia alia archetypo eum destinatum fuisse. Urbs *Perinthus* haut procul abest, antiquum nomen in Tabula retinens, quo Alexandri Severi aetate appellabatur, posteriore tempore *Heraclea* cognominata. Viae ab ea urbe Constantinopolim ducentes delendae erant, (et maxima sua parte deletae, sic tamen ut vestigia remaneant) ut figurae atque nomini satis amplum enasceretur spatium. In archetypo nomen urbis fuit *Byzantium*, coevum Perinthus, quo deleto scriptor substituit *Constantinopolim*, ea tamen inscitia, ut agri *Byzantini* uncialibus literis expressi mentionem ex antiqua membrana suo loco reliquerit. Is ager ab Imp. Severo Byzantinis irascenti dono datus est Perinthus; mox nomen cum dono evanuit; seculo enim quarto insertum scimus provinciae quam *Europam* appellabant, insignitam jam Constantini M. tempore per Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum. Picturam igitur archetypo non adfuisse, sed illatam esse ab exscriptore vides, et quidem medio aevo, aspectu figurae id indicante [...].³⁶

As it is clearly visible, K. Mannert not only described the Constantinople vignette very carefully, but he also interpreted it in a great detail. In his approach, the male figure (*viri figura*) on the throne symbolizes a Latin emperor, one of the rulers of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, who reigned there between the year 1204 and 1261. Thus, it is not the real Byzantine emperor (*imperator graecus*), but a usurper, characterized as: *medii aevi eques auratus, homo medii aevi latinus* and

³⁶ C. MANNERTUS, *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana...*, p. 18–19.

eques germanicorum populorum. Therefore, according to K. Mannert, the figure on the throne has no attire, nor insignia of power, typical of Byzantine emperors, but is wearing clothes of a rich, Teutonic knight from the mediaeval times. This figure indicates the statue (*statua*) with the gesture of its right hand. The statue is standing on a very tall tower (*altissima turris*). K. Mannert failed to give the identification of neither the tower nor the statue. He emphasized, however, that the original *Tabula Peutingeriana* did not have the Constantinople vignette, which, in fact, is, in his view, a work of a mediaeval copier (*Picturam [...] archetypo non adfuisse, sed illatam esse ab exscriptore vides, et quidem medio aevo...*). This extensive analysis of the vignette on account of its connection with the culture of the Middle Ages was to reinforce the arguing aimed at indicating the approximate date of the creation of the Vienna copy of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. However, the date of K. Mannert, who indicated the period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople as the probable time when the copy of the map was prepared, was based not only on the vignette of Constantinople. The German historian and geographer made an effort to make his dating of the copy of that map correspond with the text of *Annales Colmarienses minores*³⁷, where under the year 1265 there is the text that had already been copied by F.C. von Scheyb and J.B. Heyrenbach: *Mappam mundi descripsi in pelles 12 pergamenti*³⁸. For K. Mannert decided, just like J.C. Gatterer (whom he quoted) before him³⁹, as well as J.B. Heyrenbach (whom he did not know) that the map referred to in *Annales Colmarienses minores* is in fact a copy of the Roman map, colloquially referred to as *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The Constantinople vignette was

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 2, 21–23.

³⁸ C. MANNERTUS, *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana*..., p. 20. This reference was later often quoted, cf. P. JAFFÉ, *Annales Colmarienses, Basileenses, Chronicon Colmariense*, [in:] *Annales aevi Suevici*..., p. 186.34–187.1; *ibidem*, p. 187.2–3: *licet cum his non senserim, qui illam pro certo dicunt tabulam fuisse Peutingerianam*; F.H. VON HUNDT, *Ueber die neue Ausgabe der Tabula Peutingeriana durch Desjardins und ihre Ergebnisse für Süddeutschland zur Römerzeit*, SKBAWM.HC 2, 1869, p. 586; D. GRÜN, *Die Peutinger'sche Tafel*, MKKGG 17 (N.F. 7), 1874, p. 468; F. PHILIPPI, *De Tabvla Pevingeriana: accedvnt fragmenta Agrippae geographica*, Bonnae 1876, p. 6; R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte*..., p. 210; K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius*..., vol. I, p. 8; *idem*, *Mappae mundi. Die ältesten Weltkarten*, vol. III, *Die kleineren Weltkarten*, Stuttgart 1895, p. 151; J. STRZELCZYK, *Peutingeriana tabula*, [in:] *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. IV, P–R, Wrocław–Warszawa 1970, p. 68; P. ARNAUD, *Les villes des cartographes. Vignettes urbaines et réseaux urbains dans les mappemondes de l'Occident médiéval*, MEF.R.MÂ 91, 1, 1984, p. 539, note 4; *idem*, *L'origine*..., p. 319, note 55; M. WEGMANN, *Naturwahrnehmung im Mittelalter im Spiegel der lateinischen Historiographie des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Bern–Berlin 2005, p. 75, note 270; T. SZABÓ, *Florenz und die Vermessung Europas*, [in:] «Come l'orco della fiaba». *Studi per Franco Cardini*, ed. M. MONTESANO, Firenze 2010, p. 600, note 16; G. TRONCONE, *I viaggi dipinti*..., p. 118. Cf. also A. D'ÀVEZAC, *Mémoire sur l'Éthicus et sur les ouvrages cosmographiques intitulés de ce nom*, MAIBLIF I série, 2, 1852, p. 429; H.F. TOZER, *A History of Ancient Geography*..., p. 311; F. GISINGER, *Peutingeriana*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XXXVIII, *Petros bis Philon*, Stuttgart 1938, col. 1406.22–24. Cf. also notes 28–29.

³⁹ C. MANNERTUS, *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana*..., p. 38. He cites here J.C. Gatterer's publication from 1799: *Praktische Diplomantik* (p. 167).

for him, in turn, one of the most important proofs that was to confirm that thesis. That is why he devoted so much space to its description. F.C. von Scheyb analyzed the mention from *Annales Colmarienses minores* as it has been mentioned, already in 1753, but the researcher rejected the possibility of identifying the map referred to in *Annales* with *Tabula Peutingeriana*⁴⁰. K. Mannert returned to that fragment of *Annales Colmarienses minores* and made it an important argument in dating the Vienna map for the 13th century. In the context of the analysis of Constantinople vignette presented above by K. Mannert in 1824, it is worth paying attention to a certain silent suggestion contained in its description. Namely, K. Mannert claims that the ruler on the throne is one of the emperors of the Latin Empire of Constantinople – *Balduinus Flandriae comes*⁴¹. It is that Latin Emperor who points with his right hand to the statue standing on the tower. Following that suggestion we can say that the Latin usurper points to the statue of the legitimate emperor, who was the Greek Emperor. He, however, despite his awareness of his “inferiority” towards the real Byzantine emperors, rules, and his Byzantine predecessors reign from their monuments only. Even if its over-interpretation, undoubtedly the long divagation of K. Mannert contains many inspiring threads. It is also worth noticing that the thesis of K. Mannert that the vignette of Constantinople was absent from the original map and that it was added by a 13th century monk-copier, practically had never been used by the later examiners of the map.

In 1874 D. Grün presented the above analyses by K. Mannert translated in German⁴². As it is only a repetition of someone else’s theses, it was decided that they were not worth quoting here *in extenso*.

Also in the year 1824 a short description of Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* was published by M.P. Katančić:

Princeps, in throno sedens, caput galea tectus, pectore nudus, dextra protenta genium in turri stantem, nudum, dextra pomum, sinistra hastam tenentem, laeua in scutum recline hastam tenet, ad latus mitra; pictura purpurei et lutei coloris, pro ea aetate non inelegans⁴³.

In his description of the vignette the figure sitting on the throne is the ruling Lord/Ruler (*princeps*), pointing out with his right hand to the tower (*turris*), where the genius of Constantinople (*genius*) is standing. Thus, M.P. Katančić, like K. Mannert, saw in the monument crowned with a statue not a column, but a tower.

⁴⁰ F.C. DE SCHEYB, *Peutingeriana tabula itineraria...*, p. 30.

⁴¹ K. Mannert does not specify which Baldwin is concerned about. Baldwin of Flanders (1172–1205) reigned briefly as Baldwin I: 1204–1205. On the other hand, Baldwin of Courtney (1217–1273), or Baldwin II, reigned in the years 1228–1273. However, in the years 1261–1273, that is after regaining of Constantinople by the Greeks, he was only an emperor in exile.

⁴² D. GRÜN, *Die Peutinger'sche Tafel...*, p. 465–466.

⁴³ M.P. KATANSICICH, *Orbis antiqvvs ex tabvla itineraria qvae Theodosii Imp. et Pevtingeri avdit ad systema geographiae redactvs et commentario illvstratvs*, p. 1, *Continens Evropam*, Bvdae 1824, p. 721.

The two figures drawn on the vignette in turn, he interpreted in an extremely different way than his German colleague, at the same time signaling a certain hierarchy: the reigning ruler was to sit on the throne, whereas on the tower the statue of the genius of Constantinople was to stand. Against the background of the descriptions by G. Meerman, K. Mannert and M.P. Katančić one can only notice the significant *novum* contained in K. Miller's description: the tower (*turris*) in the latter one transformed into the Column of Constantine (*die Konstantins-Säule, Porphyrs-Säule, Columna purpurea*), which suggests that the statue on the column presents Constantine the Great, referred to as the *Herrscher*. Thus, it is neither the *statua hominis nudi* (supposedly Emperor Arcadius) by G. Meerman, nor the anonymous statue (*statua*) by K. Mannert, nor the genius of Constantinople (*genius*) by M.P. Katančić. According to K. Miller, in turn, the person sitting on the throne is the supreme commander of the army (*Feldherr*), and not Irene of Athens by G. Meerman, nor *medii aevi eques auratus, homo medii aevi latinus, eques germanicorum populorum* by K. Mannert, or, finally, *princeps* by M.P. Katančić. What connects the descriptions of Constantinople vignette by those three authors is, in turn, the conviction that the relationship between these figures shown on the vignette is based on the principle of hierarchy.

In 1870 an equally short description of the vignette of Constantinople was presented in an article by J.N. Seefried:

[...] auf einem Throne sitzende Person gibt mit ihrer Rechten den Befehl zur Abmessung und Beschreibung des Erdkreises, indem sie auf einen Mann hindeutet, der auf einer Säule, Hochwarte oder einem Thume steht und in seiner Rechten einen Globus und in der Linken eine Ruthe oder ein Längenmaß hält⁴⁴.

Besides, J.N. Seefried took over K. Mannert's thesis that the name Constantinople originated from the 13th century copier: [...] *die Interpolation Constantinopels für Byzantium* [...] ⁴⁵; and the thesis that *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a copy of the Roman map referred to in *Annales Colmarienses minores*⁴⁶. He explained the change of the city name from *Byzantium* into *Constantinopolis* saying that [...] *jünger hat er [der mittelalterliche Kopist] die Tafel machen wollen und deßhalb [...] Byzantium ganz gestrichen und Constantinopol dafür gesetzt*⁴⁷. This description of Constantinople vignette practically had not been noticed by science of that and later time. However, it is worth noticing, as it constitutes one of the links in the chain of interpretations of that vignette.

⁴⁴ J.N. SEEFRIED, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tabula Peutingeriana*, OAVG 29, 1869/1870, p. 343.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ IDEM, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tabula Peutingeriana*, OAVG 31, 1871, p. 12.

⁴⁷ IDEM, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tabula Peutingeriana*, OAVG 29, 1869/1870, p. 344.

The description by the Swiss geographer R. Hotz⁴⁸ is the following:

Das Bild einer auf dem Throne sitzenden Gestalt, die in der Linken Schild und Lanze trägt, mit der Rechten aber auf einen daneben befindlichen Thurm hinzudeuten scheint, auf welchem eine Bildsäule steht, die in der Rechten die Weltkugel und in der Linken eine lange Lanze trägt. Diese Vignette nun erklärt Mannert als einen Hinweis auf die Gründung des lateinischen Kaiserthumes, und er identifiziert die auf dem Throne sitzende Gestalt geradezu mit Balduin von Flandern.⁴⁸

In this fragment of his description of the vignette R. Hotz faithfully, just like D. Grün did, follows the description proposed by K. Mannert. However, in further parts of his analyses the author expressed the supposition departing from K. Mannert's theses: *dass die sitzende Gestalt unserer Vignette Constantinopels ursprünglich die Tyche dieser Stadt dargestellt habe*, and added: *Ich glaube aber ganz wol, dass man der Analogie der beiden anderen Vignetten [Rome and Antioch] diese Annahme als eine ziemlich gesicherte hinstellen dürfe*⁴⁹. Stating that the figure on the throne is Tyche, that is the tutelary deity of Constantinople, is a significant *novum* in the interpretation of the vignette analyzed here. However, it is worth noticing that other researchers had been writing about the Constantinople Tyche (though not in the context of *Tabula Peutingeriana*) on the basis of Byzantine sources: i.a. in 1853 Jacob Burckhardt (25 V 1818 – 8 VIII 1897)⁵⁰, and in the year 1879 Friedrich W. Unger (8 IV 1810 – 22 XII 1876)⁵¹. Their works, and especially the analyses of the Swiss historian of art J. Burckhardt, were sources of inspiration for R. Hotz, which he mentions in his article⁵². However, the other element of the vignette remained, which the author analyzed in the following way:

Was endlich das andere zu Constantinopel gehörige Bild, nämlich den röthlichen Thurm betrifft, auf welchen die Tyche hinweist, so stellt dieses ganz sicher ein bestimmtes Bauwerk Constantinopels vor, das eben, sei es vermöge seiner Grösse, sei es durch seine Pracht, ein Wahrzeichen dieser Stadt bildete. Constantin hatte [...] eine Säule errichten lassen [...]. Diese Säule war in der That ganz geeignet, als Wahrzeichen der Stadt zu dienen [...]. So dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass [...] die Constantinssäule vom Zeichner mit auf die Vignette sei gesetzt worden.⁵³

⁴⁸ R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte...*, p. 210.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 215.

⁵⁰ J. BURCKHARDT, *Die Zeit Constantin's des Grossen*, Basel 1853, p. 403, 469.

⁵¹ F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen in Constantinopel*, RK 2, 1879, p. 116.

⁵² R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte...*, p. 214–215.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 215–216.

In this way in the interpretation of Constantinople vignette, besides Tyche on the throne there appeared the Column of Constantine. In spite of the fact that R. Hotz does not quote G. Meerman in his article, the echo of the logic of the scholar from the Netherlands can be noticed in it. For R. Hotz, just like G. Meerman assumes that the first element of the vignette, that is, the figure on the throne, is a woman, whereas the other element of that vignette is a column, not a tower. If G. Meerman identifies that column with the Column of Arcadius, R. Hotz writes about the Column of Constantine. On one hand it is possible that R. Hotz had seen not only the reproduction of F.C. von Scheyb's map, corrected by K. Mannert and E. Desjardins, but also the 13th century Vienna copy of *Tabula Peutingeriana* and that made him regard the column without doors and windows visible there as the Column of Constantine. On the other hand, in turn, R. Hotz assumes that the original *Tabula Peutingeriana* was created in the 2nd half of the 4th century⁵⁴. However, at that time the Column of Arcadius did not exist, so the Swiss researcher was forced to correct the identification of G. Meerman and state that what is referred to here was the Column of Constantine. In this way, indirectly taking advantage of G. Meerman's theses, and directly – the opinion of his countryman J. Burckhardt on the Constantinople Tyche, R. Hotz presented the new interpretation of Constantinople vignette.

However, usually, when the Constantinople's Tyche referred to on *Tabula Peutingeriana*, it is not the revealing article by R. Hotz that is regarded as the most important, but the article published in 1893 by Josef Strzygowski (7 III 1862 – 2 I 1941), who, with reference to the Constantinople vignette actually summarizes the theses contained in the work by his predecessor:

Dieser Roma-Typus findet sich noch an der Tyche von Konstantinopel auf der *Tabula Peutingeriana*: sie ist thronend dargestellt mit entblößter Brust, in der Linken Speer und Schild haltend, mit der Rechten hinweisend auf eine Art Säule, die sich in mehreren Abstufungen erhebt und von einer Statue gekrönt ist – eine bemerkenswerte Combination, in der die Säule jedenfalls ein für die Stadt charakteristisches Denkmal, wahrscheinlich die Porphyrsäule Konstantin d. Gr., die er sich selbst auf dem Forum errichtet hatte, wiedergibt.⁵⁵

However, J. Strzygowski considers the issue of Constantinople Tyche in a much broader comparative context, and the vignette from *Tabula Peutingeriana* is only one of the components of his analyses. Consequently, J. Strzygowski's article

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 215.

⁵⁵ J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Tyche von Konstantinopel*, [in:] *Analecta Graeciensia. Festschrift zur 42. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Wien 1893. von Professoren der K. K. Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz*, Graz 1893, p. 152.

seemed to eliminate R. Hotz's publication from the scientific circuit. It is also relatively frequently quoted and both in the narrow context of the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*⁵⁶, and in the more extensive context, analyzing Tyche of that town as such⁵⁷.

The description of Constantinople vignette was extremely simplified by Henry F. Tozer (10 V 1829 – 2 VI 1916), who in 1897 wrote: [...] *Constantinople* [...] is represented by a figure seated on a throne [...]; but [...] the figure of Constantinople wears a plumed helmet⁵⁸. Thus, H.F. Tozer quite cautiously introduced the idea of personification of Constantinople.

⁵⁶ Cf. F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike*..., p. 175: [...] die [Tabula Peutingeriana] als besonders markantes Wahrzeichen Konstantinopels neben der thronenden Stadttyche das Säulemonument mit der Statue Konstantins zeigt. Die Statue ist [...] nackt wiedergegeben. In der Linken hält sie einen Speer, die ausgestreckte Rechte trägt einen Globus; A. BERGER, J. BARDILL, *The Representations of Constantinople*..., p. 24: In 'Tabula Peutingeriana' [...] Constantinople was represented by an enthroned Tyche, whose laurel wreath had been reduced to two horn-like objects, and by Constantine on his column, naked and with a spear in his hand; T. BARNES, *Constantine*..., fig. 9B. Description of the plate is as follows: The porphyry column with the statue of Constantine and the Tyche of Constantinople; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor*..., p. X: Constantine's statue upon the porphyry column beside the enthroned Tyche [...] of Constantinople; *ibidem*, p. 37; P. KOCHANEK, *Winiety metropolii Pentarchii*..., p. 219: winieta Konstantynopola przedstawia [...] przywołaną swego czasu przez J. Strzygowskiego Tyche [the Constantinople vignette presents [...] Tyche once referred to by J. Strzygowski]; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column*..., p. 136: [...] the Tyche of Constantinople was standing in her throne and notably pointed to a monumental column on her left that was topped by a statue of an emperor in the figure of Apollo Helios; Δ.Π. ΔΡΑΚΟΥΛΗΣ, *Η Κωνσταντινούπολη στη δυτική μεσαιωνική χαρτογραφία*..., p. 115; P. KOCHANEK, *Vignetten von Konstantinopel*..., p. 435–436: Das zentrale Element dieser Vignette ist eine auf dem Thron sitzende weibliche Person, die Josef Strzygowski [...] als Tyche identifizierte, eine Schutzgöttin der Stadt. [...] Die auf dem Thron sitzende Tyche hält in ihrer linken Hand einen Speer und ein Schild, ihre rechte Hand ist jedoch in Richtung Säule ausgestreckt, an deren Ende eine nackte männliche Gestalt steht. Dieses Element der Vignette wird allgemein als die Porphyrsäule des Konstantin I. [...] identifiziert. Cf. also B. SALWAY, *The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map*..., p. 120.

⁵⁷ Cf. T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios*, H 36, 4, 1901, p. 463; V. SCHUTZE, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften*, vol. I, *Konstantinopel (324–450)*, Leipzig 1913, p. 8; D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace de Constantinople*, EO 28, 1925, p. 188–189, note 2; F. DÖLGER, *Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner*, ZKg 56, 1937, p. 16, note 30; A. FROLOW, *La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine*, RHR 127, 1–3, 1944, p. 85; J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Rome and Constantinople in Late-Antique Art from 312 to 365*, JRS 37, 1–2, 1947, p. 137, note 13; G. HERZOG-HAUSER, *Tyche* 1, [in:] RE, 2. Reihe, vol. XIV, *M. Tullius Cicero bis Valerius*, Stuttgart 1948, col. 1685.41–47; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale*..., p. 42, note 4; K.J. SHELTON, *The Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence*, AJA 89, 1, 1985, p. 153–154; M. KARAMOUZI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini in Konstantinopel. Gegebenheiten und Probleme*, BS 27, 2, 1986, p. 233; N. LENSKI, *Constantine and the Tyche of Constantinople*, [in:] *Contested Monarchy. Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century*, ed. J. WIENAND, Oxford 2015 [= OSLA], p. 339, note 23; E. RUSSO, *Costantino da Bizanzio a Costantinopoli*, AAAHP 29, 2017, p. 80.

⁵⁸ H.F. TOZER, *A History of Ancient Geography*..., p. 311.

Eugen Oberhummer (29 III 1859 – 4 V 1944) in turn, in his article of the year 1900, briefly repeated K. Miller's description: *So zeigt schon die Tab[ula] Peut[ingeriana] IX bei C[onstantinopolis] neben einem thronenden Feldherrn eine turmartige Säule mit Standbild. welche ich mit K. Miller [...] für die Porphyr-säule [...] halte*⁵⁹.

In 1919 W. Kubitschek also gave a very short description of the vignette: [...] *die sitzende Constantinopolis; die Säule mit der Statue oben hat doch wohl nichts mit der Stadtgöttin zu tun; [...]*⁶⁰. For this researcher the figure on the throne was, like for H.F. Tozer, a personification of Constantinople. What his predecessors referred to as tower (*turris*) or the Column of Constantine was for W. Kubitschek simply "die Säule mit der Statue". Thus, that researcher left the identification of the column as an open issue. However, he added that this the statue on the column cannot be identified with the goddess guardian of the city (*Stadtgöttin*). Thus W. Kubitschek took the idea of personifying Constantinople from H.F. Tozer, but he articulated it much more strongly than his predecessor. Besides, he introduced a certain novelty into the interpretation of the vignette analyzed here. For this researcher radically opposed the thesis of Hotz-Strzygowski about Tyche, writing: *die Säule mit der Statue oben hat doch wohl nichts mit der Stadtgöttin zu tun*. In this way he transferred *Stadtgöttin* from the throne onto the column, and then, (quite easily) negated the thesis that the statue on the Column was *Stadtgöttin*.

In the year 1923, the above-quoted H.J. Hermann returns to the thesis by Hotz-Strzygowski, writing:

Auf einem hellblau und gelb bemalten Throne mit hoher Rückenlehne sitzt auf einem roten Kissen die Stadtgöttin (Tyche) Konstantinopolis mit einem Helm mit zwei gelben Federn auf dem Haupte, in dunkelrotem, gelb gefüttertem Mantel, der den rechten Arm freiläßt. In der Linken hält sie Schild und Lanze, mir der Rechten weist sie auf einen dreigeschossigen Rundturm, auf dem die nackte Statue eines Herrschers mit der Lanze in der Linken und der Weltkugel in der Rechten steht, d. i. die Konstantinssäule. Zu beiden Seiten des Turmes die Beischrift: «Constantinopolis». Wenn auch keine antike Darstellung der Tyche Konstantinopels als Vorbild namhaft gemacht werden kann, ist nach der Analogie der beiden anderen Vignetten – wie Hotz mit Recht bemerkt – mit Sicherheit anzunehmen, daß die Vignette als Darstellung der Stadtgöttin zu deuten ist.⁶¹

On the top of the column, in turn, he places, as K. Miller once did, *Statue eines Herrschers*. Therefore, like his predecessor, he does not solve which of the emperors is standing on the column, but the term *die Konstantinssäule* seems to leave no doubts in this aspects.

⁵⁹ E. OBERHUMMER, *Constantinopolis...*, col. 1013.4–8.

⁶⁰ W. KUBITSCHEK, *Karten...*, col. 2138.44 – 2139.2.

⁶¹ H.J. HERMANN, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften...*, p. 7–8.

The description of the vignette analyzed here contained in the publication by A. and M. Levi is also worth presenting here:

[...] la rappresentazione di Costantinopoli compare in una vignetta che, se non identica, presenta comunque una ben stretta similitudine con quelle che identifica la città di Roma. Anche nel suo caso infatti ci troviamo di fronte ad una figura, seduta su di un trono, vista di fronte, e vestita di lunga tunica e mantello, con uno scudo a fianco e la lancia nella mano sinistra. Sulla testa però l'elmo si è sostituito alla corona. Ma la variante forse più significativa nell'aspetto delle due rappresentazioni messe a raffronto, è quella che, a differenza di Roma, Costantinopoli non regge nella mano il globo. Vale a dire che il disegnatore della *Tabula Peutingeriana* ha voluto così segnalare che [...] il primato sul mondo era stato lasciato alla capitale di più vecchia data.⁶²

This description, as we can see, does not diverge from many earlier ones. The authors treat the sitting figure as the personification of Constantinople, as H.F. Tozer and W. Kubitschek did earlier. However, comparing the Constantinople vignette to the vignette of Rome allows the authors of the description for a seemingly obvious remark: *Costantinopoli non regge nella mano il globo*. However, this remark leads to an important conclusion: *il disegnatore della Tabula Peutingeriana ha voluto così segnalare che [...] il primato sul mondo era stato lasciato alla capitale di più vecchia data*. A. and M. Levi did not, however, develop that issue, though they had known the opinions of their numerous predecessors very well: namely, that *Tabula Peutingeriana* may be the same copy of the ancient map referred to in *Annales Colmarienses minores*, which they quote⁶³. Thus, they do not write anything about the scope of the reinterpretation of the late-ancient map by a mediaeval copier, but they stop at signaling the idea of Roman political “primacy” to the reader.

In 1974 appeared a description of Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the author of which was Gilbert Dagron (26 I 1932 – 4 VIII 2015):

Quant à Constantinople, nous la voyons sous la forme d'un personnage coiffé de quelque chose qui devait être sur l'original une couronne d'une forme particulière, tenant la hache et le bouclier; il ne porte pas lui-même les insignes de la souveraineté, mais il désigne de la main droite une colonne surmontée d'une statue qui, elle, tient le globe. On reconnaît sans peine la colonne de porphyre et la statue de Constantin qui la surmontait; le geste signifie que Constantinople n'est pas une capitale, mais tient de son fondateur, par une sorte de lien personnel, une situation de souveraineté. Elle est la «ville de Constantin».⁶⁴

⁶² A. LEVI, M. LEVI, *Itineraria picta...*, p. 153.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 22. Cf. notes 37–38.

⁶⁴ G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, p. 58.

G. Dagron recognizes, like H.F. Tozer, W. Kubitschek as well as A. and M. Levi before him that the figure sitting on the throne is the personification of Constantinople. However, the French researcher pays special attention to the gesture made by that figure, with which points to the other element of the vignette, that is, to the column and to the figure with the globe in its hand standing on the top of it. For G. Dagron there is no doubt that what is meant here is the Column of Constantine crowned with the statue of that Emperor. From the graphic system of these two elements of the vignette described in this way the author concludes that the vignette contains a certain symbolic message: Constantinople is not the capital of the empire, but it owes its high position in the hierarch of the imperial cities exclusively to the will of its main builder Constantine the Great. This is clearly indicated by the name of the city – *Constantinopolis*. This description, as a whole, is a certain *novum* in the long history of interpreting the vignette of this metropolis. For according to G. Dagron, the drawer of this vignette contained a graphic suggestion in it, which, in fact, degrades Constantinople to the rank of the second city in the Roman empire. Only Rome is “the City” (*Urbs*) *sensus stricto*. This conclusion is similar to the one presented a few years ago by A. and M. Levi, but the logic of reasoning, thanks to which G. Dagron came to the above conclusion is totally unique.

A very short description of the vignette, probably inspired by the tradition quoted above, based on the publications by H.F. Tozer, W. Kubitschek, A. and M. Levi, as well as G. Dagron, was given in 1986 by Micheal Vickers:

C[onstantinople] seated on a high-backed throne with cushion and footstool. Wears a double-crested helmet. She points to the l. with her r. hand, and in her l. holds a spear; a small round shield is at her l.⁶⁵

For him, like for the researchers just mentioned, the personification of Constantinople is sitting on the throne. The vignette was described very similarly by other researchers: Oswald A.W. Dilke⁶⁶, Joseph Engemann⁶⁷, Garth Fowden⁶⁸,

⁶⁵ M. VICKERS, *Constantinopolis*, [in:] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. III.1, *Atherion – Eros*, Zürich–München 1986, p. 302.

⁶⁶ O.A.W. DILKE, *Itineraries and Geographical Maps...*, p. 239: *Constantinople is represented by a helmeted female figure seated on a throne and holding in her left hand a spear and a shield.*

⁶⁷ J. ENGEMANN, *Herrscherbild...*, col. 982–983: *Selbst noch auf der Säule, die auf der ‘Tabula Peutingeriana’ als Wahrzeichen der Stadt neben der Personifikation der ‘Constantinopolis’ erscheint, steht eine nackte Gestalt mit Globus u. Sperr.*

⁶⁸ G. FOWDEN, *Porphyry Column: the Earliest Literary Allusion*, JRS 81, 1991, p. 125: [...] *the city’s personification, a seated female figure, as Constantinople’s visual symbol.*

Ekkehard Weber⁶⁹, Sarah Bassett⁷⁰, Sławomir Bralewski⁷¹, Pierre Maraval⁷² and Robert Ousterhout⁷³. Thus such a scheme of the description of Constantinople vignette today became almost a standard. However, in spite of frequent repeating of that scheme there are also other interpretations of Constantinople vignette⁷⁴.

* * *

The Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* consists, as we know, of two elements: a figure sitting on the throne and the column on top of which a statue is standing. Below we present identifications of these elements proposed within about 250 years. However, as in this article the gravity center is shifted towards that column crowned with the statue, so we should look closer at that element of the vignette. Assuming that this is the Column of Constantine, the fragment of this article below will be devoted to that column. In many studies the specifications of Byzantine sources about that structure can be found⁷⁵. It was

⁶⁹ E. WEBER, *Tabula Peutingeriana* (1998)..., p. 20: *Besides the Constantinopolis deity [...] the so-called "burnt down column" is standing*».

⁷⁰ S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image*..., p. 193, fig. 19 (explanation under the vignette of Constantinople): *Constantinopolis and the Column of Constantine*; EADEM, *The Topography of Triumph*..., p. 519: *Personification of Constantinople with the Column of Constantine [...]*. Cf. *The Cambridge Companion*..., fig. 3 (also explanation under the vignette of Constantinople): *Personified Constantinople seated next to the Column of Constantine*.

⁷¹ S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu i jej wczesnobizantyńska legenda*, VP 30, 2010, p. 95: *Kiedy na Tabula Peutingeriana [...] przedstawiono siedzącą na tronie personifikację Konstantynopola, po jej prawej stronie umieszczono wizerunek kolumny identyfikowany z porfirową kolumną Konstantyna Wielkiego [When on Tabula Peutingeriana [...] a personification of Constantinople was presented, sitting on the throne, on its right side the image of the column was placed, which was identified with the porphyry column of Constantine the Great]*; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople and the Relics of the True Cross*, SCer 1, 2011, p. 87: *When the Tabula Peutingeriana was made, [...], it showed the personification of Constantinople seated on a throne with an outline of a column on the right side, identified with the porphyry column of Constantine the Great*.

⁷² P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand. Empereur romain, empereur chrétien (306–337)*, Paris 2011, p. 189: *[...] une personification de Constantinople [...]*.

⁷³ R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife*..., p. 311: *In (the Peutinger Map) a seated personification and the column serve to represent Constantinople*.

⁷⁴ Cf. K. ZALEWSKA-LORKIEWICZ, *Ilustrowane mappae mundi*..., p. 23: *rola Konstantynopola oraz Antiochii została podkreślona wizerunkami władców zasiadających na tronach [the role of Constantinople and Antioch was emphasized by the images of rulers sitting on thrones]*; J. BROTON, *Great Maps*..., p. 31, fig. 4 (explanation under the vignette of Constantinople): *The rank of that city (Constantinople) almost equal to Rome is clearly defined by the figure of the goddess Roma (similar to the personification of Rome itself...), indicating the column crowned with the statue of a warrior holding a globe and a spear- most probably an emperor, standing beside*. Cf. also notes 6 and 56.

⁷⁵ Cf. C.F. DU CANGE, *Constantinopolis christiana seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae, qualis exstitit sub imperatoribus christianis, ex variis scriptoribus contexta & adornata: libri quattuor*, Lutetiae Parisiorum: apud Ludovicum Billaine, 1680, p. 76 (= I 24, 6: *Columna porphyretica. Palladium*); A. BANDURI, *Imperium orientale sive antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*, vol. II, Venetiis: Venetiis

erected in the center of the round Forum of Constantine, on top of the second of seven hills included in the area of the city between the years 328 and 330. It dominated with its height over the second Rome, seen from the side of the sea, thus becoming its first symbol⁷⁶. Simultaneously the Column of Constantine formed the skyline of the capital⁷⁷. Made of porphyry, with its color alluded to purple – the hue commonly regarded at that time as the symbol of imperial dignity. Also sarcophaguses of rulers and their nearest and dearest were made of porphyry⁷⁸. The original height of the column is not certain⁷⁹. An enormous statue was on top of it.

Javarina, 1729, p. 372; *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. I, trans. F.W. UNGER, Wien 1878 [= QKKMR, 12], p. 151–158 (= nr 350–371); IDEM, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 110–118; T. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique sur le poème de Constantin le Rhodien*, REG 9, 1896, p. 71, note 1; T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 457–469; I. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*, Hi 5, 3, 1956, p. 350, note 1–2 (= IDEM, *Kontantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*, [in:] *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild*, ed. H. HUNGER, Darmstadt 1975 [= WF, 341], p. 122, note 47); G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, p. 36–39; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1977, p. 255–256; C. MANGO, *Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine*, ΔΧΑΕ ser. 4, 10, 1981, p. 103–110; A. RYLL, *Über Probleme der kunsthistorischen und schriftlichen Quellen zur Konstantinssäule in Konstantinopel*, [in:] *Historisch-archäologische Quellen und Geschichte bis zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus: Beiträge des I. und II. Kolloquiums junger Wissenschaftler archäologischer und althistorischer Disziplinen der DDR*, Berlin 1983, p. 171–172; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Bonn 1988 [= PB, 8], p. 295–299; G. FOWDEN, *Porphyry Column...*, p. 122–126; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 12–17; M. JORDAN-RUWE, *Das Säulenmonument. Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen*, Bonn 1995 [= AMS, 19], p. 126–127; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike...*, p. 175–177, 415–416; I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce...*, p. 1039, note 151; p. 1039–1040, note 152; p. 1040, note 153; S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 192–199; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, *passim*; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, *passim*; P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand...*, p. 185–186; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 308–310; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthalios. Autorzy bizantyjscy o posągu Konstantyna Wielkiego wieńczącym porfirową kolumnę a Konstantynopolu*, SDŚ 21, 2017, *passim*.

⁷⁶ Cf. F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 109; D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 297; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria...*, p. 295; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 12; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike...*, p. 168, 172–173; I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce...*, p. 1039; C. MANGO, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e–VII^e siècles)*, Paris 2004 [= TM.M, 2], p. 25; R. OUSTERHUOT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 305, 307; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 134.

⁷⁷ Cf. T. THOMOV, *The Last Column in Constantinople*, Bsl 59, 1, 1998, p. 80; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 134, 137.

⁷⁸ Cf. F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 111.

⁷⁹ Cf. K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 50: [...] 30 m hohe Porphyrsäule [...]; H. LECLERCQ, *Colonnes historiques*, [in:] *DACL*, vol. III.2, *Ciacconio – Cyzique*, Paris 1914, col. 2338: *La colonne dorique était, à l'origine, haut de 57 mètres depuis le sol jusqu'au sommet de la statue* [...]; R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris 1950 [= AOL, 4], p. 82. The author estimates the height of the column at 50 meters; H. DÖRRIES, *Konstantin der Grosse*, Stuttgart 1958 [= UB, 29], p. 58: [...] *Porphyrsäule zu über 30 Meter Höhe*; C. MANGO, *Constantinopolitana*, JDAI 80, 1965, p. 312–313. This author believes that the column

Byzantine sources agree as to the fact that it was the statue of Constantine the Great. However, they suggest that the statue of the emperor could have attributes of a specific deity. The first such subtle suggestion is in Hesychius of Miletus, surnamed *Illustrius* (6th century AD). His text indicates that the statue could have features of the god of sun – Helios⁸⁰. Theodor Preger (24 V 1866 – 18 XII 1911) on the basis of this text and a few later sources⁸¹ presented in 1901 the thesis, according to which the statue of the emperor crowning the column was stylized to look like Helios⁸². The beginnings of that thesis can be found already in the article by F.W. Unger of 1879⁸³. However, the latter only mentioned the possibility of identifying the statue of Constantine with Helios, while T. Preger suggestively documented that thesis. His identification found many supporters⁸⁴. In this context it

was 37 meters high; M. JORDAN-RUWE, *Das Säulenmonument...*, p. 128. The German researcher believes that the column was not more than 40 m high, counting from the then ground level; S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 200. The author, following C. Mango, gives the contemporary height of the column: 35.80 meters; C.M. ODAHL, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, New York 2004, p. 241: [...] a height of over 35 meters [...]; H.A. POHLSANDER, *The Emperor Constantine*, New York 2004 [= LPAH], p. 69: [...] its height was more than 36 m; F. KOLB, *Ideal późnoantycznego władcy. Ideologia i autoprezentacja*, trans. A. GIERLIŃSKA, Poznań 2008, p. 80. The author cites the data of R. Janin; B. LANÇON, *Konstantyn (306–337)*, trans. M. KAPELUŚ, Warszawa 2009, p. 72. The author repeats the data of R. Janin; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 97 (= IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, p. 89). The author cites the data of R. Janin and C. Mango; A. KOMPA, *Konstantynopolińskie zabytki...*, p. 178. In his opinion the column was to have 35 m in height; P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand...*, p. 185: [...] une colonne de porphyre de 50 m [...]; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor...*, p. 28: Originally, the column was some 37 m high [...]; R. OUSTERHUOT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 305: The 36-m-tall column [...]; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 125: For the overall height, Mango [...] suggests 34.8 m above the present street level, or 37 m above the original level of the Forum of Constantine. Jordan-Ruwe [...] argues for a maximum height of 40 m (from the original ground level); *ibidem*, p. 132: [...] the height over 45 m (with the statue); A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine in Constantinople: What Do We Know about Its Original Architecture and Adornment?*, GRBS 56, 2016, p. 731: The column (with the base) was approximately 37 meters tall, and the colossal statue may have added another six or more meters on top of that; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthaios...*, p. 129: 37 metrów, a niewykluczone że pierwotnie nawet 50 metrów [37 meters, and possibly originally even 50 meters].

⁸⁰ HESYCHIUS ILLUSTRIS, *Origines Constantinopolitanae*, 41, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 1, rec. T. PREGER, Lipsiae 1901, p. 17.13–15. Cf. *The "Patria" of Constantinople According to Hesychios Illoustrios*, I, 45, [in:] *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The "Patria"*, trans. A. BERGER, Cambridge Mass.–London 2013 [= DOML, 24], p. 26.

⁸¹ LEO GRAMMATICUS, *Chronographia*, [in:] *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia. Accedit Eustathii De capta Thessalonica liber*, ed. E. BEKKER, Bonnae 1842 [= CSHB [34]], p. 87.17; THEODOSIUS MELITENUS, *Chronographia*, ed. G.L.F. TAFEL, Monachii 1859, p. 63; GEORGIUS CEDRENUM, *Historiarum compendium*, vol. I, ed. E. BEKKER, Bonnae 1838 [= CSHB [13]] (cetera: GEORGIUS CEDRENUM, *Historiarum compendium*), p. 518.5; THEODORUS SKOUTARIOTES, *Ἀωνύμου σύνοψις χρονική*, ed. K. SATHAS, Paris 1894 [= BGM, 7], p. 187.3–5. Cf. T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 460, 462.

⁸² *Ibidem*, *passim*.

⁸³ F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 113.

⁸⁴ Cf. C. GURLITT, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, vol. I, *Tafelband*, Berlin 1912, Plate XVII, fig. 5c; A. LISIECKI, *Konstantyn Wielki*, Poznań 1913, p. 106; F. STÄHELIN, *Constantin der Große und das*

is worth realizing that during the reign of Constantine the Great (and at least for a few subsequent centuries) the official language reigning in the empire was Latin. Thus, the deity referred to by Greek authors as Helios, was known in the official state nomenclature under the name of *Sol Invictus*⁸⁵. It is the cult of that deity that was very popular in the late Roman empire and the allusion of Hesychius writing in Greek refers in fact to *Sol Invictus*.

However, Anna Komnene (1083–1153)⁸⁶, John Zonaras (fl. 12th century)⁸⁷ and John Tzetzes (c. 1100–1180)⁸⁸ writing in the 12th century are the first sources preserved until today, suggesting that the statue of Constantine placed on the column resembled Apollo. That idea was taken over by many contemporary researchers⁸⁹.

Christentum, ZSG 17, 1937, p. 411–412; J.A. STRAUB, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike*, Stuttgart 1939 [= FKG, 18], p. 130; IDEM, *Konstantins christliches Sendungsbewußtsein*, NBA 2, 1942, p. 386–387; H. KRAFT, *Kaiser Konstantins religiöse Entwicklung*, Tübingen 1955 [= BHT, 20], p. 117; J. VOGT, *Constantinus der Große*, [in:] RAC, vol. III, *Christusbild – Dogma I*, Stuttgart 1957, col. 350; M. SALAMON, *Rozwój idei Rzymu – Konstantynopola od IV do pierwszej połowy VI wieku*, Katowice 1975 [PNUŚK, 80], p. 53; H.A. DRAKE, *In Praise of Constantine. A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976 [= UCPCS, 15], p. 169; R. KRAUTHHEIMER, *Three Christian Capitals...*, p. 56; *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century. The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, praef., trans. et comm. A. CAMERON, J. HERRIN, Leiden 1984 [= C SCT, 10], p. 193; J. MIZIOLEK, *Sol versus...*, p. 20, 66, 67; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 15; B. BLECKMANN, *Sources for the History of Constantine*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion...*, p. 16; A.D. LEE, *Traditional Religions*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion...*, p. 174; M.B. LESZKA, M.J. LESZKA, *Konstantyn Wielki i założenie Miasta*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym...*, p. 33; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 318; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 129, 132, 133, 135, 137, 148.

⁸⁵ Cf. H.P. LORANGE, *Sol Invictus imperator. Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose*, SO 14, 1935, p. 113–114; J.A. STRAUB, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike...*, p. 129–134.

⁸⁶ *Annae Comnenae Alexiadis libri XV, XII, 4*, vol. II, ed. L. SCHOPENUS, Bonnae 1878 [= CSHB [3]] (cetera: ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexias*), p. 150.4.

⁸⁷ IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome historiarum*, XIII, 3, 25, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonnae 1897 [= CSHB [50.3]] (cetera: IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome historiarum*), p. 18.8–10.

⁸⁸ IOHANNES TZETZES, *Chiliades*, VIII, 333, ed. G. KIESSLING, Lipsiae 1826 (cetera: IOHANNES TZETZES, *Chiliades*), p. 295.

⁸⁹ Cf. C.G. HEYNE, *Priscae artis opera quae Constantinopoli extitisse memorantur*, CSRSG.CHP 11, 1790/1791, p. 10; J. BURCKHARDT, *Die Zeit Constantin's des Grossen...*, p. 420; R. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte...*, p. 215; K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 50; T. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique...*, p. 71; C. GURLITT, *Geschichte der Kunst*, vol. I, Stuttgart 1902, p. 334; H. LECLERCQ, *Colonnes historiques...*, col. 2338; D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 306; H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *Historie konstantynopolitańskie*, Warszawa 1964, p. 148; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, p. 38; C. MANGO, *Constantine's Porphyry Column...*, p. 108; M. KARAMOUI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini...*, p. 229; J. ENGEMANN, *Herrscherbild...*, col. 982; M. DI MAIO, J. ZEUGE, N. ZOTOV, *Ambiguitas Constantiniana: the Caelestium Signum Dei of Constantine the Great*, B 58, 2, 1988, p. 355; J. ENGEMANN, *Melchior Lorichs Zeichnung eines Säulensockels in Konstantinopel*, [in:] *Quaeritur inventus colitur. Miscellanea in onore di padre Umberto Maria Fasola*, vol. I, Città del Vaticano 1989 [= SACr, 50.1], p. 261; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike...*, p. 344; I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce...*, p. 1001; B. LANÇON, *Konstantyn...*, p. 73; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine...*, p. 731.

Slightly earlier, dated for the end of the 10th century (990–995), is the fragment important in the context of these analyses, which is contained in *Patria Constantinoupoleos*. It refers to the Column of Constantine and juxtaposes two deities: Apollo and Helios⁹⁰. In English translation it has the following wording:

[...] Constantine the Great set up this lofty column and the statue of Apollo as Helios in his name, affixing nails from those of Christ<'s crucifixion> as rays on its head, shining like Helios on the citizens⁹¹.

In this way Helios and Apollo create a certain unity of terms on the level of Byzantine sources referring to the Column of Constantine. Many contemporary researchers allude to the comparison of the statue of Constantine on the column with the divine duet Helios – Apollo⁹². The two pairs on terms, that is Helios – *Sol Invictus* and Helios – Apollo, constitute the basis for three other combinations of notions. These combinations lead to the thesis that the statue of Constantine could have common features of the triad: Helios – *Sol Invictus* – Apollo, or the features of the duet Apollo – *Sol Invictus*, or the features of *Sol Invictus*. Due to well-known religious syncretism of the period of late empire, some of the contemporary researchers choose the first combination: Helios – *Sol Invictus* – Apollo⁹³. Others advocate the second one: Apollo – *Sol Invictus*⁹⁴. Still others mention only Helios and *Sol Invictus*⁹⁵, that is, the ancient Roman god called *Sol*, who was identified

⁹⁰ *Patria Constantinoupoleos* II, 45, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 2, rec. T. PREGER, Lipsiae 1907, p. 174.7–11.

⁹¹ The “*Patria*” of Constantinople: *On Statues, Together with a Chapter on Adiabene*, [in:] *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople...*, p. 79, 81; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 126. German translation: A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria...*, p. 295.

⁹² Cf. E. OBERHUMMER, *Constantinopolis...*, col. 987.36–41; L. BRÉHIER, *Constantin et la fondation de Constantinople*, RH 119, 1915, p. 263; R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine...*, p. 82; R.P.C. HANSON, *The Christian Attitude to Pagan Religions up to the Time of Constantine the Great*, [in:] ANRW II, 23.2, Berlin–New York 1980, p. 968; C. MANGO, *Byzantium and its Image. History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage*, London 1984, p. 57; G. FOWDEN, *Porphyry Column...*, p. 127; F. KOLB, *Ideal późnoantycznego władcy...*, p. 80, 83; H.A. DRAKE, *Solar Power in Late Antiquity*, [in:] *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. A. CAIN, N. LENSKI, Ashgate 2009, p. 220; A. KOMPA, *Konstantynopolitańskie zabytki...*, p. 178; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 136.

⁹³ Cf. C. EMEREAU, *Notes sur les origines et la formation de Constantinople. Les grandes centres historiques de la ville*, RA 5^{ème} série, 21, 1, 1925, p. 14–15; J. ELSNER, *Perspectives in Art*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion...*, p. 263, 264; K.M. GIRARDET, *Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen*, Berlin 2010 [= Mil.S, 27], p. 39.

⁹⁴ Cf. H. BLANCK, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern*, Köln 1963, p. 14–15; S. BASSETT, *The Topography of Triumph...*, p. 520.

⁹⁵ Cf. H. USENER, *Sol invictus*, RMP 60, 1905, p. 470; E. MARBACH, *Sol*, [in:] RE, 2. Reihe, vol. V, *Silacenis – Sparsus*, Stuttgart 1927, col. 911.52–54; R. DELBRUECK, *Antike Porphyrwerke* [Textband], Berlin 1932 [= SSK, 6], p. 26; C. LETTA, *Helios/Sol*, [in:] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. IV.1, *Eros – Herakles*, Zürich–München 1988, p. 622; C. MANGO, *Le développement*

both with Helios and Apollo, and as *Sol Invictus* he was especially worshipped during the reign of Aurelian (214–275; a Roman emperor: 270–275 AD), Probus (232–282; a Roman emperor: 276–282 AD) and Constantine the Great⁹⁶.

However, the simplest answer to the question: whose statue is standing on top of the column, which is unanimously referred to by all the Byzantine sources is: it is the statue of Constantine the Great. However, which deity was that statue stylized to resemble, is in fact a matter of secondary importance. Thus, many contemporary researchers choose that basic identification: the statue on top of the column is the statue of Constantine⁹⁷. Being on such position allows for avoiding divagations on whether the statue resembled Helios, Apollo, or *Sol Invictus*. However, that very general identification is used mainly by the authors for whom the Column of Constantine is only a marginal subject, not belonging to the main course of their divagations. Despite that Pierre Maraval gives an interesting justification of assuming such a point of view:

Il est [...] peu vraisemblable que Constantin [...] ait voulu réunir dans sa statue le culte du soleil et son propre culte, qu'il se soit lui-même divinisé en Constantin-Hélios, encore moins en Constantin-Apollon. [...]. Il n'y a donc pas lieu de voir dans une statue, à la date où elle a été élevée, un signe d'une duplicité, voire d'une ambiguïté religieuse de l'empereur, mise au service de sa politique. C'est plutôt la tradition byzantine qui a voulu conserver la symbiose du culte du Soleil et du christianisme dans la représentation du pouvoir impérial [...].⁹⁸

urbain de Constantinople..., p. 25; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 99; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, p. 91; M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, *Cesarz, dwór i poddani*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym...*, p. 245; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor...*, p. 106, 109.

⁹⁶ Cf. E. MARBACH, *Sol...*, col. 901.45–913.35; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 9–25.

⁹⁷ Cf. L. VOELKL, *Der Kaiser Konstantin. Annalen einer Zeitenwende*, München 1957, p. 182; J. VOGT, *Constantin der Große und sein Jahrhundert*, ²München 1960, p. 216; A. FROVA, *L'arte di Roma e del mondo Romano*, Torino 1961 [= AUA, 2.2], p. 601; P. ARNAUD, *L'origine...*, p. 309; G.P. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington 1984 [= DOS, 19], p. 261–262; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria...*, p. 297; R. LEEB, *Konstantin und Christus...*, p. 16, note 46; F.A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike...*, p. 172, 175; J.C. BALTY, *Les villes de l'Occident Romain*, AIEG 36, 1997, p. 45; B. BLECKMANN, *Constantinus*, [in:] *NPA*, vol. III, *Cl – Epi*, Stuttgart 1997, col. 138; S. BRALEWSKI, *Konstantyn Wielki*, Kraków 2001 [= WLK], p. 22; C.M. ODAHL, *Constantine and the Christian Empire...*, p. 241; H.A. POHL-SANDER, *The Emperor Constantine...*, p. 70; A. BERGER, *Konstantinopel*, [in:] *RAC*, vol. XXI, *Kleidung II – Kreuzzeichen*, Stuttgart 2006, col. 445; T. WOLIŃSKA, *Sposoby upamiętniania władców wczesnochrześcijańskich w IV–VI wieku*, [in:] *SKaz*, vol. VII, ed. B. IWASZKIEWICZ-WRONIKOWSKA, D. PRÓCHNIAK, A. GŁOWA, Lublin 2010, p. 155; P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand...*, p. 185; T. BARNES, *Constantine...*, description of the fig. 9B; K. CHRIST, *Historia Cesarstwa Rzymskiego od Augusta do Konstantyna*, trans. A. GIERLIŃSKA, Poznań–Gniezno 2016 [= SEGn, 25], p. 940; E. RUSO, *Costantino da Bizanzio a Costantinopoli...*, p. 79, 80.

⁹⁸ P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand...*, p. 187, 189.

However, there is yet another possibility of identifying the figure presented by the statue on the column. Such a suggestion is contained in the poem by Constantine of Rhodes (fl. 10th century), who quoted the contents of inscription on the column and dedicated to Christ⁹⁹. This fragment of the poem was commented on by Théodore Reinach (3 VII 1860 – 28 X 1928) in 1896 in the following way: *L'inscription prouve que, dans la pensée de Constantin, la statue représentait le Christ, non l'empereur*¹⁰⁰. Oskar Wulff (25 V 1864 – 23 I 1956)¹⁰¹ and other researchers were of similar opinion¹⁰². That inscription, with slight changes, was repeated in the 11th century by George Kedrenos¹⁰³. Nikephoros Kallistos (c. 1267 – after 1328) in turn, transmitted a very short text of that inscription, which, translated by S. Bassett has the following wording: “To you, Christ, O Lord, I dedicate this city”¹⁰⁴. We also have to remember what Sozomen (c. 400 – c. 450) wrote: according to that historian of church Constantinople was to be devoted to Christ¹⁰⁵. However, the identification of the statue with the Column of Constantine with Christ also has a biblical origin. The Book of Malachi in Septuagint version, in turn, contains a verse where the phrase ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης – “the sun of righteousness” – was used (Mal 3, 20). Christians gave messianic interpretation to that expression, referring it directly to Christ. The term ἥλιος also occurs in some verses of the New Testament in the same context (Matt 11, 2; Rev 1, 16. Cf. John 8, 12 and Rev 21, 23). In this way the notions Helios/helios and Christ were juxtaposed. The gilded statue of the emperor could therefore be easily associated with Christ understood as the sun of righteousness. Thus, it seems that Joseph Vogt (23 VI 1895 – 14 VII 1986) is right noticing that thanks to this statue *Constantinopel erhielt ein christlich*

⁹⁹ CONSTANTINUS RHODIUS, *Description des œuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople. Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien*, v. 71–74, ed. E. LEGRAND, REG 9, 1896, p. 38.

¹⁰⁰ T. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique...*, p. 73, note 1.

¹⁰¹ О.Ф. ВУЛЬФ, *Семь чудес Византии и храм св. Апостолов (с планом церкви)*, ИРАИК 1, 1896, p. 41; IDEM, *Die sieben Wunder von Byzanz und die Apostelkirche nach Konstantinos Rhodios*, BZ 7, 1898, p. 318.

¹⁰² Cf. D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 190: *La transformation de la statue d'Apollon rayonnant (ou plus exactement d'Hélios), transporté d'Asie Mineure suivant la tradition, en la représentation du Christ, ne fait ici aucun doute [...]*; A. ZIÓŁKOWSKI, [Komentarz], [in:] SOKRATES SCHOLASTYK, *Historia Kościoła*, trans. S.J. KAZIKOWSKI, praef. E. WIPSYZKA, comm. A. ZIÓŁKOWSKI, ²Warszawa 1986, p. 111, note 97.

¹⁰³ GEORGIUS CEDRENIUS, *Historiarum compendium*, vol. I, p. 565.1–4. Cf. S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 198; S. BRALEWSKI, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, p. 94. Cf. also IDEM, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 102; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 141.

¹⁰⁴ NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, [in:] PG, vol. CXLV, col. 1325D. Cf. S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 199; S. BRALEWSKI, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople...*, p. 94: “To you, Christ, God, I entrust the city”. Cf. also IDEM, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 102; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 141.

¹⁰⁵ SOZOMENES, *Kirchengeschichte*, II, 3, 7, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1960 [= GCS, 50], p. 53.2–4.

geprägtes Gesicht¹⁰⁶. Before him a similar opinion was presented by Casimir Emereau (11 V 1889 – 28 XI 1937)¹⁰⁷. However, Cornelius Gurlitt (1 I 1850 – 25 III 1938) went a bit too far in his interpretation, claiming that *die Statue [...] bedeutete Baal-Helios, Apoll, Christ und den Kaiser in einer Gestalt*¹⁰⁸. The approach represented by C. Gurlitt is not in fact isolated in the studies on the epoch of Constantine the Great. For many researchers think that the emperor's conversion was not an individual, single act, but a long process, which, according to some of them lasted until the death of the ruler. Extensive literature was created around this issue, technical called "die constantinische Frage"¹⁰⁹. Henri Grégoire (21 III 1881 – 28 IX 1964) was very radical in this matter, being of opinion that Constantine the Great had never become a Christian. The Belgian scholar presented his view in a cycle of publications consisting of four articles¹¹⁰. T. Preger, who has been quoted here many times, summarizing his article on the statue crowning the Column of Constantine wrote:

Der Kaiser, der die welthistorische Bedeutung des Christenthums erkannt hat, ist selbst so wenig Christ, dass er fünf Jahre nach dem nicaenischen Concil, dem er präsierte, sich selbst als Helios dargestellten lässt [...]¹¹¹.

Ireneusz Milewski expressed a similar opinion quite recently¹¹².

The Column of Constantine was important not only because the statue of the founder of the second capital of the empire was standing there. According to the Christian literary tradition Constantine the Great was to make his column a sort of "treasury of holy relics"¹¹³. For the emperor was to place fragments of the Holy Cross wood in his statue, and in the foundations of the column – numerous relics. The relics connected with the tradition of the New Testament, besides

¹⁰⁶ J. VOGT, *Constantin der Große...*, p. 216.

¹⁰⁷ C. EMEREAU, *Notes sur les origines...*, p. 15: [...] *la colonne se présente comme un monument à la fois païen et chrétien; elle peut recevoir les hommages de l'ancien et du nouveau culte. Un pur compromis, au demeurant. Et c'est là un des traits de Constantin de s'être appliqué à conserver sa foi chrétienne, tout en laissant aux pouvoirs publics encore païens la liberté de leurs pratiques et de leurs croyances.*

¹⁰⁸ C. GURLITT, *Konstantinopel*, Berlin 1908, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. J. VOGT, *Die constantinische Frage*, [in:] *Konstantin der Grosse*, ed. H. KRAFT, Darmstadt 1974 [= WF, 131], p. 345–387; B. LANÇON, *Konstantyn...*, p. 77–78.

¹¹⁰ H. GRÉGOIRE, *La conversion de Constantin*, RUB 36, 1930/1931, p. 231–272 (= IDEM, *Die «Bekkerung» Konstantins des Grossen*, trans. H. LAZARUS, [in:] *Konstantin der Grosse*, ed. H. KRAFT, Darmstadt 1974 [= WF, 131], p. 345–387); IDEM, *La Statue de Constantin et le Signe de la Croix*, AC 1, 1932, p. 135–143; IDEM, *Eusèbe n'est pas l'auteur de la «Vita Constantini» dans sa forme actuelle et Constantin ne s'est pas «converti» en 312*, B 13, 1938, p. 561–583; IDEM, *La vision de Constantin «liquidée»*, B 14, 1939, p. 341–351. Cf. J. VOGT, *Die constantinische Frage...*, p. 345, note 1.

¹¹¹ T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 469. Cf. I. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult...*, p. 341 (= IDEM, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult...*, p. 109).

¹¹² I. MILEWSKI, *Anthalios...*, p. 148.

¹¹³ Cf. D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 310: *Ce grandiose reliquaire.*

the already mentioned fragment of the True Cross included i.a.: the twelve great baskets (Matt 14, 10; Mark 6, 43; Luke 9, 17 and John 6, 13 – the first miraculous multiplication of bread); the seven baskets (Matt 15, 37 and Mark 8, 8 – the second miraculous multiplication of bread); the remains of the seven loaves, which Christ fed the crowd (Matt 15, 36; Mark 8, 6); the two robbers' crosses (Matt 27, 38; Mark 15, 27; Luke 23, 33; John 19, 18); the Holy Nails; a vase of holy oil (the chrism) and pots of perfume. The relics connected with the Old Testament tradition in turn are, i.a.: the handle of the Noah's ax (cf. Gen 6, 14) and the rock from which Moses had struck water (Ex 17, 6). What should be connected with the tradition of early Christianity are, in turn, the relics of saints, which were also to be found in the foundations or plinth of the column. Besides the Christian relics also golden coins with portrait of Constantine the Great were deposited there. However, the emperor placed not only Christian relics and coins with his own image in the column, but also *Palladium*¹¹⁴. What is meant here, is the famous wooden statuette of Pallas Athena originally kept in Troy. Aeneas was to take it to Rome, and Constantine from Rome to his new capital upon Bosphorus. According to Greek and Roman beliefs that statue was to provide prosperity first to Troy and then to Rome. Undoubtedly, by transferring the statue, Constantine wanted to emphasize his respect for the old religion of the empire and for its worshippers. In this way the column contained both fragments of the Tree of the Cross, the most worshipped relic for Christians, as well as *Palladium*, which is the greatest relic for hellenists. Thanks to that Constantine imprisoned in his column, as David Lathoud (21 IV 1892 – 10 VIII 1958) expressed it "l'âme de Jérusalem et l'âme de Rome"¹¹⁵. Much has already been written about the objects of worship contained in the column, when the preserved Byzantine sources were analyzed¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁴ Cf. E. WÖRNER, *Palladion*, [in:] *ALGRM*, vol. III.1, *Nabaiiothes – Pasicharea*, Leipzig 1902, col. 1301.1–1324.62; L. ZIEHEN, *Palladion*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XXXVI, *Palatinus – Paranatellonta*, Stuttgart 1949, col. 171.60–189.65; F. PRESCENDI, *Palladion*, [in:] *NPA*, vol. IX, *Or – Poi*, Stuttgart 2000, col. 192–193.

¹¹⁵ D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 299.

¹¹⁶ Cf. F.W. UNGER, *Ueber die vier Kolossal-Säulen...*, p. 116; K. MILLER, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius...*, vol. I, p. 50–51; T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 458; D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace...*, p. 300–301, 306, 310; C. EMEREAU, *Notes sur les origines...*, p. 14; A. FROLOW, *La dédicace de Constantinople...*, p. 77; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale...*, p. 40; M. KARAMOUZI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini...*, p. 222–223, note 19; A.P. KAZHDAN, «Constantin imaginaire». *Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great*, B 57, 1, 1987, p. 233; M. DI MAIO, J. ZEUGE, N. ZOTOV, *Ambiguitas Constantiniana...*, p. 356, note 127; S. MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics. Use, and Misuse of Sanctity and Authority*, JÖB 51, 2001, p. 41; H.A. KLEIN, *Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople*, Byz 5, 2006, p. 81; S. SKRZYNIARZ, *Ostatnia wędrówka trojańskiego Palladionu. Uwagi o genezie konstantynopolitańskiej legendy*, [in:] *Portolana. Studia Mediterranea*, vol. III, *Mare apertum. Przepływ idei, ludzi i rzeczy w świecie śródziemnomorskim*, ed. D. QUIRINI-POPEŁAWSKA, Kraków 2007, p. 121; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu...*, p. 101–102; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column*

The already mentioned Anna Komnene gave also three interesting pieces of information concerning the statue crowning the column: 1) the statue of the column was turned to the East¹¹⁷; 2) though Constantine the Great placed his own statue on the column, the inhabitants of the city called it Ἀνήλιος or Ἀνθήλιος¹¹⁸; 3) that statue was damaged by very strong winds blowing from the South¹¹⁹. The destruction of the statue took place on the 5th day of April 1106¹²⁰. As to the first point R. Ousterhout expressed the following doubt in 2014:

[...] which direction did the statue face: east or west? Our only source on this, Anna Komnene, wrote that the statue faced east, but she was writing 40 years after the statue had fallen and is mistaken on other matters¹²¹.

That question seems to be important, especially in the context of the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which is referred to below. As to the terms Ἀνήλιος and Ἀνθήλιος in turn, practically until today T. Preger's thesis of 1901 is current until today:

in Constantinople..., p. 93; R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife*..., p. 308–309; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column*..., p. 125, 135; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthalios*..., p. 134–135. Cf. also E. VON LASAULX, *Der Untergang des Hellenismus und die Einziehung seiner Tempelgüter durch die christlichen Kaiser. Ein Beitrag zur Philosophie der Geschichte*, München 1854, p. 48–49; T. REINACH, *Commentaire archéologique*..., p. 71; C. GURLITT, *Geschichte der Kunst*..., p. 334; F. DÖLGER, *Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner*..., p. 16, note 30; H. DÖRRIES, *Konstantin der Grosse*..., p. 180, note 7; G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des «Patria»*, Paris 1984 [= BBE, 8], p. 90, 131, 144 (note 79); *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century*..., p. 198, 242, 263; S. BRALEWSKI, *Miejsca kultu w relacji historyków kościelnych Sokratesa i Sozomena*, AUL.FH 87, 2011, p. 24–25; P. MARAVAL, *Constantin le Grand*..., p. 189; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine*..., p. 733–734; S. BRALEWSKI, *The Pious Life of Empress Helena, Constantine the Great's Mother, in the Light of Socrates of Constantinople and Sozomen*, SCer 7, 2017, p. 31; E. RUSSO, *Costantino da Bizanzio a Costantinopoli*..., p. 77, 80.

¹¹⁷ ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexias*, XII, 4, vol. II, p. 150.1. Cf. T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios*..., p. 458; I. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*..., p. 350 (= IDEM, *Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult*..., p. 123); J. VOGT, *Constantin der Große*..., p. 216; M. KARAMOUZI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini*..., p. 228; M. DI MAIO, J. ZEUGE, N. ZOTOV, *Ambiguitas Constantiniana*..., p. 355; S. BRALEWSKI, *Porfirowa kolumna w Konstantynopolu*..., p. 97; IDEM, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople*..., p. 89; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine*..., p. 731–732; I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios*..., p. 129.

¹¹⁸ ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexias*, XII, 4, vol. II, p. 150.4–11: Ἀνήλιος / Ἀνθήλιος. Cf. *Patria Constantinoupoleos II*, 49, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 2, p. 177.3: Ἀνθήλιος; p. 257.9: Ἀνθήλιος; IOHANNES TZETZES, *Chiliades*, VIII, 333, p. 295: Ἀνθήλιος; THEODORUS SKOUTARIOTES, *Ἀωνόμου σύνοψις χρονική*, p. 187.4: Ἀνθήλιος.

¹¹⁹ ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexias*, XII, 4, vol. II, p. 150.11–13.

¹²⁰ *Patria Constantinoupoleos I*, 45a, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, fasc. 2, rec. T. PREGER, p. 138.13–19.

¹²¹ R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife*..., p. 317, 318. Cf. A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine*..., p. 731.

Die Statue [...] gegen Osten gerichtet strahlte [...] weithin, wenn die Sonnenstrahlen auf sie fielen. Man nannte sie deshalb Ἀνθήλιος, woraus der Volkswitz in späterer Zeit, als wohl der Glanz des Goldes verschwunden war, Ἀνήλιος machte¹²².

As to the third point: The destroyed statue has never been reconstructed, but instead of it Manuel I Komnenos (28 XI 1118 – 24 IX 1180, emperor from 8 IV 1143) ordered to put a cross on top of the column. The height of the statue is unknown. To define the size of the statue John Zonaras used the adjective *πελώριον* – colossal¹²³. According to Jonathan Bardill the statue could even be more than 10 meters tall¹²⁴. R. Ousterhout is slightly more careful, writing: [...] *the statue to have been perhaps 8–10 m tall*¹²⁵. Anthony Kaldellis, in turn, is of opinion that the statue could have been more than 6 meters tall¹²⁶, while I. Milewski specifies its height as more than 4 meters¹²⁷. These estimations are in fact based on three sources: 1) fragments of Colossus of Constantine (Musei Capitolini, Rome); 2) Colossus of Barletta (Basilica del Santo Sepolcro. Prospetto Nord, Barletta) – total height of that statue is 5,11 m; 3) proportions between the statue and the column visible on the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

The Column of Constantine, though badly damaged, has been standing in Istanbul until today. A few researchers tried to reconstruct its original look. C. Gurlitt seemed to have done it as the first one (fig. 6A–B) in 1912. The statue of Constantine, crowning the column, has the features of Helios or Helios-Apollo. That reconstruction has encountered criticism from some researchers¹²⁸. The author of the second reconstruction is the Turkish researcher Tayfun A. Öner (fig. 7A–B). His reconstruction was taken over by J. Bardill¹²⁹. Here the Emperor occurs as *Sol Invictus* or as Helios-Sol *Invictus*. Certain corrections to the reconstruction suggested by T.A. Öner were introduced by R. Ousterhout (fig. 8). His statue of the emperor is also stylized to look like Helios/Helios-Sol *Invictus*. The corrections introduced by him concern the statue:

¹²² T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 458. Cf. M. KARAMOUZI, *Das Forum und die Säule Constantini...*, p. 229; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria...*, p. 299. Cf. also I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 139; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine...*, p. 732.

¹²³ IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome historiarum*, XIII, 3, 25, p. 18.6–7. Cf. T. PREGER, *Konstantinos-Helios...*, p. 458. Cf. also S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image...*, p. 199.

¹²⁴ J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor...*, p. 31–33. Cf. I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 136, 138.

¹²⁵ R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 317.

¹²⁶ A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine...*, p. 731.

¹²⁷ I. MILEWSKI, *Anthelios...*, p. 136.

¹²⁸ M. SCHEDE, *Archäologische Funde. Türkei*, AA 44, 1–2, 1929, col. 340.

¹²⁹ J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor...*, p. 31, fig. 17; p. 32, fig. 19; p. 33, fig. 19.

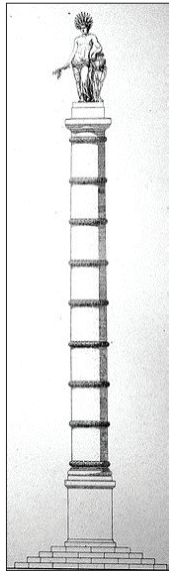


Fig. 6A



Fig. 6B

Fig. 6A-B. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Column of Constantine and the statue by C. GURLITT (1912). C. GURLITT, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels...*, Tafel XVII, fig. 5c.

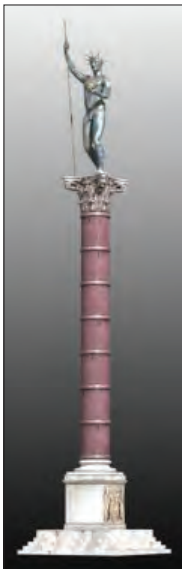


Fig. 7A

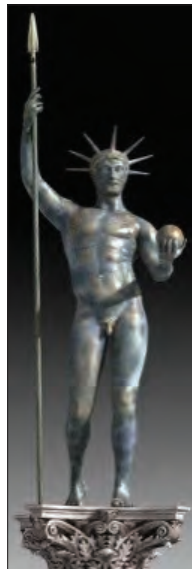


Fig. 7B



Fig. 8

Fig. 7A-B. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Column of Constantine and the statue by T.A. ÖNER (2004). Source: <https://www.byzantium.1200.com/forum-c.html> [8 II 2019].

Fig. 8. Hypothetical reconstruction of the statue by R. OUSTERHOUT (2014). R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and After-life...*, p. 317, fig. 16.

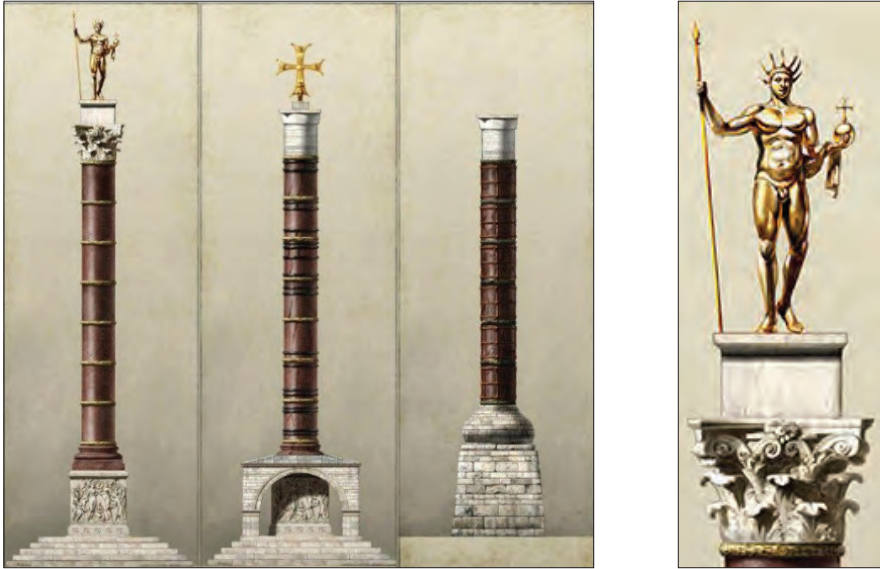


Fig. 9A–B. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Column of Constantine and the statue by A. HELBERT (2018). Source: <https://www.antoine-helbert.com/fr/portfolio/annexe-work/byzance-architecture.html> [8 II 2019]. Cf. H. LÉVY, A. HELBERG, *Byzance*, Poly 122, 2008, p. 68–69.

[...] the statue would have had a wide stance, with both feet firmly planted in the abacus, and very little *contrapposto* [...]. The capital would have had to be more solid and less delicate than Öner's reconstruction, and the statue itself would have been more firmly grounded¹³⁰.

Finally, the author of the last reconstruction of the column presented here is Antoine Helbert (fig. 9A–B), who has been working on the graphic reconstruction of Constantinople as a whole and its particular architectural complexes at least since the years 2007–2008. So far his reconstruction of the column seems to be the best. For the author takes into consideration both literary and graphic sources, as well as the contemporary state of preservation of this monument. Important graphic sources include, among others, a drawing made by Melchior Lorichs (c. 1527 – c. 1588), showing the sculptured pedestal of a column (cf. fig. 9A¹)¹³¹.

¹³⁰ R. OUSTERHOUT, *The Life and Afterlife...*, p. 317–318. Cf. P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 125 and note 26.

¹³¹ Storage place: Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. Dimensions of the drawing: 434 x 335 mm. Catalog number: KKSgb5473. Cf. I. TANTILLO, *L'impero della luce...*, p. 1041–1042; N. WESTBROOK, K.R. DARK, R. VAN MEEUWEN, *Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople*, *JSAH* 69, 1, 2010, p. 66 and fig. 6; P.Y. ARSLAN, *Towards a New Honorific Column...*, p. 126; A. KALDELLIS, *The Forum of Constantine...*, p. 732–733. Cf. also J. ENGEMANN, *Melchior Lorichs...*, *passim*.

A. Helbert reconstructed the column, taking three phases of its history into consideration: the Constantine phase (328–330), after reconstruction phase during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) and the contemporary phase. The statue on the column is Constantine stylized to look like Helios-Sol *Invictus*-Apollo.

* * *

The Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* is one of the three most important vignettes on that map, besides the vignettes of Rome and Antioch. In accordance with the geographic realities, it is between the two vignettes mentioned above. In this sense we can call it the central vignette of *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Classifying the above-mentioned vignettes from the point of view of their graphic complicacy, the simplest one is the vignette of Rome, and the vignette of Antioch contains the most details. Therefore, the degree of graphic complexity of vignettes increases from West to East. Rome is the figure on the throne with a globe in its right hand. The scheme of Constantinople consists of two elements: the figure on the throne and a column with a statue on top. This statue also holds a globe in its right hand and a spear in the left. The vignette of Antioch is also a figure on the throne. However, it holds a spear, not a globe in its right hand, whereas its left hand is resting on the head of the figure sitting at the foot. Besides, this vignette is completed by the grove of Apollo in Daphne at Antioch, from where the aqueduct starts, which supplies the town with water. However, it is worth noticing that only the figures placed on the vignettes of Rome and Constantinople have the globe, as the attribute of power. Besides, on the vignette of Rome the globe is in the right hand of the figure on the throne, whereas on the Constantinople vignette the globe is in the right hand of the statue crowning the column. In this way the graphics of both these vignettes, as it seems, accentuates the hierarchy in exercising authority: the real ruler is in Rome, whereas in Constantinople there is only a symbol, if not to say a shadow of power. Because *Tabula Peutingeriana* is North oriented, the figures on the thrones from the vignettes of Rome and Antioch have their faces turned to the South. However, in the case of Constantinople vignette the figure on the throne has his face turned to the West, because he points to the statue on the column with the gesture of his right hand and head, and the statue is on its right, that is, western side. The face of the statue, however, is oriented to the South. Also this element of the Constantinople vignette does therefore suggest the hierarchical inferiority of that city compared to Rome. In Constantinople only the statue is looking to the South, which, in Christianity, is regarded as the side of the world connected with the Holy Spirit, while in Rome the ruler himself is doing it. The same Roman ruler turns his back to the North, which, as it is well known, in the Bible is regarded as Satan's domain. Meanwhile in Constantinople only the still statue of the ruler is standing with its back towards that direction of the world. In addition, that statue is naked, was [...] *nicht zur Ikonographie des*

*Kaisers [...] passt und deshalb als Missverständnis einer späteren Kopie der Karte angesehen werden muss*¹³². The statue might have been “stripped” by the mediaeval copier of the map, wanting to emphasize the distance dividing the “statue ruler” of the East even more strongly from the real Roman emperor of the West. Besides, that “statue ruler” from the Constantinople vignette on *Tabula Peutingeriana* has no features that would suggest any graphic allusion to Helios, Apollo or *Sol Invictus*. He is naked, like the biblical Adam, or rather a dead man, who cannot take anything with himself to the Other World. It might be somehow connected with the orientation of the statue along the North-South axis. However, the Byzantine sources claim that the statue was looking East, that is, it was positioned on the East-West axis. In this way the vignette also negates all the allusions to the terms Ἀνήλιος and Ἀνθήλιος. What remains is only a stone cutout of the former ruler of the empire with blind eyes, turned to the South, unable to notice the light of the Holy Spirit. Besides, it was placed on a high column, making of the (anonymous) statue of the emperor the caricature of Christian ascetics – Stylites. On the mediaeval copy of the map called *Tabula Peutingeriana* the author made a great effort to demonstrate the contrast between Rome and Constantinople. He had to modify these vignettes substantially to update the whole map geopolitically in this simple way. The question is, when and who might need such a graphic re-interpretation of history. As it seems, it might have taken place in one of two very important moments in the history of relationships of the Latin West with Byzantine, Greek East: or after the coronation of Charlemagne (c. 742 – 28 I 814; emperor of the Romans from 25 XII 800), that is, after the year 800; or during the reign of his son Louis the Pious (778 – 20 VI 840; emperor of the Romans from 28 I 814); or in the period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, that is, in the years 1204–1261. The map-itinerary from the Roman times might have served for the preparation of the “updated political map” during the reign of Charles I or Louis I, which was copied once again, probably introducing additional changes in the 13th century.

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¹³² A. BERGER, *Konstantinopel...*, col. 445.

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Abstract. The article contains the analyses of 40 descriptions of the vignette of Constantinople in *Tabula Peutingeriana* created between the years 1768 and 2018. The number of these descriptions is not at all complete, however, it seems to give quite a representative survey of how has this vignette been interpreted throughout the last 250 years. Among these descriptions, merely five authors (H. Thiersch – 1909; F. Castagnoli – 1960; A. and M. Levi – 1967 and M. Reddé – 1979) believe that one of the elements of that vignette is a lighthouse. The article explains the origin of this erroneous interpretation on the basis of the edition of *Tabula Peutingeriana* from the year 1753, prepared by F.C. von Scheyb, and repeated by K. Mannert (1824), E. Desjardins (1869–1874) and K. Miller (1888), as well as of the observations in this field made by H. Gross (1913) and W. Kubitschek (1917). What is today regarded as the most probable interpretation of the element of that vignette, referred to as the lighthouse is the thesis that what is referred to here, is the Constantine's Column, on whose top there is the statue of the founder of the Second Rome. If we assume the second half of the 4th century as the time when *Tabula Peutingeriana* was created, then the Constantinople vignette would be the oldest graphic presentation of that column. However, the graphics of the vignette is far from the descriptions of Constantine's column in the Byzantine sources. That might result from a simple mistake made by the later copiers, or it can also be the effect of their conscious modifications of the most important vignettes on the map. For the Constantinople vignette, compared to the vignettes of Rome and Antioch, seems to contain a certain symbolic code, which allows for dating the copy of map stored today in Vienna. It seems that the original map could have been created, as it seems, in the 2nd half of the 4th century, as it is traditionally assumed. Probably it had been graphically retouched quite substantially (at least as far as the vignettes of Rome and Constantinople are concerned, joined in a strict mutual relationship) in the Carolingian period, and, more exactly, in the 1st half of the 9th century, and then, for the second time, the map underwent modifications aimed at updating its contents in the 13th century.


Keywords: *Tabula Peutingeriana*, vignette of Constantinople, the Column of Constantine, lighthouse.

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TIME AS A DIMENSION OF BYZANTINE IDENTITY

Identity in Byzantium

Identity – going back to the Byzantine Congress in Copenhagen¹ (1996) – is a current issue of research in Byzantine Studies. Identity is closely linked with a sense of belonging². Though the systems of cultural, religious, moral and ideological rules differ in the different regions of the Mediterranean, they are all deeply rooted in a fundamental need for belonging and express a need for communication with like-minded individuals. Hence, it is not astonishing that in Medieval Studies the development of a collective identity is of particular interest given the mythical *ethnogenesis* of many nations before the very beginning of their “history”³. With respect to *ethnogenesis*, Byzantium is one of the rare exceptions: it has no mythical origin because its prehistory is an amalgam of Christian ideology and the later history of the Roman Empire⁴.

Ancient, Byzantine and modern Greek identity have common elements, but also significant differences. In particular, the idea of an unbroken *continuum* from the Ancient past to the Modern Greek present – which was at least in part provoked or intensified by Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer’s theories – was (and still is) under discussion⁵.

¹ *Byzantium. Identity, Image, Influence. XIX. International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Major Papers*, ed. F. FLEDELIUS, Copenhagen 1996, and specifically: Plenary Session I – The Identity of Byzantium.

² Always a rewarding topic for political and anthropological scientists, it actually has gained currency again, see e.g. B. LATOUR, M. LILLA, *Heimat: Was bedeutet sie heute?*, “Die Zeit” Nr. 12, March 14, 2019, p. 40sq.

³ See: e.g., P.J. GEARY, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton 2002, and the overview in *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, ed. W. POHL, M. DIESENBERGER, Wien 2002 [= FGM, 3].

⁴ See: J. KODER, *Byzanz, die Griechen und die Romaioisynē – eine “Ethnogenese” der “Römer”?*, [in:] *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern*, vol. I, ed. H. WOLFRAM, W. POHL, Vienna 1990 [= DKAW.PhH, 201], p. 103–111; IDEM, *Byzantium as Seen by Itself – Images and Mechanisms at Work*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies Sofia, 22–27 August 2011, I. Plenary Papers*, Sofia 2011, p. 69–81.

⁵ See: e.g., T.G. ZERVAS, *The Making of a Modern Greek Identity. Education, Nationalism, and the Teaching of a Greek National Past*, [New York] 2012 [= EEM, 790], and basically E. HOBBSAWM, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1997.

For the Byzantines in the Eastern Empire, the self-definition as *Romaioi* (“Romans”) had dominated since the 4th century⁶. They used this term, mostly without too much reflection, in order to express their belonging to the Christian Greek Roman empire. To be a *Roman* was normal; it did not express a particular relationship to ancient Rome or any conscious sense of ethnic belonging, but more or less a political and ideological superiority and, as such, a delimitation from other empires or states. The name *Romaioi* was adopted and adapted into *Rûmî* since late antiquity by the Syrians and the Arabs, and later also by Turkish tribes. Arabic scholars and writers made a clear distinction between the Byzantines, the *Rûmî*, and the ancient Greeks, the *Iûnânîûn*: Al-Ġahiz (d. 868), a member of the ‘House of Wisdom’ (*bait al-hikma*) in Bagdad, denied their hellenic tradition, maintaining that the ancient *Iûnânîûn* had been savants (‘*ulamā*’), whereas the *Rûmî* were only artisans (*ṣunnā*)⁷.

The ancient Greek term for identity is *tautotes*. Its notion was discussed in its traditional meaning, in contrast to the opposite *heterotes* (“otherness”)⁸, also by Christian authors since Late Antiquity⁹ (e.g. in Clemens of Alexandria’s *Stromata*¹⁰ and in Damascius’ *Parmenides*¹¹). The approach in the *Doctrina patrum*

⁶ Later also *Romioi*, to be found in written sources since the 16th century, see GEORGIUS CHORTATZES, *Ερωφίλη*, 6.23–25, ed. S. ALEXIOU, M. APOSKITI, Athens 1988: Που τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ βασιλείες, ποῦ τῶ Ρωμιῶν οἱ τόσες / πλοῦσες καὶ μπορεζάμενες χῶρες, ποῦ τόσες γνῶσες / καὶ τέχνες, ποῦ ’ναι οἱ δόξες τως;..., and half a century later MARINUS TZANES ΜΡΟΥΝΙΑΛΕΣ, *Ὁ Κρητικὸς Πόλεμος*, 2.1.87–90 (*et passim*), ed. S. ALEXIOU, M. APOSKITI, Athens 1995: Μὰ τὴν ἀρμάδα τῶν Τουρκῶν εἶδας’ ἐκεῖ ν’ ἀράξου / καὶ ἄρχοντες πολλοί, Ρωμιοί, ἐτρέχανε νὰ φτάξου / στὴ χώρα, στὴν πατρίδα τως, ὄγια νὰ πολεμοῦσι, / νὰ διώχνου τοὺς Ἀγαρηνοὺς, κ’ ἐκεῖνοι νὰ κοποῦσι. – *Romioi* is still in use: Personally I remember the quarrel of two Greek fisherman in the early seventies of the 20th c., ending with the angry question: So, what are you, a Roman or a Turk (Ρωμιός εἶσαι ἢ Τούρκος;)?

⁷ J. KODER, *Griechische Identitäten im Mittelalter. Aspekte einer Entwicklung*, [in:] *Byzantium State and Society. In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, ed. A. AVRAMEA, A. LAIOU, E. CHRYSOS, Athens 2003, p. 297–319; IDEM, *Remarks on the Linguistic Romanness in Byzantium*, [in:] *Transformations of Romanness*, ed. W. POHL, C. GANTNER, C. GRIFONI, M. POLLHEIMER-MOHAUPT, Berlin–Boston 2018 [= MillSt, 71], p. 111–121. – NB. *ṣunnā*, not *sunna* (“usual practice”).

⁸ Mainly for ideological and religious aspects of otherness see C.D. MERANTZAS, *ΑΝΑ-ΧΩΡΑ(-Η) ΣΗ: μορφές ετερότητας στον βυζαντινό πολιτισμό*, Athens 2014.

⁹ Most of the following quotations from Greek texts are owed to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library*, ed. M.C. PANTELIA, University of California, Irvine, <http://www.tlg.uci.edu> [II–III 2019].

¹⁰ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Stromata*, 8.6.19.5sq, [in:] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, vol. II–III, ed. L. FRÜCHTEL, O. STÄHLIN, U. TREU, Berlin 1960–1970 [= GCS, 52]: ...μόνη δὲ εὐδοκίμει ἡ τοῦ γένους εἰς εἶδη τομῆ, ὅφ’ ἥς χαρακτηρίζεται ἡ τε ταυτότης ἢ κατὰ γένος ἢ τε ἐτερότης ἢ κατὰ τὰς ἰδικὰς διαφορὰς...

¹¹ DAMASCIUS, *In Parmenidem*, [in:] *Damascii successoris dubitationes et solutiones*, vol. II, ed. C.É. RUELLE, Paris 1899, p. 195.20sqq: Τὸ τοῖνον ἕβδομον [scil. the 7th out of 12 questions: διὰ τί οὐδὲ ὄντιναοῦν χρόνον ἔφη ἕτερον εἶναι ἄνευ ταυτότητος· οὐ γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ τὸ δημιουργικὸν ἔν] καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπελύσατο δεόντως ὅτι τε ἐκ περιουσίας, εἰ μὴ ἐν χρόνῳ, οὐδὲ ἐν αἰῶνι σταίη ἂν ἡ ἐτερότης ἄνευ ταυτότητος, καὶ ὅτι ἐγχρόνων πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὑποστατικόν· τοῦτο δὲ ἔν. Μῆποτε δὲ καὶ ἐν-

was influential on others; its content was later received by John of Damascus and Michael Psellus¹². The *Doctrina patrum* explains the three *modoi* of difference between identity and otherness as follows¹³:

Identity is the indistinguishability, according to which the sense of the indicated term owns in every respect its uniqueness and knows in no way any difference. One must know that the identity is understandable in three modes. It is identical with kind... it is also identical with species... finally, it is identical with number... The difference is also understandable three-fold: It is a difference in kind and species and again number.

In later centuries, Michael Psellus¹⁴ and John Italus¹⁵ speak about the contrast of *tautotes* vs. *heterotes* as a subdivision of *genos*, whereas, for example, Pseudo-Zonaras defines *tautotes* separately¹⁶ from “otherness”, a term which he expresses primarily with *diaphora*¹⁷.

Byzantine scholars, however, did not use the term *tautotes* in the meaning of “identity”, as it is understood nowadays in social and political sciences, namely, the sum of beliefs about oneself, in particular the individual feeling as a personality

δείκνυται ὁ παλαιὸς ἐδείκνυμεν, ὅτι τὸν δημιουργικὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον ῥητέον. – p. 209: ...ἀμέλει τὸ αὐτὸ πρότερον ἀποδεικνύων, οὐκ ἐδεῖθη τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐδείκνυ τῶν εἰδῶν οὐδένα χρόνον τὴν ἑτερότητα μένουσαν ἄνευ ταυτότητος.

¹² IOANNES DAMASCENUS, *Fragmenta philosophica*, 10, [in:] *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. I, ed. P.B. KOTTER, Berlin 1969 [= PTS, 7]; MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Theologica*, op. 24, vol. I, ed. P. GAUTIER, Leipzig 1989, vol. II, ed. J.M. DUFFY, L.G. WESTERINK, Munich–Leipzig 2002 (cetera: MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Theologica*).

¹³ *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi*, ed. F. DIEKAMP, Münster 1907 (cetera: *Doctrina patrum*), col. 256: ταυτότης δὲ ἐστὶν ἀπαραλλαξία, καθ’ ἣν ὁ τοῦ σημαιομένου λόγος τὸ πάντη κέκτηται μοναδικόν, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ διαφορᾶς γνωριζομένης. Ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ ταυτότης κατὰ τρεῖς τρόπους λαμβάνεται. ἔστι γὰρ ταυτὸν τῷ γένει... ἔστι ταυτὸν καὶ τῷ εἶδει. πάλιν ἐστὶ ταυτὸν τῷ ἀριθμῷ... καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τριτῶς λαμβάνεται. ἔστι γὰρ διαφορὰ τῷ γένει καὶ διαφορὰ τῷ εἶδει καὶ πάλιν τῷ ἀριθμῷ.

¹⁴ MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Opuscula philosophica minora*, vol. II, *Opuscula psychologica, theologica, daemologica*, ed. D.J. O’MEARA, Leipzig 1989 (cetera: MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Opuscula*), p. 38: Πέντε τὰ γένη κατὰ Πλάτωνα, οὐσία, ταυτότης, ἑτερότης, κίνησις, στάσις, οὐχ ὡς τὰ παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὑπάλληλα, ἀλλ’ ὡς πανταχοῦ διήκοντα.

¹⁵ IOANNES ITALUS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales* (Ἀπορίαι καὶ λύσεις), ed. P.-P. JOANNOU, Ettal 1956 [= SPB, 4] (cetera: IOANNES ITALUS, *Quaestiones*), p. 72: τὸ γὰρ ὄν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐσία, καθ’ ὃ τῶν ἄλλων ἔρημόν ἐστι, κινήσεως, στάσεως, ἑτερότητός τε καὶ ταυτότητος, ἡ δὲ οὐσία μετὰ τούτων, καὶ ὄν. ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα οἰονεῖ στοιχεῖα αὐτῆς, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν παθήματα καὶ ἐνέργειαι, διὸ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ λέγεται εἶναι.

¹⁶ PSEUDO-IOANNES ZONARAS, *Lexikon*, tau 1712, ed. J.A.H. TITTMANN, Leipzig 1808 (cetera: PSEUDO-IOANNES ZONARAS, *Lexikon*): Ταυτότης κατὰ τρεῖς τρόπους λαμβάνεται. ἔστι γὰρ ταυτὸν τῷ γένει... ἔστι ταυτὸν καὶ τῷ (10) εἶδει... πάλιν ταυτὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ... καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ γὰρ τριχῶς λαμβάνεται. ἔστι γὰρ διαφορὰ τῷ γένει, καὶ διαφορὰ τῷ εἶδει.

¹⁷ PSEUDO-IOANNES ZONARAS, *Lexikon*, delta 516: διαφορὰ... τὸ ἐν τῇ συνηθειᾷ ἢ παραλλαγῇ καὶ ἀνομοιότης... καὶ πάλιν διαφορὰ ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ πλειόνων καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ εἶδει, ἐν τῷ ὁποίῳ τί ἐστὶ κατηγορούμενον... ἢ λόγος, καθ’ ὃν ἡ πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν σημαιομένων ἑτερότης σώζεσθαι πέφυκε, καὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐστὶ δηλωτικός.

or – in the case of collective identity – as belonging to a social, ethnic, or cultural group. Nevertheless, we observe some interest in collective identity, though expressed in other terms: an informative example is Nicephorus Blemmydes in the 13th century. He discusses the meanings of *génos* and observes, that *génos* describes the origin (*arche*) of a person or group, and he makes the following distinction:

The meanings of ‘genos’ may differ. ‘Genos’ may refer to the origin of each one’s provenance, be it of his procreator or his home... Hence, the origin of the provenance is dual, natural and local¹⁸.

Fundamental manifestations of any dimension of identity – and in particular collective identity – are *language*¹⁹ (including *culture*)²⁰, *religious* (and *political*) *commitment*²¹, and *space* (Greek keywords for local regional and supraregional

¹⁸ NICEPHORUS BLEMMYDES, *Epitome logica*, [in:] PG, vol. CXLII, col. 753: ...Τὰ σημαίνόμενα τοῦ γένους διάφορα. Γένος γὰρ λέγεται καὶ ἡ ἐκάστου τῆς γενέσεως ἀρχή, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ τεκόντος, εἴτε ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος... Διττὴ τοίνυν ἡ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρχή, φυσικὴ τε καὶ τοπικὴ... .

¹⁹ Not only Greek and Latin, but also – regionally and chronologically differentiated – more than a dozen other languages: Albanian, Caucasian Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Gothic, Greek, Hebrew, Latin and Romance languages (e.g. Vlach), Persian, southern Slavic languages, Syro-Aramaic, many of them in dialectal variations. Maximus Homologetes’ distinction between religion and language (MAXIMUS HOMOLOGETES, *Relatio motionis*, [in:] PG, vol. XC, col. 128) is interesting: Καὶ σωπησάντων αὐτῶν λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ σακελλάριος· Διατί ἀγαπᾶς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοὺς Γραικοὺς μισεῖς. Ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶπε· παραγγελίαν ἔχομεν, τοῦ μὴ μισῆσαί τινα. Ἀγαπῶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς ὁμοπίστους, τοὺς δὲ Γραικοὺς ὡς ὁμογλώσσους.

²⁰ For language and culture, see: *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, ed. H.M. COTTON, C. HOYLAND, J.C. PRICE, D.J. WASSERSTEIN, Cambridge 2009; J. KODER, “Ῥωμαῖστί”. Παρατηρήσεις για τη γλωσσική romanitas των Βυζαντινῶν, [in:] Ἑλλην, Ῥωμαῖός, Γραικός· Συλλογικοὶ προσδιορισμοὶ καὶ ταυτότητες, ed. O. KATSIARDI-HERING, A. PAPADIA LALA, K. NIKOLAOU, V. KARAMANOLAKIS, Athens 2018, p. 73–84; IDEM, *Sprache als Identitätsmerkmal bei den Byzantinern. Auf –isti endende sprachenbezogene Adverbien in den griechischen Quellen*, APHK 147, 2, 2012, p. 5–37; IDEM, *Die Hellenis als Mitte der Ökumene: Theodoros Laskaris über den Ursprung von Philosophie, Weisheit und Wissenschaft*, [in:] *Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, ed. T. ANTONOPOULOU, S. KOTZABASSI, M. LOUKAKI, Berlin–New York 2015 [= BArchiv, 29], p. 195–210; A. KONSTANTAKOPOULOU, *Λαοί, φυλαί, γλώσσαι. Διακρίσεις στα Βαλκάνια τον ύστερο Μεσαίωνα*, [in:] *Toleration and Repression in the Middle Ages. In Memory of Leons Mavrommatis*, ed. K. NIKOLAOU, Athens 2002 [= EIE / IBE, Διεθνή Συμπόσια, 10], p. 327–355; P. SCHREINER, *Bilinguismus, Bilateralität und Digraphie in Byzanz*, [in:] *Historische Mehrsprachigkeit*, ed. D. BOSCHUNG, C.M. RIEHL, Aachen 2011 [= ZSM.S, 4], p. 125–141; IDEM, *Ethnische Invektiven in der spätbyzantinischen Händlerwelt. Zum anonymen Poem im Marc. gr. XI, 6 aus dem dritten oder vierten Jahrzehnt des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3PBVI 50, 1–2, 2013 (= *Mélanges Ljubomir Maksimović*, ed. B. KRSMANOVIĆ, S. PIRIVATRIĆ, VOL. II), p. 763–778.

²¹ For the significance of religion in the context of shaping of Byzantine political identity, see currently the comprehensive collection edited by G. DUNN and W. MAYER, *Christians Shaping Identity from the Roman Empire to Byzantium. Studies Inspired by Pauline Allen*, Leiden 2015 [= VC.S, 132], in particular the contributions from D.C. SIM, *Jews, Gentiles and Ethnic Identity in the Gospel of Matthew*, [in:] *Christians Shaping Identity...*, p. 25–47, and from R. SCOTT, *The Treatment of Ecu-*

identity: *patris, polis, politeuma, kome, chorion; klima, epeiros, oikoumene*)²², phenomena which are deeply rooted in human consciousness.

This paper does not deal with space, religion and language, which were discussed in earlier studies, but with one further complex dimension, the relationship between *identity* and *time*.

Identity and time

At first glance, time and temporality are not so obviously related to identity, though they are immanent in human consciousness and as phenomena not imaginable without beginning and end²³. Characteristically, William Butler Yeats says at the beginning of his famous *Vision*:

I think if I could be given a month of Antiquity and leave to spend it where I chose, I would spend it in Byzantium a little before Justinian opened St. Sophia and closed the Academy of Plato²⁴. I think I could find in some little wine shop some philosophical worker in mosaic who could answer all my questions, the supernatural descending nearer to him than to Plotinus even, for the pride of his delicate skill would make what was an instrument of power to princes and clerics, a murderous madness in the mob, show as a lovely flexible presence like that of a perfect human body.²⁵

Following him, human beings identify their belonging not only in terms of space, but also in terms of time. Mikhail Bakhtin had an entirely different approach to time: some hundred years ago, he referred to Einstein's Theory of

menical Councils in Byzantine Chronicles, [in:] *Christians Shaping Identity...*, p. 364–384; furthermore: L.D. RIEDEL, *Leo VI and the Transformation of Byzantine Christian Identity. Writings of an Unexpected Emperor*, Cambridge 2018, and J. KODER, *Byzanz – römische Identität, christliche Ideologie und europäische Ausstrahlung*, [in:] *Katalog zur Ausstellung "Das Goldene Byzanz und der Orient"*, ed. F. DAIM, D. HEHER, Schallaburg 2012, p. 27–41.

²² For space: J. KODER, *Space and Identity – Byzantine Conceptions of Geographic Belonging. Opening lecture*, [in:] *From the Human Body to the Universe. Spatialities of Byzantine Culture, Symposium Uppsala University, 18–21 May 2017* (in print); IDEM, *Byzantion wird Konstantinupolis: Anmerkungen zu Ortswahl und Namen*, [in:] *Constantinople réelle et imaginaire autour de l'oeuvre de Gilbert Dagron*, ed. C. MORRISON, J.-P. SODINI (= TM 22, 1), Paris 2018, p. 21–33; IDEM, *Anmerkungen zum Awaren-Sgraffito von Sirmium*, comm. R. WEDENIG, [in:] *Lebenswelten zwischen Archäologie und Geschichte. Festschrift für Falko Daim zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. J. DRAUSCHKE et al., Mainz 2018 [= MRGZ, 150], p. 733–740.

²³ See: H.U. GUMBRECHT, *Zeitbegriffe in den Geisteswissenschaften heute*, [in:] *Akademie im Dialog*, X, Vienna 2017, p. 5–13; in general: V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, Paris 1958 [= TEB, 1], p. 161–235.

²⁴ In 529 or a little later, the emperor Justinian imposed a ban of teaching in the Platonic Academy in Athens; on December 27th, 537, he inaugurated the new Saint Sophia (the second building being destroyed by fire during the Nika riot, 532); see: R. SCOTT, *Justinian's New Age and the Second Coming*, [in:] IDEM, *Byzantine Chronicles and the Sixth Century*, Ashgate 2012, p. 7–8.

²⁵ W.B. YEATS, *A Vision*, London 1937, p. 279.

Relativity and introduced the term *chronotope* (“time-space”) into the theory of literature, in order to express the inseparability of space and time:

The special meaning it [scil. the *chronotope*] has in relativity theory is not important for our purposes; we are borrowing it for literary criticism almost as a metaphor... What counts for us is the fact that it expresses the inseparability of space and time (time as the fourth dimension of space)... The *chronotope* as a formally constitutive category determines to a significant degree the image of man in literature as well. The image of man is always intrinsically chronotopic.²⁶

As for the topic “time in Byzantium”, Paolo Odorico, starting from the peak of the confrontation between Neoplatonism and Christianity in the 6th century, recently made a significant contribution. He studied the influence of four categories of time – cosmic, historical, social, and individual – on the human condition and pointed to the formation of a new class of historiography that focussed on a universal history since the creation of the world (John Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale*...): *Le temps cosmique est pour les Byzantins fondé sur l'action de Dieu, et de Lui dépend aussi le temps historique, qui ne repose que sur sa volonté. Le temps social de l'Empire s'aligne sur cette base, en rapportant à la dimension théologique* [emphasized by JK] *toute son organisation*²⁷. Earlier, Gilbert Dagron analyzed the *ecumenic* purview of the emperors' political and religious power²⁸. In his remarks on the territorial and temporal *ecumenicity*, he emphasized the latter's importance, which still increased in the 9th and 10th centuries. Relying on these considerations, it is obvious to postulate an inseparability of time and identity, especially collective identity.

The outstanding importance of *eschatological* time was highlighted by Gerhard Podskalsky and Paul Magdalino. Podskalsky²⁹ again emphasized the theological origin of the Byzantine concept of history in the Jewish and Hellenistic tradition

²⁶ M. BAKHTIN, *Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel*, [in:] *The Dialogic Imagination*, Austin 1981, p. 84sq.

²⁷ P. ODORICO, *Le temps de l'Empire*, [in:] *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου “Όψεις του Βυζαντινού Χρόνου”*, 29–30 Μαΐου 2015, ed. E.G. SARANTE, A. DELLAPORTA, T. KOLLYROPOULOU, Athens 2018, p. 30–41 (with rich bibliography), the quotation from p. 40; see also: the graph on p. 31.

²⁸ G. DAGRON, *L'œcumenicité politique: droit sur l'espace, droit sur le temps*, [in:] *Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη*, ed. E. CHRYSOS, Athens 2005 [= IBR.IS, 16], p. 47–57.

²⁹ G. PODSKALSKY, *Représentation du temps dans l'eschatologie impériale byzantine*, [in:] *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge – III^e–XIII^e siècle (Colloque int. du CNRS 604)*, ed. J.-M. LEROUX, Paris 1984, p. 439–450. Some years later PODSKALSKY (*Ruhestand oder Vollendung? Zur Symbolik des achten Tages in der griechisch-byzantinischen Theologie*, [in:] *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. PRINZING, Munich 1990, p. 157–166, 216–219), studied the discussion of the Church fathers on the biblical symbolism of the number Eight, which replaces Seven, and the transition to the eighth *aion*, to the eighth-days-system on the occasion of Christ's resurrection. For this topic, see also: A. SHARF, *The Eighth Day of the Week*, [in:] *Kathegetria. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, Camberley 1988, p. 27–50.

and identified two types of imperial eschatology, the political and the religious, resulting in the perpetuation of the millennial reign. Magdalino³⁰ took the chronological scheme of the cosmic week, which originated in the era of the world and dominated the thought of Byzantine authors, as an occasion to point out their concentration on the fate of the Byzantine empire and its capital Constantinople, when they express their eschatological expectations.

Only recently, Ilias Anagnostakis³¹ discussed the relationship between time and collective identity. Proceeding from the appeal *Μετανοείτε, ἤγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* (Matthew 3, 2 and 4, 17), he studied the Life of Nikon Metanoete not only as an element of the narrative in the saint's life, but also "as an element of the saint's identity and as the reflection of an eschatological age", and "as the regulatory element in the religious identity of a community", thus emphasizing the importance of time for collective identity.

* * *

For a nearer analysis of the relationship between *time* and *identity*, the meanings of key words like *aion*, *kairos* and *chronos*, and the relationships among them are helpful³². In spite of their versatile use in Patristic and Byzantine texts and their ambiguity, a closer examination of these three terms opens the opportunity for differentiated interpretations (and translations), which comply with the development of meanings in post-classical Greek and offer efficient links to identity. Not surprising, many of these meanings are strongly influenced by the Bible; the following four passages in the Septuagint and the New Testament³³ may underpin this observation:

Ecclesiastes 3, 1–2, 11, 14: For every thing there is a *chronos* (time) and for every matter under heaven a *kairos* (right time), a *kairos* to give birth and a *kairos* to die, a *kairos* to plant and a *kairos* to harvest the planted... He made everything good in its *kairos*; and he has given the *aion* (eternity) in their heart, but mankind should not comprehend what God had created, from beginning to the end... I understood that whatever God had done, lasts for the *aion*; there is no adding to it, and no taking away from it.

³⁰ P. MAGDALINO, *The End of Time in Byzantium*, [in:] *Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. W. BRANDES, F. SCHMIEDER, Berlin 2008, p. 119–133.

³¹ I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Ο χρόνος στον Νίκωνα τον Μετανοείτε: ἤγγικε γὰρ...*, [in:] *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου "Όψεις του Βυζαντινού Χρόνου"*, ed. E.G. SARANTE, A. DELLAPORTA, T. KOLLYROPOULOU, Athens 2018, see here p. 213: ...η ειδική χρήση του εσχάτολογικού χρόνου... δημιουργεί ταυτότητες και καταλήγει στην εργασιακή χρονομετρία.

³² In the cases of *eniautos* and *etos* (not in G.H.W. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961 and E. TRAPP et al., *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Literatur*, vol. I–II, Vienna 2001–2017), both correspond in principle (*LSJ*, col. 576b–577a, and 704a) to "year", the former emphasizing the duration of the year (see: e.g., PSEUDO-IOANNES ZONARAS, *Lexikon*, epsilon 717), the second the unit of time (I am grateful to the anonymous reader for this clarification).

³³ English translations borrowed (and adapted) from: <https://www.biblestudytools.com/esv/> [4 I 2019].

Sophia Salomonis 7, 17–19: For he himself gave me an unerring knowledge of the things that exist, to know the constitution of the world and the activity of the elements, the *arche* (beginning) and *telos* (end) and middle of *chronoi* (times), the alterations of the solstices and the changes of the *kairoi* (seasons), the cycles of the *eniautos* (year) and the constellations of the stars...

Titus 1, 1–3: Paul, a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ, for the sake of the faith of God's elect and their knowledge of the truth, which accords with godliness, in hope of *aionios* (eternal) life, which God, who never lies, promised a long *chronos* (time) ago and at the *idioi kairoi* (proper times) manifested in his word through the preaching with which I have been entrusted by the command of God our Savior...

Luke 18, 29–30: Truly, I say to you, there is no one who has left house or wife or brothers or parents or children, for the sake of the kingdom of God, who will not receive many times more in this *kairos* (time), and in the *aion* (age) to come the *aionios zoe* (eternal life)³⁴.

The framework of meanings of *aion*, *kairos* and *chronos* is confirmed by these and other³⁵ passages in the New Testament. For a more differentiated understanding of the terms during the Byzantine period, I am quoting some characteristic examples from the large number of relevant Patristic texts, beginning with the definitions by Pseudo-Zonaras and continuing with quotations from other sources. Pseudo-Zonaras defines *aion*: “the time or what is coextensive in the heavens, like a temporal movement or distance”³⁶; *kairos*: “suitable time for work”³⁷; and *kata kairos*: “in the convenient and appointed time, so the apostle: He [Christ] died at the appointed time for the wicked”³⁸; *chronos*: “movement and course of the sun in a proportioned motion; or the coextensive with the substance of the world distance, in which every movement is measured, be it of the stars or living being or whatever is moved”³⁹.

³⁴ See also: Gal 4, 10: ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς.

³⁵ E.g. Gal 6, 7–10: *Do not be deceived: God is not mocked, for whatever one sows, that will he also reap. For the one who sows to his own flesh will from the flesh reap corruption, but the one who sows to the Spirit will from the Spirit reap eternal life (ζωὴν αἰώνιον). And let us not grow weary of doing good, for in due season (καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ) we will reap, if we do not give up. So then, as we have opportunity (καιρόν), let us do good to everyone.* Act 1, 6–8: *So when they had come together, they asked him, Lord, will you at this time (ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ) restore the kingdom to Israel? He said to them, It is not for you to know times or seasons (χρόνους ἢ καιρούς) that the Father has fixed by his own authority. But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you, and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth.*

³⁶ PSEUDO-IOANNES ZONARAS, *Lexikon*, alpha 63sq: Αἰών· ὁ χρόνος ἢ τὸ συμπαρεκτεινόμενον τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. οἷόν τι χρονικὸν κίνημα καὶ διάστημα· ... ἀπέραντος αἰὼν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰεῖ ὧν.

³⁷ PSEUDO-IOANNES ZONARAS, *Lexikon*, kappa 1145: Καιρός· χρόνος ἐπιτήδειος εἰς ἐργασίαν.

³⁸ PSEUDO-IOANNES ZONARAS, *Lexikon*, kappa 1149: Κατὰ καιρόν· κατὰ τὸν εὐκαιρον καὶ προσήκοντα καιρόν καὶ χρόνον. οὕτως ὁ Ἀπόστολος (Rom 5, 6)· κατὰ καιρόν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανε.

³⁹ PSEUDO-IOANNES ZONARAS, *Lexikon*, chi 1860: Χρόνος· ἡλίου κίνησις καὶ πορεία μετὰ ἐμμέτρου φοράς, ἢ τὸ παρεκτεινόμενον τῇ ὑποστάσει τοῦ κόσμου διάστημα, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα μετρεῖται κίνησις εἴτε ἀστέρων, εἴτε ζώων, εἴτε οὐτινοσοῦν τῶν κινουμένων.

kairos⁴⁰ / chronos⁴¹

Pseudo-Galenus, in *Peri chymon*, draws a remarkable parallel in the following comparison: “What in the universe (*kosmos*) is an element (*stoicheion*), is in human beings a humour (*chymos*), even as in the year (*chronos*) a season (*kairos*), not having complete identity (*tautotes*) or likeness (*homoiotetes*)... the seasons of the year being spring, summer, winter and autumn”⁴².

In the early 9th century, two authors explain the difference of *chronos* and *kairos* for their contemporaries. George Choiroboscus answers the question “How differ *kairos* and *chronos*?” as follows: “*kairos* is the measured arrival of days, *chronos* the extent of many *kairoi* and days”⁴³. Michael Syncellus explains that “*chronos* is more general and comprehensive than *kairos*; *chronos* encompasses *kairos*, but *kairos* does not encompass *chronos*”⁴⁴. The term *chronos* stands in the tradition of the Antiquity; it is formulaically linked with *trochos* and *tyche*, this often in ecclesiastical texts⁴⁵,

⁴⁰ καιρός (often contrasted to αἰών): *due measure, proportion, fitness, exact or critical or convenient time, season, opportunity, period* (LSJ, col. 859b–860a); *fit, right, proper time, opportunity, present age, age to come, ages of history, and time compared with eternity* (G.H.W. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, col. 693b); *year* (E. TRAPP et al., *Lexikon zur...*, col. 734b).

⁴¹ χρόνος: *time, a definite time, period, date, term, year* (LSJ, col. 2008b–2009a); *time*, esp. in contrast to *kairos* and to *aion*, (*divine*) *timelessness, eternity* (of Son or Word), *occasion and year* (G.H.W. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, col. 1534b).

⁴² PSEUDO-GALENUS, *De humoribus*, 19.485sq, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XIX, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Leipzig 1830: Ὅπερ ἐν κόσμῳ στοιχείον, τοῦτο ἐν ζώοις χυμὸς, ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ καιρός, οὐ παντελῆ ταυτότητα ἢ ὁμοιότητα ἔχοντα... καιροὶ δὲ δι’ ὧν ὁ χρόνος ἔαρ καὶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶν καὶ φθινόπωρον.

⁴³ GEORGIUS CHOIROBOSCUS, *Epimerismi in Psalmos*, vol. III, ed. T. GAISFORD, Oxford 1842, p. 47: Τί διαφέρει καιρός καὶ χρόνος; καιρός μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ μεμετρημένη ἡμερῶν ἄφιξις, χρόνος δὲ πολλῶν καιρῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν περιοχὴ.

⁴⁴ MICHAEL SYNCELLUS, *Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem*, § 156, ed. D. DONNET, Brussels 1982 [= EPAHA, 22]: καθολικώτερός τε καὶ περιεκτικώτερος τοῦ καιροῦ καθέστηκεν ὁ χρόνος· περιέχει μὲν γὰρ ὁ χρόνος τὸν καιρὸν, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς τὸν χρόνον οὐ περιέχει. From these differentiations many special meanings, as “seasons of the year”, derive later, for example, in Manuel Philes’ poem *Eis ta d’ theia kai iera euaγγelia*, MANUEL PHILES, *Carmina*, poem 39, vol. I–II, ed. E. MILLER, Paris 1855–1857):

Ὁ πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς τεκτονεύσας τὴν κτίσιν,
Ἐν πᾶσι τηρῶν τὴν τιμὴν τῆς τετράδος,
Τέσσαρσι καιροῖς ὠραΐζει τὸν χρόνον.

⁴⁵ ISIDORUS PELUSIOTA, *Epistulae de interpretatione divinae scripturae*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXVIII, col. 158: Τροχειδὴς γὰρ ὁ χρόνος... Ὅτι δὲ τροχὸν τὸν χρόνον ἐκάλεσε, διὰ τὸ τροχειδὴς καὶ κυκλικὸν σχῆμα; similar *Catena in epistulam Jacobi*, 21sq, [in:] *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. VIII, ed. J.A. CRAMER, Oxford 1840; GREGORIUS AGRIGENTINUS, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, 1.13, [in:] *Pseudo-Gregorii Agrigentini seu Pseudo-Gregorii Nysseni commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, ed. G.H. ETTLINGER, J. NORET, Turnhout 2007 [= CC.SG, 56]: Κυκλικὸς δρόμος τοῦ χρόνου, μέσον ἑαυτοῦ πάντα διαλαμβάνων καὶ περιγράφων, οἷόν τις τροχὸς ἄπαυστον ἔχων τὴν κίνησιν, and 10.8: Εἶτα φησὶν ὁ σοφὸς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς (scil. Eccle. 12, 6–7): Καὶ συντριβὴ ἢ ὑδρία

but also among non-theological authors⁴⁶, whereas the term *kairos* is used only as an exception in this context⁴⁷.

kairos / *aion*⁴⁸

As early as the break between the 4th and 5th centuries, the relationship between *kairos* and *aion* is explained by John Chrysostomus: “Short is the present *kairos* in relation to the interminable *aiones*”⁴⁹. In another homily, he refers to Paul’s letter to the Romans: “... and we must leave off from indifference. For deliverance is nearer now than we believed. Do you see, how he draws their attention already to the resurrection? As the *chronos* goes on, he says, the *kairos* of this life will be consumed and that of the future *aion* comes nearer”⁵⁰. One generation earlier, Basil of Caesarea makes a clear distinction between the short *kairos* of this life and the eternity of the *aion*: “The present *kairos* is for repentance and forgiving of sins; but in the future *aion* comes the just judgement of retribution”⁵¹.

ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ συντροχάσει ὁ τροχὸς ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον, καὶ ἐπιστρέψει ὁ χοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὡς ἦν. Τῇ συντριβῇ γὰρ τῆς ὕδριας τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν ὄστρακίνην φύσιν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος ἐδήλωσεν προφανῶς, περὶ οὗ φησιν καὶ Παῦλος ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος (scil. 2Cor 4, 7). Ἐχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὄστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν, καὶ πάλιν (scil. 1Cor 5, 1). Οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους καταλυθῇ, οἰκοδομῆν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἔχομεν οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ συντροχάσαι τὸν τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον εἰπών, τὸ πᾶν χρονικὸν διάστημα τῆς ἐκάστου σαφῶς ἠνίξαστο ζωῆς συναποπερατωθῆναι καὶ πληρωθῆναι, τροχοῦ δίκην κυλιεσθαι πεφυκός, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν ἐπανιών, εἴτα καὶ κατιὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἦτοι τὸν θάνατον; THEODORUS STUDITES, *Parva catechesis*, 37.21, ed. E. AUVRAY, Paris 1891: καὶ ὁ χρόνος ὡσπερ τις τροχὸς κυλιόμενος...

⁴⁶ Examples: GEORGIUS CHOIROBOSCUS, *Prolegomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones de flexion verborum*, [in:] *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. IV.2, ed. A. HILGARD, Leipzig 1894, p. 11; THEODORUS CYZICENUS, *Epistulae*, [in:] *Επιστολαὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βιενναίου κώδικος phil. gr.* 342, ed. S.P. LAMPROS, NEΛΛ 19, 1925; 20, 1926, p. 23: ...χρόνου, τοῦ κοσμικοῦ τροχοῦ...; THEODORUS PRODROMUS, *Carmina historica*, Poem 45.365, [in:] *Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. HÖRANDNER, Vienna 1974 [= WBS, 11]: ὦ μοι βίου κύλινδρος, ὦ τροχοὶ χρόνου; *Historia imperatorum*, ed. F. ΙΑΔΕΒΑΙΑ, Messina 2000, p. 594: ὁ χρόνος καὶ ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ὁ τροχὸς τῆς τύχης ἐνέπεξεν πολλοὺς; *Historia Alexandri Magni*, 57.16, [in:] *Ps.-Kallisthenes. Zwei mittelgriechische Prosa-Fassungen des Alexanderromans*, vol. I–II, ed. V.L. KONSTANTINOPULOS, A.C. LOLOS, Meisenheim am Glan 1983 [= BKP, 141].

⁴⁷ GEORGIUS MONACHUS, *Chronicon breve*, [in:] *PG*, vol. XC, col. 1205, 1228, 1240.

⁴⁸ αἰών: *period of existence, lifetime, life, age, generation, destiny, long space of time, age, space of time* clearly defined and marked out, *epoch, age, epoch, age, the ages*, i.e. *eternity* (LSJ, col. 45b); *age, aeon, eternity, time, long but definite period*, but also *period(s) of indefinite duration* (G.H.W. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, col. 55–57a); *year* (E. TRAPP et al., *Lexikon zur...*, col. 37b) – αἰώνιος, ...lasting for an age (αἰὼν II), perpetual, eternal (but dist. fr. αἰδῖος).

⁴⁹ IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam ad Hebraeos*, [in:] *PG*, vol. LXIII, col. 25: βραχὺς γὰρ ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς πρὸς τοὺς αἰῶνας τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους.

⁵⁰ IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam ad Romanos*, [in:] *PG*, vol. LX, col. 621sq: ...καὶ δεῖ λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ῥαθυμίας. Νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν (Rom 13, 11). Ὁρᾶς πῶς ἐφίστησιν αὐτοῖς ἤδη τὴν ἀνάστασιν; Τοῦ χρόνου γὰρ προϊόντος, φησὶν, ὁ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος βίου δαπανᾶται καιρὸς, ὁ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος ἐγγύτερος γίνεται.

⁵¹ BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Regulae morales*, [in:] *PG*, vol. XXXI, col. 700: τῆς μετανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὁ παρὼν ἐστὶ καιρὸς. ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι ἡ δίκαια κρίσις τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως.

aion / chronos

The relationship between *aion* and *chronos* was subject to the continuous development of both term's meanings. In the majority of cases, it may be found in theological contexts, once already in an ancient tragedy⁵². In the Septuagint, with some insignificant exceptions, the wording εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον, "for eternal times" (adjectival use of αἰών)⁵³ dominates, and this wording was predominant in the patristic literature until the 5th century⁵⁴.

The development towards a separate interpretation of the two terms began obviously from the 5th/6th centuries, in particular in the discussion of the meaning of the *aīdiótes* ("everlastingness")⁵⁵. A representative selection from the large number of authors should begin with Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita; he postulates in *De divinis nominibus*:

It is necessary, I believe, to be informed about the nature not only of time (*chronos*), but also of eternity (*aion*) by the savants,

and he continues with an explanation, from which the main passage reads as follows:

... He [scil. Gregory of Nyssa] calls time, what by generation and destruction and alteration occasionally acts differently. Therefore, the theology teaches that we already here, bound in time, participate in eternity, whenever we are suitable for the eternal and always such existing eternity... (Therefore, we should) send hymns to God as eternity and time, as creator of all time and eternity and as 'ancient of days', because he is before time and above time and changing 'periods (*kairoi*) and times (*chronoi*)' and again existing before eternities, being before eternity and above eternity, and his kingdom is the kingdom of all eternities.⁵⁶

⁵² By the chorus in AESCHYLUS, *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 219sq, [in:] *Aeschyli Septem Quae Supersunt Tragoediae*, ed. D.L. PAGE, Oxford 1972: μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν / ἄδε πανάγουρις...; see: the explanation in *Scholiam Graeca in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia*, hypothesis-epigram-scholion 219sq, ed. O.L. SMITH, Leipzig 1976–1982: ...ἤγουν ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὄντων θεῶν, καταλείψοι τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐμὸν αἰῶνα τὸν χρόνον, ἤγουν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ βίου.

⁵³ Septuagint: Ps 8 and 15, Is and Bar; in the New Testament, Pauline epistles: πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων and similar.

⁵⁴ Eusebios of Caesarea, Basil of Caesarea, Didymus the Blind, Ephrem the Syrian, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Cyril of Alexandria. A later example is the Second Council of Nicaea.

⁵⁵ *LSJ*, col. 36a: "αἰδιότης, eternity. – αἰδιος everlasting, eternal... ἄ. is dist. fr. αἰώνιος as everlasting from timeless, but dist. fr. ἀεῖζωος as eternal (without beginning or end) from ever-living".

⁵⁶ PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA, *De divinis nominibus*, ed. B.R. SUCHLA, Berlin 1990 [= PTS, 33], p. 216sq: Χρῆ δέ, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ χρόνον καὶ αἰῶνος φύσιν ἐκ τῶν λογίων εἰδέναί... Χρόνον δὲ καλεῖ (possibly GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *In sanctum Pascha*, [in:] *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. IX.1, ed. E. GEBHARDT, Leiden 1967, p. 261sq) τὸν ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ καὶ ἀλλοιώσει καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἔχοντα Διὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε κατὰ χρόνον ὀριζομένους αἰῶνος μεθέξειν ἡ θεολογία φησίν, ἡνίκα τοῦ ἀφθάρτου καὶ αἰεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος αἰῶνος ἐφικώμεθα... Τὸν δὲ θεὸν καὶ ὡς αἰῶνα καὶ ὡς χρόνον ὑμνεῖν, ὡς χρόνον παντὸς καὶ αἰῶνος αἴτιον καὶ παλαιὸν ἡμερῶν (Dn 7, 13), ὡς πρὸ χρόνου καὶ ὑπὲρ χρόνον καὶ ἀλλοιοῦντα καιροῦς καὶ χρόνου (Dn 2, 21) καὶ αὐθις πρὸ αἰῶνων ὑπάρχοντα, καθ' ὅσον καὶ πρὸ αἰῶνός ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ αἰῶνα καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰῶνων (Ps 144, 13).

In chapters 4 and 5 of his *De aeternitate* (Κατὰ τῶν Πρόκλου περὶ αἰδιότητος κόσμου επιχειρημάτων), John Philoponus (6th century) argues against Proclus⁵⁷, and he offers a concise definition: “Eternity (*aion*) existed when time (*chronos*) did not exist, and eternity will exist when time will not exist”⁵⁸. The *Doctrina Patrum* (7th–8th centuries) says in a similar manner: “Eternity (*aion*) is timeless time (*chronos achronos*) and endless end (*peras aperanton*)”⁵⁹. Finally, John of Damascus (7/8th century) states: “What for those under the time (*chronos*) is the time, is for those in the everlasting (*aidia*) the eternity (*aion*)”⁶⁰.

Most of the authors after the turn of the millenium remained more or less in the paths of their predecessors, so, for example, John Italus (11th century)⁶¹ and Gregory Palamas⁶². I should also mention John Cyparissiotis, who quotes *De divinis nominibus*, book 10 of Dionysius Areopagita⁶³, and Gennadius Scholarius, who authored an *epítome* of the first part of Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologiae*⁶⁴.

The personality who deals with the relationship between *aion* and *chronos* several times is Michael Psellus (11th century) – not only in the *Opusculum logicum* 4⁶⁵ and in the *Theological Treatises* 41, 88 and 105, but especially in his *Theological Treatise* 32, which is entirely dedicated to the topic “About eternity” (*Peri aionos*)⁶⁶:

⁵⁷ IOANNES PHILOPONUS, *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*, ed. H. RABE, Leipzig 1899 (cetera: IOANNES PHILOPONUS, *De aeternitate*), p. 104: δ’. Ὅτι, κὰν λέγωμεν ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν χρόνος καὶ ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἔσται, τὸ ἦν τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ποτὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φύσιν ἐκλαμβάνοντες οὐ τμήματος χρόνου δηλωτικὸν νοοῦμεν ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰῶνός τινα ὑπαρξιν, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἦν ἢ ἔσται χρόνος. ε’. Ὅτι, κὰν παράδειγμα ἦν ὁ αἰὼν τοῦ χρόνου, οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν χρόνον αἰεὶ εἶναι, ὡς ὁ αἰὼν αἰεὶ ἐστίν.

⁵⁸ IOANNES PHILOPONUS, *De aeternitate*, p. 116: δ’... κὰν εἴπωμεν ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν χρόνος καὶ ἔσται ὅτε οὐκ ἔσται, τὸ ἦν καὶ τὸ ἔσται οὐ χρονικὸν νοοῦμεν ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ αἰῶνος ὑπάρξεώς φαμεν εἶναι σημαντικά· ἦν γὰρ αἰὼν καὶ χρόνου μὴ ὄντος καὶ ἔσται αἰὼν, ὅτε οὐκ ἔσται χρόνος.

⁵⁹ *Doctrina patrum*, p. 253.15: Αἰὼν ἐστὶ χρόνος ἄχρονος καὶ πέρασ ἀπέραντον.

⁶⁰ IOANNES DAMASCENUS, *Expositio fidei*, [in:] *Die Schriften des Johannes...*, vol. II, Berlin 1973 [= PTS, 12], p. 15: ... ὅπερ γὰρ τοῖς ὑπὸ χρόνον ὁ χρόνος, τοῦτο τοῖς αἰδίοις ἐστὶν αἰὼν.

⁶¹ IOANNES ITALUS, *Quaestiones*, p. 60: ... ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὗτος διάκοσμος οὐκ ἔστι παράδειγμα, ἀλλ’ εἰκὼν, ἄλλου ὄντος τοῦ παραδείγματος· καὶ χρόνος ἐνταῦθα, αἰῶνος ὄντος ἐκέῖσε.

⁶² E.g. GREGORIUS PALAMAS, *Orationes contra Acindynum*, 2.12.50, [in:] *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, vol. III, ed. L. KONTOGIANNES, B. PHANOURGAKES, Thessalonica 1970.

⁶³ IOANNES CYPARISSIOTES, *Expositio materialia*, 8.3, [in:] *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κυπριασιώτου τῶν Θεολογικῶν Ῥήσεων Στοιχειώδης Ἐκθεσις*, ed. B.L. DENTAKES, Athens 1982 [= ΗΦΜ, 5].

⁶⁴ Here, the chapter Περὶ αἰδιότητος is of particular interest: GENNADIUS SCHOLARIUS, *Epítome primae partis Summae theologicae Thomae Aquinae*, Treatise 1.10, [in:] *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. V, ed. M. JUGIE, L. PETIT, X.A. SIDERIDES, Paris 1931.

⁶⁵ MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Opuscula*, op. 41.60–65: εἰ γὰρ αἰὼν ἐστὶ ζωὴ ἐν στάσει καὶ τῶ αὐτῷ ὡσαύτως, εἰκόνα δὲ δεῖ τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸν χρόνον εἶναι, ἀντὶ μὲν κινήσεως νοεράς ψυχῆς τινος μέρους κινήσεως μέτρον τὸν χρόνον οἰητέον, ἀντὶ δὲ ταυτότητος καὶ τοῦ ὡσαύτως καὶ μένοντος τὸ μὴ μένον ἐν ταῦτῳ... δεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐξωθεν τῆς ψυχῆς λαμβάνειν τὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲ τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκεῖ ἔξω τοῦ ὄντος, οὐδὲ παρακολουθῆμα οὐδ’ ὕστερον, ἀλλ’ ἐνωρώμενον καὶ ἐνόητον καὶ συνόντα, ὡσπερ κάκει αἰὼν.

⁶⁶ MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Theologica*, op. 32, Περὶ αἰῶνος (etiam: *De omnifaria doctrina*, Appendix 2, Περὶ αἰῶνος).

Understand time (*chronos*) as an image of eternity (*aion*). If so, the reasoning by conversion says: agree that eternity is an example for the time... Such is eternity; time is a product of it, left behind by the father's state. It was born in order to come to an end... We participated in a small share of the nature of time. The soul... is placed between eternity and time... Its substance is eternal, but its energy is temporal... Also the harmonious concordance of time and eternity leads me to this, as the opposites – correlating with each other – coalesced.⁶⁷

The individualization and personalization of temporality can be verified by the combination of time-related terms with the possessive pronouns *emos* or (collectively) *hemeteros*. A biblical starting point seems to be the passage in the Gospel of John: *Jesus said to them, My time has not yet come, but your time is always here... Go to the festival yourselves. I am not going to this festival, for my time has not yet fully come*⁶⁸, which was commented on in the *Catena in Ioannem*⁶⁹ and from many Church fathers (Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostomus, Nilus of Ancyra and Socrates Scholasticus⁷⁰).

⁶⁷ MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Theologica*, op. 32, 1sq: Αἰῶνος εἰκόνα τὸν χρόνον ἐπίστασο· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἀντιστρέψας ὁ λόγος ἐρεῖ, χρόνου παράδειγμα τὸν αἰῶνα τίθεσο... 49sq: Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ αἰὼν· ὁ δὲ γε χρόνος γέννημα μὲν ἐκείνου, ἀπολελειμμένον δὲ τῆς πατρικῆς στάσεως· γεγέννηται γάρ, ἵνα καὶ ἐκδράμη... 73–75: ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ μέρει τῆς τοῦ χρόνου μετεσχῆκαμεν φύσεως· ἡ δὲ γε ψυχὴ, ὅπερ ἠρώτηκας, μεταξύ αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου τετάχεται... 78–82: αἰωνίζει is eternal μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ οὐσία substance, χρονίζει is temporal δὲ ἡ ἐνέργεια force, action... 99–102: ἐπάγεται γάρ με εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἡ παναρμόνιος συμφωνία χρόνου πρὸς αἰῶνα κραθέντος καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀλλήλοις συνομολογησάντων.

⁶⁸ Io 7, 6 and 8: λέγει οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὕτω πάρεστιν, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁ ὑμέτερος πάντοτε ἐστὶν ἔτοιμος. ... ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν· ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην, ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς οὕτω πεπλήρωται; *Jesus said to them, My time has not yet come, but your time is always here.* – See also: NONNUS' *Paraphrasis sancti evangelii Ioannei*, VII, 23–25, 32–35, ed. A. SCHEINDLER, Leipzig 1881:

...καὶ σφιν ἄναξ ἀγόρευεν ἀμοιβαίῳ τινὶ μύθῳ
οὕτω καιρὸς ἦλθεν ἐμὸς χρόνος, ὑμέτερος δὲ
πέπταται αἰὲν ἔτοιμος, ἐλεύθερος...
οὕτω ἐγὼ κλισίας νεοπηγέας ἄρτι γεραίρων
εἰς τελετὴν ὀσίην ἐπιβήσομαι· ἡμετέρου γὰρ
οὕτω μοι τετέλεστο χρόνου δρόμος· ὡς ὁ μὲν εἰπὼν
ἔστιχεν ἀγνὸν ἔδεθλον ἀκερσικόμων Γαλιλαίων.

⁶⁹ *Catena in Ioannem*, 261.6 and 30sq, [in:] *Catena Graecorum patrum...*, vol. II, Oxford 1841: Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς τίνες ἐστὲ συμβουλευόντες ταῦτα καὶ διδάσκοντες, ἀλλὰ τί φησιν; “ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὕτω πάρεστι,” τουτέστιν ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου... Τὸ δὲ “ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὕτω πεπλήρωται” δηλοῖ ὅτι ἔδει καὶ σημεῖα γενέσθαι καὶ δημηγορίας λεχθῆναι...

⁷⁰ BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Regulae morales*, [in:] PG, vol. XXXI, col. 797, 800; CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Commentarii in Ioannem*, [in:] *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, vol. I, ed. P.E. PUSEY, Oxford 1872, p. 400, 584, 587; IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Ioannem*, [in:] PG, vol. LIX, col. 271; NILUS ANCYRENSIS, *Epistulae*, III, *Ep.* XLIII, [in:] PG, vol. LXXIX. For Athanasius of Alexandria and Socrates Scholasticus see below.

Athanasius of Alexandria⁷¹ and Socrates Scholasticus⁷² extended the interpretation of Io 7 in referring additionally to Mt 26, 45: *Then he came to the disciples and said to them, Are you still sleeping and taking your rest? See, the hour is at hand, and the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners*⁷³, and to the marriage in Cana, Io 2, 3–5: *When the wine gave out, the mother of Jesus said to him, They have no wine. And Jesus said to her, Woman, what concern is that to you and to me? My hour has not yet come. His mother said to the servants, Do whatever he tells you*⁷⁴. Thus both authors indicate the general significance of *kairos* (and even *hora*, “time of day”⁷⁵) as the proper or suitable time in human life.

However, a reference to the present time of the respective authors is only implied or hinted at in these texts. The decisive additional step came from the following authors, who equated the *kairos* with their individual lifetime or (collectively) with the historical period, in which they and their contemporaries existed: Athanasius of Alexandria criticised his opponents, the followers of Arius, who “in our time” by challenging the right faith, do not support the truth, and he compares them with a group of disciples, who did not accept the content of Jesus’ teaching on the shore of the Sea of Galilee and in the synagogue at Capernaum (Io 6)⁷⁶. John Chrysostomos appealed to his contemporaries in his 4th homily on the First Letter to the Thessalonians: *Ours is the time! Let us use it for what is necessary! Let us cut off the ropes of the sins! Before we pass away, let us judge ourselves!*

⁷¹ ATHANASIUS, *Apologia de fuga sua*, col. 13, [in:] *Athanase d’Alexandrie. Apologie à l’empereur Constance. Apologie pour sa fuite*, ed. J.-M. SZYMUSIAK, Paris 1958 [= SC, 56]: Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ταύτην ἐλθεῖν, ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς τῇ μὲν μητρὶ· οὕτω ἦκει ἡ ὥρα μου· τοῖς δὲ χρηματίσασιν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ· ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς οὕτω πάρεστι. Πάλιν τε ἐλθόντος τοῦ καιροῦ ἔλεγε τοῖς μαθηταῖς· καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἀμαρτωλῶν...

⁷² SOCRATE DE CONSTANTINOPLE, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, III, 8.39–41, vol. I–IV, ed. P. MARAVAL, P. PÉRICHON, Paris 2004–2007: ...ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔγραφεν οὕτως· Ἐζήτουν οὖν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας, ὅτι οὕτω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ. 40. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ταύτην ἐλθεῖν ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς τῇ μὲν μητρὶ Ὅπως ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα μου, τοῖς δὲ χρηματίσασιν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ Ὅ ἐμὸς καιρὸς οὕτω πάρεστι. 41. Πάλιν τε ἐλθόντος τοῦ καιροῦ ἔλεγεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς· Καθεύδετε λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας ἀμαρτωλῶν. – See also NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS XANTHOPULUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CXLVII, col. 16.

⁷³ Mt 26, 45: τότε ἔρχεται πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Καθεύδετε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας ἀμαρτωλῶν.

⁷⁴ Io 2, 3–5: καὶ ὑστερήσαντος οἴνου λέγει ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, Οἶνον οὐκ ἔχουσιν καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι; οὕτω ἦκει ἡ ὥρα μου. λέγει ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς διακόνους...

⁷⁵ *LSJ*, col. 2035b–2036a, s.v. ὥρα (C), II.1.a.

⁷⁶ ATHANASIUS, *Disputatio contra Arium*, [in:] *PG*, vol. XXVIII, col. 484: ...ἐτέρων δὲ μὴ συναισθημένων τῶν θεῶν καὶ πνευματικῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἐπιστραφέντων, αἰτίαν τῷ εὐεργέτῃ καὶ ψόγον προσαψάντων, τίς δύναται αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦειν; Ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου καιροῦ πράττουσιν οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι συνοδεῦειν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, διὰ τὸ παρέπεσθαι θλίψεις καὶ πειρατήρια τῇ πίστει. Φασὶ γὰρ, τίς δύναται φυλάξαι τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῆς πίστεως;

*Do not let the sun go down on your anger!*⁷⁷. Ephrem Syrus prayed to God to send to him his grace and to unravel his thoughts, because the distractions and cares during the present time (*proskairos kairos*) kept him away from God's eternal benefits⁷⁸. Finally, at the end of Byzantium, Gennadius Scholarius lamented "our discord", in comparing it with the mentality of "preparedness" in the times of the apostle Paul⁷⁹.

To sum up the evidence, which results from the quoted sources and the mentioned studies: Time cannot be unlimited and infinite, because for human beings it is unimaginable without beginning and end. Time has to be structured in the dimensions of the past, present and future (and this for different cultures in different ways). The sources allow us to conclude that from the varieties of time (which were identified in the above mentioned bibliography), *eschatological* (*cosmic*) time dominated the thinking of the *homo byzantinus* in relation to individual and collective identity, whereas the *historical* dimension was rather limited to authors of a small educated class.

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⁷⁷ IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam I ad Thessalonicenses*, hom. IV (on 1Thess 3, 5–8), [in:] PG, vol. LXII, col. 415sqq: Ἡμέτερος ὁ καιρὸς· χρῆσώμεθα αὐτῷ εἰς δέον. Τὰ σχοινία τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων διακόψωμεν· πρὶν ἢ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ κριτήριον, αὐτοὶ κρίνωμεν ἀλλήλους. Ὁ ἥλιος, φησὶ, μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν. (Eph 4, 26).

⁷⁸ EPHRAEM SYRUS, *Precationes*, Prayer 5, [in:] Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα, vol. VI, ed. K.G. PHRANTZOLES, Thessalonica 1995, p. 324sq: Χάριν τοῦτων ἀδεῶς ἰκετεύω τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα, ἀνεξίκακε Κύριε, ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ συνήθως ἡ χάρις σου, καὶ ἐπισυνάξῃ τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἰάσῃται πάλιν τὰ δεινά μου τραύματα. Ἴδου γὰρ οἱ περισπασμοὶ <καὶ> αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ προσκαίρου καιροῦ ἀδολεσχοῦσι καὶ ἀμεριμνοῦσιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου τὰ αἰώνια...

⁷⁹ GENNADIUS SCHOLARIUS, *Apologia de silentio ad Theodorum Branam*, [in:] *Oeuvres complètes...*, vol. IV, Paris 1935, p. 271sq: ...οὔτε γὰρ διειλόμεθα καλῶς τὴν Παύλου (probably 1Tim 4, 1–3) τε καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμέτερον νῦν. Τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐκλογὴ ψυχῶν καὶ πίστεως αὐξήσις, τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν· νῦν δὲ ψυχῶν ἀποστασία φρικώδης καὶ οὐράνιος ἐγκατάλειψις σὺν δίκῃ τὸ ἡμέτερον κατακαλύπτουσα γένος. – Similar also GENNADIUS SCHOLARIUS, *Quaestiones theologicae de praedestinatione divina et de anima*, 1.2.1, [in:] *Oeuvres complètes...*, vol. I, Paris 1928: ...ὁ γὰρ ἡμέτερος καιρὸς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὄχρετο λόγων, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ δεῖ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀμορφίαν τοῦ γένους ἐν ἅπαντι πράγματι καθημένους ἐν γωνίᾳ που θρηνεῖν σιωπῇ καὶ τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐξαιτεῖσθαι ζωῆς, ὅπότεν ἐπινεύῃ τὸ θεῖον.

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Abstract. The notion of identity (*tautotes*) was discussed, often in contrast to its opposite “otherness” (*heterotes*), not only during Classical Antiquity but also by Christian and Byzantine authors since Late Antiquity. Fundamental manifestations of every dimension of Byzantine identity – and in particular of collective identity – are language (including culture), religious (and political) commitment, space and time; these phenomena are deeply rooted in human consciousness.

This paper deals with the relation between identity and time (temporality). This relation is analysed on the basis of key terms like *aion*, *kairos* and *chronos* and the relations among them; the individualization of temporality becomes manifest in combinations of the mentioned terms with adjectives like *emos* or *hemeteros*. Not surprisingly, Byzantine authors – referring to passages in the Old and the New Testament – dealt mainly with *eschatological (cosmic) time* in relation to individual and collective identity, whereas the interest in the *historical* dimension of time was limited to authors of a small educated class.


Keywords: *ai diotes*, *aion*, *chronos*, eschatology, *heterotes*, identity, *kairos*, otherness, *Romaioi*, *tautotes*, temporality, time.

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LOVE AND THEATRE IN THE WORKS OF NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES*

Introduction

In the preface (Πρόλογος) to the first collective edition of his texts, written at the end of his life as *à mi-chemin entre l'autobiographie et le 'manifeste' littéraire*¹, Nikephoros Basilakes (ca. 1115 – after 1182)² modifies the quote from *Meditations* by Marcus Aurelius in a way that would prove essential for the understanding of the emotional dimension of his work:

δίψαν ἐκεῖνος καλῶν τὸν εἰς αὐτὰς βίβλους ἀπληστον ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν τῆς δοξομανίας μέθην, αἰεὶ μὲν ἐπιρρέουσαν οὐδέποτε δὲ κατανούουσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐκκάουσαν καὶ τηροῦσαν τὸν πολυδίψιον κ.τ.λ.³

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¹ A. GARZYA, *Un lettré du milieu du XII^e siècle: Nicéphore Basilakès*, RESEE 8, 1970, p. 615; IDEM, *Intorno al Prologo di Niceforo Basilace*, JÖB 18, 1969, p. 57–71, but only with the amendment by I.D. POLEMIS, *A Note on the Praefatio of Nikephoros Basilakes*, BZ 94, 2001, p. 605–607.

² A. GARZYA, *Precisazioni sul processo di Niceforo Basilace?*, B 40, 1970, p. 309–316; IDEM, *Un lettré...*; IDEM, *Fin quando visse Niceforo Basilace?*, BZ 64, 1971, p. 301–302; IDEM, *Literarische und rhetorische Polemiken der Komnenenzeit*, Bsl 34, 1973, p. 1–14; IDEM, *Il "Prologo" di Niceforo Basilace*, BCPENCGL n.s. 19, 1971, p. 55–71.

³ NIKEPHOROS, *Praef.*, I, [in:] *Nicephori Basilacae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. A. GARZYA, Leipzig 1984 (cetera: ed. GARZYA), p. 1–2. Riccardo MAISANO wrote about this edition (in: *Antonio Garzya bizantinista*, [in:] *L'Antico e la sua eredità. Atti del Colloquio internazionale di studi in onore di Antonio Garzya (Napoli, 20–21 settembre 2002)*, ed. U. CRISCUOLO, Napoli 2004, p. 196): *Accanto agli interessi protobizantini, si colloca, per importanza e risonanza nella storia degli studi, una fitta serie di ricerche pionieristiche nel campo della grande retorica dell'età dei Comneni, e in particolare sull'opera del retore Niceforo Basilace, con edizioni commentate degli scritti, pubblicate e interpretate a più riprese e culminate con la editio dell'intero corpus delle orazioni nella Biblioteca Teubneriana (1984).*

τὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν ῥῆσον, ἵνα μὴ γογγύζων ἀποθάνῃς, ἀλλὰ ἴλεως ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας εὐχάριστος τοῖς θεοῖς⁴.

Let these reflections suffice thee, if thou hold them as principles. But away with thy thirst for books, that thou mayest die not murmuring but with a good grace, truly and from thy heart grateful to the Gods⁵.

Let this be enough for you, and your constant doctrine. And give up your thirst for books, so that you do not die a grouch, but in true grace and heartfelt gratitude to the gods⁶.

Writing about the excessive desire for book knowledge, Basilakes does not merely use the word ‘thirst’ (δίψαν) taken from *Tὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν (Meditations)*, but expands it and at the same time reinforces with the phrase ἄπληστον ἔρωτα (‘insatiable desire’). This wording, emotionally charged and surprising in the light of Byzantine aesthetics, seems to reflect the author’s creative personality. The use of the word ‘eros’ outside strictly sexual semantics is in itself very interesting: it indicates the writer’s psychological interests, his emotional involvement, and, at the same time, the strength of his character, as he did not hesitate to write explicitly about matters that were only inferred through metaphors at the time. Therefore, even if we assume that the above phrases are a sophisticated *topos* of the ταπεινότης type⁷, its particular form of argument constitutes a unique, authorial *sphragis*⁸. We believe that by exploring this particular aspect of the language of emotion that Nikephoros uses we will overcome the limitations of the aesthetic norms of the time, come closer to the real discussion about the human condition that took place within the *literati* circles of the era, and demonstrate the links between Nikephoros Basilakes’ work and the recently reborn romance⁹.

⁴ *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus*, II, 3, 1, 7–9, ed. et trans. A.S.L. FARQUHARSON, Oxford 1944 [repr. Oxford 1968].

⁵ *The Communings with Himself of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, ed. et trans. C.R. HAINES, London–New York 1916 [= LCL, 58], p. 29.

⁶ MARCUS AURELIUS, *Meditations*, trans. M. HAMMOND, London 2006 [= Pcl], p. 11.

⁷ *I am not able to acquire too much knowledge*, cf. GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *De mortuis non esse dolendum*, [in:] *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. IX.1, ed. G. HEIL, Leiden 1967, p. 35, l. 18 (‘intellectual weakness’); XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, III, 5, 22, [in:] *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. I, ed. E.C. MARCHANT, Oxonii 1900 [repr. Oxonii 1968] (‘mental incapacity to fight’). Cf. C. WENDEL, *Die TAΠΕΙΝΟΤΗΣ des griechischen Schreibermonches*, BZ 43, 1950, p. 259–266 (rich collection of adjectives).

⁸ Unlike the literature of Antiquity (example of a model study: O. THÉVENAZ, *Auctoris nomina Sapphus: noms et création d’une persona littéraire dans l’Héroïde XV ovidienne*, [in:] *Onomastique et intertextualité dans la littérature latine. Actes de la journée d’étude tenue à la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée – Jean Pouilloux, le 14 mars 2005*, Lyon 2009 [= CMOMA.SP, 41], p. 121–142), the above issues have not yet been systematically researched in the field of Byzantine studies.

⁹ Of the four works written in the Age of the Komnenoi (see below), one should exclude the novel by Constantine Manasses (ca. 1115–ca. 1187), preserved in fragments, titled *Aristandros and Kallithea*. It was written circa 1160, and thus long after Basilakes had finished his artistic career (see below, although Eros appears in a dozen or so fragments; the aspect of personal travel experiences that

“Insatiable Desire”

The phrase ἀπληστος ἔρωσ appears in a work¹⁰ entitled *A Story* [diegema]¹¹, also told by Plutarch in the *Parallel Lives*¹². It tells the story of the Lydian king Pythes,

influenced the narrative in his novel was presented by Catia GALATARIOU, *Travel and Perception in Byzantium*, DOP 47, 1993, p. 221–241), see *Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses. Überlieferung, Rekonstruktion, Textausgabe der Fragmente*, ed. O. MAZAL, Wien 1967 [= WBS, 4]; H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. II, München 1978 [= HA.BH, 12.5], p. 126–128; P. MAGDALINO, *In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choiosphaktes and Constantine Manasses*, [in:] *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington 1997, p. 161–165.

¹⁰ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XI, [in:] NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasmata e monodie*, ed. A. PIGNANI, Napoli 1983 [= BNN, 10] (cetera: ed. PIGNANI), p. 82–85, 270–272; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Narration*, IV, [in:] *The Rhetorical Exercises of Nikephoros Basilakes. Progymnasmata from Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, ed. et trans. J. BENEKER, C.A. GIBSON, London–Cambridge Mass. 2016 [= DOML, 43] (cetera: ed. BENEKER – GIBSON), p. 24–29. The author of the last publication had also included some corrections and emendations suggested in published reviews, some of them proposed themselves, but had not personally inspected the manuscripts.

¹¹ *Diegema* (Latin *narratio*) is the simplest form of rhetorical expression, understood as ‘an account, a story’. Depending on the environmental context, it may be ethically charged (e.g. in the hagiography analyzed by C. RAPP: *Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of Diegesis*, JECS 6, 1998, p. 431–448), although it is not a requirement *ex definitione*. Such requirements are: a) σαφήνεια (let us add that it is also a prerequisite of *ekphrasis*, HERMOGENES, *Progymn. X*, 23–24, [in:] *Hermogenes opera*, ed. H. RABE, Leipzig 1913, p. 23; DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VII, 59, vol. II, trans. R.D. HICKS, Cambridge Mass.–London 1925 [= LCL, 184], p. 168–169: σαφήνεια δὲ ἐστὶ λέξις γνωρίμως παριστάσα τὸ νοούμενον / *Lucidity is a style which presents the thought in a way easily understood*); b) συντομία, i.e. conciseness; c) πιθανότης, i.e. plausibility. There is no doubt that Basilakes’ *Diegemata* possesses all these qualities, but let us specify that *pithanotes* in this case means the internal cohesion of the world presented in the work, and not the objective probability of events. In other words, it also includes the narrative of the world of myth in full, if its heroes act according to the internal laws of this world (the definition above is universal and refers to the whole Greek Antique and Byzantine literature, and allows to avoid thinking with the simple contemporary true–false dichotomy, cf. J.R. MORGAN, *Make-Believe and Make Believe: the Fictionality of the Greek Novel*, [in:] *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, ed. C. GILL, T.P. WISEMAN, Exeter 1993, p. 175–229; *Greek Fiction*, ed. J.R. MORGAN, R. STONEMAN, London–New York 1994 (including the article by S. MACALISTER, *Byzantine Developments*, [in:] *Greek Fiction...*, p. 275–287). *Diegema* is usually synonymous with *diegesis*, although Nikolaos the Sophist and Aphthonios treated the latter as a broader-spectrum narrative concept, while the *diegema* is specific (see C. RAPP, *Storytelling as Spiritual...*, p. 433, footnote 2), in fact, however, it is a highly individual issue, e.g. GERONTIUS (saec. V), *Vita S. Melaniae Junioris*, I, 1, 16, [in:] *Vie de Sainte Mélanie*, trans. D. GORCE, Paris 1962 [= SC, 90], p. 124): εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον πέλαγος τοῦ διηγήματος ἐμαυτὸν καθεῖναι παρασκευάζομαι; definition of the romance genre: Andronikos II Palaiologos’ (saec. XIV): Τὸ κατὰ Καλλίμαχον καὶ Χρυσορρόην ἐρωτικὸν διήγημα (*Le roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoe*, ed. et trans. M. RICHARD, Paris 1956), but Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ Σεμιράμης βασιλίσσας Συρίας περὶ τῶν ἔνδεκα ἐρωτημάτων (saec. XIV/XV; *Die Erzählung von Alexander und Semiramis*, ed. et trans. U. MOENNIG, Berlin–New York 2004 [= SB, 7]).

¹² NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XI, ed. PIGNANI, p. 82–85. For the English version of the article, I used the translation by J. Beneker and C.A. Gibson, however the title proposed by Sophia Xenophontos sounds better: *Narrative (diegema), also mentioned by Plutarch in the Parallel Lives*, see below.

a good ruler, who, however, was overcome by a desire for gold so great that it slowly destroyed him. Several years ago, Sophia Xenophontos demonstrated that Basilakes' narrative is based on Plutarch's story¹³ and collected the classical tradition of myth¹⁴. The title is misleading because Plutarch recounts the story in *Mulierum virtutes* 262D–263A, but it is nevertheless easily explained: *Moralia*, of which *Mulierum virtutes* is a part, was not collected in a separate edition until the time of Maximus Planudes and was often treated as part of the much more popular *Vitae parallelae*¹⁵. At this point, however, let us return to the lexicon that defines Pythes' mental state in relation to gold.

Already at the outset we learn that Pythes as a king was beyond reproach, except that *he was a slave only to his desire for gold* (μόνω δὲ τῷ πρὸς χρυσὸν ἐδούλευεν ἔρωτι), but was otherwise a reasonable man (τᾶλλα σωφρονῶν). It is interesting that Basilakes considers the Lydian ruler's case from a psychiatric perspective, treating his condition as an illness (νοσῶν ἀπηλέγχετο) and not as an ethical flaw of character. The impression that it is not really about gold, that it is not a question of greed, but rather a pathological need to be satisfied, in which the precious metal plays the role of an artifact of secondary importance (nowhere in the text, despite the accumulation of several dozen derivatives of the term χρυσός, is there any allusion to its material value or Pythes' avarice), is made more likely when the characteristics of the figure in question concludes with the following line: [...] *as all their* [i.e. subjects] *efforts were directed toward fulfilling the desire of their ruler* (ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ πᾶσα σπουδὴ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀποπλήσαι τὸν ἔρωτα)¹⁶. That is why the cure, prepared by his wife, whose name is unfortunately never mentioned, proves successful: when Pythes, weary and hungry, returned from the hunt, he was only given golden food, served on golden plates on golden tables... A strong biological need managed to overcome his soul's illness.

¹³ As a result, we must reject the opinion of the Nikephoros' publisher, Adriana Pignani, who in *Pro-gymnasma*, XI (Narration, IV, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 24–29) noted only a variation of the Midas myth, p. 16, note 8: [...] *Il titolo ne riconosce la fonte in un supposto analogo dieghema, compreso nelle Vite parallele di Plutarco, ma con un falso evidente, ché il racconto plutarcho non é. Trattasi invece d'un rifacimento abbastanza originale del diffusissimo mito del re Mida.*

¹⁴ S. XENOPHONTOS, *Resorting to Rare Sources of Antiquity: Nikephoros Basilakes and the Popularity of Plutarch's Parallel Lives of Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, Par 4, 2014, p. 1–12.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 10–12.

¹⁶ NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Narration*, IV, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 25. The Xenophontos translation: [...] *their ruler's every effort was dedicated to satisfying his passion* seems too delicate, whereas it is admissible to change the sentence subject.

In his ethopoeia¹⁷ *What Heracles would say while serving as a slave to Omphale*¹⁸, Basilakes depicts the son of Zeus and Alcmene defeated by a more powerful force. In the past, Heracles complains, I have tried to be wise (σωφρών) but I have always been caught by Eros, who overcame my senses and led me to misery. It is in this context that he utters several epithets that very unanimously emphasize the inevitability of god's actions: ακατάβλητος, άνίκητος ό πολέμιος, τοξότης, άτρεπτος. In his final prayer to Zeus and Athena, Heracles pleads with them to bring him back to his former condition¹⁹:

Άλλ' ώ Ζεϋ πάτερ και άδελφή πρόμαχος Άθηνά, έγώ μέν όλην έξεκάθηρα γήν, ύμεις δέ μοι τήν ψυχήν έκκαθαίροιτε και διδοίητε σωφρονείν, και τάχα και τούτον κρατήσω τόν άθλον και νικήσω τόν Έρωτα και πάλιν άκούσω καλλίνικως.

But O father Zeus and sister Athena, the protector, since I purged the entire earth, may you purge my soul and grant me to be soberminded: then perhaps I will also be victorious in this contest, will defeat Love, and will once again be called glorious champion.

Coincidentally, Nicetas Eugenianos referred to the same myth in a short text entitled *Επιστολή προς γραμματικήν* (*Letter to the Grammar*). The translation and commentary have been published elsewhere²⁰, therefore let us only emphasize that Niketas is a lover (πρός) of his creative Muse (this is why he is able to write at all) and expresses his desire to write as follows: *I have given myself to you [i.e. Grammar] into captivity like Heracles to Omphale*.

¹⁷ Ethopoeia is a rhetorical exercise in which one's own statement shows the personality of the speaker. "Imaginary Allocation" – as stated in the skillful but imprecise definition, as if on the margin of the main theme, by late R.J.H. JENKINS, *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature*, DOP 17, 1963, p. 45 and much better: R.J. PENELLA, *The "Progymnasmata" in Imperial Greek Education*, CW 105, 2011, p. 81 and note 20: "speech-in-character"; the article is a very good theoretical introduction. I know only one monograph devoted to it: H.-M. HAGEN, *Ηθοποιία. Zur Geschichte eines rhetorischen Begriffs* (Diss., Universität zu Erlangen–Nürnberg 1966). Recently a collection of studies has also been published: *Ethopoiia. La représentation de caractères entre fiction scolaire et réalité vivante à l'époque impériale et tardive*, ed. E. AMATO, J. SCHAMP, Salerno 2005. Unfortunately, all of them concern Late Antiquity literature, as does the accessible essay by R. WEBB, *The Progymnasmata in Practice*, [in:] *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Y. LEE TOO, Leiden–Boston 2001, p. 289–316. On the existence of early Christian ethopoeia, the existence of which was challenged not long ago even in textbooks, cf. J.-L. FOURNET, *Une éthopée de Caïn dans le Codex des Visions de la Fondation Bodmer*, ZPE 92, 1992, p. 253–266.

¹⁸ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XLVIII, ed. PIGNANI, p. 197–199, 347–348; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoeia*, XIX, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 258–263.

¹⁹ NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoeia*, XIX, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 262–263.

²⁰ A. KOTŁOWSKA, *Herakles w bizantyńskiej refleksji poetyckiej. Studium przypadku*, VP 35, 2015, p. 293–296.

Interestingly, two writers of one generation (one of whom also the author of a romance) use the same, not particularly popular myth, to express their psychological sense of addiction. The most drastic approach, one whose realism appeals also to the contemporary audience, is the ethopoieia entitled *What the girl from Edessa would say after being deceived by the Goth?*²¹ The man would not have been successful if it had not been for Eros' help (what is significant, it was expressed in militaristic terminology, in order to emphasize brutality) in overcoming the girl's *areté*²²:

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα, Ἔρωτι συμμάχῳ χρησάμενος καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἔχων ἐλέπολιν, κατ' αὐτῆς δὴ σωφροσύνης κατεπεστράτευσε, πολιορκῆσαι θέλων τῆς παρθενίας μου τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ καταστρατηγῆσαι τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτῆς.

At first, then, employing Love as his ally and possessing a siege engine for a tongue, he led an assault against chastity itself, wishing to besiege the acropolis of my maidenhood and lead a campaign against my very chastity.

A similar vision of Eros as an external force that can lead to evil and certainly is suspicious had been suggested two hundred years earlier by John Geometres in an epitaph dedicated to John Tzimiskes²³. The emperor, as *persona loquens*, tells the story of his life, including the following justification of the assassination of Nikephoros II Phokas:

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔρωσ με τῆς κακίστης ἐν βίῳ
τυραννίδος κατέσχε, φεῦ δυσβουλίας.

It is Eros, who has submitted my life to his tyrannical power,
that is the cause of this misery.

Even earlier, in the body of writings of Libanius of Antioch²⁴ contains a surviving ethopoieia entitled *What words would an eunuch utter to talk about his love?* now identified as a work of Severus of Antioch²⁵. In the context discussed

²¹ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LVI, ed. PIGNANI, p. 228–232, 366–369; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoieia*, XXVII, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 322–329.

²² NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LVI, 20–22, ed. PIGNANI, p. 229; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoieia*, XXVII, 2, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 324.

²³ IOANNES GEOMETRES, 267.22–269.19, [in:] *Anecdota graeca*, vol. IV, ed. J.A. CRAMER, Oxford 1841.

²⁴ LIBANIUS, *Progymnasma*, XI, [in:] *Libanii Opera*, vol. VIII, rec. R. FOERSTER, Lipsiae 1913 [= BSGR], p. 434–435.

²⁵ E. AMATO, *L'autore dell' Ἐὐνοῦχος ἐρῶν (Ps.-Lib. ethop. 26 Foerster) ed il più antico frammento in millet di etopea d'autore*, [in:] *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique. Hommages à Jacques Schamp*, vol. II, ed. E. AMATO, A. RODUIT, M. STEINRÜCK, Bruxelles 2005 [= ColL, 296], p. 3–17.

herein, the essential element is the phrase concluding the prayer to Eros: ἡ παῦσον τὸ πάθος ἢ τὴν φύσιν μετάρβαλε. (*end this feeling or change my nature!*). It is a highly evocative expression of the They tellingly demonstrate the inability to cope with feelings on one's own and the inevitable conflict between human nature (φύσις) and desire (πάθος, ἔρωσ). The centerpiece of this conflict is present both in Basilakes' rhetorical writings as well as in his romances written for the purposes of *theatron*; the only difference is the way it is presented and interpreted.

Having laid groundwork, we can proceed to the myth which, like no other story, illustrates the ominous aspect of Eros, namely the myth of Pasiphaë. Basilakes wrote as many as two pieces on this subject, which so far have not been analysed separately²⁶. They are not synonymous either, but rather mutually complementing²⁷. Only in the first couple of sentences does the *Story of Pasiphaë* describe the nature of the Cretan ruler's feelings, without going into too many details²⁸. Later, however, the text changes, gains pace, and the reason for this is expressed in a number of concise but emotionally charged phrases: the girl was compelled by Eros, who broke her character and forced her to do what she did not really want²⁹. In the end, the narrative slows down again and speaks in a rather neutral – considering the circumstances – tone about Dedalus' invention and Minotaur's birth³⁰. Meanwhile, the ethopoeia *What Pasiphaë would say after falling in love with a bull* has to give the voice to the woman herself. This is conducive to a more nuanced content, including a broader argumentation. The main line of defense

²⁶ Only Antonio GARZYA (*Ovide, Nicéphore Basilakès et le mythe de Pasiphaé*, L 26, 1967, p. 477–479) devoted two short texts to them, however, they focused on mythological material issues (the question of the identification of the material used for making the artificial cow) and *Une rédaction byzantine du mythe de Pasiphaé*, PI 9, 1967, p. 222–226 (factual similarities and differences with the Ovid's version).

²⁷ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XIX, ed. PIGNANI, p. 94–95, 277–278; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Narration*, XII, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 46–49; NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LIV, ed. PIGNANI, p. 221–224, 362–364; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoeia*, XXV, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 306–313.

²⁸ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XIX, 1–10, ed. PIGNANI, p. 94; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Narration*, XII, 1, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 47.

²⁹ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XIX, 10–20, ed. PIGNANI, p. 94–95; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Narration*, XII, 1, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 46–47: "Ἔρωσ [...] συνηγωνίζετο καὶ φύσις αὐθις ἐκείθεν ἀντέκρουε [...]; ἃ μὴ φύσις ἐβούλετο... Ἔρωσ παρεβιάζετο... / *Love contended [...], and nature struck back from the opposing side... what nature rejected... Love strove to supply.* J. BENEKER and C.A. GIBSON translation is more gentle than the original.

³⁰ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XIX, 20–27, ed. PIGNANI, p. 94–95; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Narration*, XII, 2, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 46–49.

is to invoke several “difficult loves” and to remind the old truth that human norms do not apply to gods³¹. Hence Pasiphaë can manifestly say³²:

Οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πόθον ὡς ἔκφυλον·

I'm not ashamed of this unnatural desire for another species.

It is only after this that she brings up the arguments that we already knew from the previous story: the violence of Eros, from whom there is no escape. That is why she is brave enough to cry out³³:

Αἰτιῶμαι τὸν Ἔρωτα. [...] Προσαιτιῶμαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην.

I find fault with Love. [...] I find fault with Aphrodite too³⁴.

However, she does not ask for the spell to be reversed. It is an amazing scene: that is exactly how people should act in their dealings with gods. However, what impresses the audience the most is the conclusion: Pasiphaë controls herself and calmly asks Dedalus (what a suspense!) to speed up his work on the artificial heifer³⁵. Unlike any other story, this tale shows the ethical limits of discourse and the extreme evil to which a god can contribute. It is only when a controversial subject emerges in literature that it is proof of its “cultural life”. The antique and mythological setting, on the other hand, made it possible for the story, with its fundamentally amoral message³⁶, to be published in the Empire. Pasiphaë shows that the issue of Eros was not only a rhetorical exercise, and that the avant-garde manner of her presentation saves her from being pigeonholed as part of the state “cultural program”³⁷.

* * *

³¹ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LIV, 1–31, ed. PIGNANI, p. 221–222, 362; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XXV, 1–2, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 306–309. Cf. the fantastic words uttered by Eros in NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LI, 29–30, ed. PIGNANI, p. 209, 354; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XXII, 2, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 282–283 (*Myrrha*): ἀλλ’ ἐτήρει τοὺς τῆς φύσεως θεσμούς καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς οὐ προσίετο / *but he obeyed the laws of nature and did not comply with mine*.

³² NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LIV, 45, ed. PIGNANI, p. 223, 363; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XXV, 4, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 310–311.

³³ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LIV, 56–57, ed. PIGNANI, p. 223, 363; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XXV, 4, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 310–311.

³⁴ I suggest here what seems to be a more accurate translation: *I find fault with Aphrodite even more*.

³⁵ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LIV, 84–90, ed. PIGNANI, p. 224; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XXV, 6, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 312–313.

³⁶ As it is not about Pasiphaë’s immoral act, but about a deity giving up morality.

³⁷ See below: discourse on the genesis of Eros’ image in romance, some have fallen into this trap, mistaking form for content.

Particularly noteworthy is the strong opposition of eros vs. σωφροσύνη (and its derivatives, and ultimately also φύσις), reflected in the above progymnasmata. The very fact of choosing such an opponent calls for a commentary. Σωφροσύνη as one of the most important of the ἀρηταιά of everyday life, was quickly Christianized and enjoyed great popularity in Byzantine literature of all ages, such as the Palaeologan era, even in works that were strongly influenced by the West³⁸. Aristotle's definition in *On Virtues and Vices* has not lost its relevance either:

Σωφροσύνης δέ ἐστι τὸ μὴ θαυμάζειν τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν, καὶ τὸ εἶναι πάσης ἀπολαυστικῆς [αἰσχροῦς] ἡδονῆς ἀνόρεκτον, καὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἀταξίαν, καὶ τὸ τετάχθαι περὶ τὸν βίον ὁμοίως ἔν τε μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις. παρέπεται δὲ τῇ σωφροσύνῃ εὐταξία, κοσμιότης, αἰδώς, εὐλάβεια.

To sobriety of mind it belongs not to value highly bodily pleasures and enjoyments, not to be covetous of every enjoyable pleasure, to fear disorder, and to live an orderly life in small things and great alike. Sobriety of mind is accompanied by orderliness, regularity, modesty, caution³⁹.

This particular perception of Eros as a dark force or a sickness of the soul, which is extremely difficult for man to resist, turns our attention toward romances of its day, and consequently prompts us to ask about Basilakes' affiliation with the literary circle centered around the court (*theatron*, German: *literarische Zirkel*, French: *cour littéraire*)⁴⁰. The above issue has not been sufficiently

³⁸ Cf. the Meliteniotes' poem *Eis τὴν Σωφροσύνην* (PLP no. 17848, its attribution to the better known Theodore Meliteniotes [PLP no. 17851] is uncertain), edition: *Poème allégorique de Méliténiote*, ed. E. MILLER, NEMBIAB 19, 2, 1872, p. 1–138 (extrait), cf. C. CUPANE, *Una passeggiata nei boschi narrativi. Lo statuto della finzione nel 'Medioevo romanzo e Orientale'*. In *margini a un contributo recente*, JÖB 63, 2013, p. 84–90 (the author supports the authorship of Theodore).

³⁹ ARISTOTLE, *The Athenian Constitution. The Eudemean Ethics. On Virtues and Vices*, trans. H. RACKHAM, Cambridge Mass.–London 1952 [= LCL, 285], p. 492–493.

⁴⁰ A. RHOBY, *Verschiedene Bemerkungen zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene und zu Autoren in ihrem Umfeld*, NRh 6, 2009, p. 305–336; O. LAMPSIDIS, *Zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene*, JÖB 34, 1984, p. 91–105; E. JEFFREYS, *The Sebastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness: the Monk Iakovos*, JÖB 32, 1982, p. 63–71; R. DOSTÁLOVA, *Die byzantinische Theorie des Dramas und die Tragödie Christos Paschon*, JÖB 32, 1982, p. 73–83; M. MULLETT, *Aristocracy and Patronage in the Literary Circles of Comnenian Constantinople*, [in:] *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. ANGOLD, Oxford 1984 [= BAR. IS, 221], p. 173–197 (in particular p. 175: translation of a fragment of a letter from Michael Italikos to Nikephoros Bryennios [to whom Prodromos dedicated his romance], MICHAEL ITALICUS, *Epistulae*, XLIII, [in:] MICHEL ITALIKOS, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. GAUTIER, Paris 1972 [= AOC, 14], with information on the great impression made by the sent and read text of the latter “into *logikon theatron*”); EADEM, *Rhetoric, Theory and the Imperative of Performance: Byzantium and Now*, [in:] *Rhetoric in Byzantium. 35th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. JEFFREYS, Farnham 2003 [= SPBSP, 11], p. 151–160; M. GRÜNBERG, *Female Founders – Das Konzept: Zu Stiftungshandlungen in der Byzantinischen Welt*, WJK 60, 2012, p. 21–28; E.C. BOURBOUHAKIS, *Rhetoric and Performance*, [in:] *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. STEPHENSON, London–New York 2010, p. 175–187; P. MARCINIAK, *Byzantine*

examined⁴¹; biographical data indicate that his contacts with the literati associated with the circle may have taken place in 1140–1155⁴², although researchers usually confine themselves statements that, while beautiful, are only very general in nature⁴³.

Theatron – A Place of Performance?, [in:] *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter / Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. M. GRÜNBART, Berlin–New York 2007 [= Mil.S, 13], p. 277–285. It is therefore not surprising that *theatron* is not even mentioned in the critical bibliographic review devoted to the continuation of classical theatre (which began with a comprehensive fundamental volume by Konstantin SATHAS, *Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου-καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν ἤτοι εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὸ Κρητικὸν θέατρον*, Βενετία 1878 [repr. Ἀθήνα 1979]), see: W. PUCHNER, *Zum “Theater” in Byzanz*, [in:] *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. PRINZING, D. SIMON, München 1990, p. 11–16 and p. 169–179 (notes); P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, New York 1993, p. 336–356, 429–434.

⁴¹ In one of the letters (No. XIX, in: ed. GAUTIER) Michael Italikos complains that the emperor favours one notary (νοτάριος) Basilakios (it is worth noting that research into the rhythm of Nikephoros' prose indicates that the clauses are very similar to those of Michael): R. MAISANO, *La clausola ritmica nella prosa di Niceforo Basilace*, JÖB 25, 1976, p. 87–104, the study was supplemented by W. HÖRANDNER, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, Wien 1981 [= WBS, 16], p. 84–91: This level of creativity was neither a field of competition nor a formal experiment for any of them. One of Tzetzes' letters is addressed to “the grammarist, Mr [κυρῶ] Nikephoros” (IOANNES TZETZES, *Epistulae*, C, ed. P.L. LEONE, Leipzig 1972 [= BSGR], p. 146–147). However, the content does not provide sufficient grounds for closer identification (forsitan Leone is simply inconclusive). Nikephoros went through all levels of his career at the school at the Hagia Sophia, up to and including διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἀποστόλου, see R. BROWNING, *The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century*, B 32, 1962, p. 181–184. Thanks to his position and rhetorical skills, he prepared official speeches (including panegyrics) for the court. His scholarly and ecclesiastical career was abruptly interrupted by his involvement in a theological controversy concerning the eucharistic sacrifice in the context of Trinitarian issue. In the end, at a second synod on this issue, on May 12, 1157, Nikephoros' views were deemed unorthodox, and he himself was forced into exile. He settled in the Bulgarian Filipopol. It was then that the monody in memory of brother Constantine was composed, the last of his texts to be preserved, cf. A. GARZA, *Un lettré...*, p. 613–615; NICEFORO BASILACE, *Monodia*, I, [in:] ed. PIGNANI, p. 235–252, 373–382. Several years ago Michael Grünbart called for a comprehensive and systematic study of the social relations and cultural ties of the representatives of the cultural elite in the 12th century, which would have been possible due to the extensive body of sources, including correspondence. In his diagrams, which show the links between John Tzetzes (in this case, there is a good article by Andreas RHOBY about the patronage strategy of this author: *Ioannes Tzetzes als Auftragsdichter*, GLB 15, 2010, p. 155–170) and Theodore Prodromos (the critical edition, to be published as the 81st volume of *CC.SG: Theodori Prodrumi Epistulae et Orationes*, Turnhout 2018, edited by Michiel D.J. OP DE COUL will certainly contribute to the research; however, in the short review by the author: *The Letters of Theodore Prodromus and Some Other 12th Century Letter Collections*, MG 9, 2009, p. 231–239, there is no information about Basilakes), but Nikephoros Basilakes does not appear, see M. GRÜNBART, *'Tis love that has warm'd us. Reconstructing Networks in 12th Century Byzantium*, RBPB 83, 2, 2005, p. 301–313.

⁴² Circa 1140: first senior positions in a rhetorical school, 26 January 1156: session of the first synod on the issue of orthodoxy.

⁴³ Such as Robert BROWNING in an otherwise inspiring text *Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, PP 69, 1975, p. 18: *Much admired by the young, Basilakes was a rhetorician of influence in the literary world.*

Greater precision would require direct data that are lacking⁴⁴, unlike, for example, the rather emotional confessions of Michael Choniates (1138–ca. 1222), their authenticity notwithstanding⁴⁵. Perhaps, as some researchers who have taken an interest in Basilakes have suggested, his character traits were not conducive to social life⁴⁶. In our opinion, the dilemma of the choice between the life of a real artist and a social celebrity (οὐκ ὡς ἀπειρόκαλος εἰς θεάτρα καταβαίνων...) ⁴⁷ did not originally exist, but is rather a rhetorical justification of the failed life of a bitter man. This is a slightly different interpretation from the one Aglae Pizzone proposes, which remains the only comprehensive analysis of the *Prologue*⁴⁸. We believe that it was in fact the theme of Eros that really formed the discussion – hidden from us – between Basilakes and the romance poets, who belonged to the cultural elite of the empire, “the upper-class intelligentsia”⁴⁹.

Of course, some of the works of Basilakes feature a more traditional approach. In an ethopoeia that is an *ekphrasis* of the garden tended by an incompetent gardener⁵⁰. Beauty of the apple tree is there expressed by *ekphrasis* of Eroses playing

⁴⁴ E.g. E. JEFFREYS, *The Sebastokratorissa Irene as Patron*, WJK 60, 2012, p. 177–194: meticulous collection of information on the figures related to the foundational activity of Irena – Basilakes was not mentioned; also M. GRÜNBAIT, *Tis love... passim*.

⁴⁵ E.C. BOURBOUHAKIS, *The End of ἐπίδειξις. Authorial Identity and Authoria Intention in Michael Chōniates' Πρὸς τοὺς αἰτιωμένους τὸ ἀφιλένδεικτον*, [in:] *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature. Modes, Functions, and Identities*, ed. A. PIZZONE, Boston–Berlin 2014 [= BArchiv, 28], p. 201–224.

⁴⁶ E.C. BOURBOUHAKIS, *The End of ἐπίδειξις...*, 214–115: “mental illness”; P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire...*, p. 336–337: *stern critic of his own literary creations*; M. ANGOLD, *Autobiography and Identity: The Case of the Later Byzantine Empire*, Bsl 60, 1999, p. 41–42: *a noble retreat so as not to waste time*.

⁴⁷ NIKEPHOROS, *Praef.*, VIII, 26sq, ed. GARZYA, p. 5.

⁴⁸ A researcher from Odense explains Basilakes' withdrawal from public life with his sincere, personal fear of graphomania (πολυγραφία; what is interesting, is that this word, rarely used before, has begun to appear more often from the twelfth century, see e.g. the beginning of Michael Choniates letter to John of Naupaktos [*Epistulae*, CLXVII, [in:] *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, vol. II, ed. S.P. LAMPROS, Ἀθήνα 1880, p. 332], where the author rhetorically stipulates that he will express himself concisely [τὸν λακωνισμὸν τιθέμεθα / *laconic*] precisely not to fall into πολυγραφίαν) and in consequence of compromising the artistic and ethical standard of his work. We should not forget that *Prologue* was written after the synods that broke Nikephoros' career, see A. PIZZONE, *Anonymity, Dispossession and Reappropriation in the Prolog of Nikephoros Basilakes*, [in:] *The Author in Middle...*, p. 225–243. There is no reason to dispute this well-argued line of reasoning. However, there was no follow-up as to why the exaggeration of reading was expressed by the words: ἀπληστος ἔρωσ (no attempt was made to track down this semantics in Basilakes' work). Here we can see internal tension, emotions that go beyond the – possibly too calculated – “program caution”, and which can be the result of both the contemporary intellectual debate and personal experiences (it is important not only how much we read, but above all, what). From this perspective, this article can be seen as a complement to Pizzone's study.

⁴⁹ A.R. LITTLEWOOD, *An 'Ikon of the Soul': the Byzantine Letter*, VL 10, 1976, p. 197.

⁵⁰ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LV, ed. PIGNANI, p. 225–228, 364–366; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoeia*, XXVI, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 314–321.

with fruits of the tree⁵¹. The use of plural is not metaphorical or informative (there is only one Eros, after all), but modal – it is intensivum meant to emphasize the power of god's presence⁵². It is expressed in the visual beauty of the fruit and its primeval erotic symbolism, which survived until Byzantine times⁵³. This is evidenced, among other things, by the popularity of the story of Emperor Theodosius giving his wife Eudocia an apple, which then returned to him via Paulinus, the empress' friend...⁵⁴ In the monophysite version, the emperor gives it to his sister Pulcheria, who in turn gives it to her lover Marcian⁵⁵. But also in his use of pluralis does Basilakes challenge convention, when the description of the "villainous character" of the aforementioned Goth, apart from egoism and uncouth manners, also includes: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς ἔρωσι χαριζόμενος⁵⁶; and Io, turned into a cow, is to be comforted by the fact that Σὲ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν φίλην βοῦν στέψουσι μὲν Ἐρωτες...⁵⁷ It is an image of dark irony, but essentially identical to the depiction of Erotes circulating during a dream wedding⁵⁸.

Eros in the Romance of the age of the Komnenoi

Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721) was the author of a short work *Traité de l'Origine des Romans*, now somewhat forgotten but nevertheless highly interesting from the point of view of the history of Byzantine literature. It was published as an introduction to the edition of the novel *Zaïde* by Madame de La Fayette (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne, comtesse de La Fayette, 1634–1693), the first volume

⁵¹ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LV, 16–17, ed. PIGNANI, p. 225; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XXVI, 1, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 314–315; cf. NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LI, 13–14, ed. PIGNANI, p. 208; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XXII, 2, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 280–281.

⁵² Cf. PLATO, *Philebus*, 50d, [in:] *Platonis opera*, vol. II, rec. J. BURNET, Oxonii 1967; PLUTARCHUS, *Philopoimen*, XVII, 1, [in:] *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, vol. II.2, rec. K. ZIEGLER, Lipsiae 1968, p. 21.

⁵³ A.R. LITTLEWOOD, *The Symbolism of the Apple in Byzantine Literature*, JÖB 23, 1974, p. 33–59. Cf. I. NILSSON, E. NYSTRÖM, *To Compose, Read, and Use a Byzantine Text: Aspects of the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, BMGS 33, 2009, p. 49–51.

⁵⁴ A.D.E. CAMERON, *The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and the Politics at the Court of Theodosius II*, YCS 27, 1982, p. 217–289; R. SCOTT, *From Propaganda to History to Literature: The Byzantine Stories of Theodosius' Apple and Marcian's Eagles*, [in:] *Byzantine History as Literature*, ed. R. MACRIDES, London 2010, p. 115–133.

⁵⁵ R. BURGESS, *The Accession of Marcian in the Light of Chalcedonia Apologetic and Monophysite Polemic*, BZ 86/87, 1993/1994, p. 47–68; M. VON ESBRÖCK, *La pomme de Théodose II et sa réplique arménienne*, [in:] *Novum Millenium. Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck*, ed. C. SODE, S. TAKÁCS, Aldershot 2001, p. 109–111.

⁵⁶ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LVI, 14, ed. PIGNANI, p. 229; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XXVII, 1, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 322–323: *given over almost entirely to sexual desires*.

⁵⁷ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XLVII, 73, ed. PIGNANI, p. 196; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoiea*, XVIII, 6, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 256–257: *You, my dear cow, the Erotes will crown*.

⁵⁸ HH 5, 2 (abbreviation see below).

of which was published in 1669. The text of the *Treatise*, printed in 1670–1671, was soon translated into English and published separately in 1672⁵⁹. Having rightly recognized the innovative character of Madame de La Fayette's novel⁶⁰, Huet decided to add an outline of the history of the genre. Of course, the vast majority of information contained therein is already outdated, but its historical significance consisted in including works from the Byzantine culture into the synthetic history of the genre. Huet believed that in order to be called a romance, a literary piece had to meet two basic criteria, which in their essence have not changed to this day: a) "l'amour de l'homme"⁶¹ and b) "l'esprit fabuleux"⁶². In the 12th century, four pieces were written that met these requirements: *Rodanthe and Dosikles* (hereinafter: RD, ca. 1140) by Theodore Prodromos, *Drosilla and Charikles* (hereinafter: DCh, shortly after 1140) κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μακαρίτου⁶³ φιλοσόφου τοῦ Προδρόμου by Niketas Eugenianos⁶⁴, *Hysimine and Hysimines* (hereinafter: HH, mid-1140s) by Eumathios Makrembolites (1150s?)⁶⁵ and *Arístandros and Kallithéa* by Constantine Manasses (not included in the analysis, see above)⁶⁶.

⁵⁹ *Lettre-traité de Pierre-Daniel Huet sur l'origine des romans*, éd. F. GÉGOU, Paris 2005; the author of this article used the 1671 editio, p. 5–67.

⁶⁰ The first modern psychological novel, in addition written by a woman. What turned out to be an even bigger bestseller was *La Princesse de Clèves*, 1678.

⁶¹ Cf. P. ROILOS, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel*, Cambridge 2005, *passim*, in particular p. 32–40.

⁶² Note that in classical terminology it can be defined the aforementioned *diegesis*, *diegema*, *narratio*.

⁶³ Of blessed memory, i.e. dead, particularly, what is important here, the one that has died recently.

⁶⁴ A. KAZHDAN, *Bemerkungen zu Niketas Eugenianos*, JÖBG 16, 1967, p. 101–117; F. CONCA, *Il romanzo di Niceta Eugeniano: Modelli narrativi e stilistici*, SG 39, 1986, p. 115–126; C. JOUANNO, *Nicetas Eugénianos, un héritier du roman grec*, REG 102, 1989, p. 346–360.

⁶⁵ Another author disagrees, С.В. ПОЛЯКОВА, *О хронологической последовательности романов Евматия Макремволита и Феодора Продрома*, ВВ 32, 1971, p. 104–108; ЕАДЕМ, *К вопросу о датировке романа Евматия Макремволита*, ВВ 30, 1969, p. 113–123 (the author collected *loci similes* of Basilakes and Makrembolites which were later used by Adriana Pignani in her edition; e.g. the extremely detailed, three-page list of *similia* deserves a separate article and verification due to the extraordinary abundance of themes and symbols, many of which have their own history), moving Makrembolites to the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries and considering it to be a work that marked the start of renewal (also for the West as an inspiration for *Roman de la Rose*). For a long time, most of the studies ignored her suggestions and it was only Suzanne MACALISTER who resumed the interpretation of the Soviet scholar in the article *Byzantine Twelfth-century Romances: a Relative Chronology*, BMGS 15, 1991, p. 175–211. However, their arguments, which are based on the establishment of the direction of the borrowing of certain themes, cannot be considered conclusive, in particular in view of the statements made by Carolina CUPANE, *Metamorphosen des Eros. Liebesdarstellung und Liebesdiskurs in der byzantinischen Literatur der Komnenenzeit*, [in:] *Der Roman im Byzanz der Komnenenzeit*, ed. P.A. AGAPITOS, D.R. REINSCH, Frankfurt am Main 2000 [= Mel, 8], p. 52–54: reading of the intitulatio in Vat. gr. 114, f. 3r. as *νωβελίσσιμος*.

⁶⁶ Ingela NILSSON has written a number of treatises from a geneological point of view, including the monograph *Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure: Narrative Technique and Mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' "Hysmine & Hysminias"*, Uppsala 2001 [= SBU, 7]; A. CATALDI PALAU, *La tradition*

As a narrative frame, the “illusion of antiquity”⁶⁷, apart from the reference to the convention of the genre, serves primarily to strengthen the universal dimension of the moral standard, liberating it from the limitations of a particular religion, or even from its distorted, overly zealous forms⁶⁸. For both the heroes and their enemies, love appears at first sight upon encountering unexpected beauty that captivates and enchants them⁶⁹. Hence, the *ekphrasis*⁷⁰ of Rhodante appears as early as the beginning of RD⁷¹. Gobryas, the pirate chief of arms, was stunned by the sight of the girl that he had kidnapped together with other residents of Rhodes. Prodomos skillfully uses the contrast between the girl’s gentleness and the brutal roughness of the pirate⁷²:

manuscrite d’Eustathe Makrembolitès, RHT 10, 1980, p. 75–113. Also noteworthy is P. ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia...* with various detailed remarks. Italian translation: *Il Romanzo Bizantino del XII secolo*, ed. F. CONCA, Torino 1994 [= CG.ATAB]; English: *Four Byzantine Novels*, trans. E. JEFFREYS, Liverpool 2012 [= TTB, 1]; NIKETAS EUGENIANOS, *Drosilla and Charikles. A Byzantine Novel*, trans. et ed. J.B. BURTON, Wauconda 2004 (Greek text after the Italian edition); critical editions: *Theodori Prodomi De Rhodanthes et Dosisclis Amoribus Libri IX*, ed. M. MARCOVICH, Stuttgartiae–Lipsiae 1992 [= BSGR]; EUSTATHIUS MACREMBOLITES, *De Hysmines et Hysminiae Amoribus Libri XI*, ed. M. MARCOVICH, München–Leipzig 2001. Unfortunately, it should be emphasized that this edition’s author is ignoring Herbert Hugner’s unmistakable findings (following K. HORNA, *Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon*, WSt 25, 1903, p. 182–183, 206–209) regarding the form of the name: Eumathios instead of Eustathios: H. HUNGER, *Die Makremboliten auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln und in sonstigen Belegen*, SBS 5, 1998, p. 4–8.

⁶⁷ A. KALDELLIS, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge 2007, p. 258–259.

⁶⁸ The extreme views that existed in Byzantine society at the time are evidenced by the writings of Neophytos of Cyprus, see C. GALATARIOTOU, *Eros and Thanatos: A Byzantine Hermit’s Conception of Sexuality*, BMGS 13, 1989, p. 95–137. In the world of Neophytos (d. 1214) there was no room for the main figures of this article.

⁶⁹ Also in Nicephoros’ progymnasmata physical τὸ κάλλος is a cause of a nascent feeling.

⁷⁰ J. ELSNER, *Introduction: The Genres of Ekphrasis*, Ram 31, 2002, p. 1: *Ekphrasis is a descriptive speech which brings the thing shown vividly before the eyes*. This definition, with minor changes, appears in Greek tradition from Theon to Nikolaos. Cf. H. MAGUIRE, *Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art*, DOP 28, 1974, p. 111–114; R. WEBB, *Ekphrasis of Buildings in Byzantium: Theory and Practices*, Bsl 69, 2011, p. 20–32 (see also her previous works); R. MACRIDES, P. MAGDALINO, *The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary’s Poem on Hagia Sophia*, BMGS 12, 1988, p. 47–82; E.M. VAN OPSTALL, *On the Threshold. Paul the Silentiary’s Ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia*, [in:] *Sacred Thresholds. The Door to the Sanctuary in Late Antiquity*, ed. IDEM, Leiden–Boston 2018 [= RGRW, 185], p. 31–65 (but from the perspective of religious studies); V. FOSKOLOU, *Decoding Byzantine ekphrasis on Works of Art. Constantine Manasses’s Description of Earth and Its Audience*, BZ 111, 2018, p. 71–102, which discusses the problem of an ability of reconstructing a work of art, based on literary *ekphrasis*, which must include “readership’s horizon of expectations”. For understandable reasons, none of the categories of *ekphrasis* is as popular as those on works of art (we may even ask, whether the *ekphrasis* of works of art were a separate subgenre), so we do not have studies as thorough as the above model examples, which would concern e.g. *ekphrasis* of emotions.

⁷¹ RD 1, 39–60.

⁷² RD 1, 68–70, trans. E. Jeffreys.

οὕτω τὰ θαυμάσια τῶν θεαμάτων
καὶ βαρβαρικὸν συγκαταστέλλει θράσος,
ψυχὴν δὲ ληστοῦ πρὸς κατάπληξιν στρέφει.

To such an extent did the wondrous spectacle
cast down even the barbarian's temerity,
and bring confusion to the robber's soul.

A similar pattern of enchantment is later found in the case of Kratander, Dosikles' companion in a dungeon⁷³, or the hero himself⁷⁴. When Dosikles unsuccessfully tries to fall asleep after a conversation with Kratander, he talks to himself about how the beauty of Rhodante made him feel⁷⁵. In all of this the lack of a god of love is striking, both at the level of the plot and the metaphor. It is only in the last verses of the second book that Dosikles, concluding his retrospection of the kidnapping of his beloved, praises Eros for his power⁷⁶, but one cannot help feeling that it is only a scholastic formality. Here we find all the topoi: Eros is deceptively charming, older than Kronos in spite of having the body of a child⁷⁷; he rages with a smile on his face; he blows fiery missiles in the hearts of others; no creature can resist him. At this point, Prodromos' narrative takes a surprising turn, as companions reprimand Dosikles, unable to bear the artificiality of his exalted speech⁷⁸:

Ἐπαύου, Δοσίκλεις, ὧν μάτην λέγεις λόγων
ἔφασαν οὗτοι· ἴμῃ γίνου δημηγόρος
(ἀπρόσφορος γὰρ ἄρτι φιλοσοφία)
ἀλλὰ σκωπῶμεν ἐμφρόνως τὸ πρακτέον.

'Stop your pointless speech, Dosikles,
they said, 'Don't be an orator
(for philosophizing is inappropriate now),
but let us consider sensibly what has to be done.

Is it the case that Prodromos uses the narrative frame to safely smuggle an allusion to some political-ideological struggles, as Suzanne MacAlister claims, linking these words to the condemnation of Eustratius of Nicaea (1117)⁷⁹? In fact, there

⁷³ RD 1, 164–169.

⁷⁴ RD 2, 188–220.

⁷⁵ RD 2, 210–211.

⁷⁶ RD 2, 421–431.

⁷⁷ S. MACALISTER, *Byzantine Twelfth-century Romances...*, p. 206: suggests that RD 2, 422 is the reply to HH 2, 9, hence it is important to shift the chronology of the romances; however, the direction of the relationship is not clear and the ambiguous nature of god had not been a secret for anyone for a long time, cf. PLATO, *Symposium*, 178c, [in:] *Platonis opera...*

⁷⁸ RD 2, 432–435, trans. E. Jeffreys.

⁷⁹ S. MACALISTER, *Byzantine Twelfth-century Romances...*, p. 206–207.

is no slightest evidence of this. It seems that this is rather one of those interesting formal solutions for which Theodor was famous. The phrase φιλοσοφία, used here in the pejorative sense ‘to pretend to be wise, to confabulate, to exaggerate’, appears only once in the entire work (both of these facts alone exclude the hypothesis involving Eustratius, whose possible defense would be much better prepared and based on emphasizing its orthodoxy, and not on increasing the effect of uniqueness). This reinforces the impression of a switch to a lower register, which serves to highlight the here’s naivety in the throes of his first love.

Later, Prodrornos emphasizes two negative examples of actions by Eros, who often leads people to self-destruction: the already mentioned pirate Gobryas, who pierced himself with his own sword⁸⁰, and an unknown woman from Rhodes. The latter, hit by two arrows of the god (adequately described in this context as δριμύς, τοξάριος), initially only looked persistently at Dosikles, until finally she ran up to him and partially tore off his robe⁸¹. This episode was unusually drastic from the perspective of the time. It should be remembered that all initiatives and reflections on Eros’ nature come from a man. With her act, the girl violated all the standards, including *aretai*, mentioned earlier in the Aristotelian definition. The worst thing is that her humiliation was nothing but a game for the god⁸²:

ἔπαιζεν, ὡς εἴωθεν, ὁ δριμύς Ἔρως

fierce Eros had his sport, as is his custom

All these romances, despite their many differences, agree that the couple in love are innocent⁸³ when the feeling develops and that they maintain the highest moral standards (not just in the sexual sphere) in spite of many misfortunes and psychologically difficult situations they face. Certainly, this situation leads to psychological contradictions⁸⁴. The above argument demonstrates how important for

⁸⁰ RD 6, 52–64, in particular 6, 57: οὕτω βιαιότατον ἐν καικοῖς Ἔρως / *Eros is a most violent force in men of evil disposition*, trans. E. Jeffreys.

⁸¹ RD 8, 191–209.

⁸² RD 8, 192, trans. E. Jeffreys. However, the word ‘sport’ seems inappropriate at this point and it should rather be “he was playing”.

⁸³ Confusing innocence with ‘passivity’, which in addition has an extremely pejorative sense in contemporary view: from simple ineptitude to passive submission of life, it is a grave misinterpretation committed by C. CHRISTOFORATOU, *The Iconography of Eros and the Politics of Desire in Komnenian Byzantium*, E.PMAM 12, 2005, p. 72; in the remaining parts of the article, the author follows Paul Magdalino’s interpretation of Eros as an element of imperial ideology (see below).

⁸⁴ C. JOUANNO, *Les Jeunes filles dans le roman byzantin du XI^e siècle*, [in:] *Les Personnages du roman grec. Actes du colloque de Tours, 18–20 novembre 1999*, ed. B. POUDERON, C. HUNZINGER, D. KASPRZYK, Lyon 2001, p. 341: “indéniable tension”. Cf. a broad study of sexual morality, showing the nuance present in various literary trends, not only in romance (despite the title): L. GARLAND,

the understanding of the meaning of Eros in Theodore Prodromos' romance are the words of Rhodante spoken to a kind old woman named Myryllis, who gave her shelter, where Dosikles ultimately found her⁸⁵:

Ἐκεῖνος οὗτος ἀγνοῶ ποίοις λόγοις
 ἀλοῦς ἐμοῦ, δέσποινα, τῆς τρισαθλίας
 Ἔρον μὲν οὐ κέκληκεν εἰς συνεργίαν
 (ἦρκει γὰρ ἀντ' Ἐρωτος ἐμβλέψας μόνον).

That young man for reasons of which I am ignorant
 was smitten by me, the thrice wretched;
 it was not Eros whom he summoned as his accomplice
 (for his mere appearance was a sufficient substitute for Eros).

God is therefore not so much the source of evil love, for such does not exist⁸⁶, as an unhappy one, such as the feeling that affected the aforementioned Kratan-der⁸⁷. Any involvement of the deity frees us from the responsibility for our deeds, sometimes not particularly worthy of remembering, which we commit under its influence. Rhodante, therefore, rejects Eros and paradoxically saves the genuineness and future happiness of her own love.

The romance by Niketas Eugeneianos is completely devoid of such ambiguity. *Eros tyrannos* manifests himself in all his power, controlling the fate of people as he sees fit. We get to know the protagonists *in medias res* according to the standard of ancient romance. Kratylos, Parthian ruler, plunders the city of Barzon, and Drosilla and Charikles are among the prisoners he takes⁸⁸. They had met and fell in love earlier, at the feast of Dionysus. During their sea voyage to Drosilla's family they unfortunately came across pirates. The storm allowed them to slip out, but they made the unfortunate decision to stay in Barzon for a while. According to the rules of the genre, their new owners, King Kratylos and Queen Chrysilla, fall in love with them, though their feelings are not reciprocated. The latter even poisons her husband to remove an obstacle to her relationship with Charikles, but soon commits suicide after losing the battle with the Arabs⁸⁹. In her last message to the young couple she stresses that her feelings are the responsibility of ἄφυκτος Ἔρωτος⁹⁰,

⁸⁵ *'Be Amorous, But Be Chaste...': Sexual Morality in Byzantine Learned and Vernacular Romance*, BMGS 14, 1990, p. 62–120; A. ΛΑΙΟΥ, *The Role of Women in Byzantine Society*, JÖB 31, 1981, p. 233–260.

⁸⁶ RD 7, 239–242, trans. E. Jeffreys.

⁸⁷ Cf. Basilakes' defense of Pasiphaë, described above.

⁸⁸ RD 1, 190–205.

⁸⁹ DCh 1, 1–74.

⁹⁰ DCh 5, 434–438.

⁹¹ DCh 5, 199: "inescapable love" trans. J.B. Burton; E. Jeffreys.

Ἔρωσ δὲ τυφλός⁹¹, i.e. one that cannot be rationalized. Interestingly, nobody disputes the truthfulness of these words. Unlike in any other romance, Niketas' Eros is a deterministic, pessimistic power (πόθος)⁹²:

οὕτως ἐρῶν πᾶς – ὡς ἄφυκτον τι πόθος –
 ἀλίσκεται γὰρ τοῖς Ἔρωτος δικτύοις,
 ὡς μῦς πρὸς ὑγρᾶς ἐμπέσῶν πίσης χύτραν.

Thus every lover (how inescapable love is!)
 is caught by the nets of Eros,
 just like a mouse who's fallen into a pot of pitch⁹³.

Thus everyone who is in love – and what an ineluctable thing is passion –
 is entrapped in eros' snares,
 like a mouse that has fallen into a pot of sticky resin⁹⁴.

The luckless Kleandros (the equivalent of Kratander in RD) uses surprisingly brutal language in his correspondence with Kalligone, to which he never received an answer⁹⁵:

ἀλλ' ἔνδον αὐτῆς τῆς ταλαίνης⁹⁶ καρδίας
 Ἔρωσ ὁ πικρὸς, ὁ δρακοντώδης γόνος,
 ἐλισσεταί μοι λοξοειδῶς, ὡς ὄφις,
 καὶ στέρνα μοι καὶ σπλάγχνα, φεῦ, κατεσθίει.

but within my wretched heart,
 cruel Eros, the snake-child,
 rolls around obliquely, like a serpent,
 and devours my heart and inward parts, alas⁹⁷

⁹¹ DCh 5, 217: "Eros is blind" trans. J.B. Burton; E. Jeffreys.

⁹² DCh 4, 408–410.

⁹³ Trans. J.B. Burton.

⁹⁴ Trans. E. Jeffreys.

⁹⁵ DCh 2, 216–219. Another aspects of Kleandros' misfortune, including his death and funeral, see detailed analysis in J.B. BURTON, *A Reemergence of Theocritean Poetry in the Byzantine Novel*, CP 98, 2003, p. 262–267.

⁹⁶ This is one emotionally strong epithet, indicating a terrible emotional suffering; it is quite often used by Euripides, he uses *τάλαινα* to describe Medea (e.g. *Med.* 277, 996), Alcestis (*Alc.* 250), Hecuba (*Hec.* 514), *Euripidis fabulae*, vol. I, *Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea, Hereclidae, Hippolytus, Andromacha, Hecuba*, ed. J. DIGGLE, Oxford 1984 [= SCBO]. In Sophocles, it is Tecmessa (*Ajax* 340–341) unsuccessfully trying to stop Ajax for committing suicide; Electra (*El.* 304, 388), Eurydice (*Ant.* 1180), *Sophoclis fabulae*, rec. H. LLOYD-JONES, N.G. WILSON, Oxonii 1990 [= SCBO].

⁹⁷ Trans. J.B. Burton.

But within my unhappy heart itself
 bitter eros, that serpentine offspring,
 insinuates himself into me obliquely, like a snake,
 and – alas – devours my breast and my entrails⁹⁸.

Finally, Queen Chrysilla tries to explain the murder by forces that are more powerful than her. However, it is not the whim of the child god, as in Prodromos' work, but the non-personal power of nature, of which Eros is only a pale personification⁹⁹. Using contemporary language, it is an omnipresent life energy, amoral in the sense of lack of immanent ethical valuation.

The perspective of Eumathios Macrembolites is surprisingly different and at the same time the most mature of all three takes on the theme. HH is distinguished by its radical shift of emphasis from the plot to the allegoresis, to an extent unprecedented in the other romances. The first five of its eleven books are, to a large degree, *ekphraseis*, interrupted by a barely feigned dialogue: *ekphraseis* of works of art, of people, of feelings that “concentrate on emotion and fantasy”¹⁰⁰. All of them have one goal: to show Eros' power in all its ambiguity as a guarantor of the cosmic order (yes, I am aware that from the Greek perspective it is merely a tautology!). There is a fundamental difference between this vision and Niketas' vitality: the Eros of Makrembolites is transcendent, while that of the other author is immanent to the world. In such circumstances people have two ways of touching the god, both fully established in tradition – namely dream¹⁰¹ and art. They ensure the authenticity of the relationship and, at the same time, save us from the literalness in which Niketas was so immersed and which Prodromos did not trust. It is therefore only natural that when Hysminias first confesses to his friend Kratisthenes¹⁰²:

⁹⁸ Trans. E. Jeffreys.

⁹⁹ DCh 5, 218–220.

¹⁰⁰ M. ALEXIOU, *A Critical Reappraisal of Eustathios Makrembolites' Hysmine and Hysminias*, BMGS 3, 1977, p. 29.

¹⁰¹ Dream is a state in which a person can learn the truth without any falsification or mental limitations brought by the real world; paradoxically, therefore, what is incomprehensible consciously becomes realized in a subconscious dream: N. KALOGERAS, *Education Envisioned or The Miracle of Learning in Byzantium*, Bsl 64, 2006, p. 111–124 (= ZAC 13, 2009, p. 513–525). Cf. G. CALOFONOS, *Dream Interpretation: A Byzantinist Superstition?*, BMGS 9, 1984–1985, p. 215–220; P. COX MILLER, *Dreams in Late Antiquity. Studies in the Imagination of a Culture*, Princeton 1998. In both these works the reader will find bibliographic references to oneirocritical literature, but see also a new important publication: *Dreambooks in Byzantium. Six Oneirocritica*, trans. et comm. S.M. OBERHELMAN, Aldershot–Burlington 2008. This interpretation of Hysminias' dream is different from the one proposed by M. ALEXIOU (*A Critical Reappraisal...*), who – somewhat anachronistically – sees the dreams as the protagonist's own subconscious and not a gateway to another world. Suzanne MACALISTER (*Aristotle on the Dream: A Twelfth-Century Romance Revival*, B 60, 1990, p. 195–212) analyzes dreams present in romance as a subject of debate at *theatron*, which had to combine the traditions of Antiquity, contemporary sensitivity and subtle naturalistic elements (“wet dreams”).

¹⁰² HH 3, 1–2, trans. E. Jeffreys.

[1] Καὶ δὴ μοι περὶ μέσῃν νύκτα κατακοιμημένῳ ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος μάλα φοβερός· ὁρῶ γὰρ περὶ τὸ δωματίον εἰσὶν πλῆθος οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον, ὄχλον σύμμικτον ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν, νεανίσκων, παρθένων· λαμπαδηφόροι πάντες τὴν δεξιάν· τὴν γὰρ τοὶ λαῖαν περὶ τὸ στήθος εἶχον δουλοπρεπῶς. [2] Καὶ μέσον τὸ περὶ τὸ τοῦ κήπου θριγγίον μεράκιον, τὸν γεγραμμένον Ἔρωτα, τὸν βασιλέα, τὸν φοβερὸν ἐκείνιον, ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἄλιν δίφρου καθήμενον·

[1] And then about the middle of the night, while I was sleeping, a vision came to me, a rather terrifying dream; for I see a crowd of inestimable size entering the chamber, a mixed throng of men, women, youths, maidens. All held torches in their right hands while their left they placed on their breasts in a servile manner. [2] And in the middle was the lad who was painted on the wall around the garden, Eros, the emperor, that terrifying figure, seated on his golden throne once more.

And after a brief presentation of the situation, the god accepted his love for Hysmine¹⁰³:

[5] Καὶ πρὸς τὴν παρθένον ὁ βασιλεὺς· ‘Διὰ σέ καὶ ὠργίσθην, διὰ σέ καὶ διαλλάσσομαι.’ Ἡ δ’ εὐθὺς λαβομένη μου τῆς χειρὸς ἐξανέστησε, θαρρεῖν ἐπιτρέψασα. Καλεῖ με τοῖνον ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ χειρὶ καὶ στεφανοῖ μου ῥόδῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν· τὸ δὲ παρεστῶς ἅπαν ἠλάλαζεν, ἐκροτάλιζεν, [6] ὠρχεῖτο, Ὁμόδουλος Ὑσμινίας’ λέγον ἡμῖν, ὁ θρασύς, ὁ παρθένος, ὁ τὴν καλὴν Ὑσμίνην αἰσχύνας· Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἔρωσ πρὸς τὴν καλὴν Ὑσμίνην εἰπὼν· Ἐχεις τὸν ἐραστὴν’ ἀπέπητῃ μου τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὄλος περὶ μέσῃν μου τὴν καρδίαν πεσῶν.

[5] And the emperor said to the maiden, “It is for your sake that I was angry, so for your sake I receive him back in favour”. She immediately took my hand and made me stand up, telling me to be confident. The emperor summons me with a gesture and crowns my head with roses. All the bystanders cried out and applauded, [6] and danced around, saying, “Hysminias has become our fellow slave, the bold, the unwed, who spurned the lovely Hysmine”. Then saying to the lovely Hysmine, “You have your lover,” the emperor Eros flew away from my eyes and plunged deep into my heart.

Paradoxically, despite the ubiquitous *ekphrasis*, physicality goes to the background in Makrembolites’ work. The concrete quickly loses its realism because it is subject to a sublime metaphorical interpretation. What really is true, Eumathios seems to say, happens in our hearts and minds. Feelings are the only thing that is authentic, and this is partly expressed by the figure of *Eros basileus*. Let us remember this change of epithet: the more popular *tyrannos* had to give way¹⁰⁴. It cultivates love as an inner motion of the human heart, not an external whim or impulse. It is no coincidence that Hysminias is the first hero of the Greek romance to experience all his love in a dream. Its equivalent in this world is the garden of Sosthenes, whose long *ekphrasis* is absolutely vital for the understanding of the whole work. Hysminias walks around the garden with his friend Kratisthenes,

¹⁰³ HH 3, 5–6, trans. E. Jeffreys.

¹⁰⁴ DCh 4, 412.

admiring it and describing with such sensitivity and metaphor that the reader starts to realize that the Garden, which can now be spelled with a capital letter, is but an allegory of the universe¹⁰⁵. Its key element is an image dominated by the four forms of *aretai*: *Phronesis*, *Ischys*, *Sophrosyne* and *Themis*. The ladies are easy to identify because above each one's head there is a part of a single-verse iambic inscription. The whole depiction is described as a δράμα (action, performance)¹⁰⁶ and Hysminias' summary of the description indicates the need for allegorical interpretation (ἑφιλοσοφοῦμεν)¹⁰⁷:

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐφιλοσοφοῦμεν τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν σχήματα καὶ τὰ μέχρι τοῦ τόθ' ἡμῖν κατελαμβάνομεν ἀκατάλεπτα [...].

Then we discussed the women's appearance and we comprehended what till then had been incomprehensible to us [...].

The manner in which Eros is depicted is ambiguous, if not disturbing¹⁰⁸. He is painted as a naked boy with winged feet, sitting on a throne worthy of a "Mycenaean tyrant", holding a bow and fire in his hand. He is surrounded by a crowd of men and women of all ages and of different skin colors, in a position indicating submissiveness¹⁰⁹. And there are twelve scenes depicting activities specific to a given season¹¹⁰. Hysminias understands that the image carries a hidden message¹¹¹:

Ἔχω σου, τεχνῖτα, τὸ αἰνίγμα¹¹², ἔχω σοῦ τὸ δράμα· εἰς αὐτόν σου βάπτω τὸν νοῦν· κἂν Σφιγγγένη, Οἰδίπους ἐγώ· κἂν ὡς ἐκ Πυθικῆς ἐσχάρας καὶ τρίποδος αἰνιγματωδῶς ἀποφοιβάζης λοξά, πρόσπολος ἐγώ σοι, καὶ διασαφῶ τὰ αἰνίγματα.

¹⁰⁵ Reference material, cf. C. CUPANE, *Orte der Liebe: Bäder, Brunnen und Pavillons zwischen Fiktion und Realität*, Bsl 69, 2011, p. 167–178; A.R. LITTLEWOOD, *Romantic Paradises: The Role of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance*, BMGS 5, 1979, p. 95–114.

¹⁰⁶ HH 2, 6, 1.

¹⁰⁷ HH 2, 6, 2, trans. E. Jeffreys.

¹⁰⁸ HH 2, 7.

¹⁰⁹ HH 2, 9; 4, 4.

¹¹⁰ HH. 4, 4–18, see E. JEFFREYS, *The Labours of the Twelve Months in Twelfth-century Byzantium*, [in:] *Personification in the Greek World. From Antiquity to Byzantium*, ed. E. STAFFORD, J. HERRIN, Aldershot 2005, p. 309–324; P. ROILOS, *Amphoteroglossia...*, p. 161–168. An extremely mysterious motif: it is an astronomical symbolism of the whole year, thus indicating the holistic aspect of time (*aiōn*), and not the divisible *chronos* [dated according to various human, culturally determined systems]), in which everything has its own time, its own season (hence the *kairos*), but at the same time the measurable passage of time (*chronos*) is unimportant. Placing this image in the context of Eros points to god's power over time. The garden, on the other hand, is a cosmos as an external reality but also an internal reality as a psyche of Hysminias. On both levels there is a constant and inevitable conflict between Aretai and Eros, who is inside and outside, in time and beyond it. He is simply a God.

¹¹¹ HH 2, 8, 2, trans. E. Jeffreys.

¹¹² A term that surprisingly rarely appears in the context of this myth (TLG: access on May 5, 2018), so it seems that its presence here may have attracted the attention of the recipient/auditor. The

I can grasp, craftsman, your riddle, I can grasp what you have done (δράμα), I can immerse my mind in yours¹¹³; even if you are Sphinx, I am Oidipous; even if you utter riddling prophecies from the Pythia's hearth and tripod, I am your priestly attendant and I can interpret your riddles.

The ambivalence of Apollo's oracle is intended to show an interpretation of a work of art as a mystical experience. In this particular case, Hysminias needs to understand what love is. Although Kratisthenes tells him that this is the force that brought the universe into existence and still sustains all living beings, Hysminias must experience it himself. This, I think, is the torch in Eros' hand – an invitation to the mystery¹¹⁴.

It might be worth mentioning here a similar scene from the ancient romance by Achilles Tatios, entitled *Leucippe and Clitophon*, well-known, read and appreciated in Byzantium¹¹⁵. While visiting a temple of Astarte in Sydon, the narrator admires a painting depicting the abduction of Europe. His attention is focused on admiring the power of the god and the literal eroticism emanating from the image. Makrembolites, who knew the text very well, borrowed the setting but gave it a completely different meaning. The Byzantines saw the process of personification as a type of metaphor, within the broader framework of the problem of reality being expressed through words ('ἐνάργεια', i.e. 'visibility', 'vividness'), which

only noteworthy mention is Androtion (d. ca. 340 BCE), fr. 31: τῆς Σφίγγος αἰνίγμα and a detailed account of its content. However, the above opinion will remain only a hypothesis because we must remember that only a small fragment of Ancient and Byzantine literature has arrived to our times and we will never be able to make unanimous judgements regarding lexical statistics.

¹¹³ Cf. NICEFORO BASILACE, *Monodia*, I, 186, ed. PIGNANI, p. 243: εἰς νοῦν βάρπτω, p. 377: [...] *l'intagevi nella mente*. The mutual references in this passage confirm and at the same time go beyond KALDELIS' statement, *Hellenism in Byzantium...*, p. 260: *There are, in fact, close textual and generic links between Basilakes' progymnasmata and the novel of Makrembolites; both, after all, were products of the same Hellenizing milieu and its rhetorical background.*

¹¹⁴ There is a fascinating discussion on the genesis of this image in particular, and Eros in romance in general. Paul MAGDALINO (*Eros the King and the King of "Amours": Some Observations on "Hysmine and Hysminias"*, DOP 46, 1992, p. 197–204), sees it as a reflection of the symbolism of the imperial age of the Komnenoi; Carolina CUPANE, on the other hand, whose dissertations continue to be a model of analysis (*Ερως βασιλεύς: La figura di Eros nel romanzo bizantino d'amore*, AASLAP 4 ser., 33, 1973–1974, p. 243–297 and *Metamorphosen des Eros...*, p. 40sq), prefers a synthesis of Antiquity traditions and Western models, although her perspective may be disturbed by the fact that she also discusses the so-called folk romance of the Paleologists' era (cf. its Italian translation: *Romanzi cavallereschi bizantini*, ed. C. CUPANE, Torino 1995), while Elisabeth JEFFREYS sees the opposite direction of inspiration: *The Comnenian Background to the Romans d'Antiquité*, B 50, 1980, p. 455–486). Undoubtedly, the social realities of the 12th century were favorable to the subject matter, after all, there is no question that the renewal of the romance took place at that time. However, the discussion on Eros has an extremely internal, psychological character, as evidenced by its unprecedented intensity and diversity of view: are the studies on the myth of Pasiphaë presented above not in contradiction with any 'political' arguments?

¹¹⁵ Cf. MICHAEL PSELLUS, *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, ed. A.R. DYCK, Wien 1986 [= BV, 16].

occupied them even more than their ancient predecessors¹¹⁶. These emotions can be seen in the way the friends talk about the painting: they treat it as a challenge, a puzzle that conceals a mystery; an embodiment of the truth that not everything can be said, that there are things for which there are no adequate words. How far removed it is from the scene in Sidon, where there is no secret, everything is revealed and comes down to the pleasure of contemplation of an emotionally charged, purely physical beauty.

This above outline highlights the very diverse representations of Eros in romance, too ambiguous to be reduced to rhetorical strategies; in my opinion, it reflects the emotions that had to be present in the 12th-century Byzantine society. For reflection on the essence, origin and value of feelings exceeds genological conditions and is almost modern, extremely psychological in nature. This is the thread of Ariadne that binds *theatron* poets to Basilakes.

Conclusion: Did Basilakes belong to the literary circle of the palace?

A very interesting relation between Eros and the theatrical terminology is demonstrated by an ethopoeia¹¹⁷ entitled *What Love would say when he sees a woodcutter attempting to chop down Myrrha while she was still pregnant with Adonis*¹¹⁸. The god informs man that he should be careful about what he is cutting because some trees and, more broadly, plants are, as we say today, “not from this world”, and as such they are inviolable. As examples he cites Narcissus, Daphne and Hyacinth; now he forbids to harm Myrrha, a girl turned into a tree as a punishment for an incestuous relationship with her father. He explains that in fact it was his own doing¹¹⁹, summarizing the warning in a lofty manner¹²⁰:

¹¹⁶ S. GOLDHILL, *What is Ékphrasis for?*, CP 102, 2007, p. 1–19; esp. p. 3–6 about the impact of the image on the psyche of the viewer.

¹¹⁷ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LI, ed. PIGNANI, p. 207–210, 354–355; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoeia*, XXII, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 280–286. Parisinus gr. 2544 (saec. XVI) as his last work (ff. 125v.13–126v) contains an ethopoeia of the same title, attributed to the Severus of Antioch, while E. Amato rightly recognized in it the text of the above mentioned ethopoeia by Basilakes. Adriana Pignani, an excellent researcher, failed to notice this manuscript, see E. AMATO, *An Unpublished Ethopoeia of Severus of Alexandria*, GRBS 46, 2006, p. 67.

¹¹⁸ Recently, a translation of both of the progymnasmata on the subject (besides the *ethopoeia*, *die-gema* must also be added: NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XXIII, ed. PIGNANI; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Narration*, XVI, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 56–59) has been released along with a comprehensive study of the mythographical materials by Stratis PAPAIOANNOU, *On the Stage of Eros: Two Rhetorical Exercises by Nikephoros Basilakes*, [in:] *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur...*, p. 357–376.

¹¹⁹ Cf. NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, XXIII, 2, ed. PIGNANI, p. 99, 281: *mentre Amore la constringeva ad andar contro la legge di natura*; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Narration*, XVI, 1, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 57: *Love compelled her to transgress against nature*. Eros' strict responsibility for incest is Basilakes' innovation, cf. S. PAPAIOANNOU, *On the Stage...*, esp. p. 364–366. It is another, besides Pasiphaë, example of god's amorality.

¹²⁰ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LI, 5–21, ed. PIGNANI, p. 208; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoeia*, XXII, 1–2, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 280–283.

ἀλλ' Ἔρωτος δράμα καὶ Ἀφροδίτης σκηνὴ καὶ κόρη καλὴ προσωπεῖον ὑποδύσα φωτοῦ [...] Ἔρωσ ὁ σοφὸς ἐγὼ καὶ δράμα μελετῶ φιλοτήσιον, Ἔρωσ ὁ δεινὸς ἐγὼ καὶ καλός, ὁ νέος ἅμα καὶ παλαιός¹²¹, ὁ τοξεύων ἅμα καὶ μειδιῶν...

Ma è una rappresentazione d'Amore, è una scena di Afrodite, una bella fanciulla rivestita della maschera di albero. [...] Eros il poeta son io e preparo un dramma d'amore, Eros il terribile son io e bello, nuovo e antico ad un tempo, colui che lancia il dardo e insieme sorride...¹²²

But it is a drama of Love, a stage for Aphrodite, a beautiful girl, who put on the mask [*prosōpeion*] of a tree [...]. I, the wise Love, rehearse a drama of love, I, the clever and beautiful Love, who am both young and old, who both shoots the bow and smiles...¹²³

Rather, she is a drama of Eros and Aphrodite's stage. She is a beautiful girl than has put on the mask [*prosōpeion*] of a tree [...]. I am Eros, the wise one, and I stage a performance [*drama*] of love. I am Eros, the skillful one and the beautiful, the young one as well as old, sending forth my arrows while also smiling...¹²⁴

Basilakes ambivalently uses the dual meaning of the word drama as a love adventure, and at the same time as its literary development¹²⁵. It connects the level of almost modern metaphor with the level of stage realism (σκηνή [stage], mask), which undoubtedly creates an allusion to romance and its recitation as part of the *theatron* as the most adequate form for this type of subject. One can imagine Nikephoros reciting these words of Eros at a meeting of the literary circle: he would then perform in an excitingly double role. However, Basilakes uses the metaphor of theatre practice too often and too freely for that to be a coincidence¹²⁶.

¹²¹ Cf. depiction of Eros in Sosthenes' garden presented above.

¹²² Trans. A. Pignani.

¹²³ Trans. J. Beneker and C.A. Gibson.

¹²⁴ Trans. S. ΠΑΠΑΙΟΑΝΝΟΥ, *On the Stage*..., p. 362. Each translation has its own advantages.

¹²⁵ The emergence of the metaphorical meaning of the theatrical terminology, now common in Western culture, was not a trivial matter. On the contrary, the moment of the breakthrough is not known with certainty. Based on documentary sources and not on literary texts, we can only assume that it took place in the last decades of the 5th century. Two examples: (1) P.Oxy 16.1873 (dated: 475–499 CE): private letter concerning the disturbances in Lycopolis (τὴν Λυκοπολιτῶν στάσιν καὶ μανίαν φαντάζομαι) and the cause of (these?) misfortunes (αἰτίαν [τ]ῶν δεδραμετουρημάτων); (2) SB 1.5314 (currently linked to 1.5315; dated: 322–642): unspecified private problems, possibly financial if we consider 1.5315 (l. 15–16: ἐγενόμεθα εἰς τραγοδίαν). Early literary sources are troublesome and ambiguous because by using references that are “tragic” or “dramatic” in the sense of “misfortune”, they do so on the basis of comparison, proverb or references. Only private texts, such as correspondence, are generally free of literary culture references and can therefore help to capture the emergence of this phenomenon, cf. H. ZILLIACUS, *ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑ und ΔΡΑΜΑ in metaphorischen Bedeutung*, Arc n.s. 2, 1958, p. 217–220.

¹²⁶ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ, *In Alex. Arist.*, IV, 25–28, XVI, ed. GARZYA, p. 11, 16; *In Ioann. ep.*, XVI, 8–9, XIX, 18–19 (allusive τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων τῆς σκηνῆς προσωπεῖον), ed. GARZYA, p. 37, 39; *In Ioann. ep.*, XXIII, 14–15 (paraphrasing the metaphor of Paul, *Ad Hebraeos*, IX, 11), ed. GARZYA, p. 44; *In Iann. imp.*, I, 5–9 (θέατρον συναγείρομεν, κατὰ γένη κατὰ φυλάς κατὰ δήμους, ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως ἀγαθὴν ἐπευφημοῦντες τὴν προόδον – *adventus imperatoris* 1138, cf. F. Fusco, *Il panegirico di Niceforo*

The ethopoeia of Adrastos¹²⁷ features the saying, later so popular in many variants, about “city, a broad stage, rich in misfortunes”¹²⁸; in monody, death is leaving a “silent stage”¹²⁹. The verb ‘θέατριζω’ (seldom used in Basilakes’ times), applied to the delivery of monody¹³⁰, is a direct reference to acting (gestures, crying, trembling voice). The latter situation may be just as suitable to mean a performance at a meeting at *theatron*.

Basic convergence lines:

1. a varied images of Eros and a debate on his nature in the works of *theatron* poets, as well as a strong presence of often controversial erotic semantics (e.g. Pasiphaë’s or Myrrha’s casus, militaristic terminology, scenes of violence) in Nikephoros Basilakes’ *progymnasmata*;
- a) it has been proven that a similar debate was held on the nature of dreams at that time;
- b) both romance and Basilakes agree that *sophrosyne* is the fundamental *arete* for maintaining human dignity in the face of Eros’ often hostile and destructive actions;
2. Nikephoros Basilakes’ frequent and correct application of theatre-related lexicon, as regards both the stage practice (performance) and the metaphor.

On the basis of the above, I can conclude that Nikephoros Basilakes participated in the literary and social discourse of the cultural elites of Constantinople on an equal footing for about twenty years. This would be very difficult, if not impossible, if he was not member of *theatron*. In addition, his high social standing makes him fully eligible for such an affiliation, and only special circumstances could have prevented him from joining. This did not happen until the mid-1150s, and was most likely the “fault” of Basilakes himself. The autobiographical elements, full of bitterness and sweetened by the rhetoric of self-sufficiency, were written

Basilace per Giovanni Comneno, AFLFUM 1, 1968, p. 273–306; I. AUGÉ, *La reconquête des Commènes en Orient vue par les panégyristes byzantins*, Bi 3, 2001, p. 313–328), ed. GARZYA, p. 49; In Nicolaum Muz., I, 13–16: ὡς πολυανθῆς λειμῶν τοῦτο τὸ θέατρον... / like a flowery meadow, it is theatron..., ed. GARZYA, p. 75, followed by a theme of bees akin to the image in HH 5, 10, 5. Unfortunately, recent contribution of P. ROILOS (*I grasp, oh, artist, your enigma, I grasp your drama’: Reconstructing the Implied Audience of the Twelfth-Century Byzantine Novel*, [in:] *Fictional Storytelling in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. C. CUPANE, B. KRÖNUNG, Leiden–Boston 2016 [= BCBW, 1], p. 463–478), is too general an outline, which only describes *l’esprit de siècle*.

¹²⁷ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progymnasma*, LII, ed. PIGNANI, p. 210–216, 356–359; NIKEPHOROS BASILAKES, *Ethopoeia*, XXIII, ed. BENEKER – GIBSON, p. 286–297.

¹²⁸ Trans. J. Beneker and C.A. Gibson, p. 289.

¹²⁹ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Monodia*, II, 173–174, ed. PIGNANI, p. 259.

¹³⁰ NICEFORO BASILACE, *Monodia*, I, 120, ed. PIGNANI, p. 240.

after these events, so unfortunate for Basilakes; they therefore did not reflect the earlier situation from the time when he wrote his *orationes* and *progymnasmata*.

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Abstract. The article analyzes the rhetorical output of Nikephoros Basilakes, focusing on his use of scenic terminology and the psychological interpretation of myths. The conclusions substantiate the theory that Nikephoros had been part of the imperial *theatron* before his downfall in the mid-1150s.


Keywords: Byzantine novel, ekphrasis, ethopoeia, Nikephoros Basilakes, Pasiphaë, theatre in Byzantium.

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THE POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF SERBIAN PATRIARCH ARSENJE IV JOVANOVIĆ ŠAKABENTA*

The Turkish invasions of the Balkan Peninsula in the 14th and 15th centuries not only resulted in the loss of the sovereignty of the medieval Serbian state, but also majorly contributed to the erosion of the State-Church diarchy, which characterized the rule of the Nemanjić, the Lazarević and the Branković¹. During the period of the Ottoman domination, the responsibility for the Serbian nation rested squarely on the shoulders of the Orthodox Church, and of the patriarch in particular². That the leader of the Serbian Orthodox Church held sway over the Serbs also stemmed from the notion of the *millet* (lit. ‘people’, ‘clan’, ‘nation’), which assumed that the spiritual leaders of non-Muslim communities living in the Ottoman Empire were their official representatives in the High Porte³, while

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¹ For more information, see D. GIL, *Serbscy etnarchowie jako kodyfikatorzy tradycji kulturowej*, [in:] *U spomen na Borivoja Marinkovića. Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta*, ed. N. GRDINIĆ, S. TOMIN, N. VARNICA, Novi Sad 2014, p. 132–133.

² The importance of the leader of the Serbian Orthodox Church increased after the restoration of the Peć Patriarchate in 1557. See M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Pravni položaj i karakter srpske crkve pod turskom vlašću (1459–1766)*, Beograd 1965, p. 91–106. For the context of the restoration of the Patriarchate, see M. MIKOŁAJCZAK, *Mehmed paşa Sokollu – problem przynależności etnicznej, państwowej i kulturowej*, BPAS 16, 2009, p. 59–69.

³ For the Ottoman notion of the *millet*, see S. SHAW, *The Ottoman View of the Balkans*, [in:] *The Balkans in Transition. Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics since the Eighteenth Century*, ed. B. JELAVICH, C. JELAVICH, London 1963, p. 61–62; IDEM, *Historia Imperium Osmańskiego i Republiki Tureckiej (1280–1808)*, vol. I, trans. B. ŚWIETLIK, Warszawa 2012, p. 242–243; B. KAPLAN, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge–London 2007, p. 240–241. According to Slovenian anthropologist and ethnologist Božidar Jezernik, it is precisely because of the *millet* that *the clergy was vested with numerous administrative and judiciary powers. All cases, including marriages, divorces, or succession proceedings were heard before a Bishop’s court, so Christians did not have to turn to the Ottoman jurisdiction in civil cases.* For more details, see B. JEZERNIK, *Dzika Europa. Balkany w oczach zachodnich podróżników*, trans.

the lawfulness of their election was certified with a *berat*, a special document issued by a sultan⁴. Under such circumstances – created by the authorities in Istanbul – Serbian patriarchs not only attended to spiritual and theological matters, but also had to pay close attention to political, economic, and tax-related issues.

It was not uncommon that the actions of the Peć Patriarchate leaders were dominated by the secular dimension. This was caused, on the one hand, by the geopolitical situation in which they operated, and, on the other, by their personal political ambitions. One such Serbian leader was Arsenije Jovanović (1698–1748), who was selected patriarch in 1726⁵. From the very beginning of his service, he attempted, at his own discretion, to reorganize the Church structures which he controlled and to resolve the economic crisis of the Peć Patriarchate⁶. The aim of the present paper is to characterize the ideas and political ambitions which Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta strove to realize in the late 1730s.

The situation which the patriarch and the whole Serbian nation found themselves in changed in 1737, when preparations commenced for another war between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire⁷. The leader of the Serbian

P. OCZKO, Kraków 2007, p. 187–190. A more detailed description of the situation of non-Muslim (not just Serbian) population in the Ottoman state in the early modern period is offered by Daniel GOFFMAN in *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2004, p. 170–188. In Slavonic studies, the notion of the *millet* is equated with *ethnarchy*. The patriarch (the *milletbaşı* in the eyes of Istanbul) is considered to be the ethnarch (*etnarh naciona*). For more, see D. GIL, *Prawosławie. Historia. Naród. Miejsce kultury duchowej w serbskiej tradycji i współczesności*, Kraków 2005, p. 77; EADEM, *Serbscy etnarchowie...*, p. 132–139; I. LIS-WIELGOSZ, *O trwałości znaczeń. Siedemnastowieczna literatura serbska w służbie tradycji*, Poznań 2013, p. 34–35; EADEM, *Władza i rodowód. O wizerunku władcy w starserbskiej literaturze*, PSS 5, 2013, p. 177–178; EADEM, *Władza turecka i strategię jej opisu w piśmiennictwie starserbskim (na przykładzie krótkich form literackich – zapisów)*, BP.AS 21, 2014, p. 40–41.

⁴ *Berat* is a sultan's certificate appended with an official seal, called *tughra*. For more, see H. INALCIK, D. QUATAERT, *Dzieje gospodarcze i społeczne Imperium Osmańskiego*, Kraków 2008, p. 870.

⁵ R. GRUJIĆ, *Pečki patrijarsi i karlovački mitropoliti u 18. veku*, Sremske Karlovci 1931, p. 30–33.

⁶ The difficult financial situation of the Peć patriarchate was a result of the repercussions of the Turkish authorities after Arsenije III Cronojević sided with the Austrians in 1689. For more information, see R. GRUJIĆ, *Velika Seoba patrijarha Arsenija III Crnojevića iz južne Srbije u Vojevodinu pre dvesta-pedeset godina*, Skoplje 1940, p. 326; H. ANONOVSKI, *Makedonija i Vojvodina. O nikim međusobnim vezama u prošlosti*, ZMSDN 23, 1959, p. 6; V. STOJANČEVIĆ, *Presek kroz istoriju srpskih seoba od XIV do početka XVIII veka*, ZMSI 41, 1990, p. 21; S. ČAKIĆ, *Velika Seoba Srba i Patrijarh Arsenije III Crnojević*, Novi Sad 1994, p. 108–225; T. JUDAH, *The Serbs. History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*, London 1997, p. 46; N. MALCOLM, *Kosovo. A Short History*, London 1998, p. 161.

⁷ The Habsburg monarchy went to war with Turkey under the treaty on military alliance with Russia, which was signed on 9 January 1737 in Vienna. For more information on Austria's diplomatic efforts and military operations between 1737 and 1739, see K. ROIDER, *The Reluctant Ally. Austria's Policy in the Austro-Turkish War, 1737–1739*, Baton Rouge 1972, *passim*; IDEM, *Futile Peacemaking: Austria and the Congress of Niemirow*, AHY 12/13, 1976/1977, p. 95–116. The Russian Empire declared war on the Ottoman Empire on 23 April 1736. For the Russians, the *casus belli* was the passage of the Tatar troops (who were the sultan's vassals) through Dagestan, which at that time was under

Orthodox Church had to side with one of the belligerents, since the theater of war was going to span the Peć Patriarchate, which was under his rule. The intelligence he received suggested that the Austrians were more likely to triumph. The situation on the Balkan front was dynamic, with ups and down for either side. However, in the second half of 1737, due to the ineptitude of the military commanders of Charles VI (1685–1740), and despite a considerable support from the South-Slavonic (mostly Serbian) people, the Austrian troops lost the majority of their military gains (including Niš and Pirot) and had to retreat behind the Danube-Sava line. As a result, Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta decided to leave Peć for the Austrian-controlled territories because he was well aware that staying in Peć would have had tragic consequences both for him and the Serbs who sympathized with the Habsburgs. Emigrating to the Habsburg Monarchy together with Arsenije IV were leaders of the Serbian Orthodox Church, military commanders, and some of the Serbian clans from Kosovo and Metohija.

In November 1737, having arrived in the Habsburg state, Arsenije IV began negotiations with the Austrian military authorities concerning the conditions of the continued Serbian involvement in the war against the Porte⁸. He wanted to win as many rights and liberties as he could for the entire Serbian nation, which was under his jurisdiction. During the negotiations, he invoked the privileges granted to the Serbs by Charles VI's predecessors, i.e. Leopold I (1640–1705) and Joseph I (1678–1711)⁹. The talks were held in Vienna, and it is probably during his stay there that the patriarch drew up his nine-point political program¹⁰.

Russian occupation. The reference works on the causes, course, and ramifications of the Russian-Turkish war of 1736–1739 include: А. КОЧУБИНСКИЙ, *Граф Андрей Иванович Остерман и раздел Турции. Из истории восточного вопроса. Война пяти лет (1735–1739)*, Одесса 1899, *passim*; А. БАЙОВ, *Русская армия в царствование императрицы Анны Иоанновны. Война России с Турцией в 1736–1739 гг.*, vol. I, *Первые три года войны*, Санкт-Петербург 1906, *passim*; С. СОЛОВЬЕВ, *История России с древнейших времен (1725–1740)*, Москва 1963; Е. ШУЛЬМАН, *О позиции России в конфликте с Турцией в 1735–1736 гг.*, БИС 3, 1973, p. 5–61; Е. ANISIMOV, *Rossija biez Pëtra*, Sankt-Peterburg 1994, p. 405–423; W. MORAWSKI, S. SZAWŁOWSKA, *Wojny rosyjsko-tureckie od XVII do XX wieku*, Warszawa 2006, p. 51–64; А. ШИРОКОРАД, *Турция. Пять веков противостояния*, Москва 2009, p. 65–78.

⁸ Arsenije IV was in Vienna between 16 December 1737 and 7 June 1738. S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Srpski nacionalni program patrijarha Arsenija IV Jovanovića Šakabente iz 1736–37. godine.*, ZMSI 44, 1991, p. 39–40.

⁹ Cf. R. GRUJIĆ, *Kako se postupalo sa srpskim molbama na dvoru česara avstrijskog poslednje godine života patrijarha Arsenija III Čarnojevića*, Novi Sad 1906, p. 3–41; S. SIMEONVIĆ-ČOKIĆ, *Srpske privilegije*, [in:] *Vojvodina II. Od Velike Seobe (1690) do Temišvarskog Sabora (1790)*, Novi Sad 1940, p. 48–85.

¹⁰ It needs to be mentioned that the document was not originally dated. For that reason, there is a number of hypotheses concerning the date of its creation. According to historian Slavko Gavrilović, who published the document and gave it a title, Arsenije IV's demands, summarized in a few points, were issued already before the Austrian-Turkish war and presented to representatives of the Habsburgs by archimandrite Vasilije in Belgrade at the beginning of 1737. However, this theory is

In historiography (especially in South Slavonic historiography), this document is known as the “Memorandum of Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta”.

One of the most important points of the “Memorandum” provided that the territories claimed during the Austrian-Turkish conflict shall enjoy some sort of autonomy within the Habsburg monarchy. Therefore, a guarantee was sought that freedom of religion would be respected and that the administration of the Serbian Orthodox Church would have full independence. Consequently, Arsenije IV demanded that emperor Charles VI confirm the privileges granted to the Rascians by Leopold I between 1690 and 1695¹¹. In accordance with these documents, the patriarch was to be given complete spiritual jurisdiction in *Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and other provinces* (art. 1)¹².

Another article concerned the Serbian territories claimed by the Austrians during the war. Arsenije IV did not want them to be considered as newly-acquired (It. *Neoaqvistiche*), as was the case of Slavonia, Srem, Banat, and *Militärkommandatur des Königreichs Serbien*: these territories were governed by the *Hofkammer*, *Hofkriegsrat* (Imperial War Council), or the Hungarian administration. In his document, the patriarch petitioned that the Serbian territories be governed

inconsistent with the account of Isaije Antonović, the eparch of Arad: in his letter to Vićentije Popović, the metropolitan of Karlovci, dated 2 February 1737, he wrote that Vasilije had merely presented, orally, a few imploring points, which were then taken down by Austrian scribes and translated into Latin. Antonović’s account of Vasilije’s meeting with the emperor’s representatives seems more plausible than Gavrilović’s hypothesis because it is highly unlikely that the patriarch’s emissary should have carried on him an openly anti-Turkish document as he was travelling through the Ottoman Empire. Had the Turks intercepted the “Memorandum”, it would have had serious implications not just for Arsenije IV but also for the entire Serbian nation.

Historiography also offers no definitive answers as to the identity of the scribe who may have wrote the text in Italian. Given its syntax and vocabulary, the author was certainly not a native speaker. In Arsenije IV’s inner circle, only protosyncellus Partenije Pavlović spoke Italian, which he probably learned during his time in the Montenegrin monastery of Savina, which at that time was under a strong influence of Italian culture. It is also certain that Partenije Pavlović was in Vienna with Arsenije IV, which supports the hypothesis that the “Memorandum” was written at the end of 1737 or at the beginning of 1738. Cf. Arhiv Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti u Sremskim Karlovcima (cetera: ASANUK), Metropolitiljsko-Patrijaršijski fond B (cetera: MPB), sig. 1737/64; Arhiv Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti u Beogradu (cetera: ASANUB), sig. 7070; *Avtobiografija Partenija Pavlovića episkopa posvećenja*, SSio 15, 1905, p. 14–15, 17–19, 396–399, 430–432, 493–495, 526–528, 553–556; J. LANGER, *Nord-Albaniens und der Herzegowina Unterwerfungs-Anerbieten an Oesterreich 1737–1739*, Wien 1880, p. 239–304; S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Srpski nacionalni...*, p. 39–48; *Znamenita dokumenta za istoriju srpskog naroda 1538–1918*, ed. V. GAVRILOVIĆ, D. MIKAVICA, G. VASIN, Novi Sad 2007, p. 53–56.

¹¹ For more information on the privileges which Leopold I gave to the Serbs living in the Habsburg monarchy, see *Srpske privilegije od 1690 do 1792*, ed. M. KOSTIĆ, J. RADONIĆ, Beograd 1950, p. 19–45; D. DAVIDOV, *Srpske privilegije carskog doma habzburškog*, Novi Sad 1994, p. 89–102; P. KRĘZEL, *Analiza językoznawcza przywilejów Leopolda I z 1690 r.*, WS. Sammelbände 46, 2012, p. 143–147.

¹² S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Srpski nacionalni...*, p. 42–43. The translation of the quotes was made by the author of the article.

by a separate body, namely the Supreme Royal Tribunal (It. *Supremo Tribunale Regio*). Its seat was supposed to be the Serbian capital¹³, and it was to be composed exclusively of the Rascians (It. *composto di membri Nazionali*). Additionally, the Tribunal was to be superior to the newly formed local magistrates and dikasteria (It. *loro Magistrati, e Dicasteg Nazionali, dipendenti dal' subd[elegat]o Tribunale*). Arsenije IV also believed that the Tribunal should be independent and enjoy all powers necessary to rule on civil-law and criminal-law matters. Also, Vienna was supposed to be the seat of a separate Serbian chamber, *such as those that Hungary, the Czech lands, and Transylvania have* (art. 3)¹⁴.

The “Memorandum” did not explicitly state which territories would come under the jurisdiction of the new institutions. It is not clear if the patriarch only had in mind those territories which would be controlled by the Habsburg state after the war with Turkey had concluded, or maybe also those which were part of the Habsburg Monarchy prior to 1737 (such as the Military Command of the Kingdom of Serbia). Arsenije IV likely assumed that the vague demands presented to Charles IV could be made more specific at a later time, depending on the situation on the Balkan front.

The “Memorandum” offered a rather broad definition of the autonomy of the Serbian territories, especially with regard to taxation and military issues. Arsenije demanded from the emperor that taxes be collected at a very specific juncture so they would not be too much of a burden to the Serbian people. Additionally, he wanted tax collection to be performed by *experienced administrative officers of the Illyrian-Serbian nation* (art. 7)¹⁵, and the assets thus collected to be *handed to those who shall be appointed with the emperor's decree to do so in a specific place* (art. 7)¹⁶.

In his demands presented to Charles VI, Arsenije IV also raised some military issues. He proposed the creation of *a few regiments made up of members of this nation, which will serve the Emperor* (art. 9)¹⁷. These units were supposed to only answer to Serbian officers, while foreign nationals (mostly Germans) could only join them when invited by the Serbs. During peacetime, the soldiers of these regiments shall enjoy *the same privileges and rights as the other units of the imperial militia do* (art. 9)¹⁸, and during war, they shall receive wages and food provisions from the empire's resources. The “Memorandum” allowed for the encampment of the German garrison on the Rascian fatherland, but at the same time it was stated that it shall not *interfere in any civilian matters of this nation* (art. 6)¹⁹.

¹³ It was not specified which city should fulfill this function.

¹⁴ S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Srpski nacionalni...*, p. 43.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 43–44.

¹⁶ *L. cit.*

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 44.

¹⁸ *L. cit.*

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

The patriarch also believed that the Habsburg monarchy should recognize the Serbian nobility, who would enjoy

all the liberties and privileges enjoyed by such nobles as palatines (those who are in possession of villages, manors, and properties), barons, and others (art. 8)²⁰.

A closer look at this point of the “Memorandum” reveals that Arsenije IV had a limited grasp of the Habsburg monarchy’s political reality. This is especially visible in his definition of the term “palatine”²¹, which for him denoted a member of the nobility, but in reality referred to a state official. Under the act of 1458 (*Articuli pronuntiati de officio palatinatus*)²², the Hungarian palatine (*palatinus regni Hungariae*) was invested with a number of significant powers. In particular, he could govern the country during an interregnum, act as a mediator between the ruler and the Hungarian nobility (counties) during any disputes, and exercise the judicial power, as well as fill in for the ruler during his absence in a given territory (*locum tenes*)²³. It is believed that it is precisely because of this very wide range of prerogatives that emperor Charles VI, between 1732 and his death, never designated anybody for this office. The tradition of appointing the palatine of the Crown of Saint Stephen was only revived by Mary Theresa in 1741. This rather long period of vacancy was taken advantage of by *knez*²⁴ Atanasije Rašković (1697–1753), who usurped the authority of the palatine at the beginning of 1738, though he only appointed himself the palatine of the Serbs (*palatinus von Rassien in den Alten Wallachey*). Arsenije IV approved of this state of the affairs and until the end of the 1730s used this term in reference to the Serbian *knez*²⁵. It has to be noted that some of the documents issued by the Imperial War Council in Vienna during the Austrian-Turkish war also referred to Rašković as palatine²⁶. Rašković himself gave up the claim to the title when the Austrian military authorities agreed to promote him to the rank of colonel²⁷.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 44. Art. 8 of the “Memorandum” is rather vague. It is not clear whom Arsenije IV regarded as the Serbian nobility. He may have meant the familial *knezes*, but this issue is underspecified.

²¹ Some Serbian historians believe that Arsenije IV raised the issue of the “palatine” on purpose because he wanted to gauge the emperor’s stance on the idea of appointing the “Serbian palatine”. For more information, see S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Srem od kraja XVII. do sredine XVIII. veka*, Novi Sad 1979, p. 270.

²² The articles were in force in the territories of the Crown of Saint Stephen until 1848.

²³ I. BARINYAY, *Palatini regni Hungariae, Tyrnaviae 1753*, p. 203–208. M. HORVÁTH, *Statistica regni Hungariae et partiam eidem adnexarum, Posonii 1802*, p. 249.

²⁴ *Knez* was the administrative-territorial leader of a community (often a few villages) in the Serbian lands under the Turkish rule. For more, see T. KWOKA, *Dzieje słownictwa z zakresu stosunków społecznych w Serbii i Czarnogórze*, vol. I, *Ród i społeczeństwo*, Kraków 2012, p. 70.

²⁵ Atanasije Rašković was highly respected by Arsenije IV because he was married to Anđelija, the patriarch’s sister. Cf. I. RUVARAC, *Raški episkopi i mitropoliti*, G.SKA 62, 1901, p. 35–37; S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Raškovići – starovlaški knezovi i cesarski oficiri*, S.SANU 130, 2004, p. 43, 46.

²⁶ *Podaci o Srbiji u protokolima Dvorskog ratnog saveta u Beču (1717–1740)*, ed. M. MITROVIĆ, Beograd 1988 [= S.OIN, 6], p. 312.

²⁷ J. LANGER, *Nord-Albaniens...*, p. 276.

In his “Memorandum”, Arsenije IV also raised the issues of schooling and the Rascians’ education, in the broad sense of that term. He demanded that it be

allowed to retain public schools and universities, where different sciences will be taught, such as philosophy, theology, law, etc. Out of consideration for the language of the Serbs, they shall be allowed, and others shall be, too, to print books in their respective languages (art. 5).²⁸

Therefore, it appears that education mattered for Arsenije IV. It is uncertain what it was that prompted him to raise this issue in his “Memorandum”. Maybe his ambition was to establish the Serbian system of education, from elementary schools to universities, or maybe he wanted to found the educated elites of the Serbian nation. There are much more questions surrounding this issue. However, the historical studies concerned with the fortunes of the Serbian community in the first half of the 18th century clearly suggest that education was the aspect which Arsenije IV neglected most²⁹.

To sum up the above observations, it needs to be noted that some of the “Memorandum” ideas, such as the establishment of the Supreme Royal Tribunal or the Serbian chamber in Vienna, were not abandoned by the patriarch. Their traces are visible in the extant documents (especially in the 4 May 1741 document) of the Vienna meetings of the delegates representing the Church and the nation. The members of this Serbian committee even went one step further than Arsenije IV had, since they wanted the Supreme Royal Tribunal, operating in the Habsburg Monarchy, to apply the law “of their ancient tsars and kings”³⁰, i.e. the legislation of the medieval Serbian state (*sic!*). Thus, it should come as no surprise that the project was not received favorably by either the monarch or the Austrian administration.

As for Arsenije IV, with the demands he presented to the Habsburg authorities, he confirmed that the notion of the *millet*, which was characteristic of the Ottoman reality, still typified the mentality of an 18th-century leader of the Serbs³¹. Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta passed himself not necessarily as the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, but as a secular and political leader of the Rascians,

²⁸ S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Srpski nacionalni...*, p. 43.

²⁹ R. GRUJIĆ, *Srpske škole (od 1718–1739 g.)*, Beograd 1908, p. 121–184. N. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Školstvo kod Srba i Habsburškoj Monarhiji*, [in:] *Istorija srpskog naroda. Srbi u XVIII veku*, vol. IV.2, Beograd 1994, p. 350–362.

³⁰ The sessions of the deputation took place in Vienna in May 1741 and were presided over by Arsenije IV. The meeting was called in order to regulate the legal issues pertaining to the residence of the Rascians in the Habsburg Monarchy toward the beginning of Mary Theresa’s (1717–1780) reign. The issue of the Serbian chamber in Vienna was no. 5 on the agenda while the Supreme Royal Tribunal was no. 15. See D. RUVARAC, *Narodni sabor od 1744. Prilog za istoriju srpskih sabora*, SSio 13, 1903, p. 526–530.

³¹ Cf. A. NAUMOW, *Berło innowiercy*, [in:] *Obraz kapłana, wodza, króla w kulturach słowiańskich*, ed. T. DĄBEK-WIRGOWA, A.Z. MAKOWIECKI, Warszawa 1998, p. 15–21; D. GIL, *Serbscy etnarchowie...*, p. 133–135.

who was, first and foremost, concerned with their earthly business rather than with their spiritual needs. Additionally, he turned out to be an ambitious politician, who used an opportunity (i.e. the Austrian-Turkish war) to present the Serbian demands to the Austrian rulers. However, it is worth noting here that at the end of 1737 Arsenije IV was not yet too familiar with the convoluted political reality of the Habsburg state, hence the occasional inaccuracies in the “Memorandum”. Additionally, it needs to be categorically stated that, although the political program of the patriarch was an interesting concept, it was not possible to implement it in full. Charles VI would never have allowed the constitution, at the periphery of his state, of an autonomous political entity which could threaten the integrity of his monarchy in the future³².

Military issues were also of interest to the patriarch, who made attempts toward the formation of a Serbian military unit already during his stay in Vienna. This idea was essentially excerpted from the “Memorandum” and concerned the formation of a regiment composed of the Serbs (art. 9). It needs to be noted that although his political plans did not win too many proponents at the Habsburg court, the *Hofkriegsrat*, on 4 May 1738, gave its approval to the formation of a unit composed of 2,000 Rascians³³. However, against Arsenije IV’s wishes, placed in command of the unit was not a Rascian but Col. Robert Joseph Graf de la Cerda de Villalonga (?–1750)³⁴, who was appointed by the Austrian military. The project of assembling a Serbian regiment fell through. This was mostly caused by Col. de la Cerda himself, since he had no organizational or leadership qualities whatsoever. He could not win over the Serbs, who showed deep distrust in him as a foreign officer, and on top of that he squandered the 1,800 forints which Arsenije IV had given him specifically for that purpose³⁵.

³² It is also worth noting that to date no written mention has been found that would prove that the “Memorandum” was analyzed by any of the central chambers in Vienna. To be sure, this cannot be construed as evidence that the document did not reach Vienna and was not discussed there. However, it may imply that the Austrians did not give as much weight to this document as claimed in modern Serbian historiography.

Also, it is not clear why a document addressed to emperor Charles VI was stored in the Hungarian State Archive in Budapest [Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Budapest, Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, sig. A-108 – after S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Srpski nacionalni...*, p. 40]. The extant sources detailing the relations between Arsenije IV and the Austrian political class are only on file in Belgrade, Karlovci, and Vienna. The “Memorandum” is the only document of its kind stored in the Hungarian Archive. It is very unlikely that the document was sent via the Hungarian administrative channels, which could have explained its presence in the Archive’s collection: it is a well-known fact that the Serbs did not hold the Hungarians in particularly high regard and they would not have asked them to act as intermediaries in such vital negotiations with Charles VI. This issue is still open to debate and needs further research.

³³ Kriegsrarchiv Wien, Protocol Expeditorum, Bd. 232, fol. 1245.

³⁴ J. LANGER, *Nord-Albaniens...*, p. 250–251.

³⁵ Cf. Biblioteka Srpske Patrijaršije u Beogradu (cetera: BSPB), sig. R 186; J. LANGER, *Nord-Albaniens...*, p. 272.

The patriarch left Vienna and returned to Belgrade on 7 June 1738. The notes he kept suggest that straight away he made a military-oriented reconnaissance of the *Militärkommandatur des Königreichs Serbien*. He was hoping that in mid-1738 the Habsburg troops would quickly recapture the Vidin and Niš fortresses, which they had lost the previous year³⁶.

Bearing this in mind, Arsenije IV decided to get personally involved in forming a Serbian regiment, which was supposed to come to the aid of the Austrian forces on the Balkan front. That way, he intended to show how willing the Serbian nation was to help Charles VI's troops. The events surrounding the implementation of this plan may be partly reconstructed on the basis of the patriarch's notes and his *defter*³⁷. These sources also reveal that already on 21 June 1738 Arsenije IV met with ten most influential leaders of Serbian clans. These included Hadži Jovan Leskovčanin, Radosav Prokupac, Stefan Brvenički, Boško Tetovski, Stanoje Zvečanski, Milutin Dugopoljski, Ilija Saktijanović, Stanko Radojkov, Nikola Vukasović and Miljko Jakovljević. The chief goal of this meeting was to persuade the clan leaders to draft a sufficient number of recruits who would form a new Serbian regiment. Arsenije IV allocated relevant resources for that purpose. On 22 June, he recorded that he had given

15 ducats to Stanko Radojkov so he would go to Srem and get men; 15 ducats to Cpt. Hadži Jovan, to draft [lit. bribe] people to the regiment³⁸.

Gathering men for Serbian units (Ser. *čet*), with a view to forming a regiment, was progressing rather well. In July 1738, Arsenije IV wrote that

in the village of Palez, 200 men gathered, under the command of Cpt. Vidovski, Cpt. Radosav, and Stanko. 300 men arrived in Palanka, under the command of Cpt. Hadži Jovan. On 24 July, I gave him 30 florins.³⁹

It is believed that the basic task that Arsenije IV gave these units was to gather intelligence on the deployment of the Turkish forces on the Rascian fatherlands. He anticipated that after the unblocking of Orşova the Habsburg troops would head for Vidin and Niš, and at that point they would need up-to-date intelligence on the deployment of the Ottoman forces. However, these expectations were again not borne out since after claiming Orşova the Austrian troops retreated

³⁶ This did not happen because the Austrian forces went east to claim Orşova. See V. AKSAN, *Ottoman Wars (1700–1870). An Empire Besieged*, New York 2007, p. 112–113.

³⁷ This word likely comes from Turkish, where it means 'log', 'notebook', 'register', 'list'. See T. KWOKA, *Dzieje słownictwa z zakresu stosunków społecznych w Serbii i Czarnogórze*, vol. II, *Państwo i administracja*, Kraków 2013, p. 166.

³⁸ BSPB, sig. R 186.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

to the territory of the Military Command of the Kingdom of Serbia. Then, in mid-August 1738, the Austrian military leaders decided to end military operations for the year⁴⁰.

Having concluded that his efforts toward establishing a new regiment were not effective, Arsenije IV decided that, starting in the second half of 1738, full authority over Serbian military issues would be given to his brother-in-law, *knez* Atanasije Rašković, whom the Serbs held in very high regard⁴¹.

In September and October 1738, the patriarch's relative managed to unite individual Rascian units, thus creating a military unit which the Habsburg sources refer to as "the Albanians and the Kelmendi"⁴². Unfortunately, a rather partial character of the sources means it is impossible to give the exact number of soldiers in this unit. In a note made for the *Hofkriegsrat*, Col. Robert de la Cerda claimed that the unit was very small and consisted of no more than 150 men⁴³. However, Arsenije IV, in a letter to Charles VI dated 6 September 1738, wrote about "a huge Serbian unit" which numbered more than 800 men. Col. de la Cerda's estimations may be discounted, since he was not too familiar with the Rascian units. Additionally, given his previous failure to form a regiment, he openly disliked the Serbs, which possibly translated into the negative narrative he produced for the sake of the Viennese military circles. On the other hand, the numbers quoted by Arsenije IV did not necessarily reflect the actual strength of the Serbian unit either, because the patriarch, from the very beginning of his contacts with Vienna, painted the Rascians in the best possible light. He tried to convince the contemporary Austrian political class that the Serbs were their closest allies in the conflict with the Ottoman Empire⁴⁴. However, it needs to be noted that the numerical strength of Rašković's unit must have been considerable because toward the end of 1738 the Austrian military command of Belgrade decided to divide it, feeling uneasy about too heavy a concentration of armed Serbs in the Sava and Danube basin. Most of the soldiers were incorporated into the border militia units under the command of Vuk Isaković⁴⁵. They were to defend the monarchy's southern perimeter against any Turkish hostilities.

Toward the end of 1739, that is already after the Austrian-Turkish war had concluded, sources quote a verified number of 355 Serbian soldiers who were staying in the territories of the Habsburg monarchy. According to the records compiled by Aleksandar Rašković, Atanasije's son, the Rascians were grouped in eight units. It needs to be noted here that these units were internally uniform, i.e. they were either cavalry or infantry, but the dominant role in this group was played

⁴⁰ V. AKSAN, *Ottoman Wars...*, p. 113–114.

⁴¹ ASANUK, MPB, sig. 1741/74.

⁴² *Podaci o Srbiji u protokolima...*, p. 325.

⁴³ J. LANGER, *Nord-Albaniens...*, p. 251–252.

⁴⁴ *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, vol. II, ed. L. STOJANOVIĆ, Beograd 1983, no. 2784.

⁴⁵ *Podaci o Srbiji u protokolima...*, p. 325.

by Atanasije Rašković. The documents stored in the Library of the Serbian Patriarchate clearly suggest that all the captains, except Đoka and Deda⁴⁶, answered to Rašković⁴⁷, who, in recognition of his service to the Austrian state, was promoted to the rank of colonel on 15 March 1739.

When the *Hofkriegsrat* decided to expand the Military Frontier to include the territories between Rača and Zemun – for which the patriarch had lobbied – the 355 soldiers and their families were not only given the status of free peasants-soldiers, but also received plots of land around Sremska Mitrovica. These steps taken by the Habsburg authorities were, on the one hand, supposed to secure the monarchy's southern borders, and to push the Serbs toward sedentism, on the other, since the Austrian political leaders believed that if the Rascians were to continue living seminomadic life, they might be a serious threat to peace in the southern territories of the lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen⁴⁸.

In short, Arsenije IV did not achieve much success with military planning either. On the contrary, his predictions were wrong both with regard to the movement of the Habsburg army and the chances of forming a “great Serbian regiment”. His only right decision was to delegate the job of forming the Serbian regiment to *knez* Atanasije Rašković, his brother-in-law.

Toward the beginning of 1738, Arsenije IV was very optimistic about the future of the Serbian Church, detecting a huge opportunity to consolidate the Autocephalic Serbian Orthodox Church, which, following wars and subsequent peace treaties, was divided into the Peć Patriarchate and the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci. Of course, he was aware of various threats, especially from the Ottomans. However, he thought that the war's final outcome would neutralize the Turkish danger⁴⁹.

Mindful of the issue of uniting the Church, the patriarch believed that all Serbs living in the Habsburg monarchy must act as one, and that particular eparchs should forget about any mutual animosities. This sentiment is echoed in his letter to Vasilije Dimitrijević, the eparch of Buda, dated 15 May 1738, in which he pointed to the necessity of holding a popular assembly (*sabor*)⁵⁰ in Belgrade on the day of Peter and Paul apostles, i.e. on 29 June⁵¹. Arsenije believed that such an assembly of Church hierarchs and representatives of the Serbian people would

⁴⁶ Đoka and Deda did not answer directly to Rašković because they were Catholics. *Vide*: S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *O naseljavanju srpske milicije i Klimenata u Sremu 1732–1742*, IČ 9/10, 1960, p. 254.

⁴⁷ BSPB, sig. R 186.

⁴⁸ Cf. M. KOSTIĆ, *Ustanak Srba i Arbanasa u Staroj Srbiji protiv Turaka 1737–1739 i seoba u Ugarsku*, GSND 7–8, 1930, p. 226–233; S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *O naseljavanju srpske...*, p. 249–258.

⁴⁹ BSPB, sig. R 186.

⁵⁰ Under the Habsburg Monarchy, a *sabor* was an assembly of Orthodox Church hierarchy, lower clergy, lay representatives of the Serbian nation, and representatives of state authorities. For more, see I. TOČANAC, *Srpski narodno-crkveni sabori (1718–1735)*, Beograd 2008, *passim*.

⁵¹ Muzej Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve u Beogradu, Ostavina Radoslava Grujića, sig. A/927; A/957.

demonstrate the unity of the whole Orthodox community to the Austrian leaders staying in Belgrade at that time, such as duke Francis of Lorraine or Fieldmarshal Joseph Lothar von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1673–1751)⁵². Arsenije IV thought that the chief goal of the assembly should be to discuss issues pertaining to the future of the Serbian Orthodox Church. He was particularly intent on laying out a project of a new administrative division of the Serbian Orthodox Church. It appears that he wanted to sound out the reactions of the hierarchs and Austrian representatives to his plan. However, he never found out about any of these since the assembly was not held. The hierarchs of the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci did not come to Belgrade and only two of them excused their absences. One was Nikola Dimitrijević, the eparch of Temešvar, who could not leave the city due to the black death epidemic, which saw the whole Banat region quarantined, and nobody was allowed to move outside the area without special clearance⁵³. The other was Danilo Ljubotina, the eparch of Gornji Karlovac⁵⁴: he was already a very sick man and was not able to travel the distance of a few hundred miles between Plaški and Belgrade⁵⁵. It is not clear why the other eparchs failed to turn up. The greatest disappointment for Arsenije IV was the absence Visarion Pavlović, the eparch of Bačka, whom he considered one of his closest allies. When the patriarch was setting up the meeting with duke Francis and Lothar von Königsegg-Rothenfels, Pavlović was in Vienna, conspiring against Arsenije IV. He demanded that the assets he possessed as the metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovci be reduced by a sizeable property in the village of Dalj.

The behavior of the Church hierarchs was undoubtedly a big surprise to Arsenije IV: never before had he experienced such affront from the eparchs. In a letter to Vasilije Dimitrijević, he did not hide his disappointment, writing that he sensed *a huge discord among all of us, which will eventually be our undoing*⁵⁶.

This was Arsenije IV's first but not last unsuccessful attempt to assemble the eparchs in order to discuss issues vital for the whole nation. In a letter to Isaija Antonović, the eparch of Arad, dated 14 August 1740, Arsenije IV expressed, in rather strong terms, his disapproval of how the eparchs were acting (*for three years now I have been requesting that all of us meet, all in vain*)⁵⁷. He did not understand the actions of the eparchs of the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci, and for that reason he suggested that they follow the example of the Serbian

⁵² Fieldmarshal Joseph Lothar von Königsegg-Rothenfels (1673–1751) served as the president of the Imperial War Council (*Hofkriegsratspräsident*) between 1736 and 1738. See O. REGELE, *Der österreichische Hofkriegsrat (1556–1848)*, Wien 1949, p. 76.

⁵³ R. GRUJIĆ, *Borbe s Turcima u Banatu 1738 i 1739*, *GIDNS* 3, 1930, p. 106–109.

⁵⁴ Danilo Ljubotina died on 29 January 1739. For more, see N. PEROVIĆ, *Danilo Ljubotina, episkop karlovačko-primorski*, [in:] *Srpski Biografski Rečnik*, vol. V, Novi Sad 2011, p. 716–717.

⁵⁵ In the 1730s, the seat of the Eparchy of Gornji Karlovac was in the monastery in Plaški (Gorska Hrvatska).

⁵⁶ ASANUB, *Kulturno-Istorijska Zbirka* (cetera: KIZ), sig. 1948.

⁵⁷ Univerzitetska Biblioteka u Beogradu, Arhivska Zbirka Odeljenja Retkosti, sig. 2487.

Church hierarchs from the Ottoman Empire, whom he believed to be more concerned about the Serbian people. In the aforementioned letter, he wrote that

it would be desirable if the Brothers [eparchs] could follow in the footsteps of those Serbian hierarchs who still live under the Muslim oppression but have a much greater understanding of unity than you do here [in the Habsburg monarchy], living in a free country and enjoying privileges⁵⁸.

Fractious relations with parts of the episcopate, a poor financial condition of the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci, and no prospects of any global improvements meant that Arsenije IV found himself in a critical situation. It was so serious that the patriarch even considered resigning from office. In a letter to Vasilije Dimitrijević, whom he regarded as one of few close friends at that time, he wrote that

if the Brothers, the venerable clergy, and the great Serbian people do not want me to be their spiritual leader, then I shall not object. However, I will serve the Emperor until the end of my life. I will also ask him to give me some dwelling, where I will be living quietly, being a burden to nobody. I can see, nevertheless, that I am closer to death than to living.⁵⁹

Arsenije IV's plan to join the two parts of the Serbian Orthodox Church already in 1738 provokes a number of questions as to whether it was possible to implement. Also, doubts arise concerning the patriarch's familiarity with international and intra-Church affairs: Arsenije IV could not be certain if the Austrian authorities, after the war with Turkey, would allow the existence of an Orthodox Church with the status of a patriarchate, which would have had to apply to the consolidated Serbian Church⁶⁰. His attempts to demonstrate to the Habsburgs the oneness of the Orthodox community were also unsuccessful. All they did was prove that Arsenije IV did not enjoy unassailable authority among the Serbian higher clergy from the Habsburg monarchy. Already during the first months of his functioning within the structures of the Metropolitanate of Belgrade and Karlovci, the patriarch realized that his position was not as strong as in the Peć Patriarchate. It was also a hint that in his future political plans he should be mindful of the ambitions of individual eparchs to a much greater extent than he was in previous years. Otherwise, he would be looking at another defeat, as in the case of the Belgrade *sabor* of June 1738, which he mishandled.

Translated by Maciej Grabski

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ ASANUB, KIZ, sig. 1950.

⁶⁰ These concerns were not unfounded since already under Leopold I's privileges for the Serbian community (1690–1695) the Habsburgs only admitted a possibility of establishing an archbishopric in their ultra-Catholic state. Cf. *Srpske privilegije...*, p. 19–45; D. DAVIDOV, *Srpske privilegije...*, p. 89–102.

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Abstract. Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta (1698–1748) was one of the last leaders of the Peć Patriarchate. The period of his service coincided with the so-called Second Great Migration of the Serbs, i.e. the migration of portions of the Serbian society from Kosovo and Metohija to the southern territories of the Habsburg monarchy. This event majorly determined the actions of the patriarch at the end of the 1730s. The article outlines the political ambitions of Arsenije IV, which he tried to realize around that time. Particular focus is given to his vision of the Serbian community under the Habsburgs and to his efforts to retain the privileges which the Serbs had been granted by emperors Leopold I, Joseph I, and Charles VI. Additionally, the analysis covers the internal dynamics of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the territories of the Habsburg monarchy. The paper also touches upon the military issues and discusses the role of Serbian soldiers in the political plans of Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta.


Keywords: Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta, Second Great Migration of the Serbs, Serbian Orthodox Church, Austrian-Turkish War of 1737–1739, Serbian *millet*.

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THE ARABS IN THE CHRONICLE OF CONSTANTINE MANASSES*

Constantine Manasses is the author of *Synopsis Chronike*, a chronicle that is written in verse and spans the period from the creation of the world until the year 1081 (the death of emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates). Our knowledge about him is limited. We do not know the exact dates of his birth or death. According to Elizabeth Jeffreys he was born in ca. 1120 and died some time after 1175¹. It could be reasoned that he held no church function (in older literature on the subject he is recognised as the metropolitan of Naupaktos from the year 1187²) or state function. He was associated with the Constantinopolitan literary community. Also, he had patrons – the sebastokratorissa Irene, wife of Andronikos³, brother of emperor Manuel I (1143–1180), as well as the sebastos John Contostephanus, nephew of Manuel I⁴. We know that he accompanied the latter during a mission

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¹ *Four Byzantine Novels. Agapetus – Theodore Prodromos. Rhodanthe and Dosikles – Eumathios Makrembolites. Hysmine and Hysminias. Constantine Manasses. Aristandros and Kallithea – Niketas Eugenianos, Drosilla and Charikles*, trans. et praef. E. JEFFREYS, Liverpool 2012, p. 274. Some most recent writing on Constantine Manasses: L. NEVILLE, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, coll. D. HARRISVILLE, I. TAMARKINA, C. WHATLEY, Cambridge 2018, p. 200–204; L. YURETICH, *Introduction*, [in:] *The Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, trans. et praef. EADEM, Liverpool 2018, p. 1–3.

² This was postulated by N. BEES, *Manassis, der Metropolit von Naupaktos ist identisch mit dem Schriftsteller Konstantinos Manassis*, BNJ 7, 1928/1929, p. 119–130. Some arguments against the postulate can be found in: O. LAMPSIDIS, *Zur Biographie von Konstantinos Manasses und zur seiner Chronike synopsis* (CS), B 58, 1988, p. 97–111; see also L. YURETICH, *Introduction...*, p. 1; L. NEVILLE, *Guide...*, p. 201.

³ Andronikos died in ca. 1142. In addition to Constantine Manasses, Irene's literary circle included John Tzetzes, Theodore Prodromos as well as the monk Jacob and Manganeios Prodromos. For more information about Irene and her literary circle see e.g. O. LAMPSIDIS, *Zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene*, JÖB 34, 1984, p. 91–105; E. JEFFREYS, *Sevastokratissa Eirene as Patron*, WJK 61/62, 2011/2012, p. 177–194.

⁴ P. MAGDALINO, *In Search of the Byzantine Courtier: Leo Choïrosphaktes and Constantine Manasses*, [in:] *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington 1997, p. 161–162; M. MARKOVICH, *The "Itinerary" of Constantine Manasses*, ICS 12, 2, 1987, p. 277.

to Jerusalem in 1160 which was described in his *Hodoiporikon*⁵. He authored prose and poetry ranging from eulogies (e.g. in honour of Manuel Komnenos) to romances (*Aristander and Kallitea* whose mere fragments survived)⁶.

*Synopsis Chronike*⁷ was commissioned by the sebastokratorissa Irene, mentioned above, possibly between 1145 and 1148⁸. The first author to ever refer to *Synopsis* was Michael Glycas (who died in the 1180s) in *Biblos Chronike*. *Synopsis* was written in decapentasyllabic verse (political verse⁹). The edition by Odysseus Lampsidis comprises 6620 lines. In the process of writing it, Manasses used the works of different authors, with their truthfulness as the key selection criterion¹⁰. Other than this general declaration, Manasses did not mention any of those authors by name. Scholars claim that his sources included the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, John the Lydian, John of Antioch, John Malalas, Theophanes, George Hamartolus, George Kedrenos and Joannes Zonaras¹¹. We also know that he referred to his own work, in particular *Aristander and Kallitea*.

In all likelihood, *the Chronicle* was popular both in Byzantium and beyond. This is supported by the large number of manuscripts that have remained (over 100¹²) as well as the fact that it had its prose version¹³. The popularity and significance

⁵ K. HORNA, *Das Hoidonporikon des Konstantinos Manasses*, BZ 13, 1904, p. 313–355; E. GORI, *Lo Hodoiporikon di Constantino Manasse*, 2011 (= Porph 8, ottobre 2011. Supplemento 12); see also M. MARKOVICH, *The "Itinerary"...*, p. 277–291.

⁶ More about the output of Constantine Manasses can be found among others in P. MAGDALINO, *In Search...*, p. 161–164; E. GORI, *Lo Hodoiporikon...*, p. 3–12; I. NILSSON, *Narrating Images in Byzantine Literature: the Ekphrasis of Konstantinos Manasses*, JÖB 55, 2005, p. 121–146; EADEM, *Constantine Manasses, Odysseus and the Cyclops: On Byzantine Appreciation of Pagan Art in the Twelfth Century*, Bsl 69, 2011, p. 123–136.

⁷ Edition: *Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum*, vol. I–II, rec. O. LAMPSIDIS, Athens 1996 [CFHB, 36.1–2] (cetera: *Synopsis Chronike*). For information about the chronicle see among others: I. NILSSON, *Discovering Literariness in the Past: Literature vs. History in the Synopsis Chronike of Konstantinos Manasses*, [in:] *L'écriture de la mémoire. La littérature de l'historiographie. Actes du colloque international sur la littérature byzantine, Nicosie 6–8 mai 2004*, ed. P. ODORICO, P.A. AGAPITOS, M. HINTERBERGER, Paris 2006 [= DByz, 6], p. 15–31; I. NILSSON, E. NYSTROM, *To Compose, Read, Use a Byzantine Texts: Aspects of the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, BMGS 33, 2009, p. 42–60; В.Ю. ЖАРКАЯ, *Несколько замечаний о сложных эпитетах у Константина Манассии*, АДСВ 44, 2016, p. 178–190; I. TAXIDIS, *Ekphrasis of Persons with Deviatonal Behavior in Constantine Manasses' Synopsis Chronike*, БуС 35, 2017, p. 145–159.

⁸ According to: E. JEFFREYS, *Four...*, p. 273–274. Other variants: L. YURETICH, *Introduction...*, p. 3, note 17; I. NILSSON, *The Past as Poetry: Two Byzantine World Chronicles in Verse*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*, ed. W. HÖRANDNER, A. RHOBY, N. ZAGKLAS, Leiden–Boston 2019, p. 517–538.

⁹ More on political verse can be found in: M. JEFFREYS, *The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse*, DOP 28, 1974, p. 141–195.

¹⁰ *Synopsis Chronike*, 23–24.

¹¹ L. NEVILLE, *Guide...*, p. 200; L. YURETICH, *Introduction...*, p. 7.

¹² O. LAMPSIDIS, *Εἰσαγωγή*, [in:] *Constantini Manassis...*, p. LXXVI–CXLIX; I. NILSSON, E. NYSTROM, *To Compose...*, p. 43; L. YURETICH, *Introduction...*, p. 4; L. NEVILLE, *Guide...*, p. 200.

¹³ K. PRAECHTER, *Eine vulgärgriechische Paraphrase der Chronik des Konstantinos Manasses*, BZ 4, 1895, p. 272–313; IDEM, *Zur vulgären Paraphrase des Konstantinos Manasses*, BZ 7, 1898, p. 588–593.

of the text is also evidenced by its 14th century translation into Middle Bulgarian, commissioned by the tsar of Bulgaria Ivan Alexander (1331–1371). The translator annotated *the Chronicle* using glosses with basic information on Bulgarian rulers. The translation was most likely created in Veliko Tŕrnovo in the period 1335–1340. We know three manuscripts coming from the territory of Bulgaria: two dating from the half of the 14th century (now at the State Historical Museum in Moscow¹⁴, the second one in the Vatican Library¹⁵) and one dating from the 16th century (currently at the library of the Romanian Academy¹⁶). The translation of the work by Constantine Manasses, done in Bulgaria, gained popularity in the Slavic world. Its copies survived in Ruthenian (3 from the 17th century) as well as Serbian (from the 16th century¹⁷). Contemporary researchers consider the Bulgarian translation to be of high quality. It is seen as a landmark in the development of Bulgarian literary language¹⁸.

This paper looks into the piece by Constantine Manasses considering how it depicts the Arabs. As is commonly known, starting from the fourth decade of the 7th century they were a highly dangerous enemy of the Byzantines and they remained so for a few centuries¹⁹.

¹⁴ Created by a monk whose name was Philip.

¹⁵ Codex Vaticanus slav. II. comprises 206 pages, 69 of which contain miniatures. *Среднебългарският превод на хрониката на Константин Манасии в славянските литератури*, ed. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, София 1988; E.N. ВОЕСК, *Displacing Byzantium, Disgracing Convention: the Manuscript Patronage of Tsar Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria*, *Manu* 51, 2, 2007, p. 181–208; ЕАДЕМ, *Imagining the Byzantine Past. The Perception of History in the Illustrated Manuscripts of Skylitzes and Manasses*, Cambridge 2015; ЕАДЕМ, *The Vatican Manasses as a Curated Display of Universal History*, [in:] *Laudator temporis acti. Studia in memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov*, vol. II, *Ius, imperium, potestas, litterae, ars et archeologia*, ed. I. BILIARSKY, Serdicae 2018, p. 419–431.

¹⁶ L. YURETICH, *Introduction...*, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 5–6.

¹⁸ *Среднебългарският превод на Хрониката...*, *passim*. *Хрониката на Константин Манасии. Зората на българската епика*, ed. et trans. И. БУЮКЛИЕВ, comm. И. БОЖИЛОВ, София 1992, p. 1–42. It should be pointed out that the author of the Slavic translation largely retained the spirit of the Greek original.

¹⁹ It should be remembered that Byzantine-Arab contacts were found earlier as well (see e.g.: L.I. CONRAD, *The Arabs to the Time of the Prophet*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492*, ed. J. SHEPARD, Cambridge 2007, p. 173–195; T. WOLIŃSKA, *Difficult Neighbours, Enemies, Partners, Allies*, [in:] *Byzantium and the Arabs. The Encounter of Civilizations from Sixth to Mid-Eighth Century*, ed. ЕАДЕМ, P. FILIPCZAK, Łódź 2015 [= BL, 22], p. 150–203. Basic information about Byzantine-Arab relations in the period covered by *Synopsis Chronike* can be found among others in: G. OSTROGORSKI, *Dzieje Bizancjum*, trans. H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA et al., Warszawa 1968; А.А. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, *Византия и арабы. Политические отношения за время Македонской династии (867–959)*, Санкт-Петербург 1902; W.E. КАЕГИ, *Confronting Islam: Emperors versus Caliphs (641–c. 850)*, [in:] *The Cambridge History...*, p. 365–394; H. KENNEDY, *The Great Arab Conquests. How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live in*, London 2007.

The first reference to the Arabs has to do with the reign of emperor Leontius (695–698)²⁰. Constantine Manasses states that Africa was invaded by plunderers descending from Hagarenes²¹. The emperor considered the danger to be serious and took action. Despite initial successes of the Romans (Byzantines), Carthage, the capital of North Africa, was conquered and pillaged by the Arabs who are described by the historian as savage, cruel and bloodthirsty beasts. We also learn from Manasses here that the Arabs had a large fleet²².

The second reference appears in relation to emperor Anastasios II (713–715)²³. We learn that the emperor sent Byzantine ships against the fleet of “Hagarene pirates”²⁴. During that expedition a mutiny took place against the emperor and Theodosius, formerly a tax collector, was proclaimed as the new ruler²⁵.

The third reference can be identified in relation to emperor Michael II. However, in this case the Arabs are not the subject but are brought in to build a negative image of the emperor himself, as Constantine Manasses did not hold him in high esteem due to the fact that Michael was an iconoclast. The historian writes as follows: *He erred in not a few battles and revealed himself as an object of derision and ridicule to the Hagarenes*²⁶.

Another mention of the Arabs – this time with respect to the reign of Michael III (842–867) – offers no clues as to what attitude Manasses had towards them and gives us no evidence about the group itself²⁷.

After the reign of Michael III the Arabs are mentioned by Constantine Manasses only in the context of events during the reign of Romanos II (959–963), and then Nikephoros Phokas (963–969), John I Tzimiskes (969–976) and finally Basil II (976–1025).

²⁰ For more about the Byzantine-Arab strife see: W.E. KAEGI, *Muslim Expansion and Byzantine Collapse in North Africa*, Cambridge 2010.

²¹ More about terms used to refer to Arabs can be found in: T. WOLIŃSKA, *Arabs, (H)agarenes, Ishmaelites, Saracens – a Few Remarks about Naming*, [in:] *Byzantium...*, p. 22–37.

²² *Synopsis Chronike*, 3834–3849.

²³ For more about the Byzantine-Arab relations during the reign of Anastasios see: B. CECOTA, *Arabskie oblężenia Konstantynopola w VII–VIII wieku. Rzeczywistość i mit*, Łódź 2015 [= BL, 21], p. 106–107.

²⁴ *Synopsis Chronike*, 4054–4057.

²⁵ For more information about the mutiny see: G.V. SUMNER, *Phillipicus, Anastasios II and Theodosius III*, GRBS 17, 1976, p. 291–292; W.E. KAEGI, *Byzantine Military Unrest. An Interpretation*, Amsterdam 1981, p. 191–193; W. TREADGOLD, *Seven Byzantine Revolutions and the Chronology of Theophanes*, GRBS 31, 1990, p. 214.

²⁶ *Synopsis Chronike*, 4636–4637 (*The Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, p. 187). For more information about Byzantine-Arab relations during the reign of Michael II see: G. OSTROGORSKI, *Dzieje Bizancjum...*, p. 183–184.

²⁷ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5200sq. For more about the Byzantine-Arab relations during the reign of Michael III see: G. OSTROGORSKI, *Dzieje Bizancjum...*, p. 197.

When it comes to the reign of Romanos II²⁸, the Arab theme is related to Nikephoros Phokas, the emperor-to-be. Constantine's account of Nikephoros Phokas's achievements in the fights against the Arabs starts with the statement that the "hostile Arabs" had control over Crete which they had looted²⁹. Then, Constantine highlights the military skills of Nikephoros Phokas who was put in charge of the fleet and sent to confront the Arabs in Crete³⁰. The Byzantine author refers to the enemies as "amphibious beasts" and "brigands". Following a fierce struggle, they were defeated by Nikephoros, and their ships, referred to as pirate ships, were sunk. The emperor-to-be also easily captured their leader. Constantine Manasses concluded his description of the expedition with Nikephoros's triumphant return³¹.

In the account of Nikephoros Phokas's expedition to Crete we see Constantine Manasses's hostility towards the Arabs, one hand, but on the other hand, between the lines we can sense some sort of appreciation, given that Constantine emphasises Nikephoros won "shining trophies", and above all, that he had his triumph after the victory. For Manasses' reader it must have been obvious that this was a special distinction³² associated with a great victory over a mighty and dangerous opponent.

Having completed the account of the Crete expedition, Constantine Manasses still focuses on the reign of Romanos II and smoothly goes on to talk about how Antioch was taken over from the Arabs, which took place in 969, short before the death of Nikephoros Phokas, who had been the emperor for six years by then³³. Constantine states that Antioch was conquered by "murderous Ishmaelites" and *was treated like a disgraced slave or a harlot from the streets*³⁴. He does not mention, however, that this happened over three hundred years earlier³⁵ and as a result we

²⁸ As a digression, the emperor himself is depicted in a negative light by Constantine Manasses: *Synopsis Chronike*, 5564–5568: *Romanos handed over the entire rule and the whole empire to the evil and small-minded eunuchs. He himself was concerned with the hunt and the chase, and, like a demon, gawked at dog races* (trans. – *The Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, p. 221).

²⁹ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5568–5569.

³⁰ For more information about Nikephoros Phokas's expedition to Crete see: G.T. TSEREBELAKIS, *Ο Νικηφόρος Φωκάς και η απελευθέρωση της Κρήτης από τους Αραβες (961 μ.Χ.)*, Thessalonike 2009; A. KALDELLIS, *The Byzantine Conquest of Crete (961 ad), Prokopios' Vandal War, and the Continuator of the Chronicle of Symeon*, BMGS 39, 2015, p. 302–311; IDEM, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood. The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 ad. to the First Crusade*, New York 2017, p. 34–38.

³¹ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5575–5581.

³² For more about the triumph ceremony see: M. McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and Early Medieval West*, Cambridge 1986. It should perhaps be mentioned that essentially only the emperor was entitled to triumph in the 10th century.

³³ For more about the conquest of Antioch in 969 see: A. KALDELLIS, *Streams...*, p. 63–64.

³⁴ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5582–5586 (trans. – *The Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, p. 222).

³⁵ For more about the circumstances of the Arab conquest of Antioch in 636 see: G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton–New Jersey 1961, p. 577–578.

might get an impression that what Nikephoros Phokas did was a direct reaction to the Arab conquest of Antioch. The Byzantine author does not provide any details of the Byzantine Antioch takeover operation. He merely says that Nikephoros defeated his opponents who took delight in blood, and regained *the elegant maiden with her fair complexion for the mother of beautiful children*³⁶.

In a fragment devoted to Nikephoros Phokas, providing no details whatsoever, Constantine Manasses mentioned his successes in the strife against the Arabs, concluding that the Arabs became frightened of him and *the Syrians bowed before him; the Cilicians fled; the Phoenicians were suppressed*³⁷. The author takes this opportunity to exalt Nikephoros as brave and undefeated. This account shows a sense of pride when it comes to Nikephoros Phokas's achievements in the strife against the Arabs.

As for the Arabs during the reign of John Tzimiskes, our author writes that after coming into power he was in charge of the army as it fought the Arabs, and their leader Hamdan run away from John in great hurry. Further on he remarks that Arab commanders *trembled at his strength*. He mentions that also the Syrians had a taste of his sword and Phoenicians *fled from his fiery hands*. Manasses emphasizes that John built Byzantine fortifications even by the Tigris, he reached Edessa and the valley of the Euphrates which was filled with the neigh of his horses. We also learn about some activity on the territory of Cilicia³⁸. This residual information matches what we know from other sources about the actions John Tzimiskes took against the Arabs³⁹.

Even fuzzier are the Arab references when it comes to the reign of Basil II. Constantine points out that in the beginning of the emperor's rule many wars were being waged, including with the Arabs who destroyed Asia⁴⁰. On the whole, as Manasses states, Basil subdued the Arabs⁴¹. It can be argued that Constantine Manasses singles out two major phases in Basil II's struggle against the Arabs. In the first one Arabs had the advantage, which seems to be due to the domestic wars taking place in the first phase of Basil's reign, while in the second phase Basil took the initiative and started to win⁴².

³⁶ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5589–5590 (trans. – *The Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, p. 222).

³⁷ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5679–5680 (trans. – *The Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, p. 226).

³⁸ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5786–5802.

³⁹ For more about the Byzantine-Arab relations during the reign of John Tzimiskes see: A. KALDELIS, *Streams...*, p. 74–79.

⁴⁰ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5866–5867.

⁴¹ *Synopsis Chronike*, 5877. What follows in the text is a list of peoples that were frightened of the emperor and accepted his sovereignty, which puts him in a most favourable light.

⁴² Basic information on Basil's endeavour to stay on the Byzantine throne can be found in: J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Paris 1990, p. 41sqq; C. HOLMES, *Basil II and Governance of Empire (976–1025)*, Oxford 2005. For more about Byzantine-Arab relations during

To conclude this short discussion, it should be said that the Arabs were not a major topic for Constantine Manasses. They appear on the pages of *Synopsis Chronike* more seldom than could be expected based on how intense and important the relation with them was for the Byzantine. This could be explained by the small size of the chronicle which aimed to be a mere historical outline. In the process of writing, Constantine had to be strict when selecting his material⁴³. In this sense, a rather significant consideration could have been that in his time Arabs posed no threat to the Byzantines. This might have prompted his decision to omit the phase of creating and developing the Arab statehood and its dynamic, in fact instant, expansion at the expense of, among others, Byzantium, which definitely did not fill him with pride and he thought he could refrain from talking about it. Of some (invariably small) interest to the author were only the episodes of Byzantine success, which were relatively recent with respect to when the chronicle was produced, and which can be ascribed to the activity of Nikephoros Phokas (first as a commander under Romanos II and then as an emperor) as well as John Tzimiskes and Basil II. Interestingly, all three were depicted by Constantine as excellent leaders and brave warriors. Victories over the Arabs are one of the elements that serve to build such an image.

When it comes to the earlier period, the Arabs seem to be referred to rather randomly and it is hard to ascertain why Manasses included these specific references. It could generally be said that they served the purpose of building the image – both positive and negative – of particular Byzantine rulers. Information about the Arabs was in this context a mere tool rather than a subject Manasses found interesting in itself.

It appears Manasses saw the Arabs primarily as bloody and cruel plunderers who invaded the Byzantine lands. Indeed, they won some of the fights against the Byzantines but eventually had to accept their superiority and concede defeat. It should also be noted that Constantine Manasses did not bring up religious themes when referring to the Arabs.

Translated by Mikołaj Deckert

the reign of Basil II see: W. FARAG, *Byzantium and Its Muslim Neighbours during the Reign of Basil II (976–1025)* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham 1977); C. HOLMES, 'How the East Was Won' in *the Reign of Basil II*, [in:] *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. EASTMOND, Ashgate 2001, p. 41–56; A. KALDELLIS, *Streams...*, p. 103–111.

⁴³ It seems reasonable to agree with the view expressed by Ingela NILSSON and Eva NYSTROM (*To compose...*, p. 45) that Constantine Manasses *includes and excludes episodes according to his own taste, which seems to be based on narrative potential rather than an historian's standard wish to 'tell everything'*.

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Abstract. This paper looks into the piece by Constantine Manasses considering how it depicts the Arabs. It appears Manasses saw the Arabs primarily as bloody and cruel plunderers who invaded the Byzantine lands. Indeed, they won some of the fights against the Byzantines but eventually had to accept their superiority and concede defeat. It should also be noted that Constantine Manasses did not bring up religious themes when referring to the Arabs.


Keywords: Arabs, Constantine Manasses, Byzantine historiography.

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MONEY IN THE APOPTHHEGMATA PATRUM*

Late-antique and Byzantine hagiographic texts are difficult to interpret. They abound in *toposes* and often reveal chronological inconsistency in the presentation of events. Nevertheless, they remain valuable sources of historical knowledge, especially about the daily life in eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Events presented in hagiographic texts most frequently take place in the countryside, as well as in small and medium-sized towns, and very rarely concern large cities of the Empire; in all cases the action is connected to a short stay of the main hero in a given place. These conditions apply to *Apophthegmata Patrum*, a collection of stories – accounts by famous Egyptian ascetics. The Sayings of the Desert Fathers were probably written at the turn of the 5th and 6th century¹. It is a valuable source of information about the Egyptian monasticism and offers insight into the social and economic conditions in this province². That is why the issue of money

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¹ W. HARMLESS, *Desert Christians. An Introduction to the Literature of Early Christian Monasticism*, New York 2004, p. 19sqq.

² Editions of *Apophthegmata Patrum: Apophthegmata Patrum. Collectio alphabetica*, [in:] PG, vol. LXV, col. 71–440 (cetera: *Coll. alph.*) (= CPG 5560); *Apophthegmata Patrum. Adhortationes sanctorum patrum (Verba seniorum)*, [in:] PL, vol. LXXIII, col. 855–1022 (= CPL 5570). Numbering of individual *Apophthegmata* according to the system introduced by K. HEUSLI, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Tübingen 1936, p. IX–XII. Cf. also L. REGNAULT, *Les Sentences des Pères du désert. Collection alphabétique*, Solesmes 1981, p. 201–289. On *Apophthegmata Patrum* cf. also W. BOUSSET, *Apophthegmata. Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchtums*, Tübingen 1923, p. 1–93; M. VAN ESBROECK, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, [in:] *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du christianisme ancien*, vol. I, Paris 1983, p. 192–193; J.C. GUY, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum*, ²Bruxelles 1984; L. REGNAULT, *Les Apophthegmes des Pères en Palestine aux V^e–VI^e siècles*, Ir 54, 1981, p. 320–330; IDEM, *Les pères du désert à travers leurs apophthegmes*, Sablé-sur-Sarthe 1987, p. 67–69. Cf. also G.E. GOULD, *Moving on and Staying put in the Apophthegmata Patrum*, [in:] SP, vol. XX, ed. E.A. LIVINGSTONE, Leuven 1989, p. 231–237; O. HESSE, *Das Verhältnis von Stadt und Land in den Apophthegmen*, [in:] SP, vol. XX..., p. 250–255; D. BURTON-CHRISTIE, *The World in the Desert*, New York–Oxford 1993; H. RAMELLI, *Apophthegmata patrum*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, vol. I, ed. A. DI BERARDINO, Downers Grove 2014, p. 187–189; J. PAULI, *Apophthegmata patrum*,

in the context of this work is definitely worth investigating. However, before we begin our discussion, a few words will be devoted to *Apophthegmata* itself, as well as its main locations.

***Apophthegmata Patrum*. A few remarks on the source and places of interest**

Apophthegmata (ἀποφθέγματα τῶν πατέρων) is a collection of stories, sayings and the so-called inspiring examples from the lives of ascetics who lived in Early Byzantine Egypt. The text itself was probably collected at the turn of the 5th and 6th century. *Apophthegmata* consist of the names of famous ascetics, which are arranged alphabetically and are accompanied by sentences (most often of moral value) that were allegedly uttered by the monks, as well as descriptions of their deeds (praying habits, fasting and begging for miracles). For this reason they played a substantial role in shaping the Egyptian monasticism, notably the ideals of monks' asceticism and devotion³. The unknown author, or probably authors, of the collection, used the sentences of famous eremites of previous centuries for their own reasons, and they relied heavily on the oral tradition.

A few words also need to be said about the clusters of hermitages in the Early Byzantine Egypt, where the heroes of *Apophthegmata*, the famous Egyptians hermits, lived⁴. In the 4th century three independent centres of anchoritic life were founded, the earliest in Central Egypt, and two other West to the Nile Delta, at the Sketis desert and in Nitria. The oldest center of eremitic life came to being around 305 in Pispir under the lead of Anthony⁵. Later, around 320, Ammun, his follower, founded a similar establishment in Nitria at the Western Desert, and another center formed twenty kilometers from Nitria itself⁶. According to Palladius of Helenopolis, around 390 the place was inhabited by 600 monks⁷. The founder of the third most important eremitic establishment in Egypt was Macarius, who around 330

[in:] *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, ed. S. DÖPP, W. GEERLINGS, Freiburg im Breisgau-Basel-Wien 1998, p. 45–46.

³ Cf. E.A. JUDGE, *The Earliest Use of Monachos for "Monk" (P. Coll. Youtie 77) and the Origins of Monasticism*, JAC 20, 1977, p. 72–89.

⁴ Here you can only refer to the most relevant literature in selection, cf. for example H. HENNE, *Documents et travaux sur l'anachoresis*, [in:] *Akten des 8. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie*, Wien 1956, p. 59–66; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Un philosophe au désert. Evagre le Pontique*, RHR 181, 1972, p. 29–56; IDEM, *La conception du désert chez les moines d'Égypte*, RHR 188, 1975, p. 3–21; IDEM, *Histoire des moines aux Kellia*, OLP 8, 1977, p. 187–203.

⁵ ATHANASIUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Vita s. Antonii*, 12, 3–4 (cetera: ATHANASIUS, *Vita S. Antonii*) (= ATHANASE D'ALEXANDRIE, *Vie d'Antoine*, ed. et trans. G.J.M. BARTELINK, Paris 1994 [= SC, 400], p. 168); PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 21, 1, vol. II, ed. C. BUTLER, Cambridge 1904 (cetera: PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*); *Coll. alph.* 457, Macarius 4; *Coll. alph.*, Sisoës 48 (49).

⁶ ATHANASIUS, *Vita S. Antonii*, 60, 2–4; 10 (= SC, 400, p. 294–296); *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 22, 9; 29, 1, ed. A.J. FESTUGIERE, Bruxelles 1971 [= SHa, 53] (cetera: *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*); *Coll. alph.* 34, Antonius 34.

⁷ PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 7, 2.

settled in Sketis, a desert located circa 100 kilometers south of Alexandria⁸. They were the three main hermitage centers in Egypt in the 4th century, places where the heroes of *Apophthegmata* lived and worked. However, a close analysis of specific accounts indicates that in many cases we are unable to determine the centre from which a given author originates, with the exception of stories that seem to point to the desert around Alexandria as a place of action⁹.

Money in everyday life of the Egyptian monks

The monks became members of small communities in the Egyptian desert in various circumstances and for various reasons, as their incentives were not always religious, but, for the most part, they were penniless. However, a number of *Apophthegmata* indicate that they did own money. Where did it come from? A close analysis of the available accounts reveals three sources: small alms collected during visits in cities, donations of pilgrims visiting hermitages (these were often large sums, as the example of Melania the Younger indicates¹⁰) and the work of the monks' own hands, which involved the production of pots, mats, baskets and clothing – often cheap and of poor quality, but nevertheless necessary (it was mostly for slaves as well as field and construction workers)¹¹. Some of the Egyptian monks performed

⁸ *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 21; JOANNES CASSIANUS, *Collationes Patrum*, 15, 3, 1 (= CPL 512); JOANNES CASSIANUS, *Institutis coenobiorum et octo principalium remediis libri XII*, 5, 41 (= CPL 513); *Coll. alph.* 454, Macarius 1; *Coll. alph.* 455, Macarius 2; *Coll. alph.* 456, Macarius 3; *Coll. alph.* 460, Macarius 7; *Coll. alph.* 475, Macarius 22; *Coll. alph.* 479, Macarius 26; PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 17, 2–3; SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, III, 14, hrsg. J. BIDEZ, G.CH. HANSEN, Berlin 1995. Cf. also I. DALMAIS, *Aux origines du monachisme scétiote au Wadi – Natrun: saint Macaire le Grand (c. 300–390)*, *MCop* 21/22, 1993, p. 45–49; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Le problème des deux Macaires dans les Apophthegmata Patrum*, *Ir* 48, 1975, p. 41–59; J.C. GUY, *Le centre monastique de Scété au IV^e et au début du V^e siècle. Prosopographie et histoire*, Roma 1964; IDEM, *Le Centre Monastique de Scété dans la littérature du V^e siècle*, *OCP* 30, 1964, p. 129–147; W. HARMLESS, *Desert Christians...*, p. 19.

⁹ Cf. E. WIPSYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV–VIII siècles)*, Varsovie 2009, p. 403–436.

¹⁰ PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 54–55, 6. Also Melania the Elder, when travelling through Egypt, offered a silver chest containing 300 pounds of silver (προσήνεγκα αὐτῷ ἀργενταρίαν τριακοσίων λιτρῶν ἀργυρίου) to Pambo, a famous monk inhabiting the Nitrian Desert. Allegedly, Pambo claimed he had no use for the riches and handed it to the poor, specifically to the monks from Libya, because, as he claimed, *the monasteries there are destitute* (ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ μοναστήρια πένεται πλέον). Pambo handed the silver over to the community's treasurer, the little-known Orygenes, and forbade him from sharing the money with his brothers. In his opinion, Egypt was a wealthy land and the monks were able to make a living off the work of their own hands, cf. PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 10, 2; 4. Melania the Younger (granddaughter of Melania the Elder) gave the money, amounting to 500 gold pieces (πεντακόσια νομίσματα), to Dorotheus, one of the monks from Antioch, who, not knowing what to do with such a large sum, left only three gold pieces to himself (τρία λαβῶν μόνα). He handed the rest over to Diocles who most probably was a treasurer, cf. PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 58, 2.

¹¹ Cf. account of HIERONYMUS (*Epistulae*, 125, 11 (= CPL 620)), who claims: *In Egypt the monasteries make it a rule to receive none who are not willing to work; for they regard labour as necessary not*

more demanding tasks, for instance as calligraphists, and were commissioned with different tasks by workshops in Alexandria which in late antiquity was the largest centre where the Bible was copied¹².

For some of the monks, visiting the city, especially the market, was an occasion for collecting alms. Meanwhile, others tried to sell products entrusted to them by other brothers. The authors of *Apophthegmata* note that the alms were accepted due to the monks' poverty. They mention the case of Arsenius who collected alms and indeed was extremely poor, which was supported by the fact that he could not even afford to buy sheets¹³. Additionally, which the author does not mention, Arsenius, like most of his brothers, was an elderly man. An "unknown senator" (?) traveling through Egypt got acquainted with him, appreciated his virtue and decided to bequeath his property to the monk. However, Arsenius rejected the offer¹⁴. We are not sure if it actually happened, but it is a confirmed fact that monks accepted alms which were often very generous and, in time, contributed to the community's economic activities, as the financial surplus had to be managed. The turn of 4th and 5th century was the time when monasteries did not have an established legal status yet but individual monks, often coming from wealthy families, owned large fortunes (which they usually inherited). Such income served as financial means for

only for the support of the body but also for the salvation of the soul (trans.: JEROME, *Letters and Select Works*, trans. W.H. FREMANTLE, G. LEWIS, W.G. MARTLEY, [in:] *NPFC II*, vol. VI, ed. P. SCHAFF, H. WACE, New York 2007, p. 248). Cf. also E. WIPSYCKA, *Les aspects économiques de la vie de la communauté des Kellia*, [in:] *Le site monastique copte des Kellia. Sources historiques et explorations archéologiques. Actes du Colloque de Genève (13–15 août 1984)*, ed. P. BRIDEL, Genève 1986, p. 117–144; EADEM, *Le monachisme égyptien et les villes*, *TM 12*, 1994, p. 1–44; P. BALLET, *Potiers et poteries de l'Égypte chrétienne*, [in:] *Les Coptes. Vingt siècles de civilisation chrétienne en Égypte*, Paris 1997, p. 42–49; IDEM, *L'Approvisionnement des monastères. Production et réception de la céramique*, [in:] *Egypt 1350 BC – AD 1800. Art Historical and Archaeological Studies for Gawdat Gabra*, ed. M. EATON-KRAUSS, C. FLUCK, G.J.M. VAN LOON, Wiesbaden 2011, p. 27–33; A. KONSTANTINIDOU, *Aspects of Everyday Life in a Monastic Settlement. Amphorae and Cooking-wares (4th–7th c.) from the Old Monastery of Baramus in the Wadi Natrun (Egypt): A First Glance*, [in:] *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry. Comparison between Western and Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. S. MENCHELLI, S. SANTORO, M. PASQUINUCCI, G. GUIDUCCI, Oxford 2010 [= BAR, 2185 (II)], p. 951–961; J.E. GOEHRING, *Monasticism in Byzantine Egypt: Continuity and Memory*, [in:] *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*, ed. R.S. BAGNALL, Cambridge 2007, p. 390–407; D. CANER, *Wealth, Stewardship, and Charitable "Blessings" in Early Byzantine Monasticism*, [in:] *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society*, ed. S.R. HOLMAN, Grand Rapids 2008, p. 221–242.

¹² Cf. an example of this is Philoromos who after 40 years of working as a calligraphist allegedly saved a sum of 250 *solidi* (διακόσια πενήκοντα νομίματα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργων χειρῶν αὐτοῦ), which is quite probable. On the benefits of working as a calligraphist, cf. PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 45, 3. About the profitability of the calligraphy profession, cf. also MARC LE DIACRE, *Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*, 5; 9, trans. et ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, M.-A. KUGENER, Paris 1930 [= CB].

¹³ *Coll. alph.* 58, Arsenius 20.

¹⁴ *Coll. alph.* 67, Arsenius 29.

developing religious centers and communities¹⁵. Of course, similar instances must have occurred earlier, but this aspect of the monastic history is not thoroughly explored¹⁶.

In *Apophthegmata* the issue of property ownership is discussed on several occasions, for instance with questions of private property, or what can be seen as luxury. There were surely various views on the matter, but the general approach taken in *Apophthegmata* is that any form of luxury (that is, “property surplus”) should be foreign to monks. In other words, one can own only what is necessary for life, what can be called a man’s “biological existence”. This approach is depicted in the example of Theodore of Ferme who one day acquired three books, for which he was criticized by other eremites. He sold the books (their price is not mentioned), and he offered the money to the poor, regaining respect of the brothers¹⁷.

Prices and wages

In *Apophthegmata Patrum*, like in other Early Byzantine hagiographic texts, we find little information about prices and wages. In one of them we read about Gelasios, who was the owner of a volume consisting of the Old and New Testament worth 18 *solidi* (ἄξιον δεκαοκτὼ νομισμάτων), which lay in the church for any of the brothers who would like to read it. Another anchorite, visiting Gelasios, stole it and attempted to sell it at the market for a sum of 16 *solidi* (νομίσματα δεκάξι)¹⁸. Regardless of the specific context, the financial side of the event is worth considering. Is the mentioned sum of money in any way relevant? Do other written sources of that time offer any information about the price of the Bible? We find it in *Pratum spirituale* which mentions a copy of the Gospels worth 3 *solidi*¹⁹. However, this account seems implausible as Early Byzantine authors tend to determine prices, wages and taxes with certain numbers they prefer, including the digit “three”²⁰. Unfortunately, we do not have access to any reliable data on the book market at that time, but only to very general negative comments about high prices of books.

¹⁵ M. CHOAT, *Property, Ownership and Tax Payment in Fourth-Century Monasticism*, [in:] *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt. Ostraca, Papyri, and Essays in Memory of Sarah Clackson*, ed. A. BOUD’HORS, J. CLACKSON, C. LOUIS, P. ΣΙΡΠΕΣΤΕΙΝ, Cincinnati 2009, p. 129–140. The earliest accounts describing monasteries as land owners can be found in *Codex Theodosianus*, 5, 3, 1, ed. T. MOMMSEN, Berolini 19.

¹⁶ E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés...*, p. 471–565.

¹⁷ *Coll. alph.* 268, Theodor 1.

¹⁸ *Coll. alph.* 176, Gelasios 1.

¹⁹ JOANNES MOSCHOS, *Pratum spirituale*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXVII, col. 2997 (= CPG 7376).

²⁰ Cf. R. MEHRLEIN, *Drei*, [in:] RAC, vol. IV, ed. T. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1959, col. 269sq; B.L. IHSEN, *John Moschos’ Spiritual Meadow. Authority and Autonomy at the End of the Antique World*, Washington 2013, p. 45–69.

In *Apophthegmata* we find only two accounts that refer to wages. One of them depicts a monk, Lucius, whose job was weaving mats from palm fibre. He earned 16 nummi (ποιῶ πλεῖον ἢ ἕλαττον δεκαἕξ), two of which (δύο νομῖα) he placed at the gate (εἰς τὴν θύραν) of the church probably not as alms for the poor but as a payment for someone who would pray for him when he was asleep or maybe also having a meal²¹. In a different part of the text we read about a monk whose job, which remains unspecified, earned him daily two *siliquae* (δύο κερᾶτια καθ' ἡμέραν), which constituted quite a decent income. It is doubtful that such a sum of money could be earned by weaving ropes or mats (monks' most common occupations). If we accept this account as reliable, the monk's task must have been much more demanding, and therefore profitable, such as calligraphy which was often commissioned by merchants from Alexandria, the centre where copies of famous and valuable texts were produced²². However, it is also possible that the aforementioned account should be treated with caution, especially if we realise its context. And so, Abba Pambo was visited by two monks seeking his advice. One of them asked if it was appropriate to eat two cakes every two days, and the other if it was not too high a salary to earn two *siliquae* daily. The accumulation of number two, both as quantity and value, makes this account rather implausible²³.

In the *Apophthegmata* we also find less specific references to the issue of purchasing and selling goods. Abba Agathon and Abba Amon allegedly never bargained when buying products, for instance linen used for ropes; they accepted the price offered by the seller, which was probably exploited by traders. Allegedly, they did the same when selling their own products, and accepted the prices offered by buyers²⁴. What is the meaning of this account? Is it fictional? Not necessarily. The monks' attitude (not bargaining when buying and selling) resulted from a specific worldview. Selling self-made products served to support themselves, and not to have a large income. What did they sell? They usually sold woven baskets which were commonly used, not only in Egypt, and due to their common use wore off quickly²⁵. The second most needed product were palm mats used for sleeping and other forms of recreation. What did the monks buy at the market? *Apophthegmata* mentions the purchasing of palm leaves, used for mat weaving²⁶, and linen, used

²¹ *Coll. alph.* 446, Lucius 1.

²² Cf. C. WENDEL, *Der Bibel-Auftrag des Kaiser Konstantins*, ZBi 56, 1939, p. 165sq; G.A. ROBBINS, *Fifty Copies of the Sacred Writings (VC 4.36): Entire Bibles or Gospel Books?*, [in:] SP, vol. XIX, ed. E.A. LIVINGSTONE, Leuven 1989, p. 92; B.M. METZGER, B.D. EHRLICH, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration*, New York–Oxford 2005, p. 69sq.

²³ *Coll. alph.* 763, Pambo 2.

²⁴ *Coll. alph.* 98, Agathon 16. Cf. also P. ROUSSEAU, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian*, Oxford 1978, p. 43.

²⁵ *Coll. alph.* 363, Isidor 7.

²⁶ *Coll. alph.* 937, Or 4.

for clothing (that the monks wore as well as sold)²⁷, ropes²⁸ and food (which is not found in *Apophthegmata*).

When it comes to purchasing raw materials for manufacturing craft, although they were not very expensive, the monks sometimes needed to borrow money from anachorites living in neighbouring cells. It follows from this that the monks, even though they lived in communities, were not always well organized. Of course, this applies to early phases of forming the Egyptian monasticism. *Apophthegmata*, although completed and collected between the 5th and 6th century, are mostly concerned with the life of monks in the second half of the 4th century. On the verge of the 4th century, as Palladius confirms²⁹, some of the communities already had a treasurer. He appears to be a person managing alms from insistent visitors, for instance from Roman matrons and devoted officials visiting hermitages in Egypt, most often on their way to the Holy Land.

Taxes

In *Apophthegmata Patrum* we also find references to the issue of taxes. To some extent, they influenced the number of peasants seeking refuge on the desert, trying to escape from tax collectors. Some of them arrived to hermitages and stayed there for the rest of their lives. It is confirmed by an eyewitness, Sulpicius Severus who, describing his journey from Carthage to Alexandria, met near Trypolis a group of Christians leading ascetic lifestyle. They settled on the desert only in order to evade taxes³⁰. Tax collectors were aware of such mass escaping, and they attempted to find the fugitives. In the *Apophthegmata* of Abba Ammonatas we read about an instance when an imperial official (ἄρχων) visited a hermitage intending to collect capitation tax (ἐπικεφάλαια τοὺς μοναχοὺς). His appearance caused uneasiness as the monks simply did not have the money to pay. What is interesting, the account does not argue whether the tax is valid or not. Further description is clearly fictional, if not infantile. The monks decided to travel and see the Emperor to receive a tax exemption, and they succeeded, thanks to Ammonatas who claimed to go to-and-fro one night and got the exemption with the Emperor's seal on it (ἔχων τὴν Σάκραν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσφραγισμένην). On his way back, the eremite also visited Alexandria where the document was further confirmed by the local officials (ὑπέγραφα αὐτὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων). This story, although largely fictional, nevertheless depicts the process of acquiring imperial immunity by monks or bishoprics with accrued tax debts³¹.

²⁷ *Coll. alph.* 417, Joannes Persicus 2.

²⁸ *Coll. alph.* 584, Poemen 10.

²⁹ PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 10.

³⁰ SULPICIUS SEVERUS, *Dialogus*, I, 3, 6, [in:] CSEL, vol. I, ed. C. HALM, Wien 1866, p. 155.

³¹ *Coll. alph.* 154, Ammonatas.

When it comes to the capitation tax, concerning the monks from Sketis, we read about it in another account in *Apophthegmata*. The hero of the story, Abba Mios, most probably a fugitive slave, traveled each year to Alexandria to pay his owners a *tax fee for himself* (φέρων τὴν μισθοφορίαν τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτοῦ). The character of this payment is not specified, but it is most probably a capitation tax that the owners had to pay for their slave³². This account, although brief, indicates one of the problems arising in contacts with hermitages (not only in Egypt), that is, the practical aspect of collecting capitation tax which had to be paid by all inhabitants of the Empire. The clergy was exempted from it, but the exemption did not include monks, who at that time had the status of lay people, and slaves, whose owners had to make the payment (which is well illustrated in the example above).

Apophthegmata also signals the problem of slavery for debts which was very common, and mainly caused by insolvency of the debtor (who often fell victim to a usurer) or the inability to pay taxes. References to the latter can be found in one of the accounts in *Apophthegmata*. It describes a woman who had to pay a deposit originally taken by her husband who died and did not reveal the place where he kept the money. The account is, however, brief. The circumstances of taking the deposit are not explained, and we do not know who the deceased was – a banker or a private person (a friend or a neighbour) who only managed the capital (for the time of a journey?). The widow, who did not know the location of the money, was threatened with slavery, and she was accused of appropriating the money. Of course, it cannot be excluded that similar situations really took place, especially regarding women who suddenly became widows. What is worse, the woman's children were also under threat. It was only the "miraculous" intervention of Abba Macarius which saved her from being sold as a slave³³. The eremite simply "asked" the deceased about the place where he kept the money. The deposit was found, and the widow's good name was regained.

Moral evaluation of money

Among the many illustrations of everyday life, in *Apophthegmata Patrum* we find only two accounts about the moral evaluation of money. We read about one of the monks, Agathon, who never offered any alms, as he considered *offering as well as collecting anything* to be a form of compassion. He recognized a sign of compassion even in creating opportunities for others to do good (in this case, offering alms)³⁴. His views are peculiar, and suit a Buddhist monk rather than an Egyptian hermit.

Another issue that seems important to the authors of *Apophthegmata* is the source of the money for alms. In other words, whether a dishonest way of acquiring

³² *Coll. alph.* 540, Mios 2.

³³ *Coll. alph.* 460, Macarius 7.

³⁴ *Coll. alph.* 99, Agathon 17.

money can disqualify it from becoming charity, or conversely, is a perfect opportunity for the donor (often a wealthy heir of a family fortune) to redeem his faults (often committed when actually getting the money). In the analysed example the income comes from prostitution. Can the money be given away as alms, then? According to Abba Timothy, it can, as the money earned this way and offered to the poor becomes an act of faith. It is also a way to support those without the means necessary to live, and it is far more important than the way the money was earned. The example from *Apophthegmata*, most probably fictional, describes a woman who got more and more involved in prostitution, but at the same time offered larger sums of money to charity. And it is in this increase that Abba Poemen sees hope and growing religious devotion, and the realization that her way of earning money is improper (although he refrains from calling it sinful). The woman finally abandons her old way of life and understands that a Christian should not work in this profession³⁵.

The analysed cases constitute merely two accounts concerning the moral assessment of money found in the impressive collection of *Apophthegmata*. As I mentioned in the introduction, the small number of instances of this kind is a characteristic quality of the Early Byzantine hagiographic texts. Why did their authors not consider it necessary to propagate “proper” Christian ways of dealing with money, to create and to found a conviction, as was done by authors of sermons at that time, that material goods, including money, should be viewed as nothingness, a value of little importance? Providing a rational explanation in this regard is difficult.

* * *

Monetary issues are sporadically mentioned in *Apophthegmata Patrum*. What is the epistemic value of these accounts? It is difficult to determine. Personally, I would not take for granted any specific data, for instance prices and wages. However, the analysed collection holds unquestionable epistemic value as it offers insight into the daily life in the Egyptian province, it depicts the problems that the heroes of *Apophthegmata*, the eremites as well as people seeking their advice and refuge (for instance from tax collectors), had to face. Most importantly, however, they describe the daily lives of the Egyptian eremites. In other words, despite the general lack of precision in the analysed accounts (including poor chronological indicators), *Apophthegmata* are a valuable source of knowledge in the research on the social and economic history of the Early Byzantium.

³⁵ *Coll. alph.* 917, Timotheus 1.

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Abstract. The objective of this paper is to discuss accounts related to money in *Apophthegmata Patrum*, a collection of sayings attributed to famous Egyptian monks. The collection as we know it was produced in the 6th century. By describing the organisation of monastic centres in Egypt in the 4th and 5th century *Apophthegmata* also offer us some information about the period’s economic aspects. However, by and large, the data is very general. It pertains to: prices, wages, tax issues as well as money that was given to monks by pilgrims. Limited as it is, the data confirms that money was present in the everyday lives of Egyptian monks in late antiquity. Naturally, the major consideration behind whether a monk possessed money was whether he had contact with the outside world. This included selling self-made handcraft at markets, particularly woven mats and ropes, clay pots and sometimes also more specialised items (such as copied codices of the Bible). In *Apophthegmata Patrum*, similarly to what is the case with other Early Byzantium hagiographic texts, we find little information about moral evaluation of money or about the “appropriate” way to manage it.

Keywords: *Apophthegmata Patrum*, early Byzantine hagiography, late Roman economy, early Byzantine economy, early Byzantine monasticism.


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WINE AND MYRRH AS MEDICAMENTS OR A COMMENTARY ON SOME ASPECTS OF ANCIENT AND BYZANTINE MEDITERRANEAN SOCIETY

Purpose and method

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the value of medical source texts in researching the history of both pharmacology and ancient societies¹. The study entails the analysis of a carefully selected extract from the literary output of Pedanius Dioscorides, a luminary in ancient studies of *materia medica*².

Short though it is, the said passage offers a wealth of information related to both spheres of our research, and as such, it is beyond us to focus on all the elements within the text that could potentially be significant to the result of the deliberations herein. Therefore, while referring to the outcomes of our previous analyses³, we made a selection of material, focusing on the two constituents, which – to the best of our knowledge – most effectively illustrate the relationship between medical formulas and the social standing of their recipients.

The first is wine, selected as it is a recurring element in the subject matter within the chosen texts, i.e. the therapeutic alcoholic beverages listed in Book V

¹ The text written within the framework of a grant by the National Science Centre, Poland (Miniatura [1] DEC-2017/01/X/HS3/01574) awarded to Zofia Rzeźnicka as well as grants awarded to Maciej Kokoszko (in 2017) and Zofia Rzeźnicka (in 2018) by the De Brzezie Lanckoronski Foundation.

² There are seven recipes for therapeutic wines – *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri V*, V, 72, 1, 1 – 3, 9, vol. I–III, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berolini 1906–1914 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*).

³ M. KOKOSZKO, *Enologia Dioskuridesa, czyli kilka uwag na temat leczniczego działania wina*, [in:] *Historia panaceum. Między marzeniem a oszustwem*, ed. W. Korpalska, W. Ślusarczyk, Bydgoszcz 2016, p. 49–62; Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Mirra w antycznej medycynie i kosmetyce na podstawie pism Dioskuridesa*, [in:] *Lek roślinny*, vol. VI, *Rośliny w lecznictwie, w środowisku naturalnym i w krajobrazie kulturowym*, ed. B. Płonka-Syroka, A. Syroka, Wrocław 2017, p. 53–65.

of *De materia medica*. We will attempt to present the manner in which the type of wine specified in any given formula indicates the binding rules of constructing recipes in antiquity and what it tells us about the patients themselves.

Secondly, of the substances used to aromatise the potation, we chose myrrh, since it most distinctly indicates the phenomena of interest to us. The other elements that make up Dioscorides' accounts were therefore only analysed to an extent that was, to our mind, significant for the completion of the research objective.

Dioscorides, his work and wine

The extracts to which we devoted our attention were written by Pedanius Dioscorides. A native of Anazarbus, he was a physician connected, probably for a short while only⁴, with the Roman army⁵ under the reigns of Claudius and Nero. It must, however, be stated that his military career is uncertain, and doubts have been convincingly laid out by John Riddle⁶, and recently recapitulated by Gavin Hardy and Laurence Totelin⁷.

Dioscorides earned his place in history as the author of the treatise *De materia medica*, which constitutes a collection of information on miscellaneous substances from plants, animals and minerals which were applied in medical practice until the 1st century A.D. The main sources used by Dioscorides were the works by Crateuas (1st century B.C.)⁸, Andreas (3rd century B.C.)⁹, Julius Bassus (1st century A.D.)¹⁰, Niceratus (1st century A.D.)¹¹, Petronius (1st century A.D.)¹², Diodotus (1st centu-

⁴ J. SCARBOROUGH, V. NUTTON, *The Preface of Dioscorides' Materia Medica: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, TSCPP 4, 1982, p. 213–217; V. NUTTON, *Ancient Medicine*, London–New York 2004, p. 175; J. SCARBOROUGH, *Dioskouridēs of Anazarbos (ca 40–80 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists. The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs*, ed. P. KEYSER, G.L. IRBY-MASSIE, Milton Park–New York 2008, p. 271; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, J. DYBAŁA, *Pedanius Dioscorides' Remarks on Milk Properties, Quality and Processing Technology*, JAS.R 19, 2018, p. 982.

⁵ Cf. M. WELLMANN, *Dioskurides* 12, [in:] *RE*, vol. V, Stuttgart 1905, col. 1131.

⁶ J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine*, Austin 1985, p. 2–4.

⁷ G. HARDY, L. TOTELIN, *Ancient Botany*, London–New York 2016, p. 15.

⁸ On the author, cf. J.-M. JACQUES, *Krateuas (100–60 BCE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 491; G. SQUILLACE, *I balsami di Afrodite. Medici, malattie e farmaci nel mondo antico*, Sansepolcro 2015, p. 64; IDEM, *Le lacrime di Mirra. Miti e luoghi dei profumi nel mondo antico*, Bologna 2015, p. 15; M.E. IRWIN, *Greek and Roman Botany*, [in:] *A Companion to Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Greece and Rome*, vol. I–II, ed. G.L. IRBY, Malden–Oxford–Chichester 2016, p. 271–272.

⁹ On the author, cf. G.L. IRBY-MASSIE, P.T. KEYSER, *Greek Science of the Hellenistic Era. A Sourcebook*, London–New York 2002, p. 302–303; G.L. IRBY-MASSIE, *Andreas of Karustos (ca 250–217 BCE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 77–78.

¹⁰ On the author, cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Iulius Bassus (ca 10–40 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 451.

¹¹ On the author, cf. IDEM, *Nikēratos (of Athens?) (10–40 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 575–576.

¹² On the author, cf. IDEM, *Petrōnios Musa (ca 10–40 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 639.

ry A.D.)¹³ and Sextius Niger¹⁴ (whose work, importantly for the further narrative, was also used by Pliny the Elder in *Naturalis historia*). They were complemented with the knowledge and experience that Dioscorides gained while travelling across various countries within the borders of the Roman Empire¹⁵.

Due to the author's profound competence, the readability of the textual structure, and the simplicity of its language, the treatise proved to be a perfect guidebook to the world of medicaments, and thus it was commonly known to theoreticians and practitioners of medicine, who would frequently quote it, while the assumptions of knowledge promoted by Dioscorides influenced the beliefs and opinions of subsequent generations of physicians¹⁶.

The inquiries regarding the sources of Dioscorides' competence in wine are based on very uncertain foundations, since the author never refers directly to experts in the field of oenology¹⁷, and yet it is beyond any doubt that he used works of others.

Specifically, there is every likelihood that a substantial part of his competence he owed to the information contained in the treatise *Peri hýles* (Περὶ ὕλης), which was compiled (in Greek, not in Latin) by Sextius Niger¹⁸. A disciple of

¹³ On the author, cf. IDEM, *Diodotos (Pharm.) (10–30 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 250–251.

¹⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, *proemium*, 1, 9 – 2, 5. On Sextius Niger, cf. the further part of this article.

¹⁵ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, *proemium*, 4, 1 – 6, 2. Cf. M.E. IRWIN, *Greek...*, p. 273.

¹⁶ Cf. M. WELLMANN, *Dioskurides* 12..., col. 1131–1142; J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides...*, *passim*; K. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Αρχαίοι Έλληνες ιατροί*, Αθήνα 1998, p. 154–164; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i Bizancjum (IV–VII w.)*, Łódź 2005 [= BL, 9], p. 12; M. STAMATU, *Dioskurides*, [in:] *Antike medizin. Ein Lexikon*, ed. K.-H. LEVEN, München 2005, col. 227–229; V. NUTTON, *Ancient...*, p. 174–177; J. SCARBOROUGH, *Dioskouridēs of Anazarbos...*, p. 271–272; R.A. GABRIEL, *Man and Wound in the Ancient World. A History of Military Medicine from Sumer to the Fall of Constantinople*, Washington 2012, p. 174–175; G. SQUILLACE, *I balsami...*, p. 62; M.E. IRWIN, *Greek...*, p. 272–274. On the impact of Greek medical accomplishments, cf. H.D. FRASER, *The Influence of Greece on Science and Medicine*, ScM 3, 1916, p. 51–65; J. MORAVCSIK, *Ancient and Modern Conceptions of Health and Medicine*, JMP 1, 1976, p. 337–348.

¹⁷ Neither does he refer to his own experience of using the alcoholic beverages discussed herein.

¹⁸ The most comprehensive reflections on the author's output, cf. M. WELLMANN, *Sextius Niger, eine Quellenuntersuchung zu Dioscorides*, H 24, 1889, p. 530–569; K. DEICHGRÄBER, *Sextius Niger*, [in:] RE, Supplementband V, Stuttgart 1931, col. 971–972; N. EVERETT, *The Alphabet of Galen. Pharmacy from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. A Critical Edition of the Latin Text with English Translation and Commentary*, Toronto 2012, p. 70–74. On Sextius Niger and the reception of his works, cf. P. PRIORESCHI, *A History of Medicine*, vol. III, *Roman Medicine*, Omaha 1998, p. 280–282; V. NUTTON, *Ancient...*, p. 175, 177, 190; R. FLEMMING, *Galen's Imperial Order of Knowledge*, [in:] *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*, ed. J. KÖNIG, T. WHITMARSH, Cambridge 2007, p. 254–255; A. PIETROBELLI, *The Pharmacological Treatise Περὶ εὐφορβίου of Juba II, King of Mauretania*, [in:] 'Greek' and 'Roman' in Latin Medical Texts. *Studies in Cultural Change and Exchange in Ancient Medicine*, ed. B. MAIRE, Leiden–Boston 2014, p. 176–177; G. SQUILLACE, *I balsami...*, p. 64; G. HARDY, L. TOTELIN, *Ancient...*, p. 50–51; M.E. IRWIN, *Greek...*, p. 274, 276; M. JONES-LEWIS, *Pharmacy*, [in:] *A Companion...*, p. 406.

Asclepiades of Bithynia¹⁹ (2nd/1st centuries B.C.), he was professionally active between the second half of the 2nd century B.C. and the first half of the 1st century A.D. Even though Dioscorides did not value all aspects of Niger's achievements and output, he did recognise his significance as an expert in the realm of *materia medica*²⁰, and – beyond any doubt – utilised his treatise to a wide extent. We know this because his critical remarks reveal that he was well aware of mistakes made by Sextius²¹, and yet still appreciated the informative value of this work.

Although the exact extent of Dioscorides' borrowings from *Peri hýles* is unknown, there are at least several premises regarding the meaning of the data collected by Niger for the section of *De materia medica* devoted to wine.

First and foremost, analogical and – at times – even identical information can be found in *Naturalis historia* by Pliny the Elder, who openly admitted to quoting data directly from the treatise of his Roman predecessor, in the sections devoted to wine²².

Secondly, Dioscorides and Pliny kept an analogical composition of data, which had evidently been derived from *Peri hýles*, divided geographically into Italic and non-Italic wines. This division also implies the time at which the source was compiled, so not only the period in which Italia was already an important and recognised winemaking centre, producing highly valued brands of wine, but also the time when they were already acknowledged as suitable for medical application (just like the alcoholic beverages from the eastern regions of the Mediterranean Sea that had been known for centuries).

It follows from this conclusion that the author of the source text to which Dioscorides and Pliny referred must have compiled his work when medicine had already blossomed in Italia, and Romans had begun to recognise its effectiveness and started practising it themselves. Therefore, the work must have been written at a time close to Celsus' *De medicina*²³, i.e. still in the 1st century B.C., or at the very beginning of the 1st century A.D. This was a crucial period for the development of Roman medicine, since the territory remained under the strong influence of Asclepiades of Bithynia and his disciples, which shaped the Roman *ars medica*. Therefore, we remain of the opinion that not only did the author

¹⁹ On the author, cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Asklēpiadēs of Bithunia (in Rome, ca 120–90 BCE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 170–171; J. ROCCA, *Anatomy and Physiology*, [in:] *A Companion...*, p. 353–354.

²⁰ He directly writes about it in the introduction, cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, *proemium*, 3, 1–2.

²¹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, *proemium*, 3, 1–11.

²² Pliny writes about wine in Book XIV, and Sextius' work is listed among the database sources used to compile it – C. *Plini Secundi naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*, I, 14 b, 13, vol. I–VI, ed. C. MAYHOFF, Lipsiae 1875–1906 (cetera: PLINY, *Naturalis historia*). On Pliny and his encyclopaedia, cf. M. BEAGON, *Roman Nature. The Thought of Pliny the Elder*, Oxford 1992, p. 1–25; EADEM, *The Elder Pliny on the Human Animal. Natural History, Book 7*, Oxford 2005, p. 1–57.

²³ On the author, cf. F. STOK, *A. Cornelius Celsus (15–35 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 217–219.

belong to the Roman cultural and economic circle, but also he was a Roman himself. Even if it is beyond us to prove that he was a physician, the content of the deliberations preserved by Pliny and Dioscorides indicates that the author took a definite interest in the data included in studies written by ancient doctors. The fact that Dioscorides and Pliny decide to present Italic wines first reinforces our firm belief that the author neither came from Greece nor settled permanently in Alexandria²⁴, but was connected with Italia and treated Italic products as *materia medica*. Thus, there is a probability that he was Roman, yet chose to write his work in Greek, i.e. in the language of Mediterranean medicine.

Thirdly, detailed data indicates that Niger was a source of Dioscorides' competence in wine and winemaking, as illustrated by the following examples. Pliny includes a recipe for an alcoholic drink called *adynamon*²⁵, which can also be found in Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, under the name of *adýnamos* (ἀδύναμος)²⁶. The text of both formulas is analogical, although Pliny's turns out to be more accurate when it comes to the measures of individual ingredients within the described beverage, thus indicating that Niger had used units of measure in the recipes for the medicaments he described.

Furthermore, in Book XIV²⁷ and then XXII of *Naturalis historia*²⁸ (Niger was also listed among the experts²⁹), we can find an analysis of a wine called *melitites* in Latin, which corresponds with Dioscorides' reflections in Book V of *De materia medica* on *melitites* (μελιτίτης)³⁰. Significantly, both authors convey the same content, which is similar not only as far as the formula is concerned, but also in terms of the therapeutic applications of the beverage and the vocabulary they use.

It is worth adding one more suggestion here. Namely, there is a distinct possibility that the initial structure of the catalogue of Italic wines, authored by Sextius Niger, is most accurately reflected by a list contained within the *Deipnosophistae* by Athenaeus of Naucratis (2nd/3rd century A.D.)³¹, since the source used by this

²⁴ Then, he would have more likely focused exclusively on traditional alcoholic beverages made by the Hellenes or wines produced in Africa.

²⁵ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XIV, 100, 1–5. For our deliberations, it is significant that Pliny listed Niger's work within the index of sources for Book XIV, cf. PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, I, 14b, 13.

²⁶ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 16, 5 – 17, 4.

²⁷ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XIV, 85, 1–3.

²⁸ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXII, 115, 1–6.

²⁹ The authors native to Ancient Rome used in Book XX were the same writers Pliny read to compile Book XXI. And in the index of names for Book XXI, he also listed Sextius Niger – PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, I, 21b, 7.

³⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 7, 1, 1 – 2, 7.

³¹ *Athenaei Naucraticae dipnosophistarum libri XV*, I, 26c – 27d (48, 1–61 KAIBEL), vol. I–III, rec. G. KAIBEL, Lipsiae–Berolini 1887–1890 (cetera: ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*). On the author, cf. B. BALDWIN, *Athenaeus and His Work*, AClaS 19, 1976, p. 21–42. On wine in the *Deipnosophistae*, cf. K. BARTOL, *Atenajosa z Naukratis księga win (Deipnosophistai 25f–40f)*, M 50,

author offered terminology whose provenance was medical, and which focused on alcoholic beverages not from the perspective of the common consumer, but a physician³².

Thus, we may venture to elaborate even further. There are premises that Athenaeus of Naucratis also used the remaining part of the wine catalogue compiled by Sextius Niger, and that it was preserved in Book I of the *Deipnosophistae*³³. Dioscorides shortened it to the minimum, and yet its traces survived in *De materia medica*³⁴. Plausibly, they were preceded by a passage on the classification of wine³⁵, as is suggested by the exact similarity of the data provided by Athenaeus of Naucratis and the information preserved by Dioscorides³⁶.

Another important fact is that Pliny and Dioscorides list types of Italic wines in the same order as the author of the *Deipnosophistae*. Our belief is further reinforced by the premise that Athenaeus of Naucratis and Pliny provide information regarding the period of wine ageing, which includes particularly specific data on the necessity to mature the *Falerinos* (Φαλερίνος)³⁷ wine for fifteen years, which allows us to presume that both authors derived their information from the same source treatise.

Having indicated how likely it is that Dioscorides depended on Sextius Niger as far as the issue of his competence in alcoholic drinks was concerned, it is worth adding that the influence of the latter on the development of ancient people's knowledge within the discussed field was by no means limited to the literary output of Dioscorides and Pliny. Galen of Pergamon (2nd/3rd centuries A.D.)³⁸ – the most prominent expert and practitioner of ancient medicine – was another scholar

1995, p. 215–226; R. BROCK, H. WIRTEJS, *Athenaeus on Greek Wine*, [in:] *Athenaeus and His World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. BRAUND, J. WILKINS, Exeter 2000, p. 455–465.

³² As proved by the very first description included within the said catalogue, which lists exactly the same properties that can be found in Galen's output, for instance. Cf. ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, I, 26c (48, 3–5 KAIBEL) (ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἐκπίπτων τὸν χρόνον κεφαλαλγῆς καὶ τοῦ νευρώδους καθάπτεται) from *Galen de methodo medendi libri XIV*, 835, 15 – 836, 4 (headaches), [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. X, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1825 (cetera: GALEN, *De methodo medendi*) and *Galen de rebus boni malique suci libellus*, 804, 4–6, (headaches; weakening of hard tissues), [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. VI, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1823 (cetera: GALEN, *De rebus boni malique suci*).

³³ Cf. ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, I, 32d – 33f (59, 14 – 60, 33 KAIBEL).

³⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 11, 9 – 12, 1.

³⁵ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, I, 32c–d (59, 1–8 KAIBEL).

³⁶ Cf. Dioscorides' classification of the taste and colour of wine, to which we refer in the further part of this article.

³⁷ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXIII, 35, 1; ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, I, 26c (48, 3 KAIBEL).

³⁸ On the author and his output, cf. R. FLEMING, *Galen's...*, p. 241–277; S.P. MATTERN, *The Prince of Medicine. Galen in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 2013, *passim*.

who expressly admitted to knowing the treatise *Peri hýles*³⁹, and he thus may have used its data on wine, as is evidenced by a similar range of terms that he shared with Dioscorides, Pliny and Athenaeus of Naucratis, the same division into Italic and non-Italic wines, and the order in which he described individual types of beverages within both classes⁴⁰.

Galen devoted a substantial amount of his attention to wine⁴¹. The starting point of his deliberations was his reflections in *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, which

³⁹ *Galenus de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus libri XI*, 797, 6, vol. XI, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XI–XII, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1826–1827 (cetera: GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*); *Galenus de antidotis libri II*, 7, 2, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XIV, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1827; *Galenus de linguarum seu dictionum exoletarum Hippocratis explicatio*, 64, 10, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. C.G. KÜHN, vol. XIX, Lipsiae 1830.

⁴⁰ To prove this thesis, one only needs to recapitulate the details regarding the catalogues of Italic wines. Dioscorides lists them in the following order: *Falerinos* (V, 6, 6, 1–2), then *Albanós* (Ἀλβανός) (V, 6, 6, 4–5) and *Syrentinos* (Συρεντίνος) (V, 6, 7, 3). The catalogue of Italic wines closes with *Mamertinos* (Μαμερτίνος) (V, 6, 7, 5), and is followed by an indication that all subsequent products are non-Italic, and more precisely, wines from Sicily (γεννώμενος δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ [V, 6, 7, 6–7]). This information is accompanied by a remark on the *Adrianós* (Ἀδριανός) type of wine (V, 6, 7, 6).

Meanwhile, Pliny preserves the following sequence: *Falernum* (XIV, 62, 1), *Albanum* (XIV, 64, 1) and *Surrentinum* (XIV, 64, 2), which is preceded by an explanation that the *Caecubum* wine was no longer produced (XIV, 61, 4–8). Customarily, *Mamertinum* closes the catalogue of wines, and is followed by a notion that the author moves on to Sicilian wines (*Mamertina circa Messanam in Sicilia genita* [XIV, 66, 3]), and the passage is supplemented with information on wines from the regions of the Adriatic Sea (XIV, 67, 1–2).

We presume that Galen may also have used the works by Sextius Niger, since he preserved the information of the three top-quality types of Italic wine. For instance, in *De sanitate tuenda*, they were listed in an extract devoted to wines which possessed an *appellation d'origine*, cf. *Galenus de sanitate tuenda libri VI*, 334, 6 – 335, 8, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. VI, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1823 (cetera: GALEN, *De sanitate tuenda*). *Falerinos* was mentioned first and followed directly by *Sourentinos* (Σουρεντίνος) (GALEN, *De sanitate tuenda*, 334, 10, vol. VI). The Albanian wine is placed after the liquor from Sorrento (GALEN, *De sanitate tuenda*, 335, 1, vol. VI), since it was classified as one of the Aminaeon wines, and thus grouped among other brands produced from the same variety of grape (GALEN, *De sanitate tuenda*, 335, 1–2, vol. VI).

The last of the quoted authors, Athenaeus, begins with the Falernian wine (I, 26c [48, 2 KAIBEL]), and then lists the Albanian beverage (I, 26d [48, 9 KAIBEL]), and closes the list with *Syrentinos* (I, 26d [48, 11–12 KAIBEL]). The paragraph on Italic wines closes with a remark on *Mamertinos* (I, 27c [48, 59 KAIBEL]), with an explanation that it belongs to the Sicilian wines (I, 27d [48, 59–60 KAIBEL]). Athenaeus also writes about wines from the *Adrianós* (I, 33a [59, 40 KAIBEL]) class, which are, however, listed among those produced on the peripheries of Italia and outside its borders. Therefore, it is possible that initially this passage closed the deliberations on Italic wines and, just like in the works by Dioscorides and Pliny, constituted a transition to the catalogue of non-Italic wines, which can be found within the same book of the *Deipnosophistae*. It begins with a classification of wines containing seawater (I, 32d [59, 14 KAIBEL]), and ends with a list of Egyptian wines (I, 33f [60, 33 KAIBEL]).

⁴¹ For instance, cf. GALEN, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, IX, 6, 34, 1 – 46, 7, ed. P.H. DE LACY, Berlin 1978 (cetera: GALEN, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*); *Galenus de alimentorum*

he attributed to Hippocrates⁴². Let us add here that the general similarity of doctrines included in *Corpus Hippocraticum*, *De materia medica*, *Naturalis historia* and the *Deipnosophistae* implies that Sextius Niger also used the primary teachings on wine, which did not differ from the exposition contained within *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, and thus Hippocrates can be listed among the sources used by Sextius Niger.

Returning to the physician of Pergamon, however, one should conclude that, besides Sextius Niger and Hippocrates, Galen's own life experience shaped his oenological theory. He thus often mentioned wines from (his native) Asia, which could be illustrated with his personal observations of the effects possessed by alcoholic drinks produced near Aigai and Perparena, for example in *De victu attenuante*⁴³. By and large, the output of Dioscorides, Pliny and Galen provides us with a relatively complete picture of the importance of wine in terms of consumption, production and therapeutics between the 1st century and the early 3rd century A.D.

The subject must have been significant and fashionable in medical circles, since – at approximately the same time as Dioscorides and later Galen – the role of wine in curative procedures was also discussed by Rufus of Ephesus (1st/2nd centuries A.D.)⁴⁴ in *Peri diaítes* (Περὶ διαίτης), Antyllus (2nd century A.D.) in *Peri boethemáton* (Περὶ βοηθημάτων)⁴⁵ and Herodotus (1st century A.D.) in *Iatrós* (Ἰατρός)⁴⁶. Interest in the issue did not wane at the end of the 2nd century, as is evidenced by the fact that in the 4th century, Philagrius wrote about wine in *Peri hedéon pomáton* (Περὶ ἡδέων πομάτων)⁴⁷, and Oribasius included it in his *Collectiones*

facultatibus libri III, 743, 1 – 745, 2 (reference to Hippocrates as an authority – 743, 14–15), [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. VI, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1823 (cetera: GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*); GALEN, *De methodo medendi*, 556, 3–5, vol. X (reference to Hippocrates as an authority); 830, 1 – 837, 15, vol. X; GALEN, *De rebus boni malique suci*, 800, 6 – 808, 7, vol. VI; GALEN, *De sanitate tuenda*, 334, 5 – 339, 10, vol. VI (reference to Hippocrates as an authority – 335, 12, vol. VI); *Galenii de victu attenuante*, 92, 1 – 103, 3, ed. K. KALBFLEISCH, Leipzig–Berlin 1923 (cetera: GALEN, *De victu attenuante*).

⁴² *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, 14, 1–33, [in:] *Oeuvres completes d'Hippocrate*, vol. II, ed. É. LITTRÉ, Paris 1840 (cetera: *De diaeta in morbis acutis*). On the treatise, cf. J.M. WILKINS, *Hippocratic Corpus, Regimen* (ca 430–370 BCE), [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 417.

⁴³ GALEN, *De victu attenuante*, 102, 1 – 103, 3.

⁴⁴ For instance, *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, V, 7, 1, 1 – 7, 3; V, 9, 1, 1 – 3, 2; V, 12, 1, 1 – 3, 3, vol. I–IV, ed. I. RAEDER, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928–1933 (cetera: ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*). On Rufus of Ephesus, cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Rufus of Ephesus (ca 70–100 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 720–721; M. LETTS, *Rufus of Ephesus and the Patient's Perspective in Medicine*, BJHP 22, 2014, p. 996–1020.

⁴⁵ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, V, 29, 1, 1 – 10, 6. On Antyllus, cf. I. BIO, *Antyllos*, [in:] *Antike medizin...*, col. 62–63; A. TOUWAIDE, *Antullos (100–260 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 101–102.

⁴⁶ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, V, 27, 1, 1 – 23, 9. On Herodotus, cf. M. STAMATU, *Herodot [2]*, [in:] *Antike medizin...*, col. 405–406; A. TOUWAIDE, *Hērodotos (Pneum., of Tarsos?) (70–100 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 383–384.

⁴⁷ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, V, 17, 1, 1 – 11, 4. On Philagrius, cf. R. MASULLO, *Philagrius*, [in:] *Antike medizin...*, col. 693–694; J. SCARBOROUGH, *Philagrius of Épeiros (300–340 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 643–644.

*medicae*⁴⁸. What should also be added is that in the 6th century, a catalogue of therapeutic wines was noted in Book III of *Iatricorum libri* by Aëtius of Amida⁴⁹, and in the 7th century, Paul of Aegina included the theory of wine in his encyclopaedia entitled *Epitome*⁵⁰. Finally, in the 10th century, the author of *Geoponica* devoted a great amount of his attention to wine, writing about it in as many as two books (VII and VIII) of his treatise⁵¹.

Seven formulas

The analysis of *De materia medica* with regard to information on wine should commence with a statement that Dioscorides perceived it both as a foodstuff⁵² and

⁴⁸ Oribasius indicated Dioscorides as his source of knowledge – ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, V, 25, 1, 1 – 47, 3. On Oribasius, cf. B. BALDWIN, *The Career of Oribasius*, AClas 18, 1975, p. 85–97; Γ. ΚΑΛΑΝΤΖΗΣ, Κ. ΤΣΙΑΜΗΣ, Ε. ΠΟΥΛΑΚΟΥ-ΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΚΟΥ, *Ορειβάσιος και Παύλος Αιγινήτης. Δύο Βυζαντινοί ιατροί, πρωτοπόροι στην Πλαστική Χειρουργική*, AHM 23, 2006, p. 537–539; K. JAGUSIAK, M. KOKOSZKO, *Życie i kariera Orybazjusza w świetle relacji źródłowych*, PNH 10, 2011, p. 5–21.

⁴⁹ *Aetii Amideni libri medicinales I–VIII*, III, 58, 1 – 74, 5, ed. A. OLIVIERI, Lipsiae–Berolini 1935–1950 (cetera: AËTIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*). He compiled a selection of recipes for therapeutic wines, as found in the output of Theon, whose professional activity is dated between the 1st and 6th centuries A.D. On Theon, cf. K. DICKSON, *Theōn of Alexandria (Med. II) (ca 300–500 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 795. On Aëtius of Amida, cf. R. ROMANO, *Aezio Amideno*, [in:] *Medici bizantini. Oribasio di Pergamon. Aezio d'Amida. Alessandro di Tralle. Paolo d'Efina. Leone medico*, ed. A. GARZYA, R. DE LUCIA, A. GUARDASOLE, A.M. IERACI BIO, M. LAMAGNA, R. ROMANO, Torino 2006, p. 255–261; J. SCARBOROUGH, *Aetios of Amida (500–550 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 38–39; J. SCARBOROUGH, *Theodora, Aetius of Amida, and Procopius: Some Possible Connections*, GRBS 53, 2013, p. 742–762.

⁵⁰ *Paulus Aegineta*, I, 95, 1, 1–28, vol. I–II, ed. I.L. HEIBERG, Lipsiae–Berolini 1921–1924 (cetera: PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*). On Paul of Aegina, cf. R. GURUNLUOGLU, A. GURUNLUOGLU, *Paul of Aegina: Landmark in Surgical Progress*, WJS 27, 2003, p. 18–25; Γ. ΚΑΛΑΝΤΖΗΣ, Κ. ΤΣΙΑΜΗΣ, Ε. ΠΟΥΛΑΚΟΥ-ΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΚΟΥ, *Ορειβάσιος...*, p. 539; P.E. PORMANN, *Paulos of Aigina (ca 630–670 CE?)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 629.

⁵¹ For the divagations herein, it is important that in both books we find a great amount of data on the therapeutic effects of wine, and in Book VIII – a catalogue of therapeutic wines, cf. *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, VIII, 1, 1 – 22, 3, rec. H. BECKH, Lipsiae 1895 (cetera: *Geoponica*).

⁵² Wine as an element of diet in the ancient Mediterranean, cf. N. PURCELL, *Wine and Wealth in Ancient Italy*, JRS 75, 1985, p. 1–19 (13–15 in particular); P.E. MCGOVERN, *Ancient Wine. The Search for the Origins of Viticulture*, Princeton 2003, p. 70–72; J.P. ALCOCK, *Food in the Ancient World*, Westport–London 2006, p. 92–95; R. LAURENCE, *Roman Passions. A History of Pleasure in Imperial Rome*, London 2010, p. 109–114; M. WĘCOWSKI, *Sympozjon czyli wspólne picie. Początki greckiej biesiady arystokratycznej (IX–VII wiek p.n.e.)*, Warszawa 2011, p. 50–56; T. BOULAY, *Wine Appreciation in Ancient Greece*, [in:] *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World*, ed. J. WILKINS, R. NADEAU, Chichester 2015, p. 273–282; R. HUNTER, D. KOUKOZIKA, *Food in Greek Literature*, [in:] *A Companion to Food...*, p. 26–29; J.F. DONAHUE, *Culinary and Medicinal Uses of Wine and Olive Oil*, [in:] *A Companion...*, p. 608–609; D.L. THURMOND, *From Vines to Wines in Classical Rome. A Handbook of Viticulture and Oenology in Rome and the Roman West*, Leiden–Boston 2017, p. 218–235. Wine as an element of diet in the Byzantine period, cf. H. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Ο βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός*,

medicament⁵³, which was concordant with the binding medical doctrine of the

[in:] *Οίνος: πολιτισμός και κοινωνία*, ed. E. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Αθήνα 2006, p. 39–67; IDEM, *Βυζαντινός οινικός πολιτισμός. Wine Culture in Byzantium*, Αθήνα/Athens 2008, *passim*; A. DALBY, *Tastes of Byzantium. The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, London 2010, p. 85–104; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *The Sweet Wine of Bithynia in the Byzantine Era*, [in:] *Of Vines and Wines. The Production and Consumption of Wine in Anatolian Civilizations through the Ages*, ed. L. THYS-ŞENOCAK, Leuven–Paris–Bristol 2017, p. 93–117.

⁵³ This opinion was shared by others. For instance, the physician of Pergamon, as a follower of Hippocrates's ideas, devoted the whole extract to this issue within his main and most significant work on dietetics (GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 743, 1–13, vol. VI). As stems from the work, medical circles of the time had no doubt regarding the nutritive properties of wine. The fact that wines were included in Dioscorides' *De materia medica* and Galen's *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* (88, 4–7, vol. XII) indicates that both medical authors never questioned their therapeutic properties. As far as modern science is concerned, it must be stated that although numerous studies have been devoted to the history of wine, the drink as a medicament has not been a common subject of modern scientific research. Whenever considering medical applications of wine, scholars have so far focused primarily on the characteristics of wine and its applications in the treatises constituting *Corpus Hippocraticum*, as can be illustrated by such studies as R. ALESSI, *Le vin dans les Épidémies d'Hippocrate*, [in:] *Vin et santé en Grèce Ancienne, Actes du Colloque organisé à l'Université de Rouen et à Paris (Université de Paris IV Sorbonne et ENS) par l'UPRESA 8062 du CNRS et l'URLLCA de l'Université de Rouen, 28–30 septembre 1998*, ed. J. JOUANNA, L. VILLARD, Athènes 2002, p. 105–112; M. LÓPEZ SALVÁ, *Efectos patológicos del vino en el Corpus Hippocraticum*, [in:] *Le normal et le pathologique dans la Collection hippocratique, Actes du X^{ème} colloque international hippocratique, Nice, 6–8 octobre 1999*, ed. A. THIVEL, A. ZUCKER, Nice 2002, p. 523–537; D. MICALELLA, *Vino e amore: Ippocrate*, QUCC 24, 1977, p. 151–155; L. VILLARD, *Le vin et les femmes: un text méconnu de la collection hippocratique*, RÉG 110, 1997, p. 362–380; L. VILLARD, *Tant de vin pour soigner les femmes*, [in:] *Aspetti della terapia nel Corpus Hippocraticum. Atti del IX^e Colloque internazionale hippocratique (Pisa, 25–29 settembre 1996)*, ed. I. GAROFALO, A. LAMI, D. MANETTI, A. ROSELLI, Firenze 1999, p. 219–234. Basically, the output of Jacques JOUANNA focuses on the same collection (*Le vin et la médecine dans la Grèce ancienne*, RÉG 109, 1996, p. 410–434 (= IDEM, *Wine and Medicine in Ancient Greece*, [in:] *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen. Selected Papers*, ed. P. VAN DER EIJK, trans. N. ALLIES, Leiden–Boston 2012, p. 173–193), although he also provides some remarks on later medicine. When it comes to the pre-Greek tradition of medical applications of wine, we are familiar with one attempt to collect basic information on the matter – L.E. GRIVETTI, *Wine: the Food with Two Faces*, [in:] *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, ed. P. MCGOVERN, S.J. FLEMMING, S. KATZ, Amsterdam 1996, p. 9–22. Monographs regarding individual authors from outside the *Corpus Hippocraticum* are scarce and incomplete. Some attention is devoted to Galen – D. BÉGUIN, *Le vin médecin chez Galien*, [in:] *Vin...*, p. 141–154; V. BOUDON, *Un médecin oenophile: Galien et le vin de Falerne*, [in:] *Vin...*, p. 155–163. There is also a study on the position of wine within the doctrines by Aretaeus of Cappadocia – J. JOUANNA, *Le vin chez Arétée de Cappadoce*, [in:] *Vin...*, p. 113–126. One can also trace some interest in the medical threads of wine and its properties in the works of Homer and other poets of Archaic Greece (D. ARNOULD, *Du bon usage du vin chez Homère et dans la poésie archaïque*, [in:] *Vin...*, p. 7–10), in the output of Horace (A. LA PENNA, *Il vino di Orazio: nel modus e contro il modus*, [in:] *In vino veritas*, ed. O. MURRAY, M. TECUŞAN, Oxford 1995, p. 266–282). Somewhat similar issues are discussed in a monograph on Falernian wine – A. LA PENNA, *Immortale Falernum. Il vino di Marziale e dei poeti latini del suo tempo*, Ma 51, 1999, p. 163–181. As far as the role of wine in the post-Galenic and early Byzantine periods is concerned, cf. M. KOKOSZKO, *Smaki Konstantynopola*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*,

time⁵⁴. The scope of information available in *De materia medica* is broad, since the author preserved a pool of data on the properties of wine⁵⁵, including its branded (identified by means of *appellation d'origine*)⁵⁶ and unbranded (generic)⁵⁷ types, compiled a catalogue of aromatised therapeutic wines (which contains formulas for the wines analysed herein)⁵⁸, and provided a substantial amount of other detailed information. Since our deliberations leave us little or no space to discuss every aspect of Dioscorides' teachings on wine, we shall focus exclusively on the main constituents of his account, which are important for the analysis of the text in the context of our research subject.

Thus, in the general characteristics of all types of wines (κοινή δύναμις οίνου)⁵⁹, we can read that they contain a certain element of sharpness or acidity. Pure and undiluted ones are, by nature, warming and easily digestible (and they facilitate digestion), beneficial for the stomach, and nutritious. They whet the appetite, make falling asleep easier, strengthen the body and result in a desired skin pigmentation⁶⁰. What must be added here is that Dioscorides was significantly more precise in his deliberations, conditioning the effect of wine on its age (discussing a full range of wines, from old to young)⁶¹, colour (from white to black)⁶², and taste (from dry to sweet)⁶³.

In sum, this is a typical classification which combines the effects attributed to wine by dieticians and pharmacologists. Importantly, its content does not diverge from the canon that we can see in the works by other ancient and then Byzantine authors, and proves that, in the 1st century A.D., a body of works on the science of wine already existed, and thus, that the doctrine had been fully developed before Dioscorides and even Sextius Niger began to write their works. And since the doctrine does not differ from the oenological knowledge available in *De diaeta*

ed. M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, Warszawa 2011, p. 564–569; M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Malábatron (μαλάβαθρον)*. Kilka uwag o roli *Cinnamomum tamala* w kuchni i medycynie antyku i Bizancjum w okresie pomiędzy I a VII wiekiem, *PNH* 15, 2016, p. 30–31; IDEM, *Malabathron (μαλάβαθρον)* in *Ancient and Early Byzantine Medicine and Cuisine*, *MS.AS* 30, 2018, p. 583, 592.

⁵⁴ This doctrine had been binding since the times of Hippocrates, and consolidated by Galen. Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Cereals of Antiquity and Early Byzantine Times. Wheat and Barley in Medical Sources*, trans. K. WODARCZYK, M. ZAKRZEWSKI, M. ZYTKA, Łódź 2014 [= BL, 20], p. 7–28 (7–12 in particular); IDEM, *Dietetyka i sztuka kulinarna antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, Część I, *Zboża i produkty zbożowe w źródłach medycznych antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum*, Łódź 2014 [= BL, 16], p. 5–26, (6–10 in particular).

⁵⁵ Cf. below. For a detailed analysis, cf. M. KOKOSZKO, *Enologia...*, p. 49–62.

⁵⁶ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 6, 1–9, 5.

⁵⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 14, 1–9, 2, 11.

⁵⁸ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 20, 1, 1–73, 1, 4.

⁵⁹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 10, 1–13, 8.

⁶⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 10, 1–4.

⁶¹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 1, 1–7.

⁶² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 2, 1–5.

⁶³ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 2, 6–3, 7.

in morbis acutis, we may assume that its framework was formed during the early stages of the development of Greek medical theory.

The extracts on therapeutic wines of interest to us can be found in Book V of *De materia medica*, and more specifically, in the catalogue of aromatised wines, i.e. potations with a specific curative effect produced by the addition of plant-based (active in a given range) ingredients to wine must or wine. Appearing first on this long list is οἶνος πρὸς κατάρρους, βῆχας, ὠμότητας, ἐμπνευματώσεις, πλάδον στομάχου⁶⁴, followed by a whole class of wines with the addition of false hellebore, i.e. six variants of the *helleborites* (ἐλλεβορίτης) wine⁶⁵.

As far as the second category of therapeutic wines is concerned, the first formula recommended using a measurement unit called *choús* (χοῦς)⁶⁶ of wine must with the addition of seawater, and twelve drachms⁶⁷ of ground black false hellebore, wrapped in thin canvas and immersed in liquid. Once the wine ceased to ferment, it was poured into vessels in which it was to be stored (until served to patients)⁶⁸.

The second formula involved the application of a single *choús* of wine – without the addition of salt water – to which fifteen (or fourteen) drachms of coarsely crumbled false hellebore were added and left for several days. The wine was then decanted and served to the patient, in the amount of one *kýathos* (κύαθος)⁶⁹, together with bath-house water (ἐκ βαλανείου), in order to induce a purgation of the digestive system, but not before the recipient had brought up the main meal (ἐμμηκεόσιν ἀπὸ δείπνου)⁷⁰.

Another formula tells of twenty drachms of false hellebore, twelve drachms of camel grass, and thirteen drachms of Syrian spikes. The plants were wrapped in canvas and immersed into fourteen *kotýlai* (κοτύλαι)⁷¹ of Kos wine for forty days. Thus prepared, the wine was decanted and administered to the patient in the amount of three *hemikotýlia* (ἡμικοτύλια)⁷².

Another formula specified a solution made from one *kerámion* (κεράμιον)⁷³ of wine must and two *xéstai* (ξέσται)⁷⁴ of boiled seawater, in which half a *lítira* (λίτρα)⁷⁵ of white false hellebore was immersed for forty days, after which time the wine was decanted and used for various treatments⁷⁶.

⁶⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 55, 1, 1–6.

⁶⁵ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 72, 1, 1 – 3, 9.

⁶⁶ *Choús* = 3.77 litres.

⁶⁷ Drachm = 4.32 grams.

⁶⁸ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 72, 1, 1–3.

⁶⁹ *Kýathos* = 0.045 litres.

⁷⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 72, 1, 3 – 2, 1.

⁷¹ *Kotýle* = 0.27 litres.

⁷² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 72, 2, 1–4. *Hemikotýlion* = half *kotýle*.

⁷³ *Kerámion* = 26.2 litres.

⁷⁴ *Xéstes* = 0.54 litres.

⁷⁵ *Lítira* = 0.28 litres.

⁷⁶ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 72, 2, 4–7.

The fifth formula incorporated twelve drachms of false hellebore, four drachms of soda (i.e. sodium carbonate [Na₂CO₃]), and twelve *kotylai* of wine must. The hellebore was kept in the solution for fifteen days, then the liquid was decanted, but it needed six more months before it could be administered, for instance, to abort a foetus.

In order to prepare the last variant of the therapeutic wine, to one *metretés* (μετρητής)⁷⁷ of must – made from dried (and still unplucked) grapes – twenty drachms of chalk were added and the solution was left for two days, after which time one had to immerse a bundle made from thirty drachms of false hellebore, the same amount of camel grass and sweet flag, as well as three quarters of a *choinix* (χοϊνίξ)⁷⁸ of juniper berries, and a drachm of myrrh and saffron wrapped into a small cloth. The solution was then left for forty days. Next, the wine was decanted, diluted with water, and served to the patient, in the amount of two or three mugs. This drink was supposed to remove the post-natal remains from the body of puerperae or women who had miscarried. It would also induce miscarriages and was attributed with the power to counteract hysterical dyspnoea⁷⁹.

Having explained the formulas for wine with the addition of false hellebore, we may now return to the very first of the recipes, in which Dioscorides indicates that, during his times, there was a wine prepared to address such ailments as a runny nose, cough, indigestion, bloating, and an excess of humidity within the stomach. The formula for this wine listed two drachms of myrrh, one drachm of white pepper, six drachms of iris, three drachms of dill, and six *xéstai* of wine. Solid ingredients were crumbled, wrapped in a canvas cloth, and immersed in wine for three days, after which time the liquid was decanted and poured into a bottle. One *kýathos*⁸⁰ of the undiluted medicament was administered to the patient once he had come back from a walk.

Proceeding to analyse the explained extracts, we must state that wines within the class of *helleborítai* had a purgative effect, in every sense of the word. This may not have been distinctively emphasised in the scrutinised extract of *De materia medica*, but it stems unambiguously from Dioscorides' characteristics of both the false hellebores, i.e. black (*helléboros mélas* [ἐλλέβορος μέλας] [*Veratrum nigrum* L.])⁸¹ and white (*helléboros leukós* [ἐλλέβορος λευκός] [*Veratrum album* L.])⁸². The former

⁷⁷ *Metretés* = 39.29 litres.

⁷⁸ *Choinix* = 1.1 litres.

⁷⁹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 72, 3, 1–9.

⁸⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 55, 1, 1–6.

⁸¹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 162, 1, 1–4, 11.

⁸² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 148, 1, 1–3, 10. The pharmacological properties of both hellebore species were also discussed by PLINY THE ELDER (*Naturalis historia*, XXV, 48, 1–61, 11) and GALEN (*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 874, 1–9, vol. XI). Analogical data can be found in treatises by the early Byzantine physicians, cf. ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XI, ε, 7, 1–8, 9; AËTIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*, I, 140, 1–9. Since the extracts on hellebore in

induced purgation through rectal excretion⁸³, while the latter had an emetic effect⁸⁴. Both were also used as abortifacient medicaments⁸⁵. It should be added that hellebores were widely available in the Mediterranean Basin and commonly used in numerous treatments⁸⁶, which means that their application only tells us of therapeutic methods practised in the 1st century A.D., without any new information that could be significant for this analysis.

As for the applications of individual formulas, we presume that the first three concern purgation via the gastrointestinal system, as this effect was explicitly described in the second recipe (πρὸς κοιλίας λύσιν)⁸⁷, and the use of black false hellebore in the said recipe also corresponds with the information provided within its description in Book IV⁸⁸. The next three formulas (Nos. 4–6) are, on the other hand, recipes for wine with an abortifacient effect⁸⁹. Omitted in the fourth formula, this property is demonstratively indicated in the fifth and sixth. Since Pliny recorded the information that it was white false hellebore that was customarily added to sweet wine⁹⁰ (which, particularly in the Roman civilisation, was considered more appropriate for women⁹¹), this sentence can be interpreted as an additional argument indicating that white hellebore was used in the sixth recipe, which also included white wine. Thus, if white hellebore appeared in the fourth and sixth formulas, it is more than logical to assume that it was also used in the fifth recipe, and all the more so, since we can presume that all three formulas were, as a matter of fact, medicaments for women and were related to their reproductive functions.

De materia medica and *Naturalis historia* are so similar, we can presume that they had been derived from the same source, i.e. the work by Sextius Niger. A crucial argument that supports this thesis is the fact that his name was listed within the index of authors for Book XXV, cf. PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, I, 25b, 2.

⁸³ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 162, 2, 7–8.

⁸⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 148, 2, 4.

⁸⁵ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 148, 2, 6 (white false hellebore); IV, 162, 3, 2–3 (black false hellebore). On abortion in the ancient world, cf. J.M. RIDDLE, *Conception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance*, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1992, p. 16–107; J.G. YOUNGER, *Sex in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2005, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Cf. J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides...*, p. 111–115; A. DALBY, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 174–175; E. LEV, Z. AMAR, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean according to the Cairo Genizah*, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 417–418; M. DO SAMEIRO BARROSO, *The Hellebore, the Plant Beloved by the Greeks: the Reasons Behind a Myth*, Ves 21, 2015, p. 30–37; M.A. MAIERON, *On the Hellebore Trail an Anthropological Research into Madness*, MedHis 2, 2018, p. 5–18. On the hellebore in the Mediterranean, cf. J.E. RAVEN, *Plants and Plant Lore in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2000, p. 80–82.

⁸⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 72, 1, 3 – 2, 1.

⁸⁸ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 162, 1, 1 – 4, 11 (purgative properties – IV, 162, 2, 6 [καθαίρει δὲ τὴν κάτω κοιλίαν]).

⁸⁹ On abortifacient wines in Dioscorides' work, cf. J.M. RIDDLE, *Conception...*, p. 54–55.

⁹⁰ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 59, 6.

⁹¹ This thought is developed below.

Finally, we can state that the section devoted to wines seasoned with hellebores was compiled in accordance with the principle of dividing them by their fundamental therapeutic effects. The first three, based on the properties of black false hellebore, have a very strong purgative effect⁹² on the digestive system and do not specify the patient's gender, while the next three are aimed at biologically mature women, and their effects are connected with the patient's motherhood.

Let us now scrutinise the very first formulas from both groups. The two medicaments had an extraordinarily simple composition, since they only contain generic wine and black (the purgative recipe) or white (the abortifacient formula) false hellebore, respectively. And both were made in accordance with a traditional basic recipe, i.e. one that needs no further explanation, since it involves commonly known and accessible ingredients. Therefore, these formulas were characterised by lesser complexity and, consequently, by lower production costs. And thus, they were, to some extent, formulas for the poorest, which made the final product available to all. The remaining recipes from both groups were their expanded versions, but with the same main active substances.

The rationality of this disquisition is reinforced by the fact that, in both classes, the third therapeutic wine (i.e. *helleborites* in recipes Nos. 3 and 6) becomes more complex structurally, and the two formulas involve imported ingredients, whose prices must have been relatively high. Thus, they are medicaments intended for those who could afford them, i.e. for patients of at least moderate means.

To support our statements with evidence, we would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the third formula for the purgative *helleborites* lists at least several imported ingredients. The first of these is *schoínos* (σχοῖνος), i.e. camel grass (*Cymbopogon schoenanthus* (L.) Spreng.), which – according to Dioscorides

⁹² In the case of patients who needed milder agents, such remedies as radish or milk were administered. Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, Rzodkiew (*Raphanus L*) w wybranych źródłach antyku i Bizancjum, [in:] *Lek rośliny*, vol. IV, *Produkty pochodzenia roślinnego w lecznictwie, dietetyce, kosmetyce, ekonomicie i kulturze popularnej*, ed. B. PŁONKA-SYROKA, A. SYROKA, Wrocław 2015, p. 15–33; IDEM, *Galaktologia terapeutyczna (γαλακτολογία ιατρική)* Galena zawarta w *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, PNH 14, 2015, p. 5–23; M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, *Medyczna nauka o mleku (γαλακτολογία ιατρική)* zawarta w *De medicina Celsusa*, PNH 15, 2016, p. 5–43; IDEM, *Milk in medical theory extant in Celsus' De medicina*, JFSE 6, 2016, p. 267–279; Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Kilka słów o mleku i jego przetworach*, [in:] Z. RZEŹNICKA, M. KOKOSZKO, *Dietetyka i sztuka kulinarna antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, Część III, *Ab ovo ad γάλα. Jajka, mleko i produkty mleczne w medycynie i w sztuce kulinarnej (I–VII w.)*, Łódź 2016 [= BL, 28], p. 61; EADEM, *Milk and Dairy Products in Ancient Dietetics and Cuisine according to Galen's De alimentorum facultatibus and Selected Early Byzantine Medical Treatises*, [in:] *Latte e latticini. Aspetti della produzione e del consumo nella società mediterranee dell'Antichità e del Medioevo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio promosso dall'IBAM – CNR e dall'IRS – FNER nell'ambito del Progetto MenSALe Atene, 2–3 ottobre 2015*, ed. I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, A. PELLETTIERI, Lagonegro 2016, p. 51, 60; M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, J. DYBAŁA, *The Radish (Raphanus L.) in Selected Sources from Antiquity and the Byzantine Period*, *Eno* 26, 2018, p. 79–91.

– grew in Arabia, so in the south of the Arabian Peninsula. Therefore, it must have been shipped from a long distance and very expensive⁹³. Its application within the formula was based on the pharmacological knowledge of the time. Since the characteristics of the plant clearly indicate that it facilitates digestion, it was served with drinks to alleviate gastric disorders, administered for nausea, and had a purgative diuretic effect on the body⁹⁴.

Another ingredient, whose name indicates its importation, was *stáchys Syriakós* (στάχυς Συριακός), i.e. *Stachys germanica* L., so either a variety of, or a plant similar to, downy woundwort⁹⁵. Its Syrian origin suggests that it was also an imported additive, so not as affordable as false hellebore⁹⁶, and its properties perfectly complemented the other ingredients of the medicament⁹⁷.

Within the formula, there is one more condition implying that it was aimed at wealthier recipients. Namely, Dioscorides specifically recommends the use of Kos wine, while in the first and second recipe, he never stipulates any particular type of wine.

It should be explained here that the toponymy determining the origin of a wine was always telling and usually indicated its quality, also suggesting its high price. In order to support our conclusion, it is worth referring to Galen, who in *De rebus boni malique suci*, for instance, pointed out that winemaking was common in the Mediterranean Basin, and from his words, we should conclude that the vast majority of wines available on the market were young wines. Galen also suggested that in order to remain healthy, one should drink those thin by nature, listing such Italic brands as *Gaurianós* (Γαυριανός), *Albanós* (Ἀλβανός) and *Neapolítes* (Νεαπολίτης), as well as such Asian beverages as *Tibenós* (Τιβηνός), *Arsyenós* (Ἄρσυηνός)

⁹³ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 17, 1, 1–4. According to *The Edict on Maximum Prices* by Diocletian, a *pondus* (27.3 g) of camel grass cost 50 denarii, cf. *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, 36, 123, vol. I–II, ed. M. GIACCHERO, Genova 1974 (cetera: *Edictum Diocletiani*). On the presence of the plant, cf. I. ERARD-CERCEAU, *Végétaux, parfums, et parfumeurs à l'époque mycénienne*, SMEA 28, 1990, p. 268.

⁹⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 17, 1, 1 – 2, 9. The medical properties of camel grass were also discussed by GALEN (*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 136, 18–137, 13, vol. XII). Analogical data can be found in treatises by the early Byzantine physicians, cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XV, 1, 18, 71, 1 – 72, 1; AËTIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*, I, 384, 1–5; PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*, VII, 3, 18, 233–237.

⁹⁵ On the plant, cf. J. ANDRÉ, *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*, Paris 1956, p. 302; IDEM, *Le noms de plantes dans la Rome antique*, Paris 1985, p. 247.

⁹⁶ The pharmacological properties of the plant called στάχυς were discussed by DIOSCORIDES (*De materia medica*, III, 106, 1, 1–6) and GALEN (*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 129, 1 – 130, 2, vol. XII). Analogical data can be found in treatises by the early Byzantine physicians, cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XLVIII, 46, 1, 1 – 5, 2; PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*, VII, 3, 18, 157–159.

⁹⁷ We may conclude that the plant possessed some properties stimulating the purgation of the body, since the decoction prepared from its leaves was administered orally to induce menstruation, cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, III, 106, 1, 5–6.

and *Titakadzenós* (Τιτακαζηνός). At the same time, he remarked that numerous wines produced in the Mediterranean world were not as commonly known as the aforementioned ones, since they could not be exported as they would not survive the long voyage⁹⁸. And it was unbranded wines that Dioscorides had in mind when writing down his recipes. Thus, while the very first formula for a purgative wine recommended the application of wine must (*gleúkos* [γλεῦκος]), i.e. merely a staple normally used to make young wine, and the second recipe included a freshly produced, and thus, still sweet generic wine⁹⁹ with no additives¹⁰⁰, the third one specified the wine by means of toponymy, i.e. a sui generis *appellation d'origine*.

The popularity of the wine from Kos as a brand is indicated by source data. Marcus Porcius Cato mentioned it several times in *De agri cultura*, even providing the reader with a recipe for its production¹⁰¹. And he would not have done so if – in the second part of the 2nd century B.C. – there had been no demand in Italia to produce a native version of this beverage. Therefore, local production of the wine analogical to the drink made on Kos either stemmed from an inability to satisfy the demand for the drink, or was conditioned by high prices of the imported original product.

The wine of Kos (and of Klazomenai) was also mentioned by Dioscorides in the catalogue of branded wines, where he wrote that it was made from a significant portion of seawater (*tethalassoménos* [τεθαλασσωμένος]), and thus, it would easily spoil the food within the stomach (*eúphthartos* [εὐφθαρτος]), contribute to the production of gases (*pneumatódes* [πνευματώδης]), cause problems within the gastrointestinal system (*koilias taraktikós* [κοιλίας ταρακτικός]), and damage hard tissues (*neúron blaptikós* [νεύρων βλαπτικός])¹⁰².

The description also points to one more fact. Such wine did not belong to the class of wines characterised by high therapeutic values, i.e. to the most prized and valuable drinks. Instead, as stems from Dioscorides' account, it occupied the bottom of the wine rank. It is worth noting that *De materia medica* contains a general description of wines with salt water¹⁰³, together with some detailed information

⁹⁸ GALEN, *De rebus boni malique suci*, 806, 2 – 806, 14, vol. VI.

⁹⁹ Wines lose their sweetness in the course of progressing alcoholic fermentation.

¹⁰⁰ We can only assume that it is wine, since the recipe contains no information on the fermentation of the therapeutic beverage.

¹⁰¹ M. Porci Catonis *de agri cultura*, 112, 1, 1 – 113, 2, 7, rec. H. KEIL, Lipsiae 1895 (cetera: CATO, *De agri cultura*). On the author, cf. P. THIBODEAU, *M. Porcius Cato of Tusculum (185–149 BCE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 686–688. A recipe for the wine from Kos was also provided by Columella, cf. LUCIUS IUNIUS MODERATUS COLUMELLA, *On Agriculture in Three Volumes, Books 10–12 and De arboribus*, XII, 37, vol. III, trans. E.S. FORSTER, E.H. HEFFNER, London–Cambridge 1955 (cetera: COLUMELLA, *De re rustica*). On the author, cf. R.H. RODGERS, *L. Iunius Moderatus Columella of Gadēs (ca 40 – ca 70 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 456–457. Analogous recipe can also be found in *Geoponica* (VIII, 24).

¹⁰² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 9, 5–7.

¹⁰³ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 3, 4–7.

on how to prepare them¹⁰⁴. One should also add that the amount of attention devoted to such beverages implies their important position on the Mediterranean wine market in the 1st century A.D. Also worth noting is the fact that the same wine is found in Pliny's *Naturalis historia*¹⁰⁵, and the extract devoted to it is quite interesting, as it suggests that, during his times, Greek wines were considered outstanding on the market and applied in *ars medica*.

The latter remark is very instructive for historians of medicine, since it leads us to the conclusion that Pliny's source of knowledge had medical provenance, which ideally corresponds with the hypothesis that it may have been the treatise compiled by Sextius Niger. As far as other evidence of correct identification of the source authority is concerned, a comment on the ageing of wines exported from Italia is of crucial importance. We learn that they had to be matured for seven years prior to being considered drinkable¹⁰⁶, and the same remark can be found in Dioscorides' work¹⁰⁷, which indicates that both authors used the same source text, which can be identified as *Peri hyles*.

The wine of Kos was also known to Galen, who mentions it when describing a formula (composed by Asclepiades of Bithynia) for a mouth wash administered to treat bad teeth¹⁰⁸. However, Galen never mentioned this brand in his wine catalogues, which may suggest that it had already ceased to belong to this class by the second half of the 2nd century A.D.

Nevertheless, the preserved data entitles us to state that since the times of Dioscorides, wines with seawater, including the Kos wine, were imported to various markets of the Mediterranean world, and thus their prices were likely to exceed the charges for wine must or local brands of generic young wine.

Having conducted the analysis of the third recipe, let us now scrutinise the sixth formula for *helleborites*. Once we have taken into account the information it conveys, we have to expand our list of expensive ingredients – already present in the aforementioned recipes for wines with false hellebore – with sweet flag, saffron, and myrrh, leaving out juniper, whose berries Dioscorides considered to be a native and easily available foodstuff¹⁰⁹. It should, however, be emphasised that

¹⁰⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 19, 1, 1 – 2, 6.

¹⁰⁵ PLINY, *Naturalis Historia*, XIV, 77, 1 – 79, 4.

¹⁰⁶ PLINY, *Naturalis Historia*, XIV, 79, 4–5.

¹⁰⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 12, 5–6. What is worth noticing is the fact that identical terminology was used. Cf. Pliny's *ad vetustatem mediam* and Dioscorides' οἱ μέσοι δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν.

¹⁰⁸ *Galen de compositione medicamentorum secundum locos libri X*, 866, 18 – 867, 10, vol. XII, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XII–XIII, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1826–1827.

¹⁰⁹ In his description of juniper, DIOSCORIDES did not mention that it was an imported plant, and thus, we can assume that it was a common element of the flora within the regions of the Mediterranean Basin that he knew (*De materia medica*, I, 75, 1, 1–10). The use of a possessive pronoun in an extract where Pliny compares a plant with a pepper-like fruit (called *oliva Indiae*) to juniper (*iunipiris nostris similes*) implies that it was common in the Mediterranean Basin, cf. PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 26, 1–3. On the juniper in the Mediterranean, cf. A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 187; M. HEILMEYER, *Ancient Herbs*, London 2007, p. 62.

juniper was, at that time, perceived as useful in the treatment of hysteria and other women's diseases¹¹⁰.

There are strong indications that the sweet flag mentioned by Dioscorides was a pricey ingredient. Naturally, he was not referring to today's ubiquitous European variety, since it was not brought to the region until sometime between the Middle Ages and the 16th century¹¹¹, but he clearly meant the type imported from India, which he noted down while compiling a description of the plant¹¹². In medicine, sweet flag was used in cathartic therapies and to cure women's diseases¹¹³.

Saffron was also accurately characterised by Dioscorides, who devoted a great deal of attention to listing the locations of its production¹¹⁴. Even though these were within the area of the Mediterranean Basin, and thus not far away from the Greco-Roman centres of civilisation, the prices of saffron were still exorbitant, which stemmed from that fact that the substance was extremely labour-consuming¹¹⁵ to obtain. Pliny also discussed saffron¹¹⁶, and the extract devoted to the places of its collection bears a resemblance to the characteristics presented in *De materia medica*. Another issue raised by Dioscorides was the problem of fake or adulterated saffron¹¹⁷, which unambiguously indicates its high pricing¹¹⁸, while Pliny mentions the fame it enjoyed as early as during the Trojan War¹¹⁹. When it comes to the application of saffron in therapies, from Dioscorides we learn

¹¹⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 75, 1, 8–10.

¹¹¹ H. IMAM, Z. RIAZ, M. AZHAR, G. SOFI, A. HUSSAIN, *Sweet Flag (Acorus calamus Linn.): An Incredible Medicinal Herb*, IJGP 7, 2013, p. 289.

¹¹² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 18, 1, 1–12. Calamus is also discussed by PLINY THE ELDER (*Naturalis historia*, XII, 48, 104–106) and GALEN (*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 6, 15 – 7, 9, vol. XII). Analogical data can be found in treatises by the early Byzantine physicians, cf. ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, XI, κ, 2, 1–4; AËTIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*, I, 176, 1–8; PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*, VII, 3, 10, 25–31. On the plant, cf. J.-P. BRUN, X. FERNANDEZ, *Parfums antiques. De l'archéologue au chimiste*, Milano 2015, p. 143–145.

¹¹³ On purgation of the body through stimulation of urine production, cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 18, 1, 5. One of the ingredients of medicaments for female-specific diseases, cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 18, 1, 7–8; I, 18, 1, 10–11.

¹¹⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 26, 1, 1 – 3, 9.

¹¹⁵ Cf. A. DALBY, *Dangerous Tastes. The Story of Spices*, London 2002, p. 138. On the production of saffron in antiquity, cf. M. DE CLEENE, M.C. LEJEUNE, *Compendium of Symbolic and Ritual Plants in Europe*, vol. II, *Herbs*, Ghent 2003, p. 514.

¹¹⁶ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXI, 31, 1 – 34, 7.

¹¹⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 26, 2, 1–5.

¹¹⁸ According to *Edictum Diocletiani*, a *libra* (327.45 grams) of Arabic saffron cost 2000 denarii (*Edictum Diocletiani*, 36, 60), a *libra* of Cilician saffron – 1000 denarii (*Edictum Diocletiani*, 36, 61), and a *libra* of African saffron – 600 denarii (*Edictum Diocletiani*, 36, 62).

¹¹⁹ PLINY, *Naturalis Historia*, XXI, 34, 6–8. GALEN also took an interest in the pharmacological properties of saffron (cf. *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 48, 3–12, vol. XII). Analogical data can be found in treatises by the early Byzantine physicians, cf. ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, XI, κ, 39, 1–10; AËTIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*, I, 231, 1–5; PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*, VII, 3, 10, 357–358.

that it was used as a pharmaceutical agent in purgative procedures and to treat women's diseases¹²⁰.

What indicates most chiefly the expensiveness of the sixth formula, however, is the use of myrrh, i.e. a resin which in antiquity became a symbol of high financial status. Let us commence by stating that myrrh was added to drinks not only for therapeutic purposes, as Pliny, on several occasions, mentions myrrh-aromatised wines in *Naturalis historia*¹²¹. While referring to a passage from Plautus' *Persae*, he recounts that, in the old days (*apud priscos*), these were the most valued wines (*vina lautissima*)¹²². On the basis of this note, we may conclude that they were prestigious and already had an established reputation at the times of the famous comic playwright, namely in the 2nd century B.C. Within the same section, we can also find an excerpt from Plautus' *Pseudolus*, in which he lists myrrh wine alongside such sweet drinks as *passum*, *defrutum* and water sweetened with honey¹²³. On the basis of this extract, Pliny argues that wine was classified as a sweet alcoholic drink¹²⁴.

Myrrh is a fragrant resin secreted by the genus *Commiphora* (*Commiphora myrrha* (Nees) Engl.), a plant native exclusively to the territory of the Arabian Peninsula, Ethiopia and Somalia¹²⁵. The limited area where myrrh could be obtained,

¹²⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 26, 1, 1 – 3, 9 (purgation of the body through the stimulation of urine production – I, 26, 2, 6–7; additive to beverages administered for ailments of the uterus – I, 26, 3, 1–3). On saffron in medicine, cf. D. BASKER, M. NEGBI, *Uses of Saffron*, EBot 37, 1983, p. 229–230.

¹²¹ On myrrh-aromatised wines, cf. E. KOSKENNIEMI, K. NISULAB, J. TOPPARIC, *Wine Mixed with Myrrh (Mark 15.23) and Crurifragium (John 19.31-32): Two Details of the Passion Narratives*, JSNT 27, 2005, p. 379–386; P.E. MCGOVERN, A. MIRZOIAN, G.R. HALL, O. BAR-YOSEF, *Ancient Egyptian Herbal Wines*, PNAS 106, 2009, p. 7365.

¹²² PLINY, *Naturalis Historia*, XIV, 92, 1–3.

¹²³ T. MACCIUS PLAUTUS, *Pseudolus*, 741, [in:] *Plauti comoediae*, vol. II, ed. F. LEO, Berlin 1896. On the author and his output, cf. M. FONTAINE, *Between Two Paradigms: Plautus*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy*, ed. M. FONTAINE, A.C. SCAFURO, Oxford 2014, p. 516–537.

¹²⁴ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XIV, 93, 2–7. A remark from Columella's *De re rustica* suggests that the tradition of aromatising wine must with a blend of seasonings, including myrrh, was still alive in the 1st century A.D., cf. COLUMELLA, *De re rustica*, XII, 20, 5.

¹²⁵ On the territories from which myrrh was imported to the Mediterranean, cf. G.W. VAN BEEK, *Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia*, JAOS 78, 1958, p. 143; IDEM, *Frankincense and myrrh*, BArch 23, 1960, p. 71–72; N. GROOM, *Frankincense and Myrrh. A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade*, London 1981, p. 116–117; L. CASSON, *Egypt, Africa, Arabia, and India: Patterns of Seaborne Trade in the First Century A.D.*, BASP 21, 1984, p. 42–43; R.D. TINDEL, *Zafar: Archaeology in the Land of Frankincense and Myrrh*, Archaeo 37, 1984, p. 41; L. COSTANTINI, L.B. COSTANTINI, *Le resine essenziali dall'Arabia meridionale. Incenso, mirra e balsamo*, [in:] *Aromatica. Essenze, profumi e spezie tra Oriente e Occidente. Roma, Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, 7 maggio – 8 luglio 2003*, Roma 2003, p. 62–63; A. D'HAUTCOURT, *Les Romains et le commerce des aromates dans l'Océan Indien*, [in:] *Parfums de l'Antiquité: la rose et l'encens en Méditerranée*, ed. A. VERBANCK-PIÉRARD, N. MASSAR, D. FRÈRE, Morlanwelz-Mariemont 2008, p. 318; S. BEN-YEHOSHUA, C. BOROWITZ, L.O. HANUŠ,

combined with the substantial distance from the centre of the Greco-Roman civilisation, translated into high prices, as for centuries myrrh was extremely difficult to acquire in the Mediterranean regions¹²⁶. It also became the interest of Pliny¹²⁷ and Dioscorides¹²⁸, who devoted a substantial amount of attention to the substance. What is more, the details provided by both authors, to a greater extent, complement one another, which is also most likely the result of them both reading Niger's work¹²⁹.

The largest amount of information regarding myrrh can be found in *Naturalis historia*, including specific price brackets related to various types of the resin. What stems from the account is that troglodytic myrrh enjoyed a special status¹³⁰, as it was considered to be the most excellent of all the resins originating from the wild varieties of Commiphora plants¹³¹. It owed its exceptional reputation to its greasiness (*pinguedo*)¹³². Therefore, when interpreting the term used by the author, we may assume that it contained substances which – just like grease – were glossy, thus implying a high content of essential oils. And probably for that reason, a single grain of myrrh cost as much as sixteen and a half denarii¹³³.

Frankincense, Myrrh, and Balm of Gilead: Ancient Spices of Southern Arabia and Judea, HRev 39, 2012, p. 7–9; G. HARDY, L. TOTELIN, *Ancient...*, p. 98; C. SINGER, *The Incense Kingdoms of Yemen: An Outline History of the South Arabian Incense Trade*, [in:] *Food for the Gods. New Light on the Ancient Incense Trade*, ed. D.P.S. PEACOCK, D.L. WILLIAMS, Oxford 2007, p. 4–26; S. BRADLEY, *Myrrh: Medical Knowledge from Arabia into Chinese Materia Medica*, MS.AS 30, 2018, p. 883.

¹²⁶ On myrrh in Greco-Roman world, cf. F. DE ROMANIS, *Tus e murra: aromi sudarabici nella Roma arcaica*, [in:] *Profumi d'Arabia. Atti del Convegno*, ed. A. AVANZINI, Roma 1997, p. 221–230; L.M.V. TOTELIN, *Hippocratic Recipes. Oral and Written Transmission of Pharmacological Knowledge in Fifth- and Fourth-century Greece*, Leiden 2009, p. 148–149; A. DALBY, *Dangerous...*, p. 118–120; S. BEN-YEHOSHUA, C. BOROWITZ, L.O. HANUŠ, *Frankincense...*, p. 19; A. GIESECKE, *The Mythology of Plants. Botanical Lore from Ancient Greece and Rome*, Los Angeles 2014, p. 85–90; J.-P. BRUN, X. FERNANDEZ, *Parfums...*, p. 165–167; G. SQUILLACE, *Le lacrime...*, 132–135.

¹²⁷ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 66, 1 – 71, 6.

¹²⁸ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 1, 1 – 5, 9. GALEN also wrote on myrrh (*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 127, 3–16, vol. XII). Analogical data can be found in treatises by the early Byzantine physicians, cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XII, σ, 35, 1–22; AËTIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*, I, 370, 1–7; PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*, VII, 3, 18, 127–132.

¹²⁹ Due to its multithreading, the issue of the relation between the two extracts cannot be the subject of divagations in this article. Therefore, we take the liberty of presenting only one argument, i.e. the fact that Pliny mentions Sextius Niger as one of the authors he read while compiling Book XII, cf. PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, I, 12b, 5.

¹³⁰ It was also greatly valued by DIOSCORIDES, cf. *De materia medica*, I, 64, 1, 7.

¹³¹ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 69, 1. The description of troglodytic myrrh, cf. PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 69, 7–8; DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 1, 7–9. Both accounts differ slightly, which allows us to presume that either Dioscorides had the opportunity to see fresh troglodytic myrrh, as compared to the myrrh seen by Pliny, or he used the narrative of somebody who had seen such a substance.

¹³² PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 69, 7.

¹³³ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 70, 8.

Although troglodytic myrrh was considered exceptionally aromatic, the noblest type of myrrh was undoubtedly *stacte/stakté* (στακτή), i.e. a resin that Commiphora plants secreted naturally¹³⁴. Pliny accounts that its prices ranged from three to fifty denarii per pound¹³⁵.

The other, less expensive varieties of myrrh still remained an extremely pricey commodity for the average inhabitant of the Mediterranean world, and thus, for the product from Eritrea (also named 'Arabic') one had to pay sixteen denarii, then twelve denarii for the so-called *odoraria*, and one denarius less for the resin obtained from cultivated plants¹³⁶.

From the encyclopaedist's account, we learn that myrrh was transported to Rome in leather sacks. Despite the long period of time between its harvest and sale, it would maintain its peculiar aroma and shine, which would allow perfume makers to distinguish good-quality myrrh from other more exotic products¹³⁷. This information is of extra value for modern researchers, since it lets us imagine the conditions of the resin trade at that time. Moreover, the data preserved in the analysed source extract also indicates directly that recipients, including those aiming to produce the *helleborites* wine, could evaluate its quality by tasting and crumbling it prior to closing the deal¹³⁸. This way, not only could they select the commodity of an appropriate quality, but they could also protect themselves against purchasing an adulterated resin, since – as we learn from the scrutinised source texts – it was common for wholesalers to commit unfair commercial practices, most likely in order to increase their profit margin. Thus, we can, for instance, read about a cheaper resin called *cummi/kóm̄mi* (κόμμι) being sold as myrrh¹³⁹. And yet an experienced buyer, familiar with such properties as the taste and consistency that differentiated myrrh from other substances of that kind, could easily detect the fraud¹⁴⁰. This, however, is another premise indicating the high prices of myrrh, the falsifying of which would have otherwise been unprofitable.

¹³⁴ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 68, 2–3. On the substance, cf. R.O. STEUER, *Myrrhe und Stakte*, Wien 1933, *passim*; A. LUCAS, *Notes on Myrrh and Stacte*, JEA 23, 1937, p. 27–33; L. MANNICHE, *Sacred Luxuries. Fragrance, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt*, Ithaca 1999, p. 29–30.

¹³⁵ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 70, 6.

¹³⁶ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 70, 7 – 71, 1. On the gradation of various species of myrrh, cf. PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 68, 1 – 70, 5. The gradation of various species of myrrh, including their typical properties, compiled by DIOSCORIDES, cf. *De materia medica*, I, 64, 1, 5 – 3, 5. Myrrh remained an extremely expensive commodity in the early 4th century A.D. According to *The Edict on Maximum Prices* by Diocletian, a *libra* of oil made from *stakté* cost 600 denarii (*Edictum Diocletiani*, 36, 87), and a *libra* of troglodytic myrrh – 400 denarii (*Edictum Diocletiani*, 36, 104).

¹³⁷ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 68, 6–9.

¹³⁸ On the properties of high-quality myrrh, which can be recognised after it has been crumbled or tasted, cf. PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 70, 1–4; DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 3, 1–4.

¹³⁹ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 71, 1–3; DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 2, 8. The said resin is obtained from the tree of *Acacia arabica* (Lam.) Willd.

¹⁴⁰ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 71, 3–4.

Therefore, we conclude that myrrh was an ingredient of expensive and exclusive medicines, which – to a certain extent – explains why it was only used in two out of the seven formulas. We can also assume, however, that not only was it added to emphasise the financial standing of the patient and to give the medicament an attractive aroma, but also because it was believed to have a curative effect, justified from a therapeutic point of view. In *De materia medica*, we can read that the resin had some properties that were found useful in gynaecology (including abortifacient effects)¹⁴¹, various diseases of the respiratory tract¹⁴² (including such conditions as a runny nose¹⁴³ and cough¹⁴⁴), and indigestion¹⁴⁵.

Having proven that myrrh was a luxurious commodity in the Greco-Roman world, we shall now return to the composition of Dioscorides' lecture on *helleborítai* and focus on the middle formulas within both groups.

Let us begin with the second recipe and notice that the medicament in question was administered in the circumstances which we can interpret as a visit to a bath-house. Although these places were a common sight in the Greco-Roman world of the 1st century A.D., for the patient to be able to frequent them, they had to be located within a walking distance from his home. What is more, the sick had to have enough leisure time to use them. Therefore, the treatment was aimed neither at people whose days were filled with professional duties and errands, nor at the inhabitants of remote rural areas, located far away from urban centres, where such facilities could usually be found¹⁴⁶. As a result, we may dare to conclude that the second formula for *helleborítes* within the purgative class was targeted at city dwellers who were wealthy enough to visit a bath-house.

On the other hand, there is no clear indication of the financial status of the target female patients of the fifth recipe. We would, however, like to draw the reader's

¹⁴¹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 3, 6–9.

¹⁴² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 3, 9–11; I, 64, 4, 3–4; I, 64, 5, 4–5.

¹⁴³ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 5, 4–5 (runny nose).

¹⁴⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 3, 9–11 (cough).

¹⁴⁵ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 64, 3, 6–7; I, 64, 3, 11 – 4, 1. On the use of myrrh in ancient medical procedures, cf. M. DAYAGI-MENDELS, *Perfumes and Cosmetics in the Ancient World*, Jerusalem 1989, p. 106, 116; G. HADAS, *The Balsam "Afarsemón" and Ein Gedi during the Roman-Byzantine Period*, RB 114, 2007, p. 165; E. LEV, Z. AMAR, *Practical...*, p. 221–223; K. OLSON, *Cosmetics in Roman Antiquity: Substance, Remedy, Poison*, CW 102, 2009, p. 307; L.M.V. TOTELIN, *Hippocratic...*, p. 70, 120, 129–131, 191, 262; L. BODIQU, *L'huile et le corps médical. Usages de l'huile dans la pharmacopée des médecins hippocratiques*, [in:] *Les huiles parfumées en Méditerranée occidentale et en Gaule: VIII^e s. av.–VIII^e s. apr. J.-C. Actes du colloque organisé par l'université de Bretagne Sud et l'université de La Rochelle dans le cadre du programme de recherche Perhamo de l'Agence Nationale de la Recherche. Ce colloque s'est tenu à Rome (École française de Rome) du 16 au 18 novembre 2009*, ed. D. FRÈRE, L. HUGOT, Rennes 2012, p. 226; S. BEN-YEHOSHUA, L.O. HANUŠ, *Apharsemon, Myrrh and Olibanum: Ancient Medical Plants*, [in:] *Medicinal and Aromatic Plants of the Middle-East*, ed. Z. YANIV, N. DUDAI, New York 2014, p. 111, 118–120; A. GIESECKE, *The Mythology...*, p. 86–87; G. SQUILLACE, *I balsami...*, p. 94, 156, 158–159, 167, 169; Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Mirra...*, p. 53–65.

¹⁴⁶ G.G. FAGAN, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*, Ann Arbor 1999, p. 205.

attention to the fact that the preparation of the medicament was a very time-consuming process, since it could only be declared useable after six months. Therefore, when prepared at home, it could only be used by sexually active women in longer relationships, and most likely, not by primiparas, but those who were mothers to more than one child. Only then could they plan a long-term activity related to the preparation of this type of wine, and then use it to abort another foetus if they did not wish to have more children. And since the formula did not require them to use any imported ingredients, the medicament could be produced at a low cost, so it was aimed at women of low or lower than average financial status. Meanwhile, wealthy women who, regardless of their reasons, wished to end a pregnancy, could afford an abortifacient wine, which was not only more effective, but also guaranteed a desired aroma and taste, e.g. the beverage made in accordance with the sixth formula. And if this was the case, we may conclude that the wine from the fifth recipe was most commonly made due to economic reasons, i.e. the inability to support an excessive number of children without a noticeable decrease in the family's standard of living.

Thus, the sixth recipe should be interpreted as a medicament for women from wealthy families. Not only does it include expensive ingredients (e.g., saffron, sweet flag, and – above all – myrrh), but also their properties imply that the author of the formula wished to produce wine that smelled lovely and tasted luxurious, i.e. sweet. Therefore, it was produced from wine must obtained from raisins, which guaranteed a substantial sugar content that would most likely remain high even after a forty-day preparation period. Let us also add that, as accounted by Polybius, sweet *passum* was wine addressed specifically to women¹⁴⁷, which means that its sweetness was not only to indicate the level of luxury, but also to reflect the customs and traditions of the Roman civilisation. *Ipsa facto*, it signalled the gender of the patients for whom the medicament was composed¹⁴⁸.

The analysis of the ingredients necessary to prepare the described alcoholic beverage allows us to make a supposition regarding another of its physical properties. Namely, the presence of saffron, which implies that it might have been added to emphasise the colour of the wine. And this was only possible if the wine was white or yellow by nature, and the hue became more intense in the course of ageing¹⁴⁹. If our assumption is correct, we should also pay attention to the pharmacological properties of such beverage, as entrenched in Greek healthcare. The author of *De diaeta in morbis acutis*¹⁵⁰, and then also Dioscorides¹⁵¹ and Galen¹⁵², considered

¹⁴⁷ ATHENAEOUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, X, 440e–f (56, 13–15 KAIBEL).

¹⁴⁸ However, in general, Roman women were not supposed to drink wine, cf. B.F. RUSSELL, *Wine, Women, and the Polis: Gender and the Formation of the City-state in Archaic Rome*, GR 50, 2003, p. 77–84.

¹⁴⁹ This effect was unnoticeable in red or black wines.

¹⁵⁰ *De diaeta in morbis acutis*, 14, 3–16.

¹⁵¹ Especially, cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 11, 1–2.

¹⁵² For instance – GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 744, 14 – 745, 3, vol. VI.

yellow, sweet, and not excessively thick wines to offer the best therapeutic values. Taking this aspect of the formula into account, we may assume that when the sixth recipe was created, no effort was spared to ensure that the wine constituting the base of the medicament should be sweet, and also a good-quality product, from the perspective of medical theory. And this effort brings to mind fastidious recipients, i.e. upper-class women.

An argument that supports the latter supposition is the fact that the medicament was not only an agent aimed at terminating a pregnancy, but it was also used to address the consequences of miscarriages and hysteria. This versatile effectiveness may suggest that for the women who used it, abortion was not the only, but one of many reasons to do so. And if this was the case, one must add that the medicament was most likely administered on moral or family-based grounds, since upper-class women were not afflicted by the basic economic constraints typically faced by the poor.

Having concluded the analysis of the *helleboritai* catalogue, let us proceed to the medication for a runny nose, cough, indigestion, bloating, and excessive humidity within the stomach. Its formula contains two ingredients imported from remote locations (i.e. myrrh and pepper¹⁵³), and one ingredient, namely iris, which was a plant native to the Mediterranean region. From the description in *De materia medica*, we learn that the latter originated from Illyria, Macedonia and Libya¹⁵⁴, and because of its pleasant scent¹⁵⁵, it was customarily used as an aromatising agent, and thus it was an ingredient of numerous perfumes, for instance, the oil called *irinon* (ἴρινον)¹⁵⁶. Traditionally, it was also added to therapeutic wines¹⁵⁷, and its properties facilitated healing of the upper respiratory tract¹⁵⁸ and gastric disorders¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵³ DIOSCORIDES states that this seasoning was exported from India, cf. *De materia medica*, II, 159, 1, 1. He presented a great amount of data on pepper (including its white variant) and described its pharmacological properties, cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 159, 1, 1 – 4, 8. Pepper was also discussed by PLINY THE ELDER (*Naturalis historia*, XII, 26, 1 – 29,13) and GALEN (*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 97, 7–16, vol. XII). Analogical data can be found in treatises by the early Byzantine physicians, cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XII, π, 7, 1–12; AËTIUS OF AMIDA, *Iatricorum libri*, I, 316, 1–5; PAUL OF AEGINA, *Epitome*, VII, 3, 16, 27–31. On the spice, cf. A. DALBY, *Dangerous...*, p. 88–94; M.A. COBB, *The Reception and Consumption of Eastern Goods in Roman Society*, GR 60, 2013, p. 140–142; IDEM, *Black Pepper Consumption in the Roman Empire*, JESHO 61, 2018, p. 519–559.

¹⁵⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 1, 1, 1 – 3, 5. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS, *Enquiry into Plants and Minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs with an English Translation in Two Volumes*, IX, 7, 4, 1–10, vol. II, trans. A. HORT, London 1916 (cetera: THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum*).

¹⁵⁵ DIOSCORIDES emphasised this property three times, cf. *De materia medica*, I, 1, 1, 5; I, 1, 1, 9; I, 1, 1, 13.

¹⁵⁶ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 56, 1, 1 – 4, 6. On the plant, cf. M. HEILMEYER, *Ancient...*, p. 60; A. GIESECKE, *The Mythology...*, p. 59–65; J.-P. BRUN, X. FERNANDEZ, *Parfums...*, p. 161–163.

¹⁵⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 1, 2, 3 (added to *hydrómeli* [ὕδρουμελι]); I, 1, 2, 7 (added to wine).

¹⁵⁸ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 1, 1, 10 (runny nose); I, 1, 2, 2 (cough).

¹⁵⁹ Dioscorides clearly states that it had a warming effect, thus accelerating digestion. Moreover, it would also have had diluting properties, i.e. it facilitated the absorption of products that generated

Meanwhile, white pepper belonged to the class of goods imported from far-away India, which automatically made it expensive¹⁶⁰ and unattainable to the poor. Despite its exorbitant price, it was frequently used in pharmacology, as confirmed, for instance, by its medical characteristics within *De materia medica*¹⁶¹, where we learn, *inter alia*, about the effectiveness of aromatic grains in treating diseases of the respiratory tract¹⁶² and the digestive system¹⁶³.

The last ingredient of the beverage, i.e. dill, is by no means as sophisticated, common since antiquity both in the Mediterranean world and northern Europe, which makes it inexpensive¹⁶⁴. Ancient physicians classified it as an effective constituent of medicaments facilitating digestion¹⁶⁵.

Thus, a tally of the aromatic ingredients imported to Italia (three) collated with more common components (one) leads us to the conclusion that the medicament was not meant for all the sick, but only for people who could afford to pay the appropriate price. This thesis is additionally supported by another premise, namely a recommendation that the drink should be served after a walk, which implies that the patient had enough leisure time to allow them for such *otium*.

No particular type of wine was recommended within the analysed formula, which makes us presume that its brand was not of cardinal importance. On the other hand, it was mature, yellow wines with perceptible sweetness that were most effective in curing the ailments of the respiratory tract and the digestive system, which was not only mentioned by Dioscorides¹⁶⁶, but also by Galen, who referred to the authority and expertise of his master, Hippocrates¹⁶⁷. These wines would also be sold at the highest prices (as opposed to darker wines characterised by higher

thick juices. Finally, it also impacted the effective removal of thick juices and bile from the body, cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 1, 2, 1–4.

¹⁶⁰ According to *The Edict on Maximum Prices* by Diocletian, a *pondus* of pepper cost 800 denarii (*Edictum Diocletiani*, 36, 114).

¹⁶¹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 159, 1, 1–4, 8.

¹⁶² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 159, 3, 5–9.

¹⁶³ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 159, 3, 10–4, 1.

¹⁶⁴ On dill in the Mediterranean, cf. A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 117; M. HEILMEYER, *Ancient...*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁵ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, III, 58, 1, 1–7 (as an ingredient of the medicine administered for digestive disorders – III, 58, 1, 1–2). The properties of dill were also discussed by GALEN, cf. *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 832, 1–18, vol. XI. The physician of Pergamon describes it as a substance with a warming (Grade 2 or 3) and drying (Grade 2 or 3) effect, important whenever a cough was caused by an excessive production of phlegm (GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 832, 1–4, vol. XI), and as a substance that facilitates the digestion of raw and undigested juices that generated the production of gases (GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 832, 6–7, vol. XI). Oil made from dill as a substance with an analogical effect, cf. GALEN, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 832, 7–14, vol. XI).

¹⁶⁶ See, in particular, the information provided in the general description of wine – DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6, 11, 1–2.

¹⁶⁷ GALEN, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, IX, 6, 38, 1–40, 1.

acidity¹⁶⁸). Since such beverages were usually classified as branded, perhaps the base for the medicament was such wines as *Hippodamánteios* (Ἰπποδαμάντειος) or the so-called *Faustinós* (Φαυστιανός), classed as *Falerínos*¹⁶⁹. Although it is beyond us to support this supposition with sufficient argumentation from source texts, we believe that the medicament was more likely meant for those who could afford to purchase *Falerínos*, rather than for those who had no choice but to drink *lora*¹⁷⁰.

Conclusions

The analysis of the aforementioned formulas allows us to draw more and less detailed conclusions. Let us begin, however, with a more general one. Medical sources are more than just written material to provide us with information on the history of medicine, since they also contain data that enables us to learn a little more about society, and in particular, about its economic differences. Therefore, the division of patients according to their financial status translates into the different ingredients that are used to prepare a given medicament and various recommendations regarding the conditions of its administration. The study of recipes proves that the medical theory and practice presented by Dioscorides had to take into account this economic reality. Thus, the physician would choose different treatments for the poor and the rich, who could afford to purchase more expensive ingredients, and that is why his selection of formulas for purgative and abortifacient wines was based on financial status.

The preserved medical literature indicates that an analogical approach to constructing formulas and a similar medical practice were not exclusive to Dioscorides, which is perfectly illustrated by a story told by Galen in *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*¹⁷¹. In one of the passages, he describes his encounter with a wealthy man who took an interest in medicine and unsuccessfully tried to cure one of his servants who probably had some kind of a cancerous change on his skin. Eventually, the man turned to Galen, and once the physician healed the servant, the man asked him for a recipe of the medicament he had used¹⁷². Having found out, however, that it contained relatively cheap ingredients, the man considered the medicine as unworthy of his interest and refused to acknowledge the formula. The situation repeated when the same man, having ineffectively

¹⁶⁸ GALEN, *De victu attenuante*, 100, 1 – 101, 1.

¹⁶⁹ GALEN, *De rebus boni malique suci*, 801, 9–11, vol. VI.

¹⁷⁰ Low-end wines were produced from pomace.

¹⁷¹ *Galenus de compositione medicamentorum per genera libri VII*, 635, 16 – 640, 12, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XIII, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1827 (cetera: GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*).

¹⁷² N.B., he thought that all changes of that type could be cured with one medicament, which – as suggested by Galen – irrefutably indicated his incompetence in the field of medicine, cf. GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 636, 11–14, vol. XIII.

attempted to cure another servant suffering from a lesion to the cartilaginous tissues in the ear, sent the boy to Galen who was able to help him. This time, the man also asked the physician about the formula for the used medication, and once more, learning about its rather unsophisticated composition, he rejected it. Faced with such an attitude, Galen provided the wealthy man with medical recipes that satisfied his pursuit of luxury in the realm of medicine. From this account, we learn that the physician offered at least several formulas to the Roman¹⁷³, the first of which – as will be emphasised here for the sake of exemplification – consisted of cinnamon, Cretan dittany¹⁷⁴, cat thyme (*Teucrium marum* L.) and marjoram. The author admitted that the latter was included only because he knew it was not commonly available in Rome, and thus was also very expensive¹⁷⁵. For our deliberations, it is important to bear in mind that one variant of the medicament was also enriched with myrrh oil¹⁷⁶.

As can be concluded from the above story, for some patients a treatment was not a mere process of restoring good health, but also a way of satisfying their need to display their social status, which greatly depended on their financial situation¹⁷⁷. Meanwhile, the material provided by Dioscorides leads us to conclude that the same way of reasoning even affected a decision to end a pregnancy, and the formulas he presents cast more light on the causes that pushed women in antiquity to make such a decision. On the other hand, both the catalogue of *helleborítai* within *De materia medica*, and the story told by Galen suggest neither refused to treat representatives of lower social classes, as is evidenced by the layout of formulas within the class of *helleborítai* wines, which opens with less complex and expensive medications, only to be followed by formulaic modifications aimed at satisfying the needs of more opulent recipients. This is also confirmed by the quoted story from *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, where Galen emphasises how cheap the ingredients he commonly used were and how difficult it was for the

¹⁷³ GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 637, 18 – 638, 1, vol. XIII.

¹⁷⁴ *Origanum dictamnus* L.

¹⁷⁵ GALEN assured the reader that – from the perspective of the medical art – it was tried and tested, i.e. effective, cf. *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 639, 6–7, vol. XIII. The said formula, cf. GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 638, 7 – 639, 6, vol. XIII.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 639, 11–12, vol. XIII. Other variants of the medicament, cf. GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 639, 7–10, vol. XIII; 639, 10–11, vol. XIII. In the same extract, the physician also discusses variations of the formula for the medicament, produced from expensive ingredients and applied to open wounds, cf. GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 639, 12 – 640, 12, vol. XIII.

¹⁷⁷ The anecdote told by Galen was used in three articles (to illustrate an analogical thesis). Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Malá bathron* (μαλάβαθρον). *Kilka...*, p. 11–14; M. KOKOSZKO, *Nard* (νάρδος; *Nardostachys jatamansi* [D. Don] DC) w wybranych źródłach greckich antyku i Bizancjum, [in:] *Lek roślinny*, vol. VI, *Rośliny w lecznictwie, w środowisku naturalnym i krajobrazie kulturowym*, ed. B. PŁONKA-SYROKA, A. SYROKA, Wrocław 2017, p. 37–39; M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Malá bathron* (μαλάβαθρον) in *Ancient...*, p. 585–587.

affluent man to accept. Thus, medicine did not merely aspire to address the needs of the financial elite, but it also took into consideration the necessity to serve society as a whole.

Also, worth noticing is the fact that the exclusiveness of the aforementioned formulas is sensorially justified and stems from their exceptional smell and sweet taste. When it comes to the former, it is relatively difficult to define. By and large, we believe that it could be described as having a unique aromaticity unlike one which is common and easily attainable, since it was usually the property of substances that were exotic or difficult to produce in large volumes. The exotic ones included sweet flag¹⁷⁸, iris¹⁷⁹, camel grass¹⁸⁰, a plant called *stáchys*¹⁸¹, and naturally, myrrh¹⁸², while saffron represents the second category within the analysed formulas¹⁸³.

Since the author of *De materia medica*, at the very beginning of his catalogue of therapeutic wines¹⁸⁴, declared that the list may also be of interest to enthusiasts of medicine, we can imagine that Dioscorides did not write only with professionals in mind, but he also addressed his writings to amateurs attempting to cure themselves and others. This tendency for self-healing indicates that medical services were costly. On the other hand, medical knowledge must have plainly been fashionable, which is, for instance, confirmed by the fact that, in his *Naturalis historia*, Pliny derives a great amount of information from such medical works as the treatise by Sextius Niger. Another example of such amateur practitioners of medicine was also the wealthy man depicted in Galen's anecdote from *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, as not only did he collect formulas, but he

¹⁷⁸ For instance, DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 18, 1, 12. Sweet flag as a plant used in ancient perfume making, cf. R. TOUZÉ, *Les matières parfumées employées dans la confection des huelles, onguents et poudres parfumée en Grèce ancienne*, [in:] *Parfums et odeurs dans l'antiquité*, ed. L. BODIOU, D. FRÈRE, V. MEHL, Rennes 2009, p. 48–49.

¹⁷⁹ For instance, DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 1, 1, 9. Iris as a plant used in ancient perfume making, cf. I. ERARD-CERCEAU, *Végétaux...*, p. 269; J.-P. BRUN, X. FERNANDEZ, *Parfums...*, p. 219–223.

¹⁸⁰ For instance, THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum*, IX, 7, 1, 12 – 2, 3; IX, 7, 3, 4. Camel grass as a plant used in ancient perfume making, cf. I. ERARD-CERCEAU, *Végétaux...*, p. 268.

¹⁸¹ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, III, 106, 1, 2.

¹⁸² THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum*, IX, 7, 3, 4. Myrrh as a plant used in ancient perfume making, cf. P. VIRGILI, *Culto della bellezza e della seduzione*, [in:] *Bellezza e seduzione nella Roma imperiale, Roma, Palazzo dei Conservatori 11 giugno – 31 luglio 1990*, Roma 1990, p. 43–44; J.-P. BRUN, *The Production of Perfumes in Antiquity: the Cases of Delos and Paestum*, AJA 104, 2000, p. 281; R. TOUZÉ, *Les matières...*, p. 48–53; M. D'ACUNTO, *I profumi nella Grecia alto-arcaica: produzione, commercio, comportamenti sociali*, [in:] *I profumi nelle società antiche. Produzione, commercio, usi, valori simbolici*, ed. A. CARANNANTE, M. D'ACUNTO, Salerno 2012, p. 217–218.

¹⁸³ THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum*, IX, 7, 3, 4. Saffron as a plant used in ancient perfume making, cf. J.-P. BRUN, *The Production...*, p. 281, 290, 298, 300; B. NICOLAS, *Le vocabulaire de la parfumerie ancienne*, [in:] *Parfums et odeurs...*, p. 38–39.

¹⁸⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 19, 3, 2.

also sought to treat his own servants¹⁸⁵. Please, note that his actions were a continuation of a long-standing tradition, which in Italia was noted by Cato the Elder as early as in the 2nd century B.C.¹⁸⁶

As demonstrated in our deliberations, plant-based additives to therapeutic wines were not selected randomly, but according to their usefulness in achieving a specific curative goal. Therefore, Dioscorides describes black false hellebore, lemongrass and *stachys* as substances possessing pharmacological properties that facilitate the purgation of the gastrointestinal system, while white false hellebore, saffron, sweet flag and juniper berries are said to be effective in ending pregnancies, and dill, iris and white pepper in therapies of the respiratory tract and the digestion system. Myrrh, which we nominated an indicator of a high financial status, possessed all these properties, according to Greek medical theory. Thus, ancient physicians worked on the basis of an internally coherent theory, which was grounded on logic developed over centuries of medical practice.

An example of such 'organisation' of knowledge is the work by Dioscorides, since – as we demonstrated in this study – the data preserved by the author is arranged following a purposefully constructed scheme. Although it is not certified before the 1st century A.D., it does not mean that lost treatises from the earlier period are not responsible for shaping the method about which we learnt from *De materia medica*. Nevertheless, Dioscorides' output in that matter must have been exceptional: it deftly summarised everything that had been established prior to its compilation. Its virtues are confirmed by the fact that the treatise survived to influence subsequent generations, while earlier works had sunk into oblivion.

The analysed formulas for therapeutic wines also provide us with material allowing us to make several observations on the experts and works that Dioscorides referred to. While the general knowledge of wines in *De materia medica* originated, in all probability, from *Peri hyles*, there are no arguments that would enable us to attribute, beyond all doubt, the authorship of formulas within the catalogue of therapeutic wines to a specific person. As far as the first and fourth recipes are concerned, they are reworkings of various traditional folk formulas, which may as well have been written either by Dioscorides himself or by his predecessors. On the other hand, the formulas including exclusive additives were probably jotted down by Greek physicians, older than the scholar from Anazarbus. To our mind, they owe the form we know from *De materia medica* to Sextius Niger, since he was in the habit of including specific formulas for therapeutic wines, as evidenced by the examples of *adýnamos* and *melitites* wines discussed above. What is more, the inclusion of aromatised wines in Pliny's *Naturalis historia*¹⁸⁷ implies that at least

¹⁸⁵ GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, 636, 9–10, vol. XIII.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. CATO, *De agri cultura*, 94, 1–2; 95, 1–2 (therapeutic wines with black false hellebore); 122; 123; 125; 126; 127, 1–2; 156, 1–7; 157, 1–15; 158, 1–2; 159. Not only did Cato treat people, but also animals, for instance, cf. CATO, *De agri cultura*, 70, 1–2; 71.

¹⁸⁷ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XIV, 98, 1 – 114, 5.

some of the recipes from *De materia medica* had been written down by Sextius Niger or borrowed from his masters, namely Asclepiades of Bithynia¹⁸⁸ and Themison¹⁸⁹.

Since Niger is very likely to have been responsible not only for Dioscorides' knowledge of wines, but also his expertise in numerous aromatising additives, our deliberations are yet another contribution to an appropriate evaluation of Sextius Niger's share in shaping theoretical attitudes of ancient and Byzantine pharmacology. We fancy that his actual impact must have been much greater than the fame his figure enjoys today among experts in the history of medicine.

The results of our studies also allow us to remark briefly on a work which – although mentioned in this article – represents the medical output of the subsequent early Byzantine era, i.e. Book V of *Collectiones medicae* by Oribasius, where we find a recipe for one of the wines from the class of *helleborítai*¹⁹⁰. This is, to some extent, a copy of the first formula, but with types of false hellebore specified as *helléboros mélas*, which is missing in the preserved work by Dioscorides. Since both types of hellebore were used for similar purposes, the variant from *Collectiones medicae* was either a legitimation of practice or a mistake made by Oribasius in the course of collecting data. The latter option is more probable because, as we specified above, Dioscorides had in mind white hellebore, and after all, he was a specialist in the realm of *materia medica*, while – for Oribasius – the knowledge derived from Dioscorides' treatise constituted just a fraction of the ancient output included within his exhaustive compilation.

The preserved material also proves that the science of wine and of its aromatising additives was not modified after the 1st century A.D., which, in consequence, shows that medicine did not develop in that matter and chose to draw from the output of experts from the Byzantine period. Thus, it seems appropriate to suggest that later it was not deemed necessary to transform the foundations of pharmacology, because, on the one hand, a fully crystallised form of the theory already existed before the 1st century, and, on the other, there was a lack of modifying factors, resulting from the invariability of the range of medicaments available to physicians. Therefore, there is every likelihood that Dioscorides, and later Oribasius, Aëtius of Amida, and Paul of Aegina duplicated opinions which were already considered classical, since any changes in the range of attainable wines and wine-making technologies (including their characteristics as therapeutic agents) were minor during the lifetime of the aforementioned authors. If this was the case, then the treatise by Dioscorides as well as other medical texts which contain teachings on wine are not only becoming source material for the history of medicine *sensu stricto*, but also important accounts of the ancient and early Byzantine economy, and particularly, grapevine cultivation and winemaking.

¹⁸⁸ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXIII, 32, 1–3.

¹⁸⁹ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XIV, 114, 5 – 115, 1.

¹⁹⁰ ORIBASIVS, *Collectiones medicae*, V, 25, 41, 1 – 43, 1.

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Abstract. The present study has resulted from a close reading of prescriptions for therapeutic wines inserted in book V of *De materia medica* by Pedanius Dioscorides, the eminent expert in *materia medica* of the 1st century A.D.

The authors emphasise the role of wine varieties and selected flavourings (and especially of myrrh) in order to determine the social status of those to whom the formulas were addressed. This perspective gives the researchers ample opportunity for elaborating not only on the significance of wine in medical procedures but also for underscoring the importance of a number of aromatics in pharmacopoeia of antiquity and Byzantium.

The analysis of seven selected formulas turns out to provide a fairly in-depth insight into Mediterranean society over a prolonged period of time, and leads the authors to draw the following conclusions. First, they suggest that medical doctors were social-inequality-conscious and that Dioscorides and his followers felt the obligation to treat both the poor and the rich. Second, they prove physicians' expertise in *materia medica*, exemplifying how they were capable of adjusting market value

of components used in their prescriptions to financial capacities of the patients. Third, the researchers circumstantiate the place of medical knowledge in ancient, and later on in Byzantine society. Last but not least, they demonstrate that medical treatises are an important source of knowledge, and therefore should be more often made use of by historians dealing with economic and social history of antiquity and Byzantium.

Keywords: history of medicine, history of medical literature in antiquity and Byzantium, ancient medicine, Byzantine medicine, history of wine, wine in ancient and Byzantine medicine, myrrh in ancient and Byzantine medicine, hellebore in ancient and Byzantine medicine, women in antiquity, abortifacient wines, abortifacient medicaments, Dioscorides, Sextius Niger, Pliny the Elder.

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CONTINUITY BETWEEN EARLY PAULICIANISM AND THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY BULGARIAN PAULICIANS: THE PAULICIAN LEGEND OF ROME AND THE RITUAL OF THE BAPTISM BY FIRE

During the Middle Ages two dualistic communities were active in Bulgaria and Bulgarian lands – Bogomils and Paulicians. Paulicians, unlike Bogomils, survived as a separate religious sect up to the 17th century, when most of them gradually accepted Catholicism. The detailed reports of the Catholic missionaries, priests and bishops shed light on different aspects of their beliefs and practices from the 17th century. The aim of this article is to propose an explanation of a strange ritual and legend spread among the Bulgarian Paulicians and recorded in the above mentioned reports. The premise of the article is that the legend and ritual in question refer to the early history of Paulicianism. The ritual is related to syncretic religious notions and goes beyond the scope of dualism. I will try to examine the legend and ritual in the context of their history in the Balkans, especially in the context of their belief system, inherited from the early Anatolian Paulicians.

Sources of investigations

The sources used in the article include works and reports written in Greek, Old Slavonic, Armenian and Latin, composed in the long period between the 9th and 17th century. The most important of them are:

- The works of Euthymius Zigabenus and Petrus Siculus – both written in Greek. The first contains a chapter about Paulicians. It is based on the evidence taken from the works of St. Photius. The second was written by the Byzantine diplomat Petrus Siculus, who visited the Paulician “capital” Tephriche around 870–871 AD. In spite of criticism by some authors, who maintain that both works are later compilations composed during the reign of Constantine VII

Porphyrogenitus 945–959 AD¹, there are strong arguments indicating that some pieces of evidence these works provide about the Paulician doctrine and practices are closely related and probably are the prototypes of some beliefs registered by Catholic missionaries among Bulgarian Paulicans in the 17th century.

- John Exarch's work – *Shestodnef*, containing information about the earliest dualistic notions spread in Bulgarian lands at the beginning of the 10th century.
- Reports about Paulicians and their beliefs and customs, written by Catholic bishops and missionaries in the 17th century.
- A medieval Armenian legend concerning the origins and beliefs of Paulicians. It was discovered by Armenian researchers and subsequently published in the Bulgarian historian Donka Radeva's work on Paulicianism.

Early Paulicianism – religious notions

The early history of Paulicianism usually is sought in the 7th century Anatolia, but many aspects of this history are unclear and disputable. The linguistic analysis of the name “Paulicians” contributes to further complexity of the problem of their origin – it indicates the Armenian adoption of Middle Persian or Parthian derivative of the personal name “Paul”². According to Seta Dadoyan, Paulicians were mentioned for first time in the documents issued by the Council of Armenian bishops, which took place in Dvine in 554–555 AD. Then the Paulicians were considered to belong to the so-called *Mezghnēan*, condemned by the council, but this note could be a later addition. However, the same term was used by the Armenian Catholicos Hovhan of Ohzun to designate 8th century Paulicians³. The designation *Mezghnēan* covered heretical groups sharing the Pythagorean doctrine and known also as Vegetarians and Sun Worshipers. It seems that there were some doctrinal similarities with Marcionites and Manicheans – all of these groups rejected the resurrection of bodies and marriage⁴.

Byzantine narratives about the first religious leaders of Paulicians seem to convey mostly legends rather than facts. The connection with Manicheism on which the Byzantine authors insist was probably real but it seems exaggerated. This new “Manicheism” knew nothing about Mani, but as we can see below, it must have been directly affected by the ideas of Marcionism. Paulicians were noticed by

¹ N. GARSOĪAN, *The Paulician Heresy. A Study of the Origins and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire*, The Hague 1967, p. 77.

² А. ПЕРИХАНЫЯН, *К вопросу О Происхождении Павликианства*, ППВ 2, 2011, p. 67–68.

³ S. DADOYAN, *The Fatimid Armenians. Cultural and Political Interaction in the Near East*, Leiden 1997, p. 31–32.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 27–28.

historians in mid-9th century, when they seized the mountain fortress Tephrike in the eastern part of Anatolia and formed their short-lived quasi-state, which engaged in constant wars with Byzantine. From that moment on they attracted constant attention of Byzantine authors. In that period and for a long time after the fall of Tephrike and the collapse of their state, they were a typical example of a militarized religious sect led by military commanders.

Drawing on evidence provided by Petrus Siculus and Euthymius Zigabenus, I will try to present their beliefs in comparative context, seeking parallels to previous heretical teachings.

- Parallels to Marcionism⁵:

- Existence of two gods – the god of good and the god of evil. The second is comprehended as a creator and lord of the present world, and the first as god of the future world⁶. This kind of dualism some researchers called “absolute”, in contrast with the dualism of Bulgarian Bogomils, who preached that the visible world was created by Satan (an angel created by God), who initiated a revolt against God and became the leader of the fallen angels. This dualism, according to which evil has secondary character, is defined as “moderate”⁷.
- Rejection of the entire Old Testament and the Prophets⁸.
- Rejection of St. Peter the Apostle and reducing the canonic books of the New Testament – the epistles of St. Peter were excluded from the New Testament books used by Paulicians⁹.
- Legitimation of their communities by means of the missionary activity of St. Paul the Apostle. The latter becomes visible from their practice to name their communities and leaders after the churches established by St. Paul and after his disciples (see below). A medieval Bulgarian legend concerning the origin of Bulgarian Paulicians, notices that *These people are called Paulicians and they glorify Paul*¹⁰. Even in the 17th century this respect

⁵ The late archimandrite Pavel Stefanov, Bulgarian researcher of Gnosticism, also insisted on the connections of Paulicianism with Marcionism but did not regard this problem in detail in his work on the gnostic teachings: П. СТЕФАНОВ, *Ялдаваот. История и учение на гностическата религия*, София 2008, p. 177.

⁶ *Petri Siculi Historia Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum*, Gottingae 1846 (cetera: PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*), p. 11–12.

⁷ Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Богомилството*, София 1993, p. 139–140.

⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 13.

⁹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 14.

¹⁰ *Слово как се появиха павликяните*, [in:] Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство в българските земи. Архетип и повторения VII–XVII век*, София 2015, p. 518.

to St. Paul was mentioned by the English diplomat Paul Rycaut as a distinctive feature of the religious beliefs and practices of the Bulgarian Paulicians before their conversion to Catholicism¹¹.

- The notion of the ostensible birth of Jesus Christ. Paulicians do not recognize Virgin Mary as Theotokos and even as virgin because according to them, Jesus was not born in a human body, but He took His body from Heaven¹².

All of these aspects of the Paulician cult are rooted in the dualistic doctrine of Marcion. He was the first to condemn the books of the Old Testament and its prophets as inspired by the Creator of the present world. Marcion also reduced the books of the New Testament, emphasizing exclusively on the Gospel of Luka and part of the epistles of St. Paul the Apostle. It seems that the exclusive respect to this apostle also originates from Marcion's doctrine. According to Marcion St. Paul the Apostle received exclusive by its nature revelation that revealed him the essence of Jesus' sacrifice¹³. Marcionism survived in various places in the Middle East and Anatolia up to the 7th century¹⁴.

- Parallels to Montanism and Manicheism: The information provided by Petrus Siculus that the leader of the Paulicians, Sergius, presented himself as the Paraclete¹⁵ indicates direct influence from Manicheism and indirect from Montanism, a charismatic movement which emerged in Anatolia in the 2nd century¹⁶ and whose followers while in ecstasy pronounced different prophecies. They asserted that these prophecies came from the Holy Spirit and regarded them as a new revelation equal to the revelation of the Bible. According to Montanists, this marked the appearance of a new religious epoch, the one of the Holy Spirit – Paraclete¹⁷. The last manifestations of Montanism are from the 8th century¹⁸. Sources say nothing about the existence of a prophetic tradition among Paulicians, but the fact that Sergius declared himself the Paraclete indicates that among Paulicians expectations of Montanistic origin really existed.

¹¹ П. РИКО, *Сегашното състояние на Османската империя и на гръцката църква (XVII век)*, trans. et ed. М. Киселинчева, София 1988, p. 175.

¹² PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 12.

¹³ В. БОЛОТОВ, *Лекции по истории Древней Церкви*, vol. II, *История церкви в период до Константина Великого*, Москва 1994, p. 230.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 40, 46.

¹⁶ В. БОЛОТОВ, *Лекции...*, p. 351–352.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 357–360.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 353.

On the other hand, the idea of the Paraclete is widely used in Manicheism, whose founder, Mani, also considered himself the Paraclete¹⁹.

Another type of Manicheist heritage is the peculiar Prayers – conjurations that Paulicians from Tephrike said before eating bread. Petrus Siculus interprets them as curses against farmers and bakers. According to him, by means of these “prayers” Paulicians declined all responsibility for the “suffering” of the corn and cast the whole blame for this “pain” on farmers and bakers²⁰. The roots of this behavior and notions must be sought in the close contacts and interaction of Manicheism with some of the branches of Buddhism.

- Original elements in Paulician practices and doctrines
 - Paulician leaders adopted new names which copied the names of the followers of St. Apostle Paul²¹.
 - Paulicians named their communities after the names of the churches established by St. Apostle Paul or after the names of the places visited by him²².
 - Rejection of the Holy Cross²³ and icons. There are not explicit evidences in the medieval works that Paulicians rejected icons but the Catholic missionaries who converted most of the Bulgarian Paulicians to Catholicism in the 17th century mention this specific of their religious ideology²⁴. According to me there is no doubt that the rejection of icons was inherited from the medieval past of the sect. For example Bogomils also rejected the Holy Cross and icons. In this case possible influence exerted by Islam or the Byzantine Iconoclasm might be noted. The close contacts of Paulicians with Arabs also give reasons for this hypothesis. However, in my opinion, it is a natural consequence of the dualistic teaching condemning all matter as evil or created by an evil demiurge. The same views in respect to the Holy Cross and icons were maintained by Bogomils, who differed from Paulicians in many other aspects.

¹⁹ М. ТАРДИО, *Манихейството*, София 2001, р. 22. Translation from French: M. TARDIEU, *Le manichéisme*, Paris 1997.

²⁰ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 23–24.

²¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 48–49.

²² PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 48–49.

²³ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 15.

²⁴ ПЕТЪР СОЛИНАТ, *Доклад на софийския епископ Петър Солинат до съборната конгрегация в Рим от 1622 г.*, [in:] Б. ПРИМОВ, П. САРИЙСКИ, М. ЙОВКОВ, *Документи за католическата дейност в България през XVII век*, София 1993 (сetera: ПЕТЪР СОЛИНАТ, *Доклад*), р. 22.

- Rejection of the Holy Communion: the communion during the Lord's Supper is perceived by Paulicians as His sermon, symbolized by wine and bread²⁵.
 - Rejection of the Orthodox church: it is accused of opposition to God²⁶.
 - Rejection of baptism: based on Jesus' word about the living water, they perceived listening to the Gospel as Baptism²⁷.
- Mythological notions

It seems that among the religious beliefs of Paulicians there were mythological notions that did not originate from their peculiar interpretation of the New Testament. For example, Petrus Siculus tells about their strange rituals during thunder storms²⁸. Euthymius Zigabenus mentions that they thought that evil (most likely – the god of matter and the present world) had originated from fire and darkness. He also notices that Paulicians avoided saying that fire was created by evil²⁹. It is possible for this notion to have been taken from some Gnostic system including different stages of emanations, but this is merely speculation.

One relatively late Armenian legend referring to Paulicianism notices that Paulicians worshiped “sunny Christ” who had never died nor resurrected and kept the fast on Sunday³⁰. On this basis the Bulgarian researcher of Paulicianism Donka Radeva regards the so-called “Paulician Christ” as a Christianized Mithraic god/cult³¹.

In my opinion Paulicianism followed a secret sun cult; its exact origin and the exact place of the “Paulician Christ” in this cult are unclear, but probably it originated outside the scope of dualistic doctrines.

Paulicians in Bulgarian lands

At first glance, evidence about the spread of Paulicianism in Bulgarian lands chronologically precedes evidence about Bogomilism with almost two centuries. The Byzantine author Theophanes Confessor notices that in the middle of the 8th century the Byzantine emperor Konstantinos V brought Syrians and Armenians from Melitena and Theodosiopolis and settled them in Thrace. Judging from the immediate reactions of Bulgarians, this migration must have affected the border

²⁵ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 12–13.

²⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 14.

²⁷ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 37; EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, *Panoplia Dogmatica ad Alexium Comnenum* (cetera: EUTHYMIUS, *Panoplia*), [in:] PG, vol. CXXX, col. 1197.

²⁸ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 25.

²⁹ EUTHYMIUS, *Panoplia*, PG, vol. CXXX, col. 1199.

³⁰ S. DADOYAN, *The Fatimid Armenians...*, p. 73, also Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 515.

³¹ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 102–105.

zone (with the early medieval Bulgarian state) of Northern Thrace. Subsequently, again according to the narrative of Theophanes Confessor, this population started spreading Paulicianism³².

In the second and the third decade of the 9th century the territories of Northern Thrace were gradually incorporated in Bulgaria. During this conquest many inhabitants of Northern and Eastern Thrace were removed to Moesia, the cradle of the early medieval Bulgarian state. Thus an unknown number of people with dualistic ideas were incorporated in the territory of Bulgaria. Theophanes Confessor calls their dualism “Paulicianism”³³ but mentions nothing about the essence of this “Paulicianism”. Judging from John Exarch’s evidence and the character of the Bogomil teachings, it could be concluded that the religious ideas propagated by the new settlers were some early form of Paulicianism, different from those of Tephrike, or most likely dualistic notions labeled as “Paulicianism”. The existence of some Paulician groups in this early period cannot be excluded, but their influence on the dualistic movements in the Balkans was insignificant.

Petrus Siculus explicitly notes that around 870 Paulicians in Tephrike intended to send a mission to Bulgaria in order to propagate their doctrine among Bulgarians. That inspired him to write his work and to dedicate it to the Bulgarian archbishop³⁴. However, we do not know whether Paulicians realized this decision. Having in mind the events after 870 and the recent collapse of the Paulician state as well as the lack of information about such a mission from another source, most likely this intent remained unrealized.

For sure the first Paulicians were settled in Philippopolis/Plovdiv³⁵ shortly after the Byzantine reconquest of Northern Thrace in 970. This migration was initiated by emperor John I Tzimiskes who aimed to reduce their number in the eastern parts of empire³⁶. In the following 11th and 12th centuries Philippopolis/Plovdiv became a center of religious and political Paulicianism. For example, Anna Comnena notes that in the second half of the 11th century Philippopolis/Plovdiv and its vicinity became “heretical” and that the small number of Orthodox Christians were oppressed and regularly plundered by Paulicians³⁷.

³² THEOPHANES CONFESSOR, *Chronographia*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. III, ed. I. DUJČEV et al., Sofia 1960 (cetera: THEOPHANES CONFESSOR, *Chronographia*), p. 269–270.

³³ THEOPHANES CONFESSOR, *Chronographia*, p. 269–270.

³⁴ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 2–3.

³⁵ During the Middle Ages this town was called in the Byzantine sources with its ancient Greek name Philippopolis but in some Bulgarian sources it appears with the name Plodiv or Plüpüdiv. The Bulgarian form has stemmed from the Moesain variant of the name of the city – Pulpodeva. However the change u>o and the elision of the second syllable indicate Vulgar Latin mediation. In the article I use both names.

³⁶ GEORGII CEDRENI, IOANNIS SCYLITZAE, *Historiarum compendium*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VI, ed. P. TRIVČEV et al., Sofia 1965 (cetera: GEORGII CEDRENI, IOANNIS SCYLITZAE, *Historiarum compendium*), p. 260.

³⁷ ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VIII, ed. M. VOJNOV et al., Sofia 1972 (cetera: ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*), p. 137.

During the same period the “absolute dualism”, which was typical of Paulicians, started spreading among the dualistic communities in the Balkans and Western Europe³⁸. Some researchers tend to identify the so-called “church Durgunthia” known from the work of Rainer Sacconi as one of the two initial dualistic communities in Europe³⁹, with the Paulicians inhabiting Philippopolis/Plovdiv. Most likely this “church” as well as the other main initial “church” called “Bulgaria”, was Bogomilian⁴⁰. Anna Comnena explicitly states that besides Paulicians, Bogomils also lived in Philipopolis/Plovdiv⁴¹. However, “Durgunthia” obviously accepted the “absolute dualism” as a result of the Paulician influence.

The Paulicians from Philippopolis/Plovdiv, following the model inherited from Tephrike and Anatolia, formed their own military units, and many times they acted in unruly ways. For example, in 1079 the Paulician Leka rose in revolt in Sofia. Several years later the Paulician military commanders Xant and Kuleon refused to join in the military campaign against the Normans. The peak of their political activity was in 1084, when the local Paulicians under the leadership of Travlos seceded from Byzantine and formed their quasi state, whose center became the fortress Belyatovo – somewhere in modern central Bulgaria⁴². The events of 1084–1086 resembled those from the 9th century, when a Paulician state hostile to Byzantine was founded in Asia Minor. It seems that after the Travlos’ riot the military power of Paulicians declined. They appeared in the historical chronicles again in 1205 when they actively supported the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan in his campaign against the Greeks and the Latin Empire. However, this time they acted not as a military unit but as a community inhabiting Philipopolis/Plovdiv, which was besieged by the army of Kaloyan⁴³. It seems that this cooperation became the reason for their integration in the Second Bulgarian Tsardom – for example there is no evidence that they were pursued during the counsels against Bogomils, the so-called “Judean followers” and some other heretic communities in the 13th and 14th centuries. After 1205 they started to migrate from their homeland in the region of Philippopolis/Plovdiv northward, and most of them settled in the cradle area of the Second Bulgarian state, the so-called district of Zagora, a region between the Central Stara Planina Mountain and the Danube. Most of their 16th and 17th century settlements are registered in the region between Tărnovo and Nikopol, some of them in modern North Western Bulgaria, and only a small part of them

³⁸ Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Богомилството...*, p. 354–355.

³⁹ RAINER SACCONI, *Summa fratris Raynerii de ordine fratrum praedicatorum, de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, [in:] *FLHB*, vol. IV, ed. M. VOJNOV et al., Sofia 1981 (cetera: RAINER SACCONI, *Summa*), p. 169–170.

⁴⁰ RAINER SACCONI, *Summa*, p. 169.

⁴¹ ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, p. 136.

⁴² Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликияни...*, p. 198–208.

⁴³ GEOFFREY DE VILLEHARDOUIN, *Memoirs or Chronicle of the Fourth Crusade and the Conquest of Constantinople*, London 1908, p. 105.

remained south of the Stara Planina mountain⁴⁴. Paulicians inhabiting the north-westernmost parts of Bulgaria (the territories of the so-called Vidin Tsardom) were mentioned in the sources referring to the period between the 1365–1369⁴⁵.

In the centuries of the Ottoman rule, and especially in the 17th century, some Paulicians adopted Islam, others were converted to Orthodoxy, but the most part of them embraced Catholicism as a result of the activity of the order of St. Francis and The Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples / *Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione*⁴⁶. At the first half of the 18th century one part of the Catholic Paulicians left the Ottoman Empire and settled in the region of Banat – then under the rule of Habsburgs⁴⁷.

Ethnical and language characteristics of the Balkan Paulicians

After the 10th century the Paulicians in Bulgarian lands experienced a process of linguistic Bulgarization. Its intensity and duration cannot be reconstructed, but in the 16th and the 17th century all available documents confirm that all Paulicians in the Balkans spoke Bulgarian. The linguistic investigations on Paulician vernaculars categorically show that the vernacular of all of them – these in Thrace, Moesia and Banat belong to a common dialect part of the Rhodope dialect group of Bulgarian⁴⁸. That means that the process of Bulgarization of their language had ended before their migration to Moesia. Besides, the Catholic missionaries explicitly noted that among Paulicians they found New Testament books written in parchment with Cyrillic letters in Slavonic (Old Slavonic or Middle Bulgarian???) and they even used them in their missionary activity⁴⁹. Unfortunately, none of these books has been preserved, but Peter Bogdan (Deodat) Bakshev in 1650 mentioned that the books used by the Paulicians from the region of Plovdiv had been written on parchment more than 300 years before⁵⁰. If this chronologization is correct, the Old Slavonic or Middle Bulgarian must have been used among Paulicians as a literary language at least since the first half of the 14th century.

However, there are direct and indirect evidences that in the 10th and 11th century Paulicians were a heterogeneous linguistic and ethnic community.

⁴⁴ М. ЙОВКОВ, *Павликяни и павликянски селища в българските земи XV–XVIII век*, София 1991, р. 105–162.

⁴⁵ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, р. 239.

⁴⁶ М. ЙОВКОВ, *Павликяни...*, р. 71–88.

⁴⁷ С. ЕЛДЪРОВ, *Католиците в България. Историческо изследване*, София 2002, р. 18–19.

⁴⁸ С. СТОЙКОВ, *Българска диалектология*, София 1993, р. 137.

⁴⁹ *De statu ecclesiae Petri archiepiscopi Sophiensis relatio CXVI. A. 1650*, [in:] EUSEBIUS FERMEZDZSIN, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica ab a. 1565 usque ad a. 1799, Zagrabiae 1887* [= MSHSM, 18], р. 208. Also: Л. МИЛЕТИЧЪ, *Нашият павликяни*, [in:] *Сборникъ за Народни Умотворения, Наука и Книжнина*, vol. XIX, София 1903, р. 11.

⁵⁰ *De statu ecclesiae Petri archiepiscopi...*, р. 208; Л. МИЛЕТИЧЪ, *Нашият павликяни...*, р. 11.

- Armenians: Usually almost all contemporary authors assert that the initial Anatolian Paulician community included many Armenians⁵¹ and probably Syrians⁵² having in mind the evidences of Theophanes Confessor (see above). Anna Comnena also notices that Armenians and Syrians followers of Jacob bar Addai joined the Paulician community in Philippopolis/Plovdiv⁵³. This evidence is not very clear, but it seems that disciples of the Armenian and the Syriac churches made a political alliance with the local Paulicians or even adopted their faith.
- Several heretical leaders are anathematized in the 77th paragraph of the medieval Bulgarian Synodic of tsar Boril immediately after the anathemas pronounced against the founders of Paulicianism in the 76th paragraph. The names mentioned in the 77th paragraph are **АЛЕЖАНДРЪ КОВАЧЪ** (Alexander Blacksmith), **АВДИНЪ** (Avdin), **ФОТИНЪ** (Fotin), **АФРИГІИ** (Afrigii), **МОУСИ** (Moses)⁵⁴ and are unknown from other sources⁵⁵. From them only Moses who is the last in the list is identified as Bogomil⁵⁶. That gives reason to think that the other were adherents of Paulicianism. Avdin and Fotin are obviously Slavinized forms of the Hebrew Obadyā/Abdiyāhu (with Greek mediation) and the Greek Φωτεινός. Separate attention must be paid to the name Afrigii. Probably that is a variant of the Chorasmian Iranian antroponym Afrig⁵⁷. Most likely it belonged to some traditional layer in the Paulician antroponymy and such like the origin of the group name Paulician(s) (see note 2) indicates Iranian traces in the very early history of Paulicianism.
- Semitic elements – except the above mentioned testimony of Anna Comnena, the names of one of the spiritual leaders of the Paulicians from Philippopolis/Plovdiv in the middle of the 11th century, Κούσινος/Kusin⁵⁸ indicates contacts with a Semitic environment. Most probably it is an adoption of the Arabic Ḥusayn or of some of its variants – Husseyn, Husein, etc. The close contacts between the early Paulicians and Arabs in Anatolia and Syria are well

⁵¹ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 27.

⁵² Petrus Siculus asserts that Paulicanism emerged in Samosata – town in Armenia. However according to other sources this town is found in Syria – EUTHYMIUS, *Panoplia*, PG, vol. CXXX, col. 1190.

⁵³ ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, p. 137.

⁵⁴ That is according to the edition of Poprujenko in 1928. According to the new edition of the text of Synodic these anathemas are included in paragraph 23 A, 12–13 lines: И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилев синодик. Издание и превод*, София 2010.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

⁵⁶ М. ПОПРУЖЕНКО, *Синодик царя Борила*, София 1928, p. 68.

⁵⁷ С. BOSWORTH, “ĀL-E AFRĪĠ”, [in:] *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. I.7, ed. E. YARSHATER, Costa Mesa 1996 (online edition), <http://www.iranicaonline.org> [14 V 2014], p. 743–745.

⁵⁸ ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, p. 13.

testified in the sources⁵⁹. The etymology of the name of the second Paulician leader – Κουλέων/Kuleon is uncertain. However it directs to the Latin oikonym “Colonia”, a designation of an Anatolian settlement, which became the center of Constantinian Silvan’s activity and where, according to the narrative of Petrus Siculus and Euthymius Zigabenus, a Paulician community called “Macedonia”, named after the church found by St. Paul, was established⁶⁰. The reduction of the unstressed o (o>u) is a regular occurrence in almost all Balkan languages, including many eastern Bulgarian and Greek dialects.

Besides, the above mentioned Bulgarian legend about the origin of Bulgarian Paulicians, tells about two “disciples” of the devil who left Cappadocia and come to Bulgarian lands, where they started to spread their teachings. The name of the first is given as **СѢБОТНИ**/Subotin and the name of the second as **ШѢТИЛЬ**/Šutil. In spite of its apocryphal character, the legend contains correct information about the practices of the early Paulicians – for example, the two disciples of devil changed their names, adopting the names of the apostles Paul and John⁶¹. The first name stems from the Old Slavonic (Bulgarian) word **сѣбота**/Saturday and up to the present day continues to be in use among Bulgarians⁶². The second name is unusual and with obscure etymology. However, having in mind that the devil was mentioned in the narrative, a link with the Syriac word šwdl, šwdl? (šuddāl, šuddālā) – lure, bite⁶³ could be presumed.

- Turkic elements: The connections of the Paulicians from Philippopolis with the Turkic Oghuz tribes of Pecheneges, who in the middle of the 11th century occupied the North Eastern parts of the Balkans, are well testified in the contemporary sources. Pecheneges were the main allies of Leka and Travlos and regularly supported Travlos’ campaigns against Byzantium. Besides, there is categorical evidence that both Leka and Travlos were in matrimonial relations with Pecheneges⁶⁴. The latter indicates a possible spread of Paulicianism among Pecheneges who were pagans in that period.
- Balkan elements: There is circumstantial evidence that while still in Anatolia, Greeks or Greek-speaking followers had strong standing in Paulician communities, and even that Greek was the main colloquial and written language

⁵⁹ М. БАРТИКЯН, *К вопросу о павликианском движении в первой половине VIII в.*, ВВ 8, 1956, р. 127–128; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, р. 337–339.

⁶⁰ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, р. 32, 48.

⁶¹ *Слово как се появиа павликяните...*, р. 517.

⁶² С. ИЛЧЕВ, *Речник на личните и фамилините имена у българите*, София 1969, р. 472.

⁶³ *The Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. J. PAYNE SMITH, Oxford 1903, р. 561.

⁶⁴ ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, р. 52–54; GEORGIJ CEDRENI, IOANNIS SCYLITZAE, *Historiarum compendium*, р. 339.

of Paulicians⁶⁵. The names of some of the 11th century leaders of the Paulicians from Philipopolis – like Ξαντᾶς (most likely from the Greek ξανθός – blond)⁶⁶, Τραυλός and Φῶλος⁶⁷ are Greek popular anthroponyms and indirectly prove that one part of the local Paulicians were Greeks or at least strongly influenced by the Greek popular anthroponymic practices. Another interesting anthroponym is the name Λέκας/Leka – an Albanian adoption of the Greek Ἀλέξανδρος⁶⁸, which probably indicates that Paulicians in the 11th century succeeded to spread their influence over Albanian groups. The phonetic characteristics of the name of the mountain village founded near the mountain pass and the road which connected the mediaeval Sredets (Sofia) and Philippopolis/Plovdiv give reasons to think that in the 10th and 11th century some mountain regions between both towns were inhabited by (Proto) Albanian population which had migrated eastward from their native lands in the Central and Western Balkans⁶⁹. In this context the appearance of an Albanian anthroponym in a Paulician community is not a surprise, but it also shows that Paulicians directed their efforts towards the nearby mountain communities. This circumstance can explain their subsequent Slavization by means of the Bulgarian Rhodope dialects, which initially must have functioned as a “lingua franca”.

Of course, the assumption that different ethnical identities existed within the medieval Paulician community in the Balkans parallel with the main Paulician identity is controversial. All medieval sources represent Paulicians as a monolithic community, consolidated around their heretical beliefs and religious and military leaders. On the other hand, representatives of the Paulician Catholic intellectuals, e.g. Philip Stanislavov in the 17th century, obviously considered themselves Paulician Bulgarians. Indeed, it could be a result of the influence exerted by Catholic missionaries who identified Paulicians as Slavs and Bulgarians, but the author of the apocryphal legend about the origin of Paulicians, who was not under the

⁶⁵ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 113–115.

⁶⁶ Б. ЯНЕВ, *Нов поглед върху гръцките лични имена в българската антропонимна система*, НТПУПХ 51, 1, 2013, p. 466.

⁶⁷ ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, p. 43.

⁶⁸ *Albanian Personal Names*, Washington 1966 (electronic edition prepared by E.E.D. LAWSON and R.F. SHEIL), p. 28.

⁶⁹ That is the oikonym Штипонъ (Štipon) recorded in the Bitola inscription of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Vladislav from 1015 (Й. ЗАИМОВ, *Битолски надпис на Иван Владислав, старобългарски паметник от 1015–1016*, София 1969, p. 26). Phonetically it stays very close to another Middle Bulgarian oikonym – Штипъ (Štip – at the present in Republic of Macedonia) recorded in the Apocryphal Bulgarian chronical from the 11th or 12th century (Й. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, София 1970, p. 287). The oikonym Štip is an adoption of the ancient Ἀστῖβος but with obvious Albanian mediation (V. STANIŠIĆ, *Two Types of Ancient Indo-European Isoglosses in the Albanian Language*, Balc 29, 1998, p. 323). The same unusual of the Old Slavonic adoption of the initial s by means of š is regarded in the case of Štipon that also indicates an Albanian mediation.

influence of the Catholic Church, considered them Bulgarians who had accepted the teachings of the devil⁷⁰. This indicates that ethnic awareness (autonomous from religious awareness) among Paulicians was not a completely unknown phenomenon and that the existence of some ethnical segmentation in the Paulician community in the 11th–13th centuries cannot be excluded. The latter seems to have remained invisible to foreign observers and to have been based on language differences and pre-Paulician clan and ethnical relations. However, Slavization, which in practice was a process of linguistic and probably ethnic unification, indicates that all of these language and ethnic differences were overcome relatively early – most likely circa the end of the 12th century, but the reasons and factors that led to that remain obscure.

Paulicians in the 17th century

Although some of the western travelers, Dubrovnik traders and even Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire give interesting evidence about the Bulgarian Paulicians as early as the 16th century, the first detailed reports about them are from the early 17th century. Then they attracted the attention of the Bosnian Franciscans, the Catholic Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) and the Catholic Archbishopric of Sofia, created in 1601, whose center was in Chiprovtsi, an old center of Bulgarian Catholics located in the northwesternmost Bulgarian ethnic territories. The initial year of the Catholic activity among Paulicians is considered to be 1604⁷¹. From this moment on a big number of reports concerning different sides of religious and social life of the Bulgarian Paulician communities have been written and sent to Rome by the Catholic missionaries and bishops. Among the authors of these reports are the most significant representatives of the 17th century Bulgarian Catholic intelligentsia – Peter Bogdan Bakshev, Anton Stefanov, Filip Stanislavov etc. The latter was not only Bulgarian by origin but also of Paulician origin. The reports in question registered a situation which in many aspects was quite different from that in the Middle Ages:

- The ethnical structure of Paulicians – unlike their counterparts in the previous epoch, all Paulicians in the 17th century spoke only Bulgarian. Their anthroponym system was composed entirely of popular Bulgarian names. The books found by missionaries were the texts of Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Paul, and Book of Revelation – all of them written in Slavonic with Cyrillic

⁷⁰ According to the second variant of the legend known from the manuscript dated back to the 18th century *Paulicians thought Bulgarians and glorified Paul. Many Bulgarians accepted the law from these devils and became to be called Paulicians* (in Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 520).

⁷¹ М. ЙОВКОВ, *Павликяни...*, p. 76.

letters⁷². The archbishop Peter Bakshev constantly notices in his reports that the Paulicians from Thrace are Slavs by origin⁷³.

- The dualistic doctrine: paradoxically, missionaries and bishops, including Filip Stanislavov, mention nothing about dualistic notions in their reports. The disappearance of dualism preceded the activity of Catholic missionaries, but the exact time of this disappearance remains unknown.
- The Paulicians had adopted some elements of the Orthodox holiday and canonical system – the Friday fast, the Easter fast, the fast preceding the day of Virgin Mary (15 August), the celebration of Sundays, the main Christian holidays fixed in accordance with the Julian calendar. They celebrated some “personal” holidays, such as these of St. Barbara or St. Sava⁷⁴. Most probably these “personal” days were days of the saints whose names belonged to separate persons. The influence of the Orthodox calendar on them was so strong that even decades after their conversion to Catholicism they refused to accept the calendar of the Catholic Church⁷⁵.

The significant changes in the beliefs and practices of Paulicians most likely resulted from the influence of different sources. In the first place the activity of the medieval Tŕrnovo Patriarchy should be mentioned. Its struggle against Bogomilism and other heretical groups is well testified. It is significant that none of these groups survived after the 14th century. However, the Paulicians, most likely for political reasons, were in the periphery of the anti-heretical activity of Tŕrnovo Patriarchy, which led to the decline of their dualistic doctrine. Another source of this change most likely was their everyday contacts with the Orthodox Christians. For example Peter Solinat notices that Paulicans often married their daughters to Orthodox Christians and even to Turks⁷⁶. The practices of exogamy also should contribute to the decline of dualistic notions and beliefs.

However Paulicians in the sphere of normative culture, prohibitions and rituals, continued to keep their previous practices and notions. The most important of them were the categorical rejection of the Holy Cross and icons, ignorance of

⁷² *Fr. Petri Bogdani Bakšić, episcopi Gallipoliensis et coadiutoris Sophiensis, de statu ecclesiae suae re- latio accuratissima cum notis cuiusdam in margine adpostis L. A. 1640, [in:] EUSEBIUS FERMENDZSIN, Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica...*, p. 80.

⁷³ ПЕТЪР БАКШЕВ, Доклад на софийския архиепископ Петър Богдан Бакшев за състоянието на неговата архиепископия, [in:] Б. ПРИМОВ, П. САРИЙСКИ, М. ЙОВКОВ, Документи..., p. 85–87.

⁷⁴ АНТОН СТЕФАНОВ, Доклад за посещението на Никополския епископ, [in:] Б. ПРИМОВ, П. САРИЙСКИ, М. ЙОВКОВ, Документи... (cetera: АНТОН СТЕФАНОВ, Доклад), p. 482.

⁷⁵ АНТОН СТЕФАНОВ, Доклад, p. 482, 485–486.

⁷⁶ ПЕТЪР СОЛИНАТ, Доклад, p. 22.

the church sacraments, the Biblical books out of the Paulician “canon”⁷⁷ and clergy. The Paulicians chose their priests among the literate people in their communities, an indication that among them there were some forms of primitive education. Their services consisted of common feasts that they made in their churches or in houses⁷⁸.

The legend

The complete variant of the legend is recorded by Bishop Filip Stanislavov in 1637. According to the legend, Paulicians originated from Rome, where the four Gospels were written by one Paulician tsar named Silivič and were preserved in Rome. Silivič was a pious and devout Christian who spread Christianity all over the world. The Paulicians considered themselves Romans, although Rome and the Pope were so far that in practice no man could reach them⁷⁹. The other missionaries were also familiar with the legend about the Roman origin of Paulicians. For example, Peter Bakshev tried to find some rational explanation of this claim and maintained the view that Paulicians had brought their faith from Bosnia, and this had given rise to the legend about Rome⁸⁰. Other Catholics had heard and accepted entirely this legend even before the appearance of the Catholic mission – for example, the monk from Dubrovnik, Mavro Orbini, in his work *Il regno de gli Slavi*, published in 1601, described their migration from Rome to the Balkans⁸¹.

The legends about Rome and the Pope were widespread in the Bulgarian popular culture from the Middle Ages on. Some of them are based on real historical and religious facts – many of the early popes were saints of the Orthodox Church, and in the 9th and 10th century Bulgarians were in close contacts with Papacy; according to the Old Bulgarian bookman Presbyter Kozma in the same period many Bulgarian monks visited Rome and Jerusalem as pilgrims⁸², in the 12th century the legend that one of the most honored Bulgarian saints – St. Tsar Peter (927–969) died in Rome gained popularity⁸³; at the beginning of the

⁷⁷ It is remarkable that Bulgarian Paulicians in the 17th century in spite the influence exerted by the Orthodox Christians and in spite the change of the language code used almost the same books of New Testament that were in use among the Paulicians in Tephrike eight centuries earlier – PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 26. Probably the only one difference was the Book of Revelation.

⁷⁸ Л. МИЛЕТИЧЪ, *Нашиятъ павликяни...*, p. 22–23; also ПЕТЪР СОЛИНАТ, *Доклад*, p. 22.

⁷⁹ Philippus Stanislavov *de Pavlicianorum origine eorumque libris sacris secundum vulgi opinionem quaedam enarrat XXXIX. A. 1636, 3. Augusti, Orešče*, [in:] EUSEBIUS FERMENDZSIN, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica...*, p. 42; Л. МИЛЕТИЧЪ, *Нашиятъ павликяни...*, p. 10.

⁸⁰ *Fr. Petri Bogdani Bakšić, episcopi Gallipoliensis...*, p. 79–80; Л. МИЛЕТИЧЪ, *Нашиятъ павликяни...*, p. 11.

⁸¹ MAVRO ORBINI, *Il regno de gli Slavi (1601)*, [in:] Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 535–536.

⁸² ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, *Беседа противъ богомилитъ*, София 1939, p. 46.

⁸³ Й. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски...*, p. 285.

13th century the Bulgarian church proclaimed a union with Papacy, and even the Bulgarian Tsar Kaloyan insisted on his Roman origin⁸⁴. Rome is regular mentioned in the historical books, biographies of saints and apocrypha, translated to or created in Old Slavonic and Middle Bulgarian etc.

However, there are strong reasons to think that the legend appeared in a Paulician environment and was not borrowed from foreign sources. For instance, the mysterious tsar Silivič and the concept that the Gospels were preserved in Rome are not found in other sources. Some researchers tend to identify Silivič with the Paulician religious leader from the end of the 7th century, Constantine. He changed his name to Silvan, one of the followers of St. Paul⁸⁵. As a name Silivič most likely is a distorted variant of the Slavic/Bulgarian diminutive form *Silvanič. Petrus Siculus asserts that Constantine-Silvan created the Paulician canon of holy books, eliminating all Manichean scriptures and imposing the Gospels and the Acts of Apostles as the only books that must be read by Paulicians⁸⁶.

In this case having in mind the early Paulician tradition – their communities to be named after the churches found and after the places visited by St. Paul, “Rome” could be identified with some of the Paulicians’ “strongholds”. Most probably this was the name of their community in Philippopolis/Plovdiv. The town was the westernmost point of their migration in the 10th century and the most active center of their faith in the 11th and 12th century.

Another interesting moment in favor of this hypothesis is that the popular designation of Northern Thrace, including the region of Philippopolis/Plovdiv, during the Middle Ages and in the centuries to follow, was Romania or Rumanya (popular pronunciation). This horonym is spread in many medieval Bulgarian and Byzantine documents of formal and popular origin⁸⁷. It continued to be in use up to the beginning of the 20th century and can even be found in the works of Bulgarian writers from the first half of the 20th century.

⁸⁴ *Innocentii III papae et Caloiahannis regis*, [in:] *FLHB*, vol. III, ed. I. DUJČEV et al., Sofia 1965, p. 308–309.

⁸⁵ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 380–381.

⁸⁶ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 31–32.

⁸⁷ The formal medieval documents of Bulgarian origin where the horonym Romania can be met are the stone inscription of tsar John Asen II in the church of “St. Forty Martyrs” (1230) – Veliko Tŕrnovo, the panegyric dedicated to tsar John Alexzander in Sofia/Kuklen Psalter (1336), The biography of Saint Michael from Potuka written by the Tŕrnovo patriarch St. Euthymius in the 1380ies. The horonym is known also from medieval sources of popular origin: an inscription from Preslav dated back to the 10th century, the Bulgarian Apocryphal chronicle from the 11th–12th century, the inscription of Ivo grammarian from the Ivanovo rock monastery (around 1321–1322). The same horonym is exclusively popular in the Bulgarian folklore especially in harvester’s folk songs.

The ritual – baptism of fire

The most impressive Paulician ritual that in 1661 attracted the attention even of the British diplomat Paul Rycaut⁸⁸, was the so-called baptism of fire. According to the description of Bishop Peter Bakshev, it was performed by Paulician priests. They touched the four sides of the head of a “baptized” person with burning candle⁸⁹. The ritual was preserved among Paulicians long time after their conversation to Catholicism, but then it was performed not by priests but by elderly women, who on 6 January (the winter holiday dedicated to St. John the Baptist) visited the houses of newly baptized children, carried out the ritual and even used to singe children’s hair⁹⁰. A similar custom has not been registered among the non-Paulician inhabitants of the Balkans; therefore it was not borrowed from the local population. Peter Bakshev sheds additional light on the origin and nature of the ritual, adding that it was called “baptism with the fire of Saint John the Baptist”⁹¹. In the Orthodox calendar, there are two holidays dedicated to St. John – one in winter and another on 24 June. In folk beliefs and practices, the summer holiday is closely related to the pagan sun cults. That gives serious reasons to think that the ritual was a relic from a peculiar Paulician sun cult, and most probably was a kind of initiation. It is remarkable that this relic survived much longer than dualism. Actually, this fact indicates that dualism was not the only one and the longest lasting characteristic of the Paulician religious system. The existence of a similar cult, separate from dualistic notions, is proved by the following facts:

- As I mentioned above, one of the designations of Meḗzghnēan in early medieval Armenia was Sun Worships. The Armenian legend also confirms the Paulician cult of “Sunny Christ”.
- The Bulgarian bookman John Exarch testifies that according to Manicheans, the sun was “autonomous/self-governing”⁹². He wrote its work before 912 AD – several decades before the appearance of Bogomilism. Therefore, in this period Paulicians were the only group in Bulgaria which could be called “Manicheans”. In the same book he asserts that Manicheans believed that the earth had its own soul, and this belief had originated from their interpretation of the verse *Let the land produce...* (Gn 1, 11)⁹³, i.e. they believed in the creative power

⁸⁸ П. РИКО, *Сегашното състояние...*, p. 175.

⁸⁹ *Fr. Petri Bogdani Bakšić, episcopi Gallipoliensis...*, p. 80.

⁹⁰ А. ЯНКОВ, *Из зимния цикъл на българските павликяни в Северна България*, АПП 2, 1993, p. 26–28; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 464.

⁹¹ *Fr. Petri Bogdani Bakšić, episcopi Gallipoliensis...*, p. 80; Л. МИЛЕТИЧЪ, *Нашият павликяни...*, p. 23; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 400.

⁹² ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, *Шестоднев*, София 1981 (cetera: ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, *Шестоднев*), p. 142.

⁹³ ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, *Шестоднев*, p. 207. It is remarkable that in this and other cases described by Joan Ekzarh heretics used in favor of their theses passages from the Old Testament. This makes me think

of the earth. Most likely they shared similar animistic notions about the sun. However, the connection of these notions with the dualistic doctrines is doubtful. They indicate a direct pagan influence on the belief system of Paulicians.

- Seta Dadoyan tends to classify the Paulician state of Tephrike as an Acritic state, i.e. a border state in the zone between the Byzantine and the Muslim world, with militarized autonomous population. In a later Acritic epos she found undoubted relics of Paulician views and lifestyle⁹⁴. However, in the song of Armuris, part of this Acritic epos, traces of the sun cult are evident⁹⁵. This indicates that the main followers of these animistic cults were male communities engaged in military activity. Paulicians continued to keep the military characteristics of their society long time after their migration to the Balkans. Probably that means that these male communities continued to exist in the new conditions, and the ritual should be ascribed to their influence.

According to the well-founded remark of one of the reviewers of the present article the so-called “baptism with fire” might be rooted in the gospel verse *I baptize you with [a] water for repentance. But after me comes one who is more powerful than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry. He will baptize you with [b] the Holy Spirit and fire* (Mt 3, 11); *I baptize you with [a] water. But one who is more powerful than I will come, the straps of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie. He will baptize you with [b] the Holy Spirit and fire* (Lc 3, 16). In my opinion the “baptism with fire” bears the characteristics of typical initiation referring to secret sun cult and does not stem from some different comprehension of baptism. Moreover the medieval authors mention nothing about similar ritual of baptism among “Paulicians” – they notice a completely different Paulician notion of baptism (see above). However, it is possible for the gospel verses to have been used as a theological justification of the ritual, which at some point, after the disintegration and disappearances of the militarized male communities, acquired the significance of baptism. That can explain the fact that in modern times “the baptism of fire” was carried out in the day of epiphany (the 7th of January)⁹⁶.

Some medieval Armenian sources reveal one additional characteristic of Paulicianism that can be defined as the darkest side of this heresy – children sacrifice⁹⁷. Byzantine and Bulgarian sources do not mention such practices, but ethnographic studies on traditional folk culture of Bulgarian Paulicians discovered rituals

that the Syrians and Armenians who settled in Thrace in the mid 8th century spread some form of Paulicianism different from this of Tephrike.

⁹⁴ S. DADOYAN, *The Fatimid Armenians...*, p. 51–52.

⁹⁵ Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликияни...*, p. 97–98.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 463–464.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

and customs that could be interpreted as reminiscences of similar sacrifices⁹⁸. In my opinion, the problem needs a more detailed and thorough investigation, but if they really existed, they also should be attributed to male communities.

Stoning

Peter Solinat, the Catholic bishop of Sofia in 1601–1623, notices in his report to Rome that during his missions in the Paulician villages many times radical Paulicians threatened him with stoning⁹⁹. It is interesting that in his biography of St. Ilarion, bishop of Maglen (the 11th–12th century), the last patriarch of Tărnovo, St. Euthymius (the second half of the 14th century), narrates a similar story. According to St. Euthymius, a significant number of Armenians, Manicheans (obviously Paulicians) and Bogomils inhabited the eparchy of St. Ilarion. The bishop tried to convert them to Orthodoxy, and because of his devotion to this cause was attacked and stoned almost to death. The responsibility for this act was ascribed to Armenians¹⁰⁰ but it is strange that according to the biography, their hatred for the bishop was provoked by the fact that many “Manicheans” left their initial beliefs and accepted Orthodoxy as a result of his activity¹⁰¹. The biography of St. Ilarion in the part concerning his life of bishop strongly resembles classical anti heretical treatise. For example the whole argumentation in the dispute with Armenians is entirely borrowed from the work of Euthymius Zigabenus. The only new moment is stoning and probably that reflects real practices and events.

Stoning is a punishment untypical of the Bulgarian normative culture and unknown in the Bulgarian medieval law¹⁰². On the other hand, it was widely spread in the Near East and was imposed for different reasons, including blasphemy and religious conversion. From the report of Peter Solinat it is evident that Paulicians who threatened him with stoning spurned his sermons about the Holy

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 462–463. Archimandrite Pavel Stefanov in his introduction in the Bulgarian edition of the work of the French historian Michel Tardieu – *Le manichéisme* (М. ТАРДИО, *Манихейство...*, p. 4), also maintains the view that some folk rituals among Bulgarian Paulicians indicate reminiscences of human sacrifices.

⁹⁹ ПЕТЪР СОЛИНАТ, *Доклад*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁰ ПАТРИАРХ ЕВТИМИЙ, *Съчинения*, trans. К.И. ИВАНОВА, praef. К.Т. ЯНАКИЕВ, София 1990 [= БФН], p. 68–69.

¹⁰¹ It is interesting that a settlement named “Pavlikyan” is registered in the 17th century in the neighbor region of Castoria (М. ЙОВКОВ, *Павликяни...*, p. 161) that indirectly supports the data of biography about the spread of Paulicanism in this relatively distant from Philippopolis/Plovdiv area.

¹⁰² There is only one documented incident of stoning in the Bulgarian medieval history from 1040. Besides, in the 19th century in some villages from the northwesternmost Bulgaria practices of a public curse that resembled symbolic stoning were recorded. It is interesting that in the earlier era Paulicians inhabited settlements in the same region (Л. МИЛЕТИЧЪ, *Нашият павликяни...*, p. 10) and the practices in question might be a result of their influence.

Cross, icons, and liturgy, as well as his attempts at converting them to Catholicism¹⁰³. In fact, they considered his sermons a kind of blasphemy. In this context their threats can be regarded not only as a result of emotional reactions against the Catholic missionaries but also as principles of their customary law.

Petrus Siculus explicitly notices that Paulicians knew and inflicted this kind of capital punishment on the religious dissidents even before Tephrike¹⁰⁴. Therefore, it might be suggested that stoning was an element of the normative culture of the Bulgarian Paulicians which was directly accepted and inherited from their Anatolian ancestors.

Conclusion

The Paulicians in the 17th century are an interesting example of a historical dualistic community that lost dualism during its long history. This paradox can hardly be explained if we regard dualism as the main factor in their religious notions and beliefs. Most probably it was an intellectual heretical doctrine adopted and imposed by their leaders. It created the frame of their religious legitimation, but it seems that the inner relations in the community were based on cults, notions and rituals which can be euphemistically called “folk religion”. Of course, it does not mean that “pure” dualists did not exist, but their number must be insignificant. The testimony of Rayner Sakkony who explicitly mentions that the total number of the members of the dualistic (Bogomil and Cathar) communities in Southern France, Italy and Balkans was around 4000¹⁰⁵ also supports the assumption that dualism was a religious ideology “comprehended” by relatively small number of people.

The contacts and clashes of Paulicians with the Orthodox Christians and their state and church institutions led to the disappearance of “classical dualism” – probably the weakest characteristic of Paulician identity, but inner relations, such as rituals of initiation, notions, taboos, customary law and myths of identity remained almost untouched.

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¹⁰³ ПЕТЪР СОЛИНАТ, *Доклад*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁴ PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁵ RAINER SACCONI, *Summa*, p. 170.

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Abstract. During the Middle Ages two dualistic communities were active in Bulgaria and Bulgarian lands – Bogomils and Paulicians. Paulicians, unlike Bogomils, survived as a separate religious sect up to the 17th century, when most of them gradually accepted Catholicism. The detailed reports of Catholic missionaries, priests and bishops shed light on different aspects of their beliefs and practices from the 17th century. The aim of the present article is to propose an explanation of a strange ritual and a legend spread among the Bulgarian Paulicians and recorded in the above-mentioned reports. The thesis of the article is that the legend and the ritual in question refer to the early history of Paulicianism. The ritual is related to syncretic religious notions and goes beyond the scope of dualism. I try to examine the legend and ritual in the context of Paulician history in the Balkans, especially in the context of Paulician belief system, inherited from the early Anatolian Paulicians.

Keywords: Bogomils, Paulicians, Bulgaria, Paulician legend of Rome, ritual of the baptism by fire.

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TREATISE *DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO* BY EMPEROR CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS: DATE OF THE PARIS. GR. 2009 COPY, YEARS OF COMPILING OF THE ORIGINAL CODEX, AND A HYPOTHESIS ABOUT THE NUMBER OF AUTHORS

The date of the manuscript *Paris. gr. 2009*¹

The treatise *De Administrando Imperio* reached our days only in the form of a sole manuscript of the 11th century – all other copies are its later apographs of the 16th century². This treatise was not replicated and was not reflected in the texts of the Byzantine court authors³. The only copy was in the possession of Caesar John Ducas who was the younger brother and a close associate of emperor Constantine X Ducas (*Prosopography of Byzantine World*: “Ioannes

¹ The first part of this article was presented as a report at the international conference “Palaeography, Codicology, Diplomatics: Contemporary Experience of Studies Greek, Latine and Slavic Manuscripts and Charters” in honor of the eightieth anniversary of doctor of History and correspondent member of the Athenian Academy B.L. Fonkič, on 27–28 February 2018 in the Institute of World History of Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. The handout of my report was published: А.С. ЩАВЕЛЕВ, *Трактат византийского императора Константина VII Багрянородного «Об управлении империей»: о датировках оригинала рукописи и его копии XI в. писца Михаила Роузаита (Paris. gr. 2009)*, [in:] *Палеография, кодикология, дипломатика: Современный опыт исследования греческих, латинских и славянских рукописей и документов. Материалы Международной научной конференции в честь 80-летия доктора исторических наук, члена-корреспондента Афинской Академии Б.Л. Фонкича. Москва, 27–28 февраля 2018 г.*, ed. И.Г. Коновалова, М.А. Курышева, Москва 2018, p. 296–310.

² G. MORAVCSIK, *Critical Introduction*, [in:] CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio*, vol. I, *Greek Text and English Translation*, ed. R.G.H. JENKINS, G. MORAVCSIK, Washington 1967 [= CFHB, 1], p. 15–23; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio*, vol. II, *Commentary*, ed. R.G.H. JENKINS, Washington 1962, p. 1–8; C. SODE, *Untersuchungen zu De administrando imperio Kaiser Konstantins VII. Porphyrogenetos*, [in:] *Varia V*, Bonn 1994 [= ПБВ, 13], p. 253.

³ R.J.H. JENKINS, *General Introduction*, [in:] CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio*..., vol. I, p. 13–14; G. MORAVCSIK, *Critical Introduction*..., p. 32.

Doukas, kaisar” or “Ioannes-62”). Caesar John Ducas was a politician, a courtier, and an intellectual, whose interest in the books was appreciated by such a maven as Michael Psellos⁴. John Ducas had an opportunity to get this unique (maybe even secret) codex, could estimate its value, and ordered a copy for himself.

There is a colophon of a scribe on the folio 211^{verso} of the manuscript *Paris. gr. 2009*: Βίβλος καίσαρος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα γραφῆ(σα) χερσὶν οἰκογενεῶν οἰκέτου Μιχα(ή)λ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ροῖζαῖτου / *The Book of Caesar John Ducas was written by hand of his household man Michael named Roizaite*⁵. The reading of the colophon comes from F. Dölger, V. Laurent, G. Moravcsik, and B. Mondrain.

According to John Ducas’s political biography, G. Moravcsik defined the time when *Paris. gr. 2009* could have been ordered: from 1059 until 1081. On 24 November 1059 emperor Constantine X Ducas gained the throne and his younger brother John Ducas got the title of *Caesar*⁶. On 4 April 1081 Alexios I Komnenos became the emperor – John Ducas was the grandfather of his wife Irene and his key advisor during the coup⁷.

Nowadays there is an opportunity to clarify some more details of John Ducas’s life. Between 1073 and 1075 John Ducas was tonsured under the name Ἰγνατίος⁸. By this name he was mentioned in the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos, compiled on behalf of his daughter Irene Ducaina: Τῆ αὐτ(ῆ) ἡμ(έ) ρ(α) μνήμ(η) Ἰγνατ(ίου) | (μον)αχ(οῦ) κ(αί)σαρο(ς) κ(αί) πάπ(ου) τ(ῆς) ἀγίας δεσποί(νης)⁹. Besides, there are seals with a legend: Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ / Ἰγνατίῳ μοναχῷ τῷ Καίσαρι. This Ignatios, who was at the same time a *monk* and a *Caesar*, can be identified only with John Ducas¹⁰. Anna Komnene in her *Alexiad* described him in a monk’s robe, and wrote a sketch about how soldiers ironically called him “Abba” (the events took place in 1081)¹¹. John Ducas died on 12 May around the year 1088, possibly a year before, or some years later¹².

⁴ MICHEL PSELLOS, *Chronographie ou Histoire d’un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, VII (Constantin X Doucas, 26; Michel VII, 16–17), ed. et trans. É. RENAULD, vol. II, Paris 1928, p. 150–151, 180–182; MICHEL PSELLOS, *Ep. V*, [in:] P. GAUTIER, *Quelques lettres de Psellos inédites ou déjà éditées*, REB 44, 1986, p. 132.

⁵ G. MORAVCSIK, *Critical Introduction...*, p. 16; B. MONDRAIN, *La lecture du De administrando imperio à Byzance au cours des siècles*, TM 14, 2002 (= *Mélanges en l’honneur de G. Dagron*), p. 488–489.

⁶ D.I. POLEMIS, *Notes on Eleventh-Century Chronology (1059–1081)*, BZ 58, 1965, p. 61.

⁷ ANNAE KOMNENAE, *Alexias*, II, 6–12, pars 1, *Prolegomena et Textus*, rec. D.R. REINSCH, A. KAMBYLIS, Berolini 2001 [= *CFHB*, 40.1] (cetera: *Alexias*), p. 70–86; G. MORAVCSIK, *Critical Introduction...*, p. 16.

⁸ D.I. POLEMIS, *Notes on Eleventh-Century...*, p. 67–68, 76; IDEM, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London 1968, p. 39.

⁹ M. KOUROPOU, J.-F. VANNIER, *Commémoraisons des Comnènes dans le typikon liturgique du monastère du Christ Philanthrope (ms. Panaghia Kamariotissa 29)*, REB 63, 2005, p. 45, 63–64.

¹⁰ W. SEIBT, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, vol. I, *Kaiserhof*, Wien 1978, p. 132–133.

¹¹ *Alexias*, II, 9, p. 78–79.

¹² D.I. POLEMIS, *The Doukai...*, p. 40; M. KOUROPOU, J.-F. VANNIER, *Commémoraisons des Comnènes...*, p. 26, 63–64; B. MONDRAIN, *La lecture du De administrando imperio...*, p. 490.

So, using this information, it is possible to ascertain a more precise time when John Ducas could order the copy of *De Administrando imperio*. The first possible period lasted from 1059 (when he became a Caesar) to 1073 (when he lost his power and became a monk)¹³. It is not possible that he had a chance to order a copy of *De Administrando imperio* from the Palace Library in the period between 1073 and 1081. The second possible period when he could order to copy this unique text, began from the April of 1081, when the monk John-Ignatios Ducas returned to Constantinople as an advisor of the new emperor Alexios I Komnenos. *Terminus ante quem* of this period is the year of his death about 1088.

We should therefore choose between two possible variants: the period between 1059 and 1073 and the period between 1081 and 1088. But it is necessary to take into consideration that after his tonsure John Ducas got a new church name – ‘Ignatios’ – and this new name was stamped on his seals and was reflected in the record of his posthumous commemoration. No doubt that in his family he could continue to use his first secular name ‘John’. His great granddaughter Anna Komnene called him John in her *Alexiad*, but the colophon of the manuscript (as well as the legends of his seals) must rather contain the official name of the donor.

In the period between 1059 and 1073 Caesar John Ducas had a practical reason to order a copy of the manual of political affairs which had been made for the young emperor Romanus II Porphyrogenitus. After the death of emperor Constantine X Ducas in 1067, John Ducas, as his younger brother, became the tutor of Constantine X's children – the future emperors Michael VII and Constantine X. It is obvious that John Ducas needed this text to educate and foster his wards. His close friend and famous scholar Michael Psellos wrote a new special guide entitled *Short History* for the young emperor Michael VII¹⁴. In his *Short History* Michael Psellos did not dissemble the sins of emperor Constantine VII, but he showed Constantine VII's image as an example of an educated monarch for his pupil Michael VII¹⁵. Therefore, both teachers of young emperors made handbooks on history and on public administration for their pupils. Michael Psellos wrote a new book, *Short History*, and John Ducas ordered a copy of the old book, *De Administrando imperio*. John Ducas could also use his own copy of *De Administrando imperio* for the education of his own sons, Andronicus and Constantine.

That is why John Ducas should rather order to make the codex *Paris. gr. 2009* in the period of fourteen years between 1059 and 1073. The other variant, that of the period between 1081 and 1088, is possible, but not so plausible.

¹³ D.I. POLEMIS, *Notes on Eleventh-Century...*, p. 73; IDEM, *The Doukai...*, p. 39.

¹⁴ *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos. Editio Princeps*, ed. et comm. W.J. AERTS, Berlin–New York 1990 [= CFHB, 30] (cetera: *Historia Syntomos*).

¹⁵ *Historia Syntomos*, 105, p. 102.

Did the intermediate copy betwixt the original codex of the treatise and the manuscript *Paris. gr. 2009* exist?

Except latest marginalia¹⁶ and auxiliary letters for the orientation in the text, the manuscript *Paris. gr. 2009* contains three scholia of so called historical matter¹⁷. All three were written on the margins of the codex by Michael Roizaites's hand. It is obvious that they were copied by him from the protograph.

The first scholium is on folio 129^{verso}: Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστὶν) ὁ πατὴρ Νικολάου μαγίστρου τοῦ Τορνίκη / *This is the father of magistros Nicholas Tornikios*. This scholium was made to the text of chapter 43 *Of the Country of Taron* which contains a story about a patrician Tornikios, the son of Apoganem (resp. Arabic name 'Abu Ghanim')¹⁸. The magistros Nicholas Tornikios was the participant of the plot in the end of January 945 which brought the supreme autocratic power for Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus¹⁹. Nicholas Tornikios was also mentioned in the summer of 963 in the description of the dramatic events which preceded the coronation of emperor Nikephoros II Phokas on 16 August 963²⁰.

The second scholium is on folio 140^{verso}: Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστὶν) ὁ Τζιμισχ(ῆς) ἐπικληθεὶς / *Who was called Tzimiskes*. The scholium was made to the text of chapter 45 *Of the Iberians*. It is a story about magistros John Kourkouas who in the time of the Romanus I Lecapenus's reign led the expedition against the Arabs to the fortress named Tibi²¹. John Kourkouas was a famous warlord. He was born about 900 and disappeared from the sources in mid-940s or the second half of the 940s²². Some of the members of the noble family named Kourkouases had an alias (something like cognomen?) 'Tzimiskes'²³. The most famous, but not only, example was emperor John Tzimiskes. In light of this scholium it is clear that John Kourkouas had such a double cognomen, too.

The third scholium is on folio 143: Οὗτο(ς) (ἐστὶν) Ζουρβανέλ(ης) ὁ π(α)τὴρ τοῦ Τορνίκη τ(οῦ) ἀβᾶ τοῦ ἀρτ(ιω)ς συνκέλλου / *This is Zourvanelis the father*

¹⁶ The overview of all marginalia, see: B. MONDRAIN, *La lecture...*

¹⁷ G. MORAVCSIK, *Critical Introduction...*, p. 19–20.

¹⁸ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio*, 43, vol. I, *Greek Text and English Translation...* (cetera: *De Administrando Imperio*), p. 194.

¹⁹ *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, XI, 2, rec. I. THURN, Berolini 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5], p. 235–287; JOHN SKYLITZES, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, trans. J. WORTLEY, praef. et ed. J.-C. CHEYNET, Cambridge 2010, p. 227–228.

²⁰ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETOS, *The Book of Ceremonies*, I, 96, vol. I.1, trans. A. MOFFART, M. TALL, Canberra 2012 [= *BAus*, 18.1] (cetera: *De cerimoniis*), p. 435; D. SULLIVAN, *The Rise and Fall of Nikephoros II Phokas. Five Contemporary Texts in Annotated Translations*, Leiden–Boston 2018, p. 11.

²¹ *De Administrando Imperio*, 45, p. 208.

²² L. ANDRIOLLO, *Les Kourkouas (IX^e–XI^e siècle)*, SBS 11, 2012, p. 61–66.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 66–67, 71–76.

of the Tornikios, who is Abbot and since recent time Syncellos²⁴. The scholium was made to the text of chapter 45 *Of the Iberians*. This is a story about the mission of the protospapharios Zourvanelis, concerning the negotiations about the rights of the Iberian kouropalates to possess the land Phasiane and the fortress Abnikon (Avnik). An Abbot and Syncellos Tornikios was the founder of the Monastery of Ivron on Mount Athos and he died on 15 December 984²⁵. He got the church title of Syncellos after 24 March 979; therefore this scholium was written on the original codex of the treatise right after this date²⁶.

All these three scholia show an interest of the noble men of Armenian or Iberian origin. Thus, this anonymous scholiast belongs somehow to the aristocratic families of this region that had family or marriage ties with the Macedonian Dynasty. It is not hard to find such connections among the relatives and courtiers of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his descendants²⁷. These connections should not be overestimated²⁸, but it is impossible to deny them.

G. Moravcsik posited that the scholium “after 979” is a sign of the existence of one more intermediate copy between the original codex and the manuscript *Paris. gr. 2009*. But it is not an obligatory explanation, as I myself²⁹ and A. Németh³⁰ independently noted. These three scholia are surely a weak argument to postulate a lost intermediate stage of the text’s history. It is notable that G. Moravcsik himself in his early article published in 1930, which was especially dedicated to the manuscript and replication of the treatise’s text, represented the *stemma codicum* without an intermediate copy³¹. This first variant of the stemma is more simplex and is evidently closer to the truth. The canonical stemma from the classical critical edition is not cogent and it should be changed to G. Moravcsik’s early simple variant: a direct connection of the original codex (πρωτότυπον in stemma) to its only existing copy which is *Paris. gr. 2009* (11 αἰῶνος in stemma). This actuality is an apparent basis of every further critical study of the text of the *De Administrando Imperio*.

²⁴ *De Administrando Imperio*, 45, p. 210.

²⁵ J. LEFORT, *Histoire du monastère d’Ivroun des origines jusqu’au milieu du XI^e siècle*, [in:] *Actes d’Ivroun*, vol. I, Paris 1985, p. 8, 22–23.

²⁶ G. MORAVCSIK, *Critical Introduction*..., p. 19.

²⁷ P. CHARANIS, *Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire*, London 1972.

²⁸ A. KALDELLIS, *Romanland. Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium*, Cambridge Mass.–London 2019, p. 155–195.

²⁹ A. C. ШАВЕЛЕВ, *Трактат*..., p. 305–306.

³⁰ A. NÉMETH, *The ‘Excerpta Constantiniana’ and the Byzantine Appropriation of the Past*, Cambridge 2018, p. 130.

³¹ G. MORAVCSIK, *Ἡ χειρόγραφος παράδοσις τοῦ ‘De administrando imperio’*, ΕΕΒΣ 7, 1930, p. 150.

The date of the original codex of the treatise *De Administrando Imperio*

The approximate time of compiling the treatise was established by J.B. Bury with the help of the annual dates and collateral reference points³². His conclusions were adopted in the contemporary critical edition³³ and are nowadays commonly shares among all scholars. *Terminus post quem* is obvious: it is 15 June 948, the date of emperor Romanus I Lecapenus' death. He is referred to as dead in chapter 13 of the treatise³⁴. *Terminus ante quem* is the death of the author of the treatise, emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, on 9 (or 15) November 959. Constantine VII's direct appeals to his son Romanus II and Constantine's first-person commentaries are located both at the beginning of the treatise in the *Proem* and in chapter 13, as well as at the end of the text, in chapter 51. Certainly, the whole treatise was written when emperor Constantine VII was alive³⁵. It is impossible to imagine vast interpolations or addition of any chapter into the only luxurious codex from the emperor's library³⁶. It is even stranger to assume such interpolations in the only copy of the 11th century, written by Michael Roizaita.

The text of the treatise contains three annual dates and one more chronological marker. In chapter 26 the king of Italy Lothair II³⁷ is mentioned as an active person. He died a little before December 950³⁸. In chapter 27 there is an indication that from the time of the division of the province of Lombardy “until now” (τῆς σήμερον) 200 years had passed and there are indications of the “7 indiction” and “6457 year”. According to the standard conversion of the dates, it is 949 A.D.³⁹ The reference point of the “73 years” from the foundation of the New Capua is useless because it is difficult to understand the exact nature of this event⁴⁰. In chapter 29 there is a passage stating that from the relocation of the fugitives to the fortress Ragusa “until now” (τῆς σήμερον) 500 years had passed, and there are indications

³² J.B. BURY, *The Treatise De administrando imperio*, BZ 15, 1906, p. 522–524, 574.

³³ R.J.H. JENKINS, *General Introduction...*, p. 11–12; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio...*, vol. II, p. 5–6.

³⁴ *De Administrando Imperio*, 13, p. 72, 74, 76.

³⁵ J.B. BURY, *The Treatise...*, p. 519.

³⁶ About the Palace Library in Constantinople, see: *De cerimoniis*, I, App., p. 456–457; NICETAS DAVID, *The Life of Patriarch Ignatius*, 89, ed. et trans. A. SMITHES, ed. J.M. DUFFY, Washington 2013 [= DOS, 51], p. 118, 120; *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur. Libri I–IV*, III, 43, rec. M. FEATHERSTONE, J.S. CODOÑER, Berlin 2015 [= CFHB.SBe, 43] (cetera: *Theophanes Continuatus*), p. 206, 208.

³⁷ *De Administrando Imperio*, 26, p. 112; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio...*, vol. II, p. 83.

³⁸ M. MARROCCHI, *Lotario II, re d'Italia*, [in:] *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. LXVI, (Lorenzetto–Macchetti), ed. M. CARVALE, Roma 2006, p. 177–179.

³⁹ *De Administrando Imperio*, 27, p. 116; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio...*, vol. II, p. 88; V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, Paris 1958, p. 314.

⁴⁰ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio...*, vol. II, p. 88.

about the “7 indiction” and “6457 year”⁴¹. Again it is 949 A.D. In chapter 45 there is an indication that from the migration of Iberians from Jerusalem “until now” (τῆς σήμερον), i.e. until the reign of emperors Constantine VII and Romanus II, 400 or 500 years had passed. Afterwards there are indications of the “10 indiction” and “6460 year”⁴². It means 952 A.D.⁴³ The same formula of dates and the same phrase, τῆς σήμερον, may be the features which display the single type of sources of chapters 27, 29 and 45, with the same style of dating the events.

The date 952 A.D. with the indication “until now” gives a rigid *terminus post quem*, but it does not give *terminus ante quem*, because two other dates with the indication of 949 A.D. also marked “until now”. Consequently, there was no unification of the dates during the compiling of the treatise. The date 952 A.D. as well as the date 949 A.D. were obviously mechanically copied from protographic texts. It can therefore be argued that the text of the treatise was compiled at some point after 952 and before November 959 when Constantine VII died.

The popular idea that the original codex of *De Administrando Imperio* was the gift to Romanus II for his fourteenth birthday is a common guess, because the levels of age in Byzantium were fuzzy. The fourteenth birthday was not a special occasion or a significant stage of age⁴⁴. Instead of the mythical fourteenth birthday, if one tries to guess the celebrated event when such a gift could be presented, it is necessary to remember the date of the wedding of Romanus II and Anastasia-Theophano. The exact date of the wedding day is unclear, but it took place reliably between 954 and 957⁴⁵.

Another reason for Constantine VII's anxiety about the governmental skills of his eldest son could be the death of his younger son Leo. Constantine VII probably wrote about his two sons in his letter to Theodoros the archbishop of Cyzicus⁴⁶. Besides, “Little Leo” and “Young Romanus” were mentioned in the poem dedicated to the Romanus II⁴⁷. The younger son Leo lived about 940–950s⁴⁸.

⁴¹ *De Administrando Imperio*, 29, p. 134.

⁴² *De Administrando Imperio*, 45, p. 206.

⁴³ V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie...*, p. 314.

⁴⁴ G. PRINZING, *Observations on the Legal Status of Children and the Stages of Childhood in Byzantium*, [in:] *Becoming Byzantine. Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, ed. A. PAPAConstantinou, A.-M. TALBOT, Harvard 2009, p. 15–34.

⁴⁵ A. KAZHDAN, *Theophano*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, ed. IDEM, p. 2064–2065; L. GARLAND, *Byzantine Empresses. Woman and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204*, London–New York 1999, p. 126.

⁴⁶ *Theodori Metropolitae Cyzici Epistulae. Accedunt Epistulae Mutuae Constantini Porphyrogeniti, Ep. XVIII, rec. M. TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI*, Berlin–Boston 2012 [= *CFHB*, 48] (cetera: *Theodori Metropolitae Cyzici Epistulae*), p. 107–108.

⁴⁷ P. ODORICO, *Il Calamo d'argento. Un carme inedito in onore di Romano II. Con una tavola*, *JÖB* 37, 1987, p. 93.

⁴⁸ I. ŠEVČENKO, *Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, [in:] *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. J. SHEPARD, S. FRANKLIN, London 1992, p. 167–170.

It is possible that during his live he was considered as an alternative candidate to gain the throne.

As a result, it can be asserted that the treatise *De Administrando Imperio* was compiled in its final version after 952 and before the 9th (or 15th) of November 959. Apparently, but not certainly, it was a gift on the wedding day of co-emperor Romanus II and his bride Anastasia-Theophano in the mid-950s.

The formal criterion for the detection of the number of authors of *De Administrando Imperio*

The treatise *De Administrando Imperio* is a compilation of various texts from different times. There are plenty of investigations in which the compound of these excerpts and the process of their elaboration were analyzed⁴⁹. I do not review these hypotheses about the textual structure of the treatise and do not debate them⁵⁰. It is a particular research mission. It is more efficient to establish the sum of the most reliable statements of the scholars to make the basis of my further analyses.

The treatise *De Administrando Imperio* was decidedly written during the lifetime of Constantine VII. In this text his son Romanus II is never designated as a self-sustained ruler. Emperor Constantine VII's personal remarks are traced in the whole text of the treatise from the beginning to the end⁵¹. No chapter contains any reference points of a time after Constantine VII's death in November 959. It is difficult to imagine a mechanical interpolation in the sole gift codex from the library in the emperor's palace. The treatise consists of 53 chapters. It is the finalized text with precise composition. This number of fifty-three chapters

⁴⁹ J.B. BURY, *The Treatise...*, p. 517–577; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. I, *Die Byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte Türkvölker*, Berlin 1983, p. 356–379; R.J.H. JENKINS, *General Introduction...*, p. 7–14; CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio...*, vol. II, p. 1–8, 12–13, 18–20, 143; I. ŠEVČENKO, *Re-reading...*, p. 167–195; C. SODE, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 147–260; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *The De Administrando Imperio: A Re-examination of the Text and a Re-evaluation of its Evidence about the Rus*, [in:] *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, ed. M. KAZANSKI, A. NERCESSIAN, C. ZUCKERMAN, Paris 2000 [= RByz, 7], p. 301–336; IDEM, *Byzantine Sources for Khazar History*, [in:] *The World of the Khazars: New Perspectives. Selected Papers from the Jerusalem 1999 International Khazar Colloquium*, ed. B. GOLDEN, H. BEN-SHAMMAI, A. RÓNA-TAS, Leiden–Boston 2007, p. 163–194; T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, 'De Conversione Croatorum et Serborum'. *A Lost Source*, Belgrade 2012, p. 19–89; A. NÉMETH, *The Excerpta Constantiana...*, p. 130–137.

⁵⁰ See the brief analytical surveys of common contemporary views: N. GAUL, *Zooming in on Constantinople. Introductory Notes on the Interplay of Center, Province and Periphery in the Tenth-Century Byzantine Empire*, [in:] *Center, Province and Periphery in the Age of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos. From 'De ceremoniis' to 'De Administrando Imperio'*, ed. N. GAUL, V. MENZE, C. BÁLINT, Wiesbaden 2018, p. 7–10; A. MARKOPOULOS, *Voices from the Centre. Constantine VII and the Macedonian Dynasty in Contemporary Historiography*, [in:] *Center, Province...*, p. 22–33.

⁵¹ J.B. BURY, *The Treatise De administrando imperio...*, p. 519.

had a special symbolic sense. As A. Németh discerningly noticed, the number of chapters in the *De Administrando Imperio* coincides with the number of volumes of *Excerpta Constantiniana*⁵². The number “53” was symbolic according to the church calendar (the fifty-two weeks and one day of the liturgical cycle), and in terms of ideology (ancient historian Polybius repeated several times that fifty-three years was the interval of the growth of Rome’s power from a city-state into a world-wide empire).

The treatise’s starting point is *Proem*. The following chapters are the description of the Northern nomadic peoples (chapters 1–13). After that, there is a description of the peoples neighboring the Roman Empire: the Islamic World from Arabia to Spain; the Balkans; the Black Sea coastal area from Thessaloniki to the Caucasus; and finally the Caucasus (chapters 14–46)⁵³. After that, there is the description of the hotspots of the Roman Empire: Cyprus, Peloponnesus and Cherson (chapters 47–53). There are no interruptions or interpolations into this logical composition. Also P. Magdalino, tracking the notes in the treatise, finds the basic themes of the treatise: “useful” and “dangerous” to the empire nations; their insatiable demands; differences between various nations; the events involving Romans and other various nations; and, at last, the changes in the whole Roman Empire⁵⁴. Hence, the treatise’s text is permeated by different logical connections and sequences. On these grounds I assume that the treatise’s text was completed by Constantine VII himself and not elaborated by his successors⁵⁵ or by the copyist Michael Roizaite.

In spite of the historiographical prejudice, it is impossible to imagine in Constantinople a highly organized archive office with plentiful thematic dossiers to be accessed. This word “dossier” creates an illusion of understanding the nature of the texts that were used by the authors of the *De Administrando Imperio*. Only I. Ševčenko emphasized this simple but essential idea. He was the only scholar who stressed the point that we must evaluate the degree of awareness and education of the Byzantine politicians according to the text of the *De Administrando Imperio*, but not compare this text with our illusions of their high education and developed state bureaucracy⁵⁶. I. Ševčenko was absolutely right when he wrote that the

⁵² A. NÉMETH, *The Excerpta Constantiniana...*, p. 58, 71–77, 130–137; N. GAUL, *Zooming in Constantinople...*, p. 7; A. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Voices...*, p. 26.

⁵³ Similar logic of sequence of geographical areas in chapters 1–46 of the treatise was approximately traced in a brief overview: Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Предисловие*, [in:] *Константин Багрянородный. Об управлении империей. Текст, перевод, комментарий*, ed. Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, А.П. НОВОСЕЛЬЦЕВ, Москва 1991, p. 26–27.

⁵⁴ P. MAGDALINO, *Constantine VII and the Historical Geography of Empire*, [in:] *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, ed. S. BAZZAR, Y. BATSAKI, D. ANGELOV, Cambridge Mass.–London 2013 [= HelS, 56], p. 29–39.

⁵⁵ G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica...*, p. 365.

⁵⁶ I. ŠEVČENKO, *Re-reading...*, p. 189–193.

treatise had not been divided into “antiquarian” and “actual” chapters, but it was a reflection of the scanty and random information that Constantine VII was able to find. Only this text itself can show what was known to him, and what was not, what was important to him, and what was not, or what was elegant in his eyes, and what was ugly. The opposite approach runs the risk of modernizing Constantine VII’s political, historical, and epistemological views.

It is strange to compare the process of compiling a vast historical encyclopedia like *Excerpta Constantiniana* that required a wide staff, who made global thematic compilations⁵⁷, with the process of drafting a confidential and very personal treatise. Apparently, *De Administrando Imperio* was written only for Romanus II’s eyes. It is tenable to pay attention to the compilation process of another text which was the ideological manifest of the Macedonian dynasty, and fixed the family memory of emperor Constantine VII. It is *Vita Basilii Imperatoris*. Its short preface announces the process of its compilation: Ἱστορικὴ διήγησις τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων Βασιλείου τοῦ αἰοδίδμου βασιλέως, ἦν Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεὺς ἐν Θεῷ Ῥωμαίων, ὁ τούτου υἱὸνός, φιλοπόνως ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἀθροίσας διηγημάτων τῷ γράφοντι προσανέθετο / *Historical narrative of the life and deeds of emperor Basil of glorious memory which his grandson Constantine, by grace of God emperor of the Romans, assiduously gathered from various accounts and submitted to the <present> writer* (trans. I. Ševčenko)⁵⁸. I. Ševčenko gave a convincing interpretation of how *Vita Basilii Imperatoris* had been written. At first, emperor Constantine VII himself gathered his own extracts and notes and gave all these materials to the second author (ὁ γράφων). Afterwards this anonymous second author (“ghost-writer”) wrote on this basis the final text. Therefore, *Vita Basilii Imperatoris* was written by *two authors*, by Constantine VII himself and his anonymous confidant. This mode of production through the work of a limited circle of authors can be naturally hypothesized when it comes to the preparation of the political treatise *De Administrando Imperio*. Constantine VII offered the same *modus operandi* in his private letter to his well-educated friend Theodoros the archbishop of Cyzicus. Constantine VII mentioned their “cooperation” in the compiling of Constantine VII’s public speech (ἡ δημηγορία)⁵⁹. Hence, this emperor’s public speech had *two authors*, emperor Constantine VII himself and his friend archbishop Theodoros.

⁵⁷ G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica...*, p. 359–360; A. NÉMETH, *The Excerpta Constantiana...*, p. 102–109.

⁵⁸ *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur. Liber V. Vita Basilii Imperatoris Amplectitur*, rec. I. ŠEVČENKO, Berlin 2001 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 42], p. 8–9; *Theophanes Continuatus*, Proem, p. 13*, 9; I. ŠEVČENKO, *Re-reading...*, p. 184–185; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, London–New York 2013, p. 165–167; I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Title of and Preface to ‘Theophanes Continuatus’*, *BBGG* n.s. 52, 1998 (= *Ὀπώρα. Studi in onore de mgr P. Canart per il LXX compeanno*, ed. S. LUCA, L. PERRIA), p. 77–93.

⁵⁹ *Theodori Metropolitae Cyzici Epistulae*, Ep. I, p. *96, 84.

Using the assumption of the limited number of authors, I tried to find *formal markers* to trace the features of the different parts of the text *De Administrando Imperio* which could belong to different compilers. It sounds strange but most scholars did not try to determine such formal criteria to uncover the structure of this text, but used only speculative historical and unsteady logical arguments.

The most vivid marker in the text of the *De Administrando Imperio* is the use of *only two initial words* in the inceptions of the sections inside chapters. The first initial collocation is ἴστέον, ὅτι..., i.e. *Know that...* The second one is ὅτι..., i.e. *That...* These initial collocations were noted by J.B. Bury, who postulated that the sections without these initial words were the intercalations in the prepared text⁶⁰. But it is wrong because the sections of the text without these initial words have no features of interpolations and are connected with the adjoining sections. And *vice versa*, some sections which begin with ἴστέον, ὅτι... or ὅτι... were considered to be interpolations by J.B. Bury. These two initial elements attracted G. Moravcsik's attention, but he did not think that it was a significant marker⁶¹. S.R. Tokhtašev also paid attention to these initial formulas, but he analyzed only stylistic aspects of their usage in the text⁶².

J. Signes-Codoñer was sure that the ἴστέον, ὅτι... and ὅτι... initial formulas were the traces of primordial structure of the text, disrupted by the later headings of the chapters⁶³. I am not sure whether I find convincing his theory of the unfinished text of the treatise and its structural redo with the secondary separation of chapters during the coping. But he is apparently right when he argues that the headlines of the chapters with the initial Περί... contain the central topics (thirty-seven of fifty-three chapters), and headlines without this initial formula mark the additional archival materials (the other sixteen chapters). Besides, his idea that these two initial formulas, ἴστέον, ὅτι... and ὅτι..., are an important trace of the process of elaborating of this treatise, is very productive. Only T. Živković noticed that no other initial figures of speech were used in the text of *De Administrando Imperio*. There are no initial words like διὰ... or μετὰ δέ⁶⁴. But T. Živković was sure that this is a tag of rough pieces of different texts in the treatise without literary refinement⁶⁵. In fact, he proposes the reverse of J.B. Bury's explanation. And again there is no argument to prove the draft condition of these sections of text with this initial pair of collocations. T. Živković's explanation is obviously *ad hoc*.

⁶⁰ J.B. BURY, *The Treatise...*, p. 538–539.

⁶¹ G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica...*, p. 363.

⁶² С.Р. ТОХТАШЕВ, *Язык трактата Константина VII Багрянородного 'De administrando Imperio' и его иноязычная лексика*, Санкт-Петербург 2018, p. 85, 94.

⁶³ J. SIGNES-CODOÑER, *Los eslavos en las fuentes bizantinas de los siglos IX–X: el 'De administrando imperio' de Constantino Porfirogéneto*, *Ilu* 13, 2004, p. 126–127.

⁶⁴ T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *'De Conversione Croatorum et Serborum'...*, p. 23. See for comparison: *De cerimoniis*, I, App., p. 459–460, 463, 465–466, 469, 473, 478.

⁶⁵ T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *'De Conversione Croatorum et Serborum'...*, p. 22–30.

It is well known that the initial figure of speech ἰστέον, ὅτι... and its shortcut analogue ὅτι... are trivial for the Medieval Greek⁶⁶. But the regular use of only two of a wide spectrum of possible initial figures of speech is a sign requiring special attention. It is not a trace of combining different texts and is not an individual author's attempt to achieve stylistic diversity. In both these cases the number of different initial words would be much higher. The only logical hypothesis lies in the assumption that this is a trace of *two different authors*. One of them began his excerpts with the words ἰστέον, ὅτι..., and the other one began to copy his excerpts with the vulgar short ὅτι... To verify this hypothesis, it is necessary to dissect the spreading of ἰστέον, ὅτι... and ὅτι... in the whole text of the treatise. The author who used ὅτι... will be conditionally marked as the 'First', and another one, who used ἰστέον, ὅτι..., will be marked as the 'Second'.

The initial ὅτι... (*That...*) begins the sections in chapters 1–13, 31, 33–36, and 38. It is the whole block of chapters about the 'Northern peoples', and a block about the Balkan Slavs. In addition, there are chapters 31 *Of the Croats...* and 38 *Of the genealogy of the nation of the Turks*. All these chapters are 'ethnographic' and relate to two topics – 'Northern Barbarians' and 'Balkan Slavs'. Excluding chapter 38, all these chapters constitute two compact areas in the text of the treatise.

The initial ἰστέον, ὅτι... (*Know that...*) is used in chapters 15, 21, 25–28, 37, 39–42, 48, 50, and 52.

Some chapters do not contain either of these initial collocations; these are chapters 14, 16–20, 22–24, 30, 43, 47, and 49.

Some chapters contain both the initial ὅτι... or ἰστέον, ὅτι...; these are chapters 29, 32, 44–46, 51, and 53. These chapters can vividly show the essence of the relation of these initial words in the sections. That is why these chapters should be analyzed first.

Chapter 29 *Of Dalmatia...* begins with ὅτι... (29/3). These words begin the stories about the times of Roman emperors Diocletian and Heraclius (29/54). The words ἰστέον, ὅτι... begin the short reference (29/113–115) which *breaks the sequential narrative* about the siege of the fortress of Ragusa and about a Saracen named Soldan. This reference is a short remark about the moving of Croats and the other chiefs of the Slavs into Lombardy. After an insert reference with the initial ἰστέον, ὅτι... the didactic story about Soldan continues. All the subsequent accounts about different fortresses of Dalmatia begin only with ὅτι... It is obvious that chapter 29 was entirely written by the 'First author', but the 'Second author' made a gloss that was mechanically inserted into the coherent text, maybe from the margins of the page.

Chapter 32 *Of the Serbs...* begins with the initial ἰστέον, ὅτι..., and at the end of the chapter the initial ὅτι... begins two short additional notes about

⁶⁶ F. BLASS, A. DEBRUNNER, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. et ed. R.W. FUNK, Cambridge 1961, p. 246–247.

the submission of Serbia's princes to the emperors of Romans and about the cities of the baptized Serbia (32.146–151). The complete chapter 29 was written by the 'Second author' and the 'First author' made two remarks at the end of it.

Chapter 44 *Of the country of Apachunis...* consists of two parts. The first part of the chapter is devoted to the country Apachunis, and the second part focuses on the cities Manzikiert, Perki, Chliat and so on. The first part, about the country of Apachunis, begins with ἰστέον, ὅτι... (44.1–12). In the second part that talks about different cities, the account of each city begins with ὅτι... (44.13–128). The two-section chapter 44 was therefore written jointly by two authors. The 'Second author' wrote the first part, and the 'First author' wrote the second part.

Chapter 45 *Of the Iberians* begins with ἰστέον, ὅτι... (45.2). About a half of this chapter deals with a story about the wars of emperors Leo VI and Romanus I for the country of Phasiane (45.1–66). Afterwards there is a piece of text beginning with ὅτι... (45.67). This is an instance of direct speech of emperor Constantine VII. In this narration Constantine VII calls himself "our own imperial majesty" (ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν) and calls Romanus I "our father-in-law" (ὁ πενθερός ἡμῶν)⁶⁷. Chapter 45 obviously consists of two parts. The first one was written by the 'Second author' and the second one was written by the 'First author', who called himself "our majesty". There is thus a good reason to suppose that the 'First author' was emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who used the initial ὅτι... to begin the sections of the chapter.

Chapter 46 *Of the genealogy of the Iberians and of the city of Ardanoutzi* is constructed with the use of the same two-section structure as chapter 44. The first part, *Of the genealogy of the Iberians*, begins with ἰστέον, ὅτι... (45.3–41). The second part, *Of the city of Ardanoutzi*, begins with ὅτι... (45.42–169). The second part of the chapter is finished with a direct appeal of Constantine VII to his son Romanus II (φιλάτατε υἱέ). This appeal is a quotation from Thucydides⁶⁸. Once again Constantine VII's direct speech correlates with the initial ὅτι...

Chapter 51 *Why the imperial galley came to be made... and all about the protospatharius of the basin* consists of three parts. Two parts are basic and the third one is additional. The first part, *Why the imperial galley*, begins with ἰστέον, ὅτι... (51.5–45). The second one, *All about the protospatharius of the basin*, begins with ὅτι... (51.46–190). The second part has a recollection about the infancy of Constantine VII. The third grammatical person was used here by Constantine VII to show the typicality of the situation of vice and corruption seen when a ruling emperor is a child⁶⁹. R.J.H. Jenkins was sure that in spite of the third grammatical person, this piece of text was written by Constantine VII himself⁷⁰. The final

⁶⁷ *De Administrando Imperio*, 45, p. 208–214.

⁶⁸ *De Administrando Imperio*, 46, p. 222, 339.

⁶⁹ *De Administrando Imperio*, 51, p. 252, 254.

⁷⁰ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio...*, vol. II, p. 202.

additional part of the chapter consists of three notes beginning with *ιστέον, ὅτι...* This part is devoted to the topic of taking money and horses away from those who refused to join military expeditions. This chapter was written by two authors, and the ‘Second author’ also included three notes on one topic. It is worthy to note that the following chapter 52 is a story on the same topic of mobilizing horses and raising money in the province of Peloponnesus. Chapter 52 contains the initial *ιστέον, ὅτι...* and can be attributed to the ‘Second author’ who made notes similar to those in the previous chapter 51.

The last chapter, i.e. chapter 53 *Story of the city of Cherson*, is a long narrative about the history of the Crimean city of Cherson from the times of Roman emperor Diocletian (53/1–492). At the end of this chapter, after the main story, there are seven additional notes about where petroleum (naphtha) can be found. All these notes begin with *ιστέον, ὅτι...* (53.493–529). At the very end of the chapter there are two notes about trade operations that were the most important ones for the Chersonites, beginning with *ὅτι...* (53.530–535). Chapter 53 is a vast excerpt about Cherson with additional notes from both authors. The ‘Second author’ wrote seven notes about petroleum production. The ‘First author’ wrote two notes about the Chersonites’ trade affairs.

Now it is time to trace the work of the ‘Second author’, who used the initial *ιστέον, ὅτι...* Chapter 15 *Of the tribe of the Fatemites* is the first one in the text with these initial words. The source of this chapter is not identified even now⁷¹. This chapter is included in the block of chapters devoted to the Islamic countries (14–22). All other chapters of this block are the excerpts from the *Chronicle of the Theophanes Confessor* with an additional text of the horoscope (“canon”) of Stephen the astrologer (“mathematician”) (chapter 16).

The next chapter which contains the initial *ιστέον, ὅτι...* is chapter 21 *From the Chronicle of the Theophanes: the year from the creation of the world 6171*. The initial *ιστέον, ὅτι...* begins the first account (21/3–5) about the invasion of the Mardaïtes on the Lebanon. Actually, the excerpt from the *Chronicle of the Theophanes Confessor* begins with the words *καὶ πολλοὶ δούλοι...* (*and many slaves...*)⁷². The next initial *ιστέον, ὅτι...* marked the second addition from an unknown source to the text of the *Chronicle of the Theophanes Confessor* (21/49–126)⁷³. The third initial *ιστέον, ὅτι...* begins the final (29/111–126) passage about the Mauias’ genealogy and the expedition of the Saracens against Constantinople.

I propose that these were not only chapters 15 and 21 which were written by the ‘Second author’, but that the whole block of chapters 14–21 about the Muslims and their faith, Islam, was compiled by him. There is no feature indicating the participation of emperor Constantine VII in the preparation of these texts.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 72.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 75.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 76.

In chapter 22 Theophanes the Confessor is designated as ὁ μητρόθειος, i.e. Constantine VII's "uncle" or "forefather" "on the mother's side" (22/79). In this passage Constantine VII is presented in the third person and in a strictly official manner. This passage could hardly be written by Constantine VII himself, but was apparently written by his close collaborator who was aware of his family's memory about the emperor's famous ancestor.

Chapter 25 from the block about Spain (chapters 23–25) contains the initial ἰστέον, ὅτι... In this chapter, after the description of the ancient history of Spain, based on the *Chronicle of the Theophanes Confessor*, the initial ἰστέον, ὅτι... is used to begin an additional fragment about the Arabs (25/56–85). Chapter 25 has the same composition as chapters 15 and 21. The structure of the chapters about Spain is similar to the structure of the chapters about the Muslim World. It is not surprising because in fact Spain was a part of the Muslim lands at that time. Therefore, it can be assumed that chapters 14–25 create an entire block devoted to the Islamic civilization. I suppose that this block was entirely compiled by the 'Second author'. There is not a single case of Constantine VII's direct speech in these chapters.

The next block of chapters (26–28) deals with Italy and contains only the initial ἰστέον, ὅτι... It can be attributed to the 'Second author'. In this "Italian" block of chapters there are no instances of Constantine's direct speech or appeals to his son. Chapter 26 talks about the genealogy of Romanus II's wife Bertha-Eudocia who received a Greek name in honor of Constantine VII's grandmother and sister⁷⁴ (26.71–72). This passage is similar to the indication of Constantine VII's family relation with Theophanes the Confessor in chapter 22.

Chapters 37–42, excluding chapter 38, contain the initial ἰστέον, ὅτι... This is the block of chapters about northern nomads with an additional geographical mini-treatise Γεωγραφία ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης... μέχρι τοῦ κάστρου Σωτηριοπόλεως (*Geographical description from Thessalonica... to the city of Sotirioupolis*). In chapter 42 there is an insert about the mission of a patrician Petronas Camaterus to the land of Chazars.

Chapters 47 and 48 are two excerpts about the history of Cyprus. The first one is historical, and the second one is canonical (the citation of the 39th canon of the Sixth Holy Synod in Trullo). At the end of chapter 48 there are two additional notes. The first one is a direct appeal of Constantine VII to his son Romanus II. Emperor Constantine VII states that he has finished the narrative about the foreign nations (περὶ ἐθνῶν) and begins the narrative about "our polity", i.e. the Roman Empire⁷⁵. Here Constantine VII's direct appeal has no initial words ὅτι... because his appeal to his son is not an excerpt, but is his own commentary. Chapter 48 has one additional note about the invention of the Greek fire and the first victory with its help near the city of Cyzicus, which begins with ἰστέον,

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 98, 112.

⁷⁵ *De Administrando Imperio*, 46, p. 226.

ὅτι... This note is quite logical because chapters 47 and 48 talk about the city of Cyzicus and its inhabitants. That city was the place of the allocation of the archbishop of Cyprus John after the capture of the island by the Saracens. Only this final additional note about the Greek fire could be firmly attributed to the ‘Second author’, who made an expert appraisal of petroleum in the context of the Greek fire in chapter 53. In sum, it is impossible to attribute chapters 47 and 48 to any of the main authors based on formal criteria, but both of them inserted their comments in chapter 48.

All the sections of chapter 50 *Of the Slavs in the province of Peloponnesus...* begin with ἰστέον, ὅτι... In this chapter Constantine VII and his mother Zoë (50.159–163) are mentioned in the third grammatical person without any rhetorical purposes⁷⁶. Chapter 50 is a mini-treatise on the administration of the Byzantine Empire. This text is written exclusively by the ‘Second author’.

Chapter 52 continues the topic of the governmental collection of horses and money which begins in chapter 51. All the sections about the acquisition of horses and money begin with ἰστέον, ὅτι... Besides, it is a typically bureaucratic text like the text of chapter 50. There is no first-person direct speech of Constantine VII. These are vivid features of the work of the ‘Second author’.

Some chapters do not contain either the initial ὅτι... or ἰστέον, ὅτι...; these are chapters 14, 16–20, 22–24, 30, 43 and 47–49. Some of them can be attributed to the ‘Second author’ based on thematic comparisons and by drawing connections to his other chapters. These are chapters 14, 16–20, 22–24.

Chapter 30 *Story of the province of Dalmatia* is rather specific in style and content⁷⁷. The beginning of this text is about the benefit of ‘Knowledge’ (30.6–7). The source of this passage or its related texts are unknown. It resembles a separate lecture or a mini-treatise, but there are no reasons to consider it a later insert into the text of *De Administrando Imperio*.

The same can be said about chapter 49 *He who enquires how the Slavs were put in servitude and subjection to the church of Patras...* This is a peculiar law mini-treatise with etiological connotations. The titles of chapters 30 and 49 feature words derived from the verb ζητέω (“to seek”, “to enquire”). Both these chapters tell the stories about the introduction of taxes and the imposition of obligations on Slavic communities. It is quite likely that chapters 30 and 49 are excerpts from the same source, but this needs further inquiry.

There are no initial ἰστέον, ὅτι... or ὅτι... in chapter 43 *Of the country of Taron*, but this chapter begins with a direct appeal of Constantine VII to his son⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ *De Administrando Imperio*, 50, p. 240.

⁷⁷ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio...*, vol. II, p. 97–99, 112–113.

⁷⁸ *De Administrando Imperio*, 43, p. 188.

The long history of Taron that follows is evidently based on a particular earlier narrative.

With that in mind, the ‘First author’, who used the initial ὄτι..., wrote chapters 1–13, 31, 33–36, 38, and chapter 29 can probably be added to this list. The investigation of these chapters and chapters with both the initial figures of speech show that this ‘First author’ is Constantine VII himself. The complete first block of chapters 1–13 is marked only by the initial ὄτι... There are no instances of the initial ἰστέον, ὄτι... in these thirteen chapters. The composition and the content of this block is closely connected with *Proem*. The *Proem* is authentically Constantine VII’s personal copyright text. Chapter 1 begins with Constantine VII’s appeal to his son Romanus II (1.4–24). Chapter 13 contains a similar appeal of Constantine to Romanus II (13.12) and a personal invective addressed at emperor Romanus I Lecapenus who is referred to as “a common, illiterate fellow” (ὁ ἰδιώτης καὶ ἀγράμματος ἄνθρωπος)⁷⁹. Hence, *Proem* and the initial thirteen chapters were written by Constantine VII himself. It is not necessary to imagine a “dossier” written by an anonymous “ghost-author”, and to multiply the number of authors of *De Administrando Imperio*. These chapters seem like personal notes and excerpts coming from Constantine VII himself. The style of personal notes explains the uniform character of each chapter, but the texts are of different sizes, from one line up to one hundred and thirty lines (seen in terms of standard text of critical edition). The average size of a note (excerpt) is from five up to twenty lines.

Emperor Constantine VII could begin to note down such information early in his life. In the ‘first’ (“A”) and the ‘second’ (“B”) redaction of the *Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete and the Magistros* there is an account of how Constantine VII with his own hand wrote a letter to the future emperor Romanus I and personally signed it. This happened not much before March 919. Constantine VII was born in May 905. Hence, he was thirteen years old when he wrote this diplomatic letter⁸⁰. That is the age when Constantine VII could have begun to note down information he deemed important to himself. The information in chapters 1–13 is dated 920–950s which is when Constantine VII had all the opportunities to store the most important political information.

Chapter 29 (except for a short inserted note) and chapters 31–35 contain the initial ὄτι... It can be assumed that most of the block of chapters about the Balkan Slavs (chapters 29, 31, 33–36) was compiled by Constantine VII himself, except for the additional chapter 30 about the history of Dalmatia and chapter 32 about the history of the Serbs. Besides, Constantine VII inserted two notes into chapter 32 with the initial ὄτι...

⁷⁹ *De Administrando Imperio*, 13, p. 66, 72, 74, 76.

⁸⁰ *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, 135, 24, rec. S. WAHLGREN, Berolini 2006, p. 306.

Chapter 38 *On the genealogy of the nation of Turks...* is the only chapter with the initial ὅτι... in the block of chapters about nomads (37–41). The whole block except for chapter 38 was compiled by the ‘Second author’ using the initial marker ἰστέον, ὅτι... This is a mirror image of the block about the Balkans (chapters 29–36). In both cases one author compiled the main text on a given topic, and the other author added his own chapter or two chapters into the block.

To test the hypothesis which identifies the ‘First author’ with Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, it is necessary to examine his direct speech in the whole text of *De Administrando Imperio*⁸¹. Such direct utterances of Constantine VII are found in chapters 1 (1.4–24), 13 (13.12–200), 43 (43.2–6), 45 (45.67–175), 46 (46.166–169), 48 (48.23–27), 51 (51.133–191)⁸². These parts of the texts are authentically of Constantine VII’s personal authorship. Only the author of the speech for the benefit of ‘Knowledge’ (ἡ γνῶσις) in chapter 30 (30/2–5) is uncertain⁸³. These remarks organize all the composition of the treatise and correlate only with the sections with the initial ὅτι... or the sections without special initial words. Not a single remark from Constantine can be found in the section with the initial ἰστέον, ὅτι... Such correlations leave no doubt that the ‘First author’, who used the initial ὅτι..., is emperor Constantine VII. The ‘Second author’, who used the initial ἰστέον, ὅτι..., can be conditionally called an “Anonymous Collaborator”.

My hypothesis is that emperor Constantine VII compiled *Proem* and chapters 1–13, 29, 31, 32.146–151, 33–36, 38, 43.2–6, 44.13–128, 45.67–175, 46.42–169, 48.23–27, 51.46–191; 53.530–535. He personally worked with the blocks of chapters about ‘Northern peoples’, Balkan peoples, the Caucasus, Cyprus and the chapter on Cherson. These regions were the most important ones for the Byzantine (“Roman”) Empire and hence demanded the emperor’s personal attention. There are no grounds to imagine one more proxy-author who could work instead of Constantine VII and write his personal remarks on his behalf.

The “Anonymous Collaborator” compiled chapters 14–28, 29.113–115, 32.1–145, 37, 39–42, 44.1–12, 45.1–66, 46.1–41, 50, 51.1–45, 52, 53.493–529. His task was to handle information about the world of Islam, Italy, Dalmatia, Serbia, nomads of the Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Cyprus and Slav’s imposts in the Balkan region. He also surveyed the petroleum sources in the addition to the history of Cherson.

Significantly, chapters 30, 43, 47–48, and 53 which remain without any authorial attribution are separate “self-sufficient” mini-treatises or epitomes⁸⁴.

⁸¹ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio...*, vol. II, p. 7–8.

⁸² *De Administrando Imperio*, 1, 13, 43, 45, 46, 48, 51, p. 48, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 188, 208, 210, 212, 214, 222, 226, 252, 254, 256.

⁸³ *De Administrando Imperio*, 30, p. 138.

⁸⁴ About chapter 30, see: T. ŽIVKOVIĆ, ‘*De Conversione Croatorum et Serborum*’..., p. 30–38, 91–147.

The scheme of the teamwork of Constantine VII and his “Anonymous Collaborator” can be presented in the following table:

Proem, I – XIII || *XIV – XXVIII* || **XXIX/1–112** || 113–115 || **116–295** || ?XXX? || **XXXI** || *XXXII/1–145* || **146–151 – XXXVI** || *XXXVII* || **XXXVIII** || *XXXIX – XLII* || **XLIII/2–6** || ?7–188? || *XLIV/1–12* || **13–128** || *XLV/1–66* || **67–175** || *XLVI/1–41* || **42–169** || ?XLVII? || *XLVIII/1–22?* || **23–27** || 28–32 || ?XLIX? || *L – LI/1–45* || **46–191** || *LII* || ?LIII/1–492? || 493–529 || **530–535**.

The **bold type** indicates Constantine VII’s parts of the text; the *italic type* indicates the “Anonymous Collaborator’s” parts of the text; the underline and the “??” mark the parts of the text without any convincingly attributable authorship. The numbers of chapters are in Roman numerals, and the numbers of lines are in Arabic numerals.

The “Anonymous Collaborator” (“Second author”) was not inferior to Constantine VII when it comes to the knowledge of rare manuscripts and documents. They both quoted the *Taktika* by Leo VII Wise and a protographic text of the treatise *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* (“the old book of ceremonies”⁸⁵)⁸⁶. Both compilers knew well the genealogies of the Macedonian dynasty and the families of their court elite.

It is notable that Constantine VII in his uses of direct speech quoted only the most popular classical texts of ancient authors. At one point he cited *Odysea* (13.28–30) and on another occasion Thucydides (46/168–169). It does not come as a surprise because in the *Proem*, personally compiled by Constantine VII, he used only phrases and paraphrases from the Bible⁸⁷, and there are no quotations from any Classical text. Constantine VII’s modest education was emphasized by I. Ševčenko⁸⁸, so it is one more indirect argument supporting my identification.

All other thirteen quotations of ancient authors are found in the blocks of chapters compiled by the “Anonymous Collaborator”⁸⁹. But it is difficult to determine whether he cited them all himself, or whether these quotations are the integral parts of his sources. In chapter 21 the inscription on the Rhodian colossus may be cited by the “Anonymous Collaborator” himself, or may be an integral part of the source of the chapter. Chapter 23 contains twenty quotations from different ancient authors. It is not surprising because it is an antiquarian geographical compilation about Spain with sophisticated grammatical commentaries. This section does not contain any ἰστέον, ὄτι... – probably the “Anonymous Collaborator”

⁸⁵ M.A. КУРЫШЕВА, *Руконисъ Lipsiensis bibl. Urb. Rep. I 17 праκματα «De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae»*, CB 76, 1/2, 2015, p. 61–63, 65.

⁸⁶ *De Administrando Imperio*, 1, 27, 30, p. 44, 116, 138, 340.

⁸⁷ *De Administrando Imperio*, Proem, p. 44, 46.

⁸⁸ I. ŠEVČENKO, *Re-reading...*, p. 168–179.

⁸⁹ *De Administrando Imperio*, 21, 23, 24, 41, 42, p. 88, 98, 100, 102, 180, 338–339.

took it as a whole prepared text and inserted it into the block of chapters about Spain. The same can be said about the quotations in chapter 24, also devoted to Spain. Chapters 41 and 42 begin with *ιστέον, ὅτι...* Both these chapters are original texts without any exact prototype in Byzantine literature. Chapter 41 is an original narrative about the decline and fall of Great Moravia, based on ancient fables by Aesop, Babrius and Lucius Mestrius Plutarch. Chapter 42 is an itinerary titled *Γεωγραφία...*, with quotations from Herodotus and Claudius Ptolemy. It is combined with the narrative about the mission of a patrician Petronas Camaterus. Given the absence of precise sources of these chapters, it is natural to suggest that these two texts were compiled by the “Anonymous Collaborator” himself. He wrote the narrative about Moravia and at least connected two parts of the *Γεωγραφία...*, or even wrote it, too. With that in mind, the “Anonymous Collaborator” seems a well-educated person, and likely an experienced writer.

If we use the formal criterion proposed by J. Signes-Codoñer⁹⁰ and fix the scheme of the different headlines of chapters, it becomes evident that the initial formula with *Περὶ...* was used by both authors in the headlines of thirty-seven chapters. The initial *Ἐκ...* was used only by the “Anonymous Collaborator” (headlines of chapters 16, 17, 21, 22, and 25). He also used abnormal headlines, counting “chiefs of Arabs”, in chapters 18, 19, 20. He also used the headlines with the designation of the type of the text (source?) *Ἡ γενεαλογία* (chapter 26), *Διήγησις...* (chapter 28), *Γεωγραφία...* (chapter 42), and *Ἡ γενομένη ἀπαίτησις...* (chapter 52). It is to be expected because the “Anonymous Collaborator”, but not Constantine VII, had to collect additional archival materials for special topics to add them to the treatise. All other abnormal headlines begin the chapters which remain without confident identification of emperor Constantine VII or his “Anonymous Collaborator”. These are *Διήγησις περὶ...* (chapter 30), *Κεφάλιον...* (chapter 48), *Ὁ ζητῶν...* (chapter 49), and *Ἱστορία περὶ...* (chapter 53). These archival “documents” may have been inserted into the text by the “Anonymous Collaborator”, or they can be a faint trace of the “Third author”, who can be called an “Anonymous Archivist”.

Also, it is quite logical that the “Anonymous Collaborator” used the entire initial *ιστέον, ὅτι*, and emperor Constantine VII could afford to use the shortened vulgar initial *ὅτι...*

No doubt that my hypothesis about two authors of the treatise *De Administrando Imperio*, Constantine VII himself and an “Anonymous Collaborator”, needs further verification by the examination of style and linguistic peculiarities of different chapters and sections. It is possible that an “Anonymous Collaborator” turns out to be several anonymous persons. At this stage, I see a weak sign of the third author, an “Anonymous Archivist”, who gathered additional documents. My goal is to establish the preliminary scheme of the collaboration of two

⁹⁰ J. SIGNES-CODOÑER, *Los eslavos...*, p. 126–130.

compilers, emperor Constantine VII and his close “Anonymous Collaborator”. Such a scheme of co-working was authentically proclaimed in the title of *Vita Basilii Imperatoris* and can be traced in the text of *De Administrando Imperio*, the two most intimate texts, concerning Constantine VII’s grandfather Basil I Macedonian and Constantine VII’s son Romanus II Porphyrogenitus.

Conclusions: the basic stages of the text’s history

The text of *De Administrando Imperio* was written after 952 and before the November 959 by emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus himself for his elder son Romanus II Porphyrogenitus. Apparently, it was the father’s gift on the occasion of the marriage of Romanus II and Anastasia-Theophano in the mid of the 950s (about 955?). Constantine VII had an educated “Anonymous Collaborator”. The basis of the treatise’s text was Constantine’s private miscellanea of historical and geographical excerpts. In this way Constantine VII compiled his most significant texts: *De Administrando Imperio* and *Vita Basilii Imperatoris*.

The codex of *De Administrando Imperio* was kept in his library in the emperor’s palace. One of its readers made some notes on the margins. One marginalia can be dated to right after 979. Probably between 1059 and 1073 a scribe Michael Roizaite wrote a copy of this codex – manuscript *Paris. gr. 2009* for the Caesar John Ducas. Caesar John Ducas apparently used this copy as a handbook for the education of future emperors Michael VII and Constantine X, whom he taught together with Michael Psellos.

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Abstract. The article proposes a new version of the history of the famous Byzantine political treatise *De Administrando Imperio*. The text of this treatise was written after 952 and before November 959 personally by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus for his eldest son Romanus II. The emperor worked in tandem with an “Anonymous Collaborator”. The text of the treatise was based on the private notes and excerpts of emperor Constantine VII and various other historical and geographical data. Such a scheme of cooperation of Constantine VII himself and a second “Anonymous Collaborator” was described in the title of *Vita Basilii Imperatoris*. The same mode of compiling was mentioned in Constantine VII’s private letter to Theodoros the archbishop of Cyzicus. The original codex of the treatise was kept in the emperor’s palatial library, where one of the readers made a few marginalia on its pages; one of them is dated to after 979. Between 1059 and 1073 a scribe Michael Roizaita made a copy of this text for Caesar John Ducas. Apparently, John Ducas needed it as a handbook for future emperors Michael VII and Constantine X, whom he taught together with Michael Psellos.

Keywords: *De Administrando Imperio*, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, emperor’s palatial library, manuscript Paris. gr. 2009, scribe Michael Roizaita, caesar John Ducas.

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ICHTHYOLOGICAL HAPAX LEGOMENA IN MARCELLUS' *DE PISCIBUS*

Introduction

Marcellus of Side, a physician and poet living in the second century AD, is an almost unknown figure¹. Little information about his life has been passed down from Antiquity and the few preserved records indicate that he lived under the rule of three Roman emperors: Hadrian (117–138), Antoninus Pius (138–161) and Marcus Aurelius (161–180). An entry in the Byzantine encyclopedia called *Suda* (tenth century) informs us that Marcellus of Side was still active in the times of Emperor Marcus Aurelius and that he created a medical poem consisting of forty-two books, entitled *Chironides* (*Books on surgery*), composed in dactylic hexameters²:

Μάρκελλος Σιδήτης, ἰατρός, ἐπὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου. οὗτος ἔγραψε δι' ἐπῶν ἠρωϊκῶν βιβλία ἰατρικὰ δύο καὶ μ', ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ λυκανθρώπου.

Marcellus of Side, physician, [deceased] under Marcus [Aurelius] Antoninus. He wrote 42 medical books in heroic verse, in which he also wrote about the werewolf.³

¹ W. KROLL, *Markellos von Side*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XIV.28, col. 1496–1497; M. WELLMANN, *Marcellus von Side als Arzt und die Koiraniden des Hermes Trismegistos*, Leipzig 1934 [= *Phil.S.* 27.2], p. 1–50; L. BERKOWITZ, K.A. SQUITIER, *Thesaurus linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works*,³New York–Oxford 1990, p. 257; Β. ΣΠΑΝΔΑΓΟΣ, Ρ. ΣΠΑΝΔΑΓΟΥ, Δ. ΤΡΑΥΛΟΥ, *Οι ἰατροὶ καὶ οἱ φαρμακολόγοι τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδας*, Αθήνα 1996, p. 215; Κ. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ἀρχαίοι Ἕλληνες ἰατροί*, Αθήνα 1998, p. 326; S. FORNARO, *Marcellus* [2], [in:] *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, vol. VIII, (*Lyd–Mine*), ed. H. CANKIK, H. SCHNEIDER, Leiden–Boston 2006, p. 297; G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side. Gli imperatori adottivi e il potere della medicina*, Acireale–Roma 2016; G. ARENA, *Marcello di Side: protomedico urbano o archiatra imperiale?*, *Hor* 10, 2018, p. 1–20.

² *Svidae Lexicon*, pars 3, ed. A. ADLER, Stuttgartiae 1967, p. 3266 (s.v. Μάρκελλος Σιδήτης).

³ Based on author's own translation. It is worth noting here that by “werewolf” Marcellus of Side meant a mentally ill person (suffering from lycanthropy). See W. ROSCHER, *Das von der “Kynanthropie” handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side*, Leipzig 1896, p. 4–92.

The Palatine Anthology contains a funerary epigram of Marcellus of Side, from which it is clear that Emperor Hadrian and his successor Antoninus Pius ordered 40 books of his medical work to be placed in a public library in Rome.

Μαρκέλλου τόδε σῆμα περικλυτοῦ ιητήρος,
 φωτὸς κυδίστοιο τετιμένου ἀθανάτοισιν,
 οὐ βίβλους ἀνέθηκεν ἐνκτιμένη ἐνὶ Ῥώμῃ
 Ἀδριανὸς προτέρων προφερέστερος ἡγεμονίῳ,
 καὶ πάϊς Ἀδριανοῖο, μέγ' ἔξοχος Ἀντωνίνος,
 ὄφρα καὶ ἔσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνδράσι κῦδος ἄροϊτο
 εἶνεκεν εὐεπίης, τὴν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
 ἥρψψ μέλψαντι μέτρψ θεραπῆια νοῦσων
 βίβλοισι ἐν πινυταῖς Χειρωνίσι τεσσαράκοντα.⁴

On Marcellus, the Physician of Side

This is the tomb of Marcellus, the renowned physician, a most celebrated man, honoured by the gods, whose books were presented (to the public library) in fair-built Rome by Hadrian, the best of our former emperors, and by admirable Antoninus, Hadrian's son; so that among men in after years he might win renown for his eloquence, the gift of Phoebus Apollo. He sung the treatment of diseases in forty skilled books of heroic verse called the Chironides.⁵

Marcellus also wrote a preserved panegyric in honor of Anna Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, who died tragically in 160⁶. It can be assumed that the physician and poet of Side lived during the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161–180 AD), as reported in the *Suda*. Probably the last two books of *Chironides* were published posthumously. Only a short fragment of the whole work has survived to our times, containing a catalogue of fish and other marine animals, as well as a list of several medicaments obtained from them. This preserved fragment *De piscibus*, includes 101 verses.

In the four-verse invocation, the author states that he recognized the “healing nature of sea creatures” (v. 1), and also familiarized himself with the literature on the subject (v. 3). Then the poet announces that he will present a catalog of fish and their names (v. 4), which he then proceeds to do step by step in subsequent lines (v. 5–40). Emphasizing that nature itself gives to people numerous medicines to be obtained from sea, soil, and air (v. 41–43), the author goes on to discuss medicines from fish and their uses for specific ailments (v. 44–101). The text stops at the 101st verse. It is not known how extensive Marcellus' book on fish and other marine animals was.

⁴ See *Anthologia Graeca epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea*, VII, 158, ed. H. STADTMUELLER, Lipsiae 1899 [= BSGR], p. 103.

⁵ *The Greek Anthology*, vol. II, trans. W.R. PATON, London–New York 1919 [= LCL, 68], p. 89–91.

⁶ M. DAVIES, S.B. POMEROY, *Marcellus of Side's Epitaph on Regilla (IG XIV 1389): An Historical and Literary Commentary*, P.RSC 38, 2012, p. 3–34.

The surviving Greek text reads as follows⁷:

Εὖ δὲ καὶ εἰναλίῳν ἐδάην φύσιν ἰήτειραν
 <σχ>ήμασι παντοίοισιν ἐμὸν νόον ἐξερεῖνων,
 ὡς αὐτός τ' ἐνόησα καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουσα·
 ὧν τοι ἐγὼ πληθὺν ἠδ' οὖνομα πᾶν ἀγορεύσω.
 Βένθεα κητώνεντα πολυσκοπέλοιο θαλάσσης
 ἰχθύες ἀμφινέμονται ἀπειρίτοι ἀργινόνεντες
 παμμέλανες περκνοὶ τε καὶ αἰόλον εἶδος ἔχοντες·

I have also learned well the healing nature of sea-creatures,
 thoroughly searching my mind in all sorts of ways,
 both as I have learned myself and heard stories from others:
 of these I will tell you the multitude and all the names.
 Around the sea-creatures filled depths of the sea with its many cliffs
 innumerable fish dwell, bright-shining,
 all-black, dusky, and variegated in appearance.⁸

Hapax legomena in Marcellus of Side

The surviving fragment of Marcellus' work features Greek ichthyonyms that do not appear in other ancient sources, or their form significantly differs from the names of fish found in the literature on the subject. Ernst Heitsch labels these names as “*pisces ignoti*” or “*nomina inusitata*”⁹. Below *hapax legomena* related to the ontological terminology of Marcellus of Side will be discussed.

βούφθαλμος ‘large-eye dentex’

The first exclusive ichthyonym appears in the eighth verse of the preserved epic fragment, which reads: φάγροι τε γλαῦκοί τε, πρέποντες βούφθαλμοὶ τε (*red porgies, marlins, 'prepontes' and large-eye dentexes*).

According to F.R. Adrados, the Greek ichthyonym βούφθαλμος seems to describe a fish of the *Sparidae* family, similar to bogue (Gk. βώψ, *Boops boops* L., 1758)¹⁰. This assumption seems correct because Marcellus often juxtaposes related fish at the beginning and the end of the line, and in the analyzed verse there is

⁷ See E. HEITSCH, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. II, Göttingen 1964 [= AAWG.PHK, 3.58], p. 16–22.

⁸ Trans. by F. Overduin. See F. OVERDUIN, *The Didactic Aesthetics of Marcellus' De Piscibus* (GDRK 63), *AJP* 139, 1, 2018, p. 39, 42.

⁹ E. HEITSCH, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente...*, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV, ed. F.R. ADRADOS, Madrid 1994, p. 747. See also R. STRÖMBERG, *Studien zur Etymologie und Bildung der griechischen Fischnamen*, Göteborg 1943, p. 99. Note that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161, wrongly identify the fish called βούφθαλμος with the blackspot seabream (*Pagellus bogaraveo*, Brünnich, 1768).

also another fish of the *Sparidae* family, namely red porgy (Gk. φάγρος, *Pagrus pagrus* L., 1758). The term βούφθαλμος is clear in terms of word-formation and etymology; it literally means a fish ‘with big eyes’, cf. the Greek prefix βου- ‘big, large, numerous’¹¹ (< Gk. βούς f. m. ‘cow, ox’) and ὀφθαλμός m. ‘eye’. It should be assumed that this is a large-eyed dentex (*Dentex macrophthalmus* Bloch, 1791), because this particular fish has “huge eyes”¹² in relation to its body size.

θῦρος ‘some sort of marine fish’

Another rare fish-name occurs in verse 10: θῦροί τε σκιαδεῖς τε καὶ ἥπατοι ἀγκυλόδοντες (*thyroi*, *halibuts*, *hakes with curved teeth*). *Thyroi* (Gk. θῦροι) are unidentified marine fish (“*pisces ignotae*”¹³), found in the Mediterranean basin. This ancient ichthyonym in the above form appears only in the preserved fragment of the work by Marcellus of Side¹⁴. It should be noted, however, that in Ancient Greek and Latin there was a very similar word, θυρσίων, which had two meanings. In Athenaeus’ work, it defines such a part of the fish (specifically a part of the lower abdomen of the porbeagle, *Lamna nasus* Bonnaterre, 1788)¹⁵ that was supposed to be the most exquisite rarity of Hellenic cuisine¹⁶. In Latin, the term *thursio*, borrowed from Greek, appears to mean a large sea animal shaped like a dolphin¹⁷. The animal is generally identified with the porpoise (*Phocoena phocoena* L., 1758, syn. *Delphinus phocoena* L., 1758)¹⁸, a marine mammal of the porpoise family. The word θυρσίων ‘a kind of fish/eine Fischart’ was used in Medieval Greek¹⁹. The name of this fish has been preserved to this day in the Pontic dialect of the Modern Greek language as τυρσίβ n. ‘some sort of marine fish’ (Inepolis, Trebizont)²⁰.

¹¹ R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, vol. I, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 228. See the Hesychian gloss: βου· τὸ μέγα καὶ πολὺ δηλοῖ. [Λάκωνες]; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, A–Δ, ed. K. LATTE, Hauniae 1953, p. 336; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, A–Δ, ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM, Berlin–Boston 2018, p. 453.

¹² F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische. Steinbachs Naturführer*, München 1983, p. 100; B. WIĘCĄSZEK, A. ANTOSZEK, S. KESZKA, *Naukowe, polskie i angielskie nazewnictwo ryb świata w układzie systematycznym*, Warszawa–Radom 2015, p. 125.

¹³ E. HEITSCH, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente...*, p. 17.

¹⁴ *LSJ*, p. 153.

¹⁵ M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (III–VII w.)*, Łódź 2005 [= BL, 9], p. 353–354.

¹⁶ *Athenaei Naucraticae dipnosophistarum libri XV*, VII, 309e, vol. I–III, rec. G. KAIBEL, Lipsiae–Berolini 1887–1890 (cetera: ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Dipnosophistae*).

¹⁷ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, IX, 34: *Delphinorum similitudinem habent qui vocantur thursiones*, see: GAIO PLINIO SECONDO, *Storia Naturale*, vol. II, *Antropologia e zoologia, Libri 7–11*, trans. et comm. A. BORGHINI, E. GIANNARELLI, A. MARCONE, G. RANUZZI, Torino 2007, p. 314.

¹⁸ *LSJ*, p. 812 (‘a dolphin-like fish’); F. MONTANARI, *Vocabolario della lingua greca*, Milano 2003, p. 928 (‘focena, pesce porco’).

¹⁹ N. ANDRIOTIS, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten*, Wien 1974 [= SB.LA, 22], p. 279.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

It seems that the ichthyonym $\theta\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ quoted by Marcellus may represent a local Pamphylian form popular in the city of Side and its surroundings. In the Pamphylian dialect the consonant group $-\rho\sigma-$ assimilated progressively to $-\rho\rho-$ and the resulting geminate was then shortened to $-\rho-$, cf. Pamph. Πούρου gen. sg. 'of Pyrrhos' ($< \text{Πύρρου} < * \text{Πύρσου}$)²¹. The simplification of the geminate $-\rho\rho-$ could be compensated for by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. In other words, there is no reason why the local Pamphylian appellative $\theta\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ could not derive from the Greek $*\theta\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$. This form was the basis for the derivation of another Greek-Latin ichthyonym: $\theta\upsilon\rho\sigma\iota\omega\nu$.

χρῦσοφοϛ 'gilt-head bream'

The ichthyonym is found in verse 12: $\chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\iota \eta\delta' \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\pi\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\eta\lambda\alpha\mu\ddot{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\rho\kappa\alpha\iota$ (*gilt-head breams and 'elopes' [sturgeons], and bonitos, and 'acharnai'*). Only Marcellus of Side uses the rare, probably dialectal (Pamphylian) form of $\chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$ instead of the more popular (Attic-Ionian) version of $\chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ 'gilt-head bream'²². The form recorded in the analyzed fragment appeared as a result of progressive dissimilation of liquid consonants (Gk. $\chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma < * \chi\rho\ddot{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\phi\rho\omicron\varsigma$). Gilt-head bream (*Sparus aurata* L., 1758) is a species of fish of the *Sparidae* family, the sole representative of the *Sparus* genus²³. It is common in the Mediterranean Sea²⁴. Breams as fish with very tasty and delicate meat were highly valued by ancient dietetians, although not many recipes of ancient Greek cuisine have survived²⁵.

ἐρυθρός 'common pandora'

The fourth *hapax legomenon* appears in line 14: $\kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma \kappa\epsilon\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\iota \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\iota \mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ (*lizas, common pandoras and coastal obladas*). The Greek ichthyonym $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, used by Marcellus, does not appear in other written sources. There is no doubt that this is a fish called $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (also as a result of progressive dissimilation of $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$), known in English as the common pandora (*Pagellus erythrinus* L.)²⁶. This name was regressively dissimilated ($\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma > * \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\theta\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$) in Hellenic dialects of Great Greece, hence the Italian dialectal names:

²¹ C. BRIXHE, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire*, Paris 1976 [= BIFEAI], p. 70.

²² A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary of Greek Fishes*, London 1947, p. 292; LSF, p. 2011; G. ARENA, M. CASIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 163 (the authors use an unaccepted name *Chrysophrys aurata* L., 1758).

²³ J. GRONAU, *Polsko-łaciński i łacińsko-polski słownik popularnych nazw ryb. Z przyporządkowaniem poprzez kod do rodzin ryb wraz z uproszczoną systematyką ryb*, Kraków 1994, p. 42; B. WIĘCASZEK, A. ANTOSZEK, S. KESZKA, *Naukowe, polskie i angielskie nazewnictwo ryb...*, p. 127.

²⁴ F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische...*, p. 94.

²⁵ A. DALBY, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 61; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 75–76.

²⁶ J. GRONAU, *Polsko-łaciński...*, p. 70; B. WIĘCASZEK, A. ANTOSZEK, S. KESZKA, *Naukowe, polskie i angielskie nazewnictwo ryb...*, p. 126.

lutrinu in Calabria, *lutrinu* in Salento, *lutrinā* in Taranto and *lutrinā* in Naples²⁷. The same phenomenon can be observed in the Modern Greek dialects, where a deminutive form appears, cf. MGk. dial. λυθρίνι, λεθρίνι n. ‘common pandora, *Pagellus erythrinus* L.’

Common pandoras are frequently found in the Mediterranean Sea and eastern parts of the Atlantic Ocean. The meat of the fish is tasty, firm and nutritious. According to Oribasius, the fish called ἐρυθρίνος in wine was an essential component of a love potion²⁸.

περόνη f. ‘some kind of belone-shaped fish’

Marcellus of Side places another *hapax legomenon* in line 15, which reads as follows: βῶκες καὶ περόναι καὶ πετρῶντες ἴουλοι (*bogues, ‘peronai’ and wrasses living among rocks*). The didactic poet calls some unidentified fish caught in the Mediterranean Sea by the Greek name περόναι²⁹. This ichthyonym is unique and appears only in Marcellus’ work. The Greek appellative περόνη f. means ‘pin, tongue of a buckle, or brooch; buckle or brooch brooch itself’³⁰. The ichthyonym probably refers to some belone-shaped fish (Latin *Beloniformes*), characterised by a narrow, elongated shape of the body, perhaps belonging to the *Belonidae* family, like e.g. garfish (*Belone belone* L.)³¹.

βράχατος ‘angler’

Monkfish (Gk. βράχατοι) are marine fish found off the coasts of Europe and north-west Africa, including in the Mediterranean³². The angler (*Lophius piscatorius* L., 1758), which belongs to the *Lophiidae* family, usually lives at the bottom of the sea. Its length reaches 2 meters. Marcellus of Side used the dialectal form βράχατοι (sing. βράχατος)³³, which belongs to the *hapax legomena*. This form is significantly different from the Attic form βάτραχος (Ionic βάθρακος)³⁴, which

²⁷ G. ROHLFS, *Lexicon Graecanicum Italiae Inferioris. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Gräzität*, Tübingen 1964, p. 157–158.

²⁸ *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, II, 58, 18, 1–19, 1, vol. I–IV, ed. I. RAEDER, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928 (cetera: ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*). Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 96.

²⁹ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 195 (“An unknown fish”). G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 162, suggest a hypothetical identification with the garfish or the sea needle (*Belone belone* L., 1758).

³⁰ *LSJ*, p. 1395.

³¹ F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische...*, p. 60–61.

³² S. RUTKOWICZ, *Encyklopedia ryb morskich*, Gdańsk 1982, p. 596–597, No. 943; F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische...*, p. 206–207.

³³ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV..., p. 751.

³⁴ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV..., p. 698. Note that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 155, 161, introduce the Attic form βάτραχοι (*Lophius piscatorius* L., 1758) to Marcellus’ text (v. 21).

allows us to assume that Marcellus introduced a native, Pamphylic lexical unit to his poem. The related Cypriot term βρούχετος, validated in Hesychius' gloss (cf. βρούχετος· βάραθρον· βάτραχον δὲ Κύπριοι³⁵), featured a similar metathesis of the liquid consonant, as well as an identical sequence of dorsal and dental consonants.

In ancient times, the angler was not part of the daily diet of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coast. As a demersal fish, it was rarely caught in fishing nets and for this reason it was regarded as a unique delicacy and treat, served for exquisite feasts and sumptuous parties. Archestratus (preserved in the work by Athenaeus) considered the abdominal part of the angler to be exceptionally tasty³⁶. Oribasius points to the need to use expensive spices to improve the taste of the fish, as its meat had, in his opinion, an unpleasant smell³⁷.

ἄρπη 'some kind of sea fish'

Verse 22 brings as many as two ichthyonyms belonging to *hapax legomena*: καὶ τρυγῶν τρυγῶν ἄρπη τε καὶ ἠόεις κόλλουρος (*and the stingray, and the harpe, and the coastal slender sunfish*). Only the first name, τρυγῶν, is validated in other ancient sources. The ichthyonym ἄρπη means some unknown fish³⁸. The name appears only in a poem by Marcellus of Side. The Greek term ἄρπη means primarily some kind of bird of prey from the falcon family. Floating stingrays resemble birds, especially gliding birds of prey, hence the Greek name ἀετός, which probably meant both 'eagle' and sea fish, namely the common eagle ray (*Myliobatis aquila* L., 1758)³⁹. Presumably Marcellus used the appellative ἄρπη in reference to some fish similar in appearance to the stingray.

κόλλουρος 'slender sunfish'

The Greek ichthyonym κόλλουρος (literally 'having its tail cut off') refers to some unidentified fish, registered only in Marcellus' *De piscibus* (v. 22)⁴⁰. Reinhold Strömberg assumes an expressive gemination of -λλ- and links the name

³⁵ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, A–Δ, ed. K. LATTE..., p. 350; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, A–Δ, ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM..., p. 470.

³⁶ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Dipnosophistae*, VII, 296d.

³⁷ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 3, 12, 3–13, 3. M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 50–51.

³⁸ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. III, ed. F.R. ADRADOS, Madrid 1991, p. 523; F. MONTANARI, *Vocabolario...*, p. 326. A hypothetical identification with the flying gurnard (*Dactylopterus volitans* L., 1758) is suggested by G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161. It is worth emphasizing that the flying gurnard was called ἰέραξ in Ancient Greek, cf. A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 149.

³⁹ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 3; A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 304; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 24–25.

⁴⁰ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 121; F. MONTANARI, *Vocabolario...*, p. 1109.

of the fish to the adjective κόλουρος ‘with a tail cut off, without a tail’⁴¹. He also supposes that ichthyonym relates to some Mediterranean fish from the *Molidae* family, such as slender sunfish or ranzania (*Ranzania laevis* Pennant, 1776, syn. *Orthogoriscus truncatus* Retzius, 1785). These fish do not have a tail shaft. The epithet ἠϊόεις clearly indicates that this fish was found in the coastal zone, which excludes the reference to the mola (*Mola mola* L., 1758), which is a typical pelagic fish⁴². The slender sunfish, on the other hand, is found mainly in the warm waters of the continental shelf⁴³, i.e. in the coastal zone, so the adjective ἠϊόεις ‘coastal’ used by Marcellus makes it possible to identify the fish named κόλλουρος⁴⁴.

τραγίσκος ‘blue whiting’

The next *hapax legomenon* appears in line 23: σκορπιοί ἡδὲ λύκοι καὶ σήπια ἡδὲ τραγίσκοι (scorpion fish and stargazers, cuttlefish and blue whiting). The ichthyonym τραγίσκος (literally ‘kid, goat’) appears only in the work by Marcellus of Side. The name is a diminutive created from the appellative τράγος m. ‘goat’. The identification of the fish is not certain⁴⁵. The fish called τράγος (literally ‘goat’) appears already in Aristotle’s *Zoology*⁴⁶, where the author states that the male of the fish called μαινίς (i.e. th blotched picarel, *Spicara maena* L., 1758, syn. *Smaris maena* L. 1758) take on a dark colour during the mating season, and some [Greeks] call them *goats* (τράγοι). However, in other ancient sources (i.e. Oppian, Athenaeus, Ovidius) the fish τράγος (τραγίσκος) and μαινίς (μαίνη) are usually carefully differentiated⁴⁷. Also Marcellus of Side mentions separately the fish called τραγίσκος (line 23) and the blotched picarel (line 28). Aleksander Mikołajczak convincingly identifies the fish Ovidius named *tragus* with blue whiting

⁴¹ R. STRÖMBERG, *Studien zur Etymologie...*, p. 48. See also R. BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary...*, vol. I, p. 736–737.

⁴² S. RUTKOWICZ, *Encyklopedia ryb...*, p. 596–597, No. 941; F. TEROFAL, C. MILITZ, *Meeresfische...*, p. 206.

⁴³ S. RUTKOWICZ, *Encyklopedia ryb...*, p. 596–597, No. 942.

⁴⁴ G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 162, give a tentative identification with a question mark: “*Labrys merula*/tordo nero (?)”. It should be noted that the brown wrasse (*Labrys merula* L., 1758) has a long tail.

⁴⁵ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 263.

⁴⁶ ARISTOTLE, *Historia animalium in three volumes*, 607b9, vol. III, trans. D.M. BALME, London–Cambridge Mass. 1991 [= LCL, 439].

⁴⁷ OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, I, 108: βόσκονται μαινίδες ἰδὲ τράγοι ἡδ’ ἀθερίναι (*On the weedy beach under the green grasses / feeds the Maenis and the Goat-fish and the Atherine*), cf. Oppian, *Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, trans. A.W. MAIR, London–New York 1928 [= LCL, 219], p. 210–211. See also ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Dipnosophistae*, 313a–c (μαινίδες) vs. 328c (τράγοι); ONIDIUS, *Halieutica*, 120 (*maena*) vs. 112 (*tragique*). See *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Halieutica*, ed. A.A. ΜΙΚΟΛΑΪΤΣΑΚ, Gnesnae 1997, p. 82.

(*Micromesistius poutassou* Risso, 1827)⁴⁸. Blue whiting is common in the North-west Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Black Sea⁴⁹.

τυφλῖνος 'some small-sized coastal fish'

There is no doubt that it is worth mentioning and discussing line 25: τυφλῖνοι νάρκη τε καὶ ἡδείη ἀκαλήφη ('*typhlinoi*' and rays and sweet anemones), even though the form τυφλῖνος appears not just in the work by Marcellus of Side, but also in the thesaurus by Hesychius of Alexandria. It cannot be ruled out that Hesychius quoted Marcellus' ichtyonym. The fish τυφλῖνος (literally 'blind one') has not been identified in the literature on the subject yet⁵⁰. Athenaeus mentions the unknown "blind" fish (Gk. τύφλη) among the Nile fish⁵¹. The fish called τυφλῖνος is also listed by Hesychius of Alexandria, a Greek lexicographer from the end of the 5th century AD, who supports its Nile origin: τυφλῖνος· ἰχθὺς Νειλῶ[ε]ιος· καὶ ὄφρεως εἶδος⁵² ('*typhlinos*' – Nile fish; and snake species). Physician Oribasius (325–403) uses the diminutive τυφλινίδιον, which indicates the small size of this fish⁵³. It is also mentioned by the Byzantine writer Cassianus Bassus in his *Geoponica* as a good bait for bigger fish⁵⁴. The fish τυφλῖνος could be found in saltwater as well as in freshwater, e.g. at the mouth of the Nile. This fish, according to Oribasius, had little dietary value, was difficult to digest, had a bad effect on the digestive tract and could sometimes cause diarrhea⁵⁵.

ἀλιπλεύμων 'jellyfish'

Line 27 features a *hapax legomenon* that is clear in terms of word-formation: τρηχαλέη ρίνη τε καὶ ἀργινόεις ἀλιπλεύμων (*Rough angelshark and white-shining jellyfish*). The Greek term ἀλιπλεύμων (literally 'sea lung') appears only in the work

⁴⁸ *Publii Ouidii Nasonis Halieutica*, ed. A.A. MIKOŁAJCZAK, Gnesnae 1997, p. 81. A different identification is proposed by G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 163 ('red mullet, *Mullus barbatus* L., 1758').

⁴⁹ S. RUTKOWICZ, *Encyklopedia ryb...*, p. 262–263, No. 276.

⁵⁰ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 272; A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 234; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 367–368. Note, however, that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 163, suggest a tentative identification with the broadnosed pipefish (*Syngnathus typhle* L., 1758).

⁵¹ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Dipnosophistae*, VII, 312a.

⁵² *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. IV, ed. P.A. HANSEN, I.C. CUNNINGHAM, Berlin–New York 2009, p. 89.

⁵³ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, II, 58, 152.

⁵⁴ *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eologie*, XX, 19, ed. H. BECKH, Lipsiae 1895.

⁵⁵ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, II, 58, 152; see M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby...*, p. 367–368.

by Marcellus⁵⁶. The authors of *the Greek-Spanish Dictionary* identify the animal as a jellyfish (Spanish *medusa*)⁵⁷. Indeed, the name πλεύμων or πνεύμων defined jellyfish in Greek sources of the classical era (Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus)⁵⁸. In ancient medicine jellyfish were used to treat kidney stones and warts⁵⁹, and applied as plasters for gout and frostbite⁶⁰. Jellyfish is one of the two morphological forms of the *Coelenterata* of the *Cnidaria* phylum⁶¹.

θραβίας ‘swordfish’

The above fish name was validated in verse 29, which reads as follows: καὶ κί<ρρ>οὶ συ<ν>όδοι τε ἰδὲ ξιφίαι θραβίαι τε (*and reddish dentexes, swordfish and broadbills*). The ichthyonym θραβίας (elsewhere validated in an alternative form θράβις) is widely recognized as synonymous with the appellative ξιφίας ‘swordfish or broadbill’ (*Xiphias gladius* L., 1758). The identification is based both on the testimony of Pliny, who explicitly states semantic identity (*thranis quem alii xiphiam vocant*), and on the work of Xenocrates (θράβις, ἢ ξιφίας, κητώδες ἐστὶ)⁶². The form θραβίας, validated only in Marcellus’ work, is a local, probably Pamphylian name for this fish, created by crossing the dialectal name θράβις with the universal Greek appellative ξιφίας. Therefore, one can think that Marcellus of Side used a copulative conjunction of ξιφίαι θραβίαι τε to poetically document the synonymous character of both these Greek ichthyonyms.

γαρίσκος ‘small sea fish from which the *garum* fish sauce was made’

Line 33: καὶ σαῦραι χάν<ν>αι τε καὶ ὀρφέες ἠδὲ γαρίσκοι (*and horse mackerel, and painted combers, writers and groupers, and ‘gariskoi’*). The Greek ichthyonym γαρίσκος means some small sea fish that was the basic ingredient of fish sauce

⁵⁶ The term *halipleumon* was earlier used by PLINY THE ELDER (*Naturalis historia*, XXXII, 149). See E. DE SAINT-DENIS, *Le vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique*, Paris 1947, p. 44.

⁵⁷ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. I, ed. F.R. ADRADOS, Madrid 1989, p. 150. See also G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161: «*Rhizostoma pulmo/medusa nota come “polmone di mare”*».

⁵⁸ PLATO, *Philebus*, 21c, [in:] PLATO, *Statesman, Philebus, Ion*, trans. H.N. FOWLER, W.R.M. LAMB, London–Cambridge 1925 [= LCL, 164]; *Aristotelis De partibus animalium libri quattuor*, 681a18, ed. B. LANGKAVEL, Lipsiae 1868, p. 108; THEOPHRASTUS, *Signa*, 40, [in:] IDEM, *Enquiry into Plants and Minor Works on Odours and Weather Signs*, trans. A. HORT, London–New York 1916 [= LCL, 70], p. 429. See A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 203.

⁵⁹ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXXII, 102, cf. GAIO PLINIO SECONDO, *Storia Naturale*, vol. IV, *Medicina e farmacologia*, Libri 28–32, trans. et comm. U. CAPITANI, I. GAROFALO, Torino 1986, p. 592.

⁶⁰ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXXII, 111; *Pedanius Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque*, II, 37, vol. I, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berolini 1958; PAULUS AEGINETA, *Epitome Medicinae. Libri V–VII*, VII, 3, ed. J.L. HEIBERG, Lipsiae–Berolini 1924 [= CMG, IX.2].

⁶¹ See A. RAJSKI, *Zoologia*, vol. II, *Część systematyczna*, Warszawa 1997, p. 58; *Zoologia*, vol. I, *Bezkręgowce*, ed. C. BŁASZAK, Warszawa 2009, p. 66.

⁶² A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 77, 178; A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 316–317.

called γάρος or γάρων (Latin *garum*)⁶³. Pliny the Elder says that the famous fish sauce was once made from a fish called γάρος, and in his time (I century AD) *garum* made from mackerel was considered the best (*hoc [garum] olim conficiebatur ex pisce quam Graeci 'garon' vocabant [...] nunc ex scombro pisce laudatissimus*)⁶⁴. This information is also repeated by Isidore of Seville (*Garum est liquor piscium salsus, qui olim conficiebatur ex pisce quem Graeci γάρων vocabant*)⁶⁵. The fish is unidentified because the term γαρίσκος (derived from a deminutive) is found only in the work by Marcellus of Side, and the alternative form γάρος only in Latin authors (Pliny the Elder, Rufinus and Isidore of Seville)⁶⁶.

γερίνος 'some kind of a sea creature'

The last *hapax legomenon* appears in line 37: ὄστρεά τε γλαφυραί τε πελωρίδες ἠδὲ γερίνοι (*Oysters and delicate pelorides, and 'gerinoi'*). The Greek name γερίνος appears only in the work by Marcellus of Side. It probably defines a mussel or a sea snail as indicated by the context (v. 34–39)⁶⁷, and not a sea fish, as suggested by the authors of the Greek-Spanish Dictionary (*DGE*)⁶⁸.

Conclusions

This paper discusses Greek ichthyonyms that appear exclusively in the work by Marcellus of Side. Since they are found only in one literary source, they are classified as *hapax legomena*. Most of the appellatives analyzed here are transparent in terms of word-formation, although we are not always able to reconstruct specific semantics and clearly identify the Mediterranean fish labelled with a given name. In some cases, the ancient poet of the second century AD introduced very rare ichthyonyms, which probably functioned in the Pamphylian dialect of Ancient Greek, including ἄρπη, βούφθαλμος, βράχατος, γαρίσκος, γερίνος,

⁶³ A.W. THOMPSON, *Glossary...*, p. 43.

⁶⁴ PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXXI, 93, see: GAIO PLINIO SECONDO, *Storia Naturale*, vol. IV..., p. 520, 522.

⁶⁵ See ISIDORO DI SIVIGLIA, *Etimologie o origini*, vol. II, ed. A. VALASTRO CANALE, Roma 2014, p. 644.

⁶⁶ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV..., p. 789. It is worth emphasizing that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161, connect γαρίσκος with the Italian fish name *garizzo* ('*Spicara flexuosa* Rafinesque, 1810').

⁶⁷ The verses 34–39 read as follows: κάραβος ὀκρίοεις καὶ εὐόνυχες κήρυκες / καὶ λεπάδες χήμαι τε καὶ ὀξυθεῖρες ἐχῖνοι / πολυπόδες τε πολυπλόκαμοι κόχλοι τε φαινοί / ὄστρεά τε γλαφυραί τε πελωρίδες ἠδὲ γερίνοι / τελλίνα βάλανοι τε πετρηγενέες τε μύισκοι (*Spiny lobster and strong-legged tritons / and patellas, and scallops, as well as spiky sea urchins, / multi-armed octopus, luminescent snails, / oysters and delicate veneroids and gerines, / telines and piddocks born in rocks and mussels*). All the marine animals mentioned in these lines belong to invertebrates.

⁶⁸ *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. III..., p. 802 (s.v. γερίνος) ('cierto pez'). Note that G. ARENA, M. CASSIA, *Marcello di Side...*, p. 161, translate Gk. γερίνος as 'fry' ('avannotto' in Italian).

έρυθρός, θρανίας, θῦρος, κόλλουρος, περόνη, τραγίσκος, τυφλῖνος, χρύσοφος. The paper proposes new identifications of some fish, e.g. βούφθαλμος 'large-eye dentex, *Dentex macrophthalmus* Bloch', κόλλουρος 'slender sunfish, *Ranzania laevis* Pennant'. The dialectal forms are also explained from the phonetic, morphological and semantic point of view.

Translated by Katarzyna Gucio

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Abstract. Marcellus of Side, a physician and didactic poet of the second century AD, mentions fourteen exclusive ichthyonyms in the preserved fragment *De piscibus*, extracted from the 42-volume epic poem entitled *Cheironides*. The author discusses Greek names of fish and sea animals that appear only in Marcellus' work. They belong to the so-called *hapax legomena*. The following appellatives are carefully analyzed: ἀλιπλεύμων, ἄρπη, βούφθαλμος, βράχατος, γαρίσκος, γερίνος, ἔρυθρός, θρανίας, θῦρος, κόλλουρος, περόνη, τραγίσκος, τυφλίνος, χρύσοφος. It is assumed that Marcellus of Side introduced a number of ichthyonyms of Pamphylian origin, e.g. Pamph. θῦρος (< *θύρσος), βράχατος (instead of βάτραχος), ἔρυθρός (= ἔρυθρίνος), θρανίας (instead of θράνις), χρύσοφος (instead of χρύσοφρος). Also new identifications of fish are suggested, e.g. Gk. βούφθαλμος 'large-eye dentex, *Dentex macropthalmus* Bloch', Gk. κόλλουρος 'slender sunfish, *Ranzania laevis* Pennant'. All the discussed ichthyonyms, as well as names of other sea animals, are explained from the point of view of phonology, morphology or semantics, e.g. ἀλιπλεύμων 'jellyfish' (literally 'sea lung'), ἄρπη 'a kind of ray fish' (literally 'a kite').

Keywords: animal terminology, etymology, Greek, ichthyonymy, vocabulary.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Large-eye dentex (*Dentex macrophthalmus* BLOCH, 1791).
Source: www.fao.org [18 IX 2019].



Fig. 2. Gilt-head bream (*Sparus aurata* L.) in the Sardinian Sea.
Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo by D. BLAIKIE [31 V 2007].



Fig. 3. Common pandora (*Pagellus erythrinus* L.) in the Tyrrhenian Sea.
Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo by S. GUERRIERI [27 IX 2005]



Fig. 4. Angler (*Lophius piscatorius* L.).
Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo by MEOCRISIS [10 IX 2005]



Fig. 5. Slender sunfish (*Ranzania laevis* PENNANT).

Source: Wikimedia Commons



Fig. 6. Blue whiting (*Micromesistius poutassou* RISSO)

Source: Wikimedia Commons. Picture by H. GERVAIS (1877)

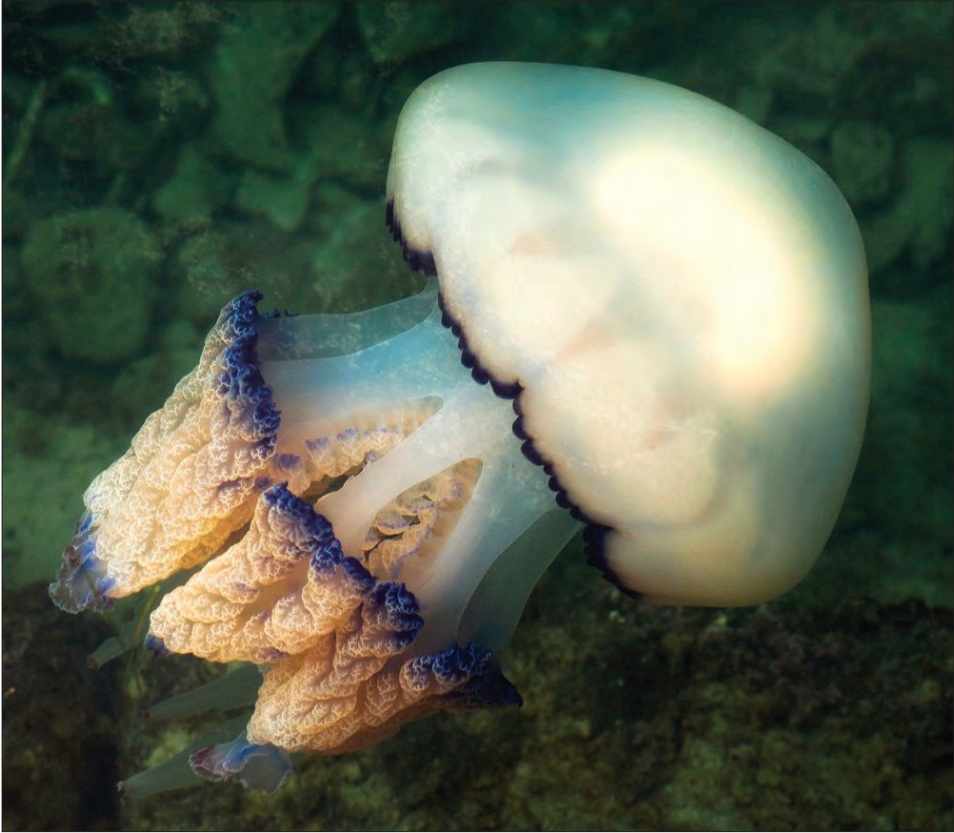


Fig. 7. Barrel jellyfish (*Rhizostoma pulmo* L.).

Source: Wikimedia Commons. Photo by A. KLADNIK [23 II 2014]

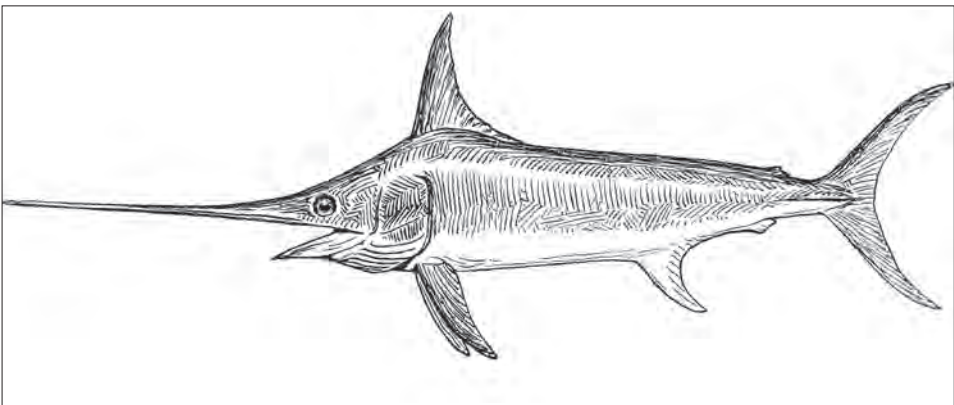



Fig. 8. Swordfish (*Xiphias gladius* L.).

Source: Wikimedia Commons. Picture by P.S. FORESMAN


BOOK REVIEWS

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THE UNDYING CONTROVERSY OF THE PRESENCE OF SLAVS ON THE ISLAND OF CRETE. REMARKS ON A NEW BOOK BY PANTELIS HARALAMPAKIS

Three years ago, Pantelis Haralampakis (Παντελής Χαραλαμπίδης) published his book entitled *Σλάβοι στην Κρήτη κατά τον Μεσαίωνα και τους πρώιμους νεότερους χρόνους (Ιστορικά και γλωσσικά τεκμήρια)* [*Slavs on Crete in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times (Historical and Linguistic Evidence)*], Andy's Publishers, Athens 2016, pp. 340. We intend to discuss not only the contents of the book, but also the conclusions offered by the author and what he managed to accomplish through his work.

The monograph under review (Haralampakis 2016) caps years of studying the issue of the Slavic presence in Crete and Slavic lexical influence on the Cretan dialect of Modern Greek and on the island's toponymy. The work is clearly divided into two parts. First (p. 15–85), the author discusses historical data, from the 7th century up until the Ottoman conquest of the island (between 1645 and 1669). He also looks at research hypotheses concerning the putative presence of the Slavs in Crete, which is suggested by both Greek and foreign scholars. Then (p. 87–238), Mr. Pantelis Haralampakis (henceforth PH) presents linguistic evidence, of both lexical (Slavic loans) and onomastic (i.e. Cretan toponyms of supposed Slavic origins) character. The monograph includes (aside from a preface and introduction, p. 5–14) a rather detailed summary (p. 239–251), a Greek translation of Czech traveler Jan Hasišteinský's 1493 account concerning Crete (p. 253–266), a comprehensive list of reference books (p. 267–290), pictures (p. 291–297), a summary in English (p. 299–305), indexes (p. 307–337), and a table

of contents (p. 339–340). Already a look at the book's contents proves that the author devotes twice as much place to linguistic argumentation and documentation as he does to historical data.

The issue of the Slavic presence in Crete has been widely studied by both Greek and foreign scholars¹. The earliest works discussing the Slavic settlement of Crete were authored by Bulgarian historians². Unfortunately, the medieval

¹ N.B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Σλάβοι στην Κρήτη. Τα Καρά-νου. Το Ροδοβάνι* [N.V. TOMADAKIS, *Slavs in Crete. Place-names Karanou. Rodovani*], ΕΕΚΣ 1, 1938, p. 425–431; ΙΔΕΜ, *Συμβολή εις την μελέτην των σλαβικών, αρμενικών και τουρκικών εποικήσεων εν Κρήτη* [A Contribution to the Study of Slavic, Armenian and Turkish Settlements in Crete], ΕΕΚΣ 2, 1939, p. 7–19; ΙΔΕΜ, *Αι περί Μακεδόνων Σκλάβων εν Κρήτη ειδήσεις Ιωσήφ Βρυεννίου (1401)* [Joseph Vryennios' Testimony on Macedonian Slaves in Crete (1401)], [in:] *Γέρας Αντωνίου Κεραμιόπουλου*, Αθήνα 1953, p. 105–111. See also M. VASMER, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, Berlin 1941 [repr. Leipzig 1970]; Й. ЗАИМОВ, *Заселване на българската Славяни на Балканския полуостров. Проучване на жителските имена в българската топонимия* [J. ЗАИМОВ, *Settlement of the Bulgarian Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula. Study of Inhabited Place Names in the Bulgarian Toponymy*], София 1967.

² И. ШИШМАНОВЪ, *Славянски селища въ Крите и на другите острови* [I. ŠIŠMANOV, *Slavic Settlements on Crete and other Islands*], БП 4, 3, 1897, p. 2–38; И. САКАЗОВ, *Новооткрити документи отъ края на XIV. вѣкъ за булгари отъ Македония продавани като роби* [I. SAKAZOV, *New Documents from the End of the 14th Century Referring to Bulgars from Macedonia Sold as Slaves*], РМас 7, 2/3, 1932,

period provides little relevant data and essentially each extant source needs to be considered. Usually, the first appearance of the Slavs in Crete is associated with Thomas the Presbyter's account concerning the Slavic invasion of Crete in 623. The original text has survived in Syrian and is quoted below in a literal English translation: *The Slavs invaded Crete and the other islands. There some blessed men of Qēnneshrē were taken captive and some twenty of them were killed*³. This information has not been independently verified but this is hardly surprising in the early medieval context. Most historians consider Thomas the Presbyter's account reliable but PH argues that it contains many inconsistencies. First, no place called Qēnneshrē exists in Crete. This name refers to a village in Syria, near the Euphrates, where an early Christian monastery was located. Secondly, if the monks lived in Syria, their death cannot have anything to do with Crete or other Aegean islands. Thirdly, the information has not been independently corroborated, with the 7th century being typically mentioned in the context of Arab raids. What is more, the Arabs were known for plundering monasteries and did not stop short of killing Christian monks. PH suggests that Thomas the Presbyter mistook the Arabs for the Slavs (p. 18–22). The weak part of this argument is a well-known fact that the Arab conquests only started after Mahomet's death (in 632 AD) and the Byzantine Syria was conquered by the Arabs between 634 and 640. Meanwhile, the Qēnneshrē monks died in 623 in Crete, which at that time was part of the Byzantine Empire. Of course, we may assume that Thomas the Presbyter made a significant mistake dating the events (by a several-year margin), or even that the Qēnneshrē monks fled to Crete fearing the Arab terror. However, the chronicler unambiguously identified the killers of the Syrian monks as Slavs, and it is unlikely that a Syrian author should have confused the Arabs and the Slavs. For that reason, the accuracy of Thomas's account is not called into question. His narrative is reliable because it does not focus on the raid

p. 1–62.

³ A. PALMER, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, Liverpool 1993, p. 18.

itself but rather on the fortunes of twenty Syrian monks captured and killed by the Slavs during the invasion of Crete and the neighboring islands. Thomas does not explain why there were Syrian monks in Crete or whether the Slavs took control of the island or merely raided it. Only the first scenario would justify dating early Slavic settlement in Crete already to the 7th century. There is no independent verification of the Slavic invasion of Crete in 623 and theoretically doubts may be raised as to whether it happened, but there are no grounds for questioning the Slavic attacks on Crete and other islands in the 7th century or the grisly death of Syrian monks at the hands of Slavic attackers.

Most scholars believe that the Slavic settlement of Crete only began in 961. The island was conquered by the Arabs around 824. The Byzantine Empire made a few attempts to regain Crete, but their numerous military operations had failed⁴. It was only in 961 that Nikephoros Phokas, a brilliant Byzantine military commander and a future emperor (between 963 and 969) reconquered Crete and reintegrated it into the Byzantine Empire. Next, in order to secure the island against another Arab invasion, the Byzantine authorities relocated war veterans there. The Byzantine army under the command of Nikephoros Phokas had in its ranks Russian, Bulgarian, and other Slavic mercenaries, so Greek historians believe that the first Slavic settlements in Crete were established after 961, in the form of military camps under the auspices of the Byzantine Empire. After a couple of centuries in the Greek environment, the Slavic inhabitants of these settlements had been completely Hellenized. It is speculated that the Cretan family name *Sclavo* (Mod. Gr. Σκλάβος), recorded in Venetian sources, proves the Slavic ancestry of its bearers. PH rejects the hypothesis about the settlement of Slavic veterans in Crete, remarking that Slavic place names in the island are only recorded in Venetian documents from between the 13th and 17th centuries. However, it needs to be noted that the Greek sources from the second Byzantine period (i.e. between 961 and 1204) record only a handful of Cretan

⁴ T.E. DETORAKIS, *History of Crete*, trans. J.C. DAVIS, Iraklion 1994, p. 126–128.

oeconyms: these are mostly the names of former settlements where the dwellings of Church hierarchs (bishops) were located, rather than new settlements founded by the colonists or war veterans. Elsewhere in his book, PH discusses later data from the Venetian period (between 1204 and 1669), which mention a South Slavic lineage of some Cretans. Since these particular aspects are not contested, we are not discussing them in this review.

After presenting historical data, PH proceeds to discuss the Cretan dialectal lexemes of suspected Slavic origin and divides the entire material into four parts:

Group A: appellatives of Slavic origin in the Cretan dialect (p. 89–127): βέρα f. ‘covenant, armistice, temporary peace, reconciliation’ (< Proto-Slavic *věra f. ‘faith, trust’); βλάτος m. ‘bog, mud’ (< PSl. *bolto n. ‘id.’); (τ)ζούμπερο n. ‘a breeding animal, esp. a sheep, goat, cow’ (< PSl. *zǫbrъ m. ‘bison’); κατίκι n. ‘kopek, an old Russian coin’ (< Russ. *копейка*); λέσκα f. ‘a place where wild goats live; a steep place where animals are usually captured’; σβαρνάς m. ‘a slightly curved garden knife with a toothed blade’, also σβάρνα f. ‘an agricultural tool for leveling the ploughed surface in the form of a plank with metal teeth; a harrow’ (< PSl. *borna f.); σκλέπα f. ‘a disease affecting horses’. Therefore, PH identifies seven certain Slavic loans.

Group B: Cretan appellatives of possible Slavic origin (p. 127–132): κρουσέβα f. ‘companionship, company, venture’; λάσω ‘to shout in order to drive animals to a pen’; σταλιζώ ‘to lead animals to a shadowy place during scorching hot’.

Group C: words erroneously classified as Slavic (p. 133–146): βιστιρά f. ‘suffering, a disease caused by demonic forces’; ζάκα f. ‘long-term unrevealed concerns’; ζακώνω ‘to worry, to fret, to conceal suffering’; κάραβος m. ‘small stream; canal; sewage drain’; κοσαριά f. ‘shepherd’s hut income; sheep’s pen’; κόκκορας or κόκκοτας m. ‘rooster’; κούρβα f. ‘prostitute’; κουρούπα f. ‘a water pitcher; a clay vessel’; ρούσος adj. ‘red, reddish, flame-colored’; τσέργα f. ‘a woolen blanket’; τσεργώνω ‘to mend sth.’

Group D: Slavic words occurring in Modern Greek (p. 146–166): βάλτος n. ‘mud, bog’; βαρικός adj. ‘damp, boggy’; βέδουρα f. ‘a wooden basket for milk or sour milk’; βερβερίτσα f. ‘squirrel’; βίτσα f. ‘stick’; βλάσατα n. pl. ‘sheep or other long-furred animals’; βουρκόλακας m. ‘a dead man whose body is not decomposing and who raises from the tomb to drink somebody’s blood’; γκλάβα f. ‘head’; γουστερίτσα f. ‘green lizard, *Lacerta viridis* Laurenti’; γρανίτσα f. ‘downy oak, *Quercus pubescens* Willd.’; δόμπρος or ντόμπρος adj. ‘honest, reliable’; ζάμπα f. ‘a kind of frog’; κανιάς m. ‘a large bird of prey’; (γ)κλίτσα f. ‘shepherd’s crook’; κοιλιοβέδουρα n. pl. ‘animal’s intestines’; κοκ(κ)ορέτσι n. ‘pistachio, *Pistacia terebinthus* L.’; a giblest shashlik’; κοτέτσι n. ‘henhouse’; λαγκάδι n. ‘valley, gorge’; λμποδιά f. ‘ditany’; μέμπελεη f. ‘measles’; μαρκάλα f. ‘the period of sheep’s copulation’; μόρα f. ‘a mare; an epidemic disease’; μοχός m. ‘moss used for starting a fire’; μπίστρος adj. ‘hawk-eyed; clever’; πέστροφα f. ‘trout’; πίστρος adj. ‘mottled, spotted (of a hen)’; ραγάζι n. ‘a species of grass with a spike-like inflorescence, *Imperata cylindrica* Beauvois’; ρούσος adj. ‘red, reddish, flame-colored’; ρούχο n. ‘garment; σβάρνα f. ‘harrow’; σήτα f. ‘flour sieve’; στουμπίζω ‘to smash with a stone’; τσαντίλα f. ‘a thin fabric used for filtering milk; a pouch for filtering curd’; τσίπα f. ‘a sticky film across the top of milk or water; a cigarette stub; τσιπαλιδιάζω ‘to create a film across the top of milk’.

The author’s division of the lexemes into particular groups is mostly clear although assigning some of the words to groups A and D may be questioned. For example, the word σκλέπα, which is presently unknown in the island but is attested in the Cretan epigraphy between 13th and 15th centuries, was – according to PH – once used in other regions of Greece (including North Macedonia, Laconia, and Arcadia). A question thus arises as to why PH classified this word as a Cretan dialectal vocabulary item (group A). It is additionally worth noting that the word σκλέπα is attested in the Byzantine *Hippiatrica*⁵, and also in the modern

⁵ *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum*, vol. II, *Hippiatrica Parisina Cantabrigiensia Londinensia Lugdunensia*, Appendix, ed. E. ODER, C. HOPPE, Lipsiae 1927, p. 289, 298.

period in the sense of ‘Aussatz / leprosy’ in Arcadia, and in the sense of ‘Kopfgriind / dermatophytosis’ in the Pontic area (Trabzon)⁶. In the previous centuries, the word βέρα was known not only in Crete but also in other regions of Greece (Chios, Euboea, Skopelos)⁷. What is more, we cannot agree with Max Vasmer and PH, who claim that the Cretan word βέρα f. ‘covenant, armistice, temporary peace, reconciliation’ represents a South Slavic borrowing. It is worth noting that in his monumental work on the Arkadi monastery Timotheos Veneris, the metropolitan bishop of Crete between 1934 and 1941, explained the rare word βέρα used in a Cretan folk song from the end of the 19th century and correctly pointed to its Ottoman provenance: “βέρα, παραφθορά της τουρκ. λέξεως βερέ = το παραδίδασθαι, παράδοσις. Βέρε μπαϊραγί = σημαία παραδόσεως, πολιορκουμένων” [βέρα, a corruption of the Turkish word *vère* = capitulation, surrender. *Vèrebay-rağı* = flag of surrender (of besieged people)]⁸. Also Romanian *veră* ‘capitulation’ is a borrowing from Turkish *vère* ‘capitulation, surrender’⁹. In short, we maintain our stance from 11 years ago, namely that Slavic influence on Cretan

dialectal vocabulary is rather weak and concerns approx. 30 appellatives¹⁰.

Slavic supra-regional loans into Greek should be widely-known in Crete. Meanwhile, the word τσαντίλα f. ‘a thin fabric used for filtering milk’ is only attested in the island in the Apokoronas eparchy¹¹. In the other parts of the island, the word τυροπάνι n. ‘id.’ is used. PH is critical of the set of Slavic loans attested in Cretan speech which we suggested and sometimes questions whether some of the terms are in use in Crete. For example, he claims that he has never heard a native Cretan use the word γκλάβρα f. ‘a head’, adding that no dictionary of the Cretan dialect has recorded this word (p. 152). However, a different opinion was expressed by Eustathios Petralakis (from the Cretan town of Rhythymno), who at the beginning of the 20th century (before 1905) confirmed beyond all doubt that this word was used in Crete¹². PH writes that the phytonym γρανίτσα f. ‘downy oak, *Quercus pubescens* Willd.’ has not been

⁶ G. MEYER, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strassburg 1891, p. 125. The appellative σκλέπα f. ‘lichen, dermatophytosis of the head, festering wound / κασίδα του κεφαλιού, πληγή πουροούσα’ is still used in the Pontic dialect of Modern Greek, see on-line: <http://www.pontos-news.gr/lexicon/words/σκέπα> [12 V 2019].

⁷ E. KACZYŃSKA, *Rozważania o domniemanym sławizmie w dialekcie kretańskim języka nowogreckiego* [Considerations on an Alleged Slavism in the Cretan Dialect of Modern Greek], *RHu* 64, 6, 2016, p. 31–50.

⁸ T.M. ΒΕΝΕΡΗΣ, *Το Αρκάδι δια των αιώνων* [T.M. VENERIS, *The Arkadi Monastery through the Ages*], Αθήνα 1938, p. 352, fn. 3. See also Γ.Ε. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΑΚΗΣ, *Αρκάδι σύμβολο αυτοθυσίας. Ρίμες. Κρητικό γλωσσικό ιδίωμα* [G.E. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΑΚΗΣ, *Arkadi – a Symbol of Self-sacrifice. Rhymes. Cretan Language Dialect*], Ηράκλειο 2014, p. 116.

⁹ H.F. WENDT, *Die türkischen Elemente im Rumänischen*, Berlin 1960, p. 120. See additionally H.C. HONY, F. Iz, *A Turkish-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1947, p. 368 (s.v. *vère*).

¹⁰ E. KACZYŃSKA, K.T. WITCZAK, *Elementy słowiańskie w leksyce kretańskiej* [Slavic Elements in the Cretan Vocabulary], *RKJLTN* 53, 2008, p. 129–146.

¹¹ Α.Β. ΞΑΝΘΙΝΑΚΗΣ, *Λεξικό ερμηνευτικό και ετυμολογικό του δυτικοκρητικού γλωσσικού ιδιώματος* [A.V. ΧΑΝΘΙΝΑΚΗΣ, *Explanatory and Etymological Dictionary of the West Cretan Dialect*], Ιράκλιον 2009, p. 667. This loan comes, without a doubt, from South Slavic languages, cf. OCS. *υνδυλο* n. ‘an appliance for filtering’, Bg. dial. *υεδυλο* ‘a filter; a thin fabric for filtering’, also ‘a woolen sheet for carrying children’, Mac. *υεδυλο* ‘an appliance for filtering milk and other liquids’, also ‘a sheet for covering loaves on a board’, Sloven. *cedilo* ‘a sieve, a vessel for filtering’, SCr. *cjédilo* n. ‘an appliance for filtering water, milk, wine’ < PSL. **čědidlo* n. ‘an appliance for filtering liquids; a piece of fabric for filtering milk’, cf. Pol. *cedzidło* ‘an appliance for filtering, a filter’).

¹² P. KRETSCHMER, *Der heutige lesbische Dialekt verglichen mit den übrigen nordgriechischen Mundarten*, Wien 1905, p. 434. Then, W. BUDZISZEWSKA, *Zapóżyżczenia słowiańskie w dialektach nowogreckich* [Slavic Borrowings in the Modern Greek Dialects], Warszawa 1991, p. 16, writes (without stating a reference) that in the Cretan province of Chania the phrase έχεις σκληρή γκλάβρα ‘you have a hard head (= you are stubborn)’ is used.

recorded in any dictionary of the Cretan dialect. However, already German botanist Theodor von Heldreich (1822–1902) and his student Spiridon Miliarakis (1852–1919) pointed out that in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century this term was not yet supra-regional and only occurred in Crete, Attica, and Phocis (Parnassos)¹³. The explanation for this may be two-fold. Firstly, some words lose their previous productivity, give way to their synonyms, and gradually fall out of use. Secondly, the authors of dialectal dictionaries do not include those words which – in their opinion – come from the Modern Greek koine. For that reason, the dictionaries of the Cretan dialect do not include the word βερβερίτσα f. ‘a squirrel’ (this animal does not live in Crete) although the Cretans know this word and commonly use it. Any Cretan child will easily recognize and name a squirrel, just as they will a fox, a lion, a bear, and a giraffe, although these animals do not live in Crete either. PH emphasizes (p. 89) that the word βέρα f. ‘an engagement ring’ (which was at one point borrowed from the Venetian dialect of Italian) is commonly used in Crete, and it may be quickly verified that most authors of dictionaries of the Cretan dialect leave out this word on purpose, erroneously assuming that this is not an original dialectal term but a loan from the Modern Greek koine. PH also casts doubt on the purely Cretan character of the words γουστερίτσα f. ‘lizard’, ζάμπα f. ‘a kind of frog’, and κανιάς m. ‘some bird of prey (a kite?)’, even though 40 years ago Eleutherios Platakis, a native Cretan, included these words on his list of Cretan names of animals¹⁴.

In the third part of the monograph (p. 167–238), PH discusses the Cretan place

names of Slavic origin, dividing the onomastic material into three parts:

Group A: Cretan toponyms and micro-toponyms of Slavic provenance (p. 167–186): Βλάτος; Βοράδω; Βορί (two locations); Βόροι; Βορού (two locations); Ζίντα; Ντουλιανά; Ζάχουντο; Λέσκα; Ροδοβάνι; Σεμπρώνας; Σκλαβολάσι; Τοπλία; Τσεπέλι (and Τσεπελάκι); Χαρβάτα.

Group B: Cretan (micro-)toponyms of likely Slavic provenance (p. 186–213): Ακαράνου; Βολιάρες; Βουργάρα; Γαράζο; Γλαμπέορα; Γλαμπές; Γλαμπιανών; Γράντος; Κάνεβα; Κράπη; Μιχαλίνσκι; Μούντρος; Νίβγορίτης; Πρέβελι; Πρεβελιανά; Σκλαβούνου Σώχωρο; Σκλαβούνου το μετόχι (twice); Σταλός; Τοπλού; Τσουτσουρας / Τσουτσουρος; Χουδέτσι.

Group C: Cretan (micro-)toponyms erroneously classified as Slavic or Greek place names containing Slavic elements (p. 213–238): Αλητζανή; Βάβλο; Βάλτος; Βαρβάρο; Βαρβάρος; Βαρβάρω(ν); Βόλια; Βουλγάρω(ν) (two toponyms); Γαβρανού; Δραγασανά; Ζαγουριάνοι; Λαγκά; Λαγκές; Μαλεβίτσι; Μοχός; Πλεμένης Λαγκός; Πλεμενιανά; Πλεμένο; Πλεμένου; Ρούσα Εκκλησιά; Ρουσακιανά; Ρουσαναυλή; Ρουσαπίδια; Ρουσολμενάρη; Ρούσο σπίτι; Ρουσσές; Ρουσ(σ)χώρια; Σέρβο; Σκλαβεδιάκο; Σκλαβεροχώρι; Σκλαβιανά (two names); Σκλαβοβάθεια; Σκλάβοι; Σκλαβόκαμπος; Σκλαβοπούλα; Σκλάβου το μουρι; Σκλαβοχώρι; Σκλαβοχωριό; Σφηνάρι; Χαρασό.

It is surprising that in the third part of the monograph PH does not make even a single reference to the two-volume work on Modern Greek toponymy by Haralampos Symeonidis, an eminent Greek expert on linguistics and onomastics¹⁵. What is more, PH does not list this monumental dictionary in his bibliography. In order to present the great complexity of the research problem, we quote Symeonidis's

¹³ T. VON HELDREICH, *Τα δημόδη ονόματα των φυτών* [The Folk Names of Plants], 2nd ed. prepared by S. MILIARAKIS, Αθήνα 1919 [repr. 2011], p. 109. See also W. BUDZISZEWSKA, *Zapozyczenia...*, p. 18.

¹⁴ See E. ΠΛΑΤΑΚΗΣ, *Δημόδη ονόματα ζώων της Κρήτης* [E. PLATAKIS, *Folk Names of Animals of Crete*], Κρη 10/11, 1980, p. 35–134.

¹⁵ Χ.Π. ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό των νεοελληνικών οικωνυμίων* [H.P. SYMEONIDIS, *Etymological Dictionary of the Modern Greek Place-names*], vol. I–II, Λευκωσία–Θεσσαλονίκη 2010.

opinions concerning selected Cretan oeconyms which – according to PH’s opinion – are of Slavic provenance.

The name of the village of Βλάτος (Kissamos, Chania), which appears in Venetian sources as *Vlatos* (1583; 1630) is – according to Symeonidis¹⁶ – inspired by the Cretan dialectal appellative βλάτος n. ‘a muddy place’ (whose genesis is identical to that of Mod. Gr. βάλτο n. or βάλτος n. ‘id.’). Symeonidis postulates purely Greek origins of this oeconym, while PH argues in favor of its Slavic provenance (p. 167). We tend to agree that the Cretan appellative βλάτος, on which the place name is based, is an old Slavic loan, but this fact by no means proves that the village was originally a Slavic settlement.

There are two Cretan oeconyms Βοπί ([1] Kissamos, Chania; [2] Sitia, Lasithi). The former was recorded in the Venetian period (1583) and the latter in the 19th century (Vuriá 1834; Βοπί 1881). PH argues in favor of the Slavic origins of both (p. 168–171). Symeonidis, on the other hand, believes that the place name derives from the Greek appellative *βοπί, a diminutive of Mod. Gr. βορός m. ‘a room for animals’ (< PSL. *oborō*)¹⁷. In his opinion, the origins of the village are purely Greek, although the appellative serving as the basis is a South-Slavic loan. Symeonidis also quotes N.G. Katapotis, who claims that the place name comes from the family name *Βοπίς. We are of the opinion that the Cretan place name Βοπί appeared in the course of inflectional derivation (του Βοπή → το Βοπί).

The oeconym Ζίντα (Monofatsiou, Iraklion) appears in Venetian sources as *Sinda* (1380), *Sida* (1583), *Sinda* (1630), and in Turkish documents as *Zide* (1671), *Zidá* (1834). Symeonidis, invoking K. Amantos, suspects that the Cretan place name is the continuation of the Doric name *Σιδᾶ, cf. Old Gr. σίδη f. ‘a tree or fruit of pomegranate, *Punica granatum* L.’¹⁸. He also quotes a contrasting opinion of S. Xanthudidis, who claims that the oeconym comes from the Venetian family name *Zinta*,

which was attested in Cretan sources in 1475 (*Alexandro Zinta*). The family-name provenance of the place name seems more probable. PH advocates the Slavic hypothesis, linking the Cretan place name with the Polish family name of *Zynda* or *Żynda* (p. 171).

The Cretan toponym Ντουλιανᾶ (Αποκoronou, Chania) is only recorded in historical sources in the 19th century (*Dulianá* 1834, Δουλιανᾶ 1881; Ντουλιανᾶ 1920). PH posits Slavic origins of the proper name in question, which – in his opinion – apparently comes from PSL. **dolъ* m. ‘a hole, a concavity or a dug-up pit; a ditch; a moat; a nether area surrounded by hills, a valley’ (p. 172–173). According to Symeonidis, the provenance of the place name is unclear¹⁹. He also refers to the argumentation of Zaimov²⁰, who claims that the Cretan village got its name from Slavic **Duljane* or **Duljana* (cf. the Bulgarian toponym Δυλιᾶνα), derived from some South-Slavic appellative, cf. SCr. dial. *dūlo*, *dūlo* n. ‘a pipe in the bellows through which you blow to induce fire; a cave in the ground out of which a stream flows; a large concavity, a cave in the ground; the bottom of a wooden vessel’, Bg. *δυло* ‘a pipe for watering a garden; a large opening of a pitcher’, also ‘the muzzle of a firearm’ (< PSL. **dudlo* n. ‘a hole, an outlet, a pipe’). Zaimov and Symeonidis compare the Cretan toponym with the name of the Albanian village of Dulyani, which is of Slavic provenance. Symeonidis’s doubts about the validity of Zaimov’s hypothesis appear well-founded. In Crete, there is a high number of oeconyms ending in -ιανᾶ (n. pl.). All such items are derived from a proper name and exhibit the possessive meaning, indicating somebody’s property. Theoretically, the name could come from a Slavic first name, cf. the Old Russian personal name *Дуло* (15th–16th c.), but it needs to be noted that Greek has recorded numerous family names such as Ντούλης, Ντούλας, Ντούλιας, Ντούλος, which derive from the Turkish word *dul* ‘a widow, a widower’²¹. What

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 488: “ἀγνωστης αρχής”.

²⁰ Й. ЗАИМОВ, *Заселване...*, p. 129.

²¹ Β.Η. ΒΟΓΙΑΤΖΟΓΛΟΥ, *Επώνυμα της Μικρασίας. Τουρκικά και τουρκογενή επώνυμα στην Ελλάδα* [V.I. VOGIATZOGLOU, *Surnames of Asia Minor. Ottoman and Turkish-like surnames in Greece*], Αθήνα 1992, p. 77.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 363.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 371.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 549.

is more, appearing in Crete is also the family name Δούλης (from the Mod. Greek word δούλος m. 'a servant, a slave' < Old Gr. δούλος m. 'id.'). already attested in the Venetian period (1390) in the town of Peuko (Viannos, Iraklion)²². Consequently, it is problematic to argue in favor of the Slavic provenance of the Cretan place name Ντουλιανά (vel Δουλιανά), which is more easily traceable to a Greek possessive form, indicating a property of a man named Dulis (Mod. Gr. Ντούλης lub Δούλης).

Discussing the place name Σεμπρώνας (Kydonia, Chania), already attested in the 17th century (*Sembrona* 1577), Symeonidis refers to Mod. Gr. σέμπρος 'a peasant who as part of neighborhood assistance cultivates somebody else's land' (← South Slavic **sebrō*), cf. SCR. (since 14th century) *seंबर* 'a farmer, a peasant, a person of low status', Sloven. *seber* 'id.', BRuss. *sjabr* 'a neighbor'²³. He does not explain if he considers the morpheme -ώνας to be a Greek derivational suffix or a South Slavic loan. PH is in favor of the latter option, classifying this name as purely Slavic (p. 177–179). On the other hand, Hrisoula Tsikritsi-Katsianaki argues that the oeconym Σεμπρώνας comes from the Greek family name Σέμπρος²⁴.

Symeonidis does not discuss the micro-toponym Σκλαβολάσι, but he analyzes other Cretan oeconyms including the Σκλαβο- element, providing a comprehensive overview of various theories²⁵. Most scholars believe that toponyms such as Σκλαβοχωριό, Σκλάβοι, or Σκλαβόκαμπος testify to the Slavic presence on the island, or the presence of Greek inhabitants bearing the family name Σκλάβος. PH is right to reject the Slavic provenance of Cretan toponyms with the initial Σκλαβο- element, although at the same time he is of the opinion that the suffix -λάσι goes back to a Slavic source, cf. PSI. **lěsa* f. 'a wicker of twigs, a bar, a wicker fence, a fence'

(p. 179–180). However, there is no doubt that the Cretan name Σκλαβολάσι arose in the Hellenic context and was not borrowed from the old Slavic inhabitants of the island. Symeonidis points to an older meaning of Middle Greek σκλάβος 'slave' (initially 'a slave of Slavic origin' < 'a Slav'). He also quotes K. Amantos's isolated opinion that Mod. Gr. σκλάβος 'a species of grapevine or grape (of light yellow color)' is the base for the Cretan toponyms.

The oeconym Τοπόλια (Kissamos, Chania), attested in Venetian sources as *Topolia* (1577), *Topogla* (1583, 1630), is usually traced back to Mod. Gr. τοπόλι n. 'white poplar, *Populus alba* L.' (< PSI. **topolb* f. 'id.'). PH advocates the Slavic origins of this Cretan place name (p. 180–181), in line with other scholars²⁶. Symeonidis postulates purely Greek origins based on Mod. Gr. τοπόλι, which was borrowed from a Slavic source. However, modern dictionaries of the Cretan dialect do not record the word τοπόλι.

The Cretan oeconym Χαρβάτα (Kissamos, Chania), first attested in 1920, was mentioned by Symeonidis under Χαρβάτι (Argos, Argolis)²⁷. The place name Χαρβάτι either comes from the ethnic name of the Croats (PSI. **Ch̥r̥vati*, Cr. *Hrvati*), or from the Greek name Χαρβάτης (lit. 'a Croat'). In the former scenario, the place name would indicate Slavic settlement in Crete (which PH agrees with), while in the latter this would not be as certain. A late attestation of the oeconym (1920) seems to suggest the proper-name provenance of the name Χαρβάτα.

A quick overview of select Cretan toponyms which PH classifies as purely Slavic demonstrates that the issue of Slavic influence on the toponymy and micro-toponymy of Crete is complex. H. Symeonidis, the author of an

²² Χ.Ζ. ΤΣΙΚΡΙΤΣΗ-ΚΑΤΣΙΑΝΑΚΗ, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη των τοπωνυμίων της Κρήτης. Τοπωνύμια από οικογενειακά ονόματα* [H.Z. TSIKRITSI-KATSIANAKI, *A Contribution to Studying Toponyms of Crete. Toponyms Derived from Surnames*], A 6, 22–23, 1975, p. 50.

²³ Χ.Π. ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, *Ετυμολογικό...*, vol. II, p. 1257.

²⁴ Χ.Ζ. ΤΣΙΚΡΙΤΣΗ-ΚΑΤΣΙΑΝΑΚΗ, *Συμβολή...*, p. 77.

²⁵ Χ.Π. ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, *Ετυμολογικό...*, vol. II, p. 1278–1279.

²⁶ И. ШИШМАНОВЪ, *Славянски...*, p. 90; N.B. ТОМАДАΚΗΣ, *Συμβολή...*, p. 10; M. VASMER, *Die Slaven...*, p. 175; Χ.Π. ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, *Ετυμολογικό...*, vol. II, p. 1351–1352. It is worth emphasizing that Max Vasmer prefers a derivation of the Modern Greek place-name Τοπόλια (n. pl.) from the Common Slavic collective formation **Topolbje* 'a collection of poplars; a poplar forest; a place overgrown with poplars / Pappelort'.

²⁷ Χ.Π. ΣΥΜΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, *Ετυμολογικό...*, vol. II, p. 1433.

etymological dictionary of Greek oeconyms, favors alternative explanations of many Cretan place names.

The monograph under review is valuable in that PH presents the current state of research on the issue of the Slavic settlement of Crete and usually (though not always) sides with other Greek scholars. A number of issues is still open to debate. The chronology of the appearance of the first Slavic settlers in Crete is coming under much scrutiny and researchers are divided on this topic (the beginnings of the Slavic settlement are dated either to the 7th century, 10th century, or the beginning of the Venetian rule of the island, i.e. 13th–15th centuries). Also, the exact number of Slavic loans into the Cretan dialect is debatable. Overall, PH discusses 57 lexemes and decidedly rejects 12 of them. While some of the author's propositions are not convincing, there can be no doubt that the monograph under review is a substantial and stimulating contribution to studies of the Cretan dialectal vocabulary and the toponymy of Crete.

Translated by Maciej Grabski

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Abstract. The paper demonstrates the current state of research on the presence of Slavs on the island of Crete in the Middle Ages, as well as in the modern times. The basis for the discussion is a new book of Pantelis Haralampakis, published in 2016. There are numerous controversies surrounding the issues of the exact chronology of Slavic presence on the island, the lexical influence of South Slavic languages on the Cretan dialect of Modern Greek, as well as possible traces of Slavic settlements in the Cretan toponymy.

Keywords: borrowings, Crete, onomastics, place names, Slavic, vocabulary

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IVÁN QUESADA MAYO, *Los varegos y la Rus de Kiev en el siglo X* [*The Varagians and the Kievan Rus' in the 10th Century*], Ediciones de La Ergástula, Madrid 2018 [= *Sine qua non. Monografías de Historia Medieval*, 3], pp. 150.

A small monograph by Iván Quesada Mayo, a representative of the youngest generation of researchers (born in 1992) and a graduate of historical studies from the Complutense University of Madrid (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, UCM) is an example of the interest displayed by Spanish historians and medievalists in the history and culture of the Byzantine Empire and South-East Europe in the Middle Ages. The book was published last year as part of the *Sine qua non. Monografías de Historia Medieval* series, which was initiated and supervised by Carlos de Ayala Martínez, a researcher in the Department of Medieval History at the Autonomous University of Madrid (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, UAM).

Iván Quesada Mayo's research interests include the formation of the Old Rus' state in the 10th century and the role of the Scandinavians (Varangians) in that process. Simultaneously, he tries to lay out the history of Rus' in the period of his interest against the relatively wide background of the history of South-East Europe, illustrating the relationships between the young Rurik dynasty and states such as Byzantium, Bulgaria, and Khazar Khaganate. His reflections, however, typically take the shape of a synthetic recapitulation of the views that have been previously discussed in historiography rather than a fully original take of the historical processes based on a new reading of the sources.

The monograph is comprised of four chapters that present the material in chronological order. In the first chapter, entitled *Vikings in Rus'* (*Los vikingos en Rusia*), the author overviews the genesis of the presence of Scandinavians

in the territory of East Europe, frequently going beyond the timeframe assumed in the work and making references to the events from the 7th–9th centuries. This chapter is rather non-homogenous in regard to the topics it covers. It explores consecutively: the results of archeological research conducted in Staraya Ladoga and Gnezdovo, among other places (surprisingly, not much attention is paid to Rurik Gorodishche located near Volkhov and the Lake Ilmen, south of Veliky Novgorod, which Władysław Duczko is prepared to view as none other than a Swedish settlement)¹. The chapter also analyzes the dispute between the supporters and opponents of the so-called "Norman theory" that has been conducted since the 18th century, attempts to explain the etymology of the term *Rus'*, and demonstrates the course of one of the first sieges of the Rus' on Constantinople in 860, confirmed in Byzantine sources.

Chapter two lays out the consolidation process of the young Rus' state (*La consolidación de la Rus de Kiev*). Iván Quesada Mayo discusses the rule of Prince Oleg (882–912), the first fully-historical ruler of Rus'. The author particularly elaborates on the war with Byzantium, which was concluded with a treaty in 911 (while omitting the previous strifes and settlements between Byzantium and Rus' from the first decade of the 10th century). For the Spanish medievalist, the contacts with the empire are also one of the most crucial aspects of Prince Igor's rule (912–945). However, the regency

¹ W. DUCZKO, *Ruś Wikingów. Historia obecności Skandynawów we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Wschodniej*, Warszawa 2007, p. 86–94.

rule of his widow, Olga, dated traditionally by the author to 945–964, was discussed in a rather brief manner. Naturally, Quesada Mayo considers her reign's peak moment to be the Princess' quest to the Bosphorous and her acceptance of Orthodox Christianity. When recapitulating the previous discussion on the subject, the author presents the source material in a relatively selective manner. He omits, for instance, the text by John Skylitzes (to whom he frequently makes references in the subsequent sections of his work)². Among the hagiographical texts, he only relates to the Comprehensive Life of St. Olga, which was included in *The Book of Degrees of the Royal Genealogy* from around 1560. *The Book of Degrees* concluded a centuries-long written tradition covering a number of previous, and, as such, much more reliable works from the point of view of historical research – e.g. Yacob the Monch's *Praise of Olga* from the 11th century³, the prologue lives from the 12–13th century⁴, and the accounts from Pskov⁵.

The extensive chapter three is devoted to the rule of Olga and Igor's son, Sviatoslav (964–972). It touches on the social changes that occurred in Rus' in the mid-10th century, but primarily it focuses on the territorial expansion of the Rurik dynasty at that time and the related wars waged by Sviatoslav, e.g. the quest against the Khazars between 965–968 that shattered their statehood. The author devotes undoubtedly the most attention to the wars waged by the Rus' prince in the Balkans between 968–971, which directly resulted in the liquidation of

the First Bulgarian State and the incorporation of its lands into the empire. This section, however, lacks an in-depth analysis of the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations in the second half of the 10th century and an overview of the root causes of the conflict. Iván Quesada Mayo repeats stereotypical claims established in old historiography about the rule of Tsar Peter I (927–969) that recognize the moment of his marriage to Maria-Irene Lekapene, the granddaughter of the Byzantine emperor Roman I, as the end of the autonomy of the Bulgarian state (p. 81). Today, this view tends to be rejected by researchers⁶.

The fourth and final chapter of the monograph reflects on – as the author puts it – “the final Christianization” of Rus' (*La definitiva cristianización*), which coincided with the rule of Prince Vladimir the Great. Interestingly, Iván Quesada Mayo concludes his narration with the events from 988–989, and not the death of the ruler (1015), thus, presenting the occurrences of the last decades of the 10th century in a succinct manner. As a result, he does not engage with one of the most vital – from the perspective of the title of the book – motifs of the Old Rus' culture of that period, that is, the Slavinization of the Varangian element in the state of Rurikids.

Finally, let us consider the source documents. The author uses native Old Rus' accounts, primarily *The Tale of Bygone Years* according to its oldest extant version *The Laurentian Chronicle* from 1377, consistently referring to it as *Texto Laurenciano*. He also makes references to the sources of Byzantine, West-European, and, which is noteworthy, even Arabic origin. The “great absentee” in Iván Quesada Mayo's analysis is *The Novgorod First Chronicle* – a text whose earliest part was most likely created around 1115 and can, therefore, be considered as one of the most ancient Old Rus' historiographical compilations. Contrary to the author's claim (p. 24), this source has been

² *Ioannes Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, 11, 6, ed. I. THURN, Berolini 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5], p. 240.

³ *Память и похвала князю Владимиру и его Житие по сп. 1494 г.*, ed. В.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, ЗИАН.ИФО 1, 6, 1897, p. 4–5.

⁴ Б.С. АНГЕЛОВ, *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература*, vol. I, София 1958, p. 196–197.

⁵ Н.И. СЕРЕБРЯНСКИЙ, *Древнерусские княжеские жития. Обзор редакций и тексты*, vol. II, *Тексты*, Москва 1915, p. 8–12; *Псковская редакция Жития княгини Ольги*, [in:] А.Ю. КАРПОВ, *Княгиня Ольга*, Москва 2012, p. 357–361. The full text of all the aforementioned sources along with the subject literature have been included in the work: Z.A. BRZOZOWSKA, *Święta księżna kijowska Olga. Wybór tekstów źródełowych*, Łódź 2014, p. 44–60, 82–100.

⁶ Z.A. BRZOZOWSKA, M.J. LESZKA, *Maria Lekapene, Empress of the Bulgarians. Neither a Saint nor a Malefactress*, Łódź–Kraków 2017 [= BL, 36]; *The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, Łódź–Kraków 2018 [= BL, 34].

in print for a while now⁷. Not only has it been translated to English⁸, but it also contains a great deal of interesting information from the point of view of Iván Quesada Mayo's research area – for instance, the notion that the Novogrodian people come from the “Varangians” (суть новгородстни людие до днешняго дни от рода варяжска)⁹.

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Ioannes Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum, ed. I. THURN, Berolini 1973 [= *Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*, 5].

⁷ A variant of the source that includes the description of the events from the 9th–10th centuries, so-called *The Novgorod First Chronicle* in an earlier redaction was published in: *Новгородская летопись по Синодальному харатейному списку*, ed. П.И. САВВАИТОВ, Санкт-Петербург 1888; *Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов*, ed. А.Н. НАСОНОВ, М.Н. ТИХОМИРОВ, Москва–Ленинград 1950, p. 103–427. Moreover, it appears that on p. 24, Iván Quesada Mayo mistakenly applies the term *Crónica de Nóvgorod* to another text, *The Ioachim Chronicle*, referenced by Vasily N. Tatishchev in his synthesis of Russia's history but viewed as counterfeited by many contemporary researchers.

⁸ *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016–1471*, trans. R. MICHELL, N. FORBES, ed. C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, A.A. ШАХНМАТОВ, London 1914 (= New York 1970). The translation includes the older variant of the chronicle, starting with the description of the events from the year 1015/1016.

⁹ *Новгородская первая летопись...*, p. 106. Cf. А.Е. МУСИН, „Род русский”, „род варяжский”, „род прусский”: миграции и историческая память как факторы политогенеза, [in:] *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Миграции, расселения, война как факторы политогенеза*, ed. Е.А. Мельникова, Москва 2012, p. 192–197.

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GIROLAMO ARNALDI, Federico Marazzi, *Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo in Italia* [Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages in Italy], Viella, Roma 2017, 232 pp.

In 2017, the Italian publishing house Viella released a volume entitled *Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo in Italia* (Late Antiquity and early Middle Ages in Italy), written by two renowned researchers – Girolamo Arnaldi¹ and Federico Marazzi². The authors set themselves the task of creating an innovative synthesis of the history of Italy from the times of Diocletian up to the 11th century that would depart from the traditional dates used to mark the beginning and the end of individual periods in that part of history³. In their opinion, the strict separation of the late Antiquity from the early Middle Ages is artificial, and a proper understanding of the transition between those eras requires knowledge of their

mutual relations. The work was intended as a concise, footnote-free textbook, focusing not on a detailed description of facts, but on the historical processes taking place at that time, and on their political, economic, social and cultural background. Having read the volume, we can declare that these tasks have been successfully accomplished.

The first part of the work, written by Arnaldi and entitled simply *Late Antiquity* (*Tarda Antichità*, p. 11–72), consists of seven short chapters covering the period from the crisis of the third century up to the fall of the Western Empire. While in substantive terms the text is of a very high quality, one allegation can be made against it from the point of view of the subject matter declared in the title of the paper. In fact, it is a synthesis that presents a general transformation of the entire empire rather than the situation of Italy itself, although this is obviously also the case. Although in his afterword Federico Marazzi mentions that Arnaldi's original idea was to write a book which would focus on the events taking place in Italy as an illustration of certain general processes. The co-author seems to have failed to notice, however, that strictly Italian topics take up relatively little space in this part of the book compared to the general outline of the situation of the Roman Empire, augmented with many examples not related to the Apennine Peninsula. It is, therefore, at odds with the title of the work and with the principles presented in the introduction. However, the sad circumstances surrounding the work may provide some justification. Girolamo Arnaldi died before the text was published and the book had to be finished by Marazzi, who

¹ Girolamo Arnaldi (1929–2016) – Italian historian, professor at the University of Bologna and the University of La Sapienza in Rome. His main area of interest was early medieval papacy. His most important works include: *Le origini dello Stato della Chiesa*, Torino 1987; *Natale 875. Politica, ecclesiologia. Cultura del papato altomedievale*, Roma 1990.

² Federico Marazzi (1962–) – Italian historian and archaeologist, professor at the Suor Orsola Benincasa University in Naples. Initially he was mainly interested in the history of the papacy in the late Antiquity and early Middle Ages, and then turned his attention to the archaeology of early medieval monasteries and southern history in the early Middle Ages. His most important works include the monograph *Le città dei monaci. Storia degli spazi che avvicinano a Dio*, Milano 2015.

³ Syntheses of early Italian history usually begin with the Lombard invasion or Ostrogothic rule. A good example of such an approach is the first volume of the monumental *Storia d'Italia* edited by Giuseppe Galasso: P. DELOGU, A. GUILLOU, G. ORTALLI, *Longobardi e Bizantini*, Torino 1980.

admitted that his deceased mentor may have planned to modify his part of the volume, but did not manage to do so in time.

The first chapter of the first part – *Looking back: the crisis of the third century (Uno sguardo all'indietro: la crisi del III secolo*, p. 14–22) – covers, somewhat contrary to its title, not only the crisis of the third century, but also the transformations taking place from the time of Octavian August to the time of the Illyrian emperors. The author focuses on the evolution of the Roman military model. During the period in question, there was a shift from treating Italy as an exclusive reservoir of recruits for the legions towards basing the core of the army on the inhabitants of other provinces. This phenomenon accelerated the Romanization of those territories. In cases of increased threat and instability of the central government, however, it led to an increase in local particularisms, which was clearly exemplified by the events of the 3rd century.

The second chapter, entitled *Diocletian's Reforms (Le riforme di Diocleziano*, p. 22–31), contains a concise description of the circumstances in which the emperor came to power and the characteristics of his most important reforms (administrative reforms – creating dioceses and increasing the number of provinces, military reform). A lot of focus was devoted to the ruler's economic policy, which was assessed as not achieving the expected results. In the author's opinion, Diocletian's reign was a turning point in the history of the empire, even considering that the ruler had a negative attitude towards phenomena that would soon become crucial for the image of the empire in the late Antiquity, namely Christianization and Hellenization.

In the third chapter – *Constantine and the Christian Roman Empire (Constantino e l'impero romano cristiano*, p. 31–44) – Arnaldi presented the evolution of the position of Christians within the empire until their religion became privileged. He considered the decision to issue the 313 Tolerance Edict necessary in order to eliminate the harmful divergence between the state and the growing number of Christian communities, which were marginalized be-

cause they did not fit into the traditional Roman approach to relations between power and worship. Over the course of the fourth century, the relations between the state and the Church evolved from the initial model of close cooperation to the emergence of significant discrepancies, with the recognition of Christianity as a state religion during the reign of Theodosius the Great. The status of bishops grew significantly, they began to oppose the authorities more boldly, and the concepts of *imperium* and *sacerdotium* started to clash more and more often.

Chapter Four, *The Germanics and the Huns: the Great Migration of Peoples (Germani e Unni: la grande migrazione di popoli*, p. 44–53), provides a brief overview of the events concerning the barbarians' migration to the empire from the crossing of the Danube by the Goths in 376 to the second decade of the fifth century, when the Germanic peoples (Visigoths, Suebi, Vandals, Alans, Burgundians) relatively stabilized their presence in the western part of the empire.

The fifth chapter, *The Germanics within the empire (I Germani nell'Impero*, p. 53–59), which describes the barbarians' actions in the western part of *imperium* until the 470s, is similar. This section contains information about the Vandal expansion in Africa, the Hun threat, the progress made by the Visigoths and the decomposition of the Roman rule in Gaul.

Chapter Six – *Two Cities (Le due città*, p. 59–67) – deals with the growing differences between the western and eastern parts of the empire, described mainly by the example of the position of the Church. While in the east there was still a strong imperial power strongly associated with the Church (although it should be noted that the heresies that emerged there, such as Monophysitism or Nestorianism, assumed an anti-state character once they had been condemned by the ruler), in the west bishops often had to take action against the barbarians, thus becoming principal leaders of local communities. In the west, this situation was conducive to the deepening of the conviction that *imperium* and *sacerdotium* were separate and the growing emancipatory aspirations of the papacy, as evidenced by the doctrine of

superiority of spiritual power over secular power formulated by Pope Gelasius.

The seventh (and final) chapter of this part of the work, entitled *The Fall of the Empire in the West* (*La caduta dell'Impero d'Occidente*, p. 68–72), is a brief reflection on the real meaning of the year 476 for the ancient world. According to the author, it was undoubtedly a new situation when Italy, core of the empire, for the first time found itself under the barbarian rule. In fact, the process of transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages was, however, continuous. Its causes date back to earlier times, and the fall of Romulus Augustus did not in any way mean the end of this process. In Arnaldi's opinion, Byzantium carried on the Roman tradition only to a very limited extent, representing a culture that was already profoundly modified in various ways and Hellenized.

The second part of the work, entitled *Early Middle Ages* (*Alto Medioevo*, p. 73–194) and written by Federico Marazzi, is slightly longer than the first and includes 11 chapters, covering the period from the reign of Odoacer up to the 11th century. Marazzi's text can in no way be accused of being incompatible with the title of the book and the declarations in the introduction, since it focuses on the situation in Italy.

In the first chapter – *The reign of Odoacer and the Ostrogothic rule* (*Le dominazioni di Odoacre e degli Ostrogoti*, p. 73–78) – the author briefly describes the rule in Italy, first by Odoacer and then by Ostrogoths, emphasizing that the year 476 was in fact not as important for those who lived then as it was for later generations. It merely meant that Italy was reduced to a rank similar to that of other western provinces ruled by barbarian kings, and was not treated as the end of the imperial power, which, after all, was doing well in Constantinople. At that time, however, social and urban changes were taking place in Italy, making its landscape increasingly different from the ancient one.

The second chapter – *Crisis of the Ostrogothic Kingdom and war with the Eastern Roman Empire* (*La crisi del Regno degli Ostrogoti e la guerra con l'Impero Romano d'Oriente*, p. 78–82) – provides a brief description of Justinian's

Gothic wars and the events in Italy immediately preceding them. The effects of the re-conquest were considered catastrophic – although Italy was reintegrated into Imperium, it was economically destroyed and had no chance to play a central role within the empire, becoming a peripheral province.

Marazzi devoted the third chapter, *Lombards and Byzantines between the 6th and 7th centuries* (*Longobardi e Bizantini fra VI e VII secolo*, p. 83–95), to the circumstances surrounding the arrival of Lombards in Italy, the stabilization of their kingdom, and the evolution of the Byzantine strategy towards the peninsula. Imperium, which treated Italy peripherally, initially only maintained key inland territories (Rome, Ravenna) and coastal areas that were easy to defend and provide with supplies. The situation changed in the times of Constans II, with the rise of the Arab threat. The Byzantines would henceforth only consider keeping control over the southern part of Italy significant (as manifested by the 663 Benevento expedition), which was necessary to prevent the Arabs from seizing West Mediterranean and opening up another front against the Empire.

Chapter Four – *The Lombard identity in the face of Italian reality* (*L'identità Longobarda di fronte alla realtà italiana*, p. 96–116) – concerns the changes in Lombard society that took place during the 7th century and the process of consolidating the royal power. The author notes that funeral rites or certain legal provisions testified to the fact that the Germanic invaders had a rather strong need to emphasize their distinctiveness (however, elites that identified with the Lombardian heritage should not be treated in terms of strictly understood ethnicity), although the latter eventually began to fade away, succumbing to the influence of Roman culture. This was manifested by the adaptation of the Latin language and the final adoption of Christianity in the Catholic version by the Lombards at the end of the 7th century.

In Chapter Five – *Society and economy of the Lombard Kingdom* (*Società ed economia del Regno longobardo*, p. 116–122) – Marazzi briefly described the economy of Italy, which was based on agriculture and slowly

developing trade, during the period when the Lombard kingdom flourished.

Chapter Six – *From Liutprand to Desiderius: the pinnacle and crisis of the Lombard Kingdom and the acknowledgement of the papacy as a new political entity (Da Liutprando a Desiderio: l'apogeo e la crisi del Regno longobardo e l'affermazione del papato come nuovo soggetto politico*, p. 122–138) – concerns the aggressive policy pursued by kings Liutprand, Ratchis, Aistulf and Desiderius against Byzantine properties in Italy and the papacy. Marazzi notes that the adoption of Catholicism provided the Lombards with legitimacy to renew their claims to rule over the whole of Italy, especially in view of the fact that it coincided with the emergence of iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium. The aggressive actions of the Lombardian monarchs accelerated the process of emancipation of the papacy, which (despite the religious conflict) for a long time was hesitant to abandon its dependence on the emperor completely. The passivity of Constantinople, increased pressure from Lombardy and attempts of the Italian population to gain autonomy ultimately led to the independence of the Holy See and to a new force – the Franks – being involved in the affairs of Italy.

The seventh chapter – *Charlemagne's invasion of Italy and the political landscape up to the end of the 8th century (La discesa di Carlo Magno in Italia e lo scenario politico sino alla fine dell'VIII secolo*, p. 138–150) – is devoted to the consequences of the establishment of the Frankish rule in Italy, following Charlemagne's invasion against the Kingdom of Lombards in 774 and the overthrow of Desiderius. The imperial coronation of Charlemagne was a clear attempt to make a direct reference to the heritage of Roman emperors and, in the opinion of the Frankish ruler, did not constitute an act of recognition of the superiority of the papal authority. In that period, the division of Italy into the northern and southern part, which had already been outlined, became established. The Frankish ruler did not show much interest in subjugating the south of the peninsula, which was difficult to control, thus providing the princes of Benevento and the remaining Byzantine properties with an opportunity to keep their independence.

In the eighth chapter *Italy at the beginning of the 9th century: economic and social portrait (L'Italia all'inizio del IX secolo: il quadro economico e sociale*, p. 150–158) – Marazzi briefly describes the economy of Carolingian Italy, characterized by the development of maritime trade, conducted by centers such as Venice and Naples, and by the prosperity of agriculture in the inland part of the country.

The ninth chapter – *Southern Italy between the 9th and 11th centuries: from the Arab invasion of Sicily to the Norman conquest of the south (L'Italia meridionale fra IX e XI secolo: dall'invasione araba della Scicilia alla conquista normanna del Mezzogiorno*, p. 158–171) – includes an outline of the history of southern Italy between the 9th and 11th centuries. The author emphasizes the importance of the Arab expansion for the history of the region and the ambiguous attitude of the southern trade centers. Although the unstable situation of the Principality of Benevento and the succession dispute that led to its fragmentation made it easier for Muslims to explore the southern part of the peninsula (eagerly pursued given the difficulty in conquering Byzantine Sicily) in the 9th century, thanks to the efforts of Carolingian Emperor Louis II and Byzantium, the emirates established there were eradicated quite quickly. However, Sicily remained in Arab hands until the 11th century. The chief tendency characteristic for the south in the 10th and 11th centuries was the progressive defragmentation of the remains of the Principality of Benevento and the temporary strengthening of the position of Byzantium. Both those phenomena ended with the Norman conquests.

The tenth chapter – *From Regnum Langobardorum to Regnum Italiae: Central-Northern Italy from mid-9th to late 10th century (Dal Regnum Langobardorum al Regnum Italiae: l'Italia centro-settentrionale dalla meta del IX alla fine del X secolo*, p. 171–183) Marazzi describes the deterioration of the royal power of the Carolingians, the seizure of the Lombard crown by representatives of the local aristocracy, and the progressive feudal fragmentation and autonomy of elites. The author notes that although those phenomena were undoubtedly the result of the fact that royal authority

had been gradually weakening since the death of Charlemagne, they cannot be interpreted solely in terms of the decomposition of the state. At that time, the idea of a highly centralized monarchy did not exist in Western Europe and even strong rulers relied on representatives of the elite, who had a great deal of freedom of action and were closely linked to the territories they governed.

Chapter Eleven – *Political, social and cultural transformations in the decades following 1000 (Transformazioni politiche, sociali e culturali nei decenni successivi al Mille, p. 183–194)* – presents the circumstances in which German kings bound themselves to Italy and the changes that their actions there brought. The author considers the very negative views on 10th century popes to be exaggerated, although it cannot be denied that at the time the Holy See was controlled by local aristocrats who only protected their own interests. German rulers generally left quite a lot of freedom to the Italian elite. The 11th century saw changes so important to the peninsula that it could be regarded as the end (fluid and extended over time, of course) of the early Middle Ages in Italy. By the mid-century, the papacy was emancipated and a dispute with the imperial authorities began, which reverberated for a long time after. The foundations of future cities-republics also emerged and economic development accelerated. Thanks to the participation in the First Crusade, centers such as Pisa and Venice became trade powers not just locally, but with much broader significance. According to Marazzi, those transformations made the 12th century reality of Italy vastly different from the reality of previous centuries.

Apart from the two main parts, the volume by Girolamo Arnaldi and Federico Marazzi includes the above-mentioned foreword (p. 7–9) and afterword (p. 194–199) by Marazzi, genealogical tables (p. 201–204), principal bibliography (p. 205–219) and indices of persons (p. 221–224), names of peoples and political-institutional units (p. 225–226), as well as places (p. 227–231).

The book is a highly valuable work from the scholarly point of view. Nevertheless, there are some problematic elements. On page 43, for

example, Arnaldi gives the date of the massacre that Theodosius the Great committed against the people of Thessaloniki as 399, while the event is believed to occur in 390⁴. On page 134, in turn, Marazzi describes Pepin the Short as *future re dei Franchi* (the future king of Franks), which must be surprising given that this fragment concerns the times of the pontificate of Stephen II (in that context, the author seems to refer to the year 753), i.e. after 751, when the coronation of Pepin as king is believed⁵ to have taken place, only repeated by that pope in 754. The author mentions immediately afterwards that Stefan only confirmed the anointing given to the ruler by St. Boniface (in doing so, Boniface confirmed the transfer of the royal power to Pepin by the congregation of Frankish lords). However, Marazzi does not mention 751 nor any other date. Referring to Boniface's act, he only uses the vague phrase *qualche tempo prima* (some time earlier – by default before Stephan's confirmation). All this means that although Marazzi is undoubtedly aware of the repeated coronation, his argument does not indicate at what point he places the first one and whether he has a different view on this subject than the customary opinion, namely the year 751.

However, the examples given above are minor and incidental, and as such cannot affect the highly positive assessment of work. Nor can the latter be unduly lowered by the more serious allegation, already discussed, that the section on Antiquity is somewhat incompatible with the title and the principles set out in the introduction. In any case, this accusation does not in any way concern the part devoted to the early Middle Ages.

⁴ Cf. e.g. G. FRIELL, S. WILLIAMS, *Theodosius. The Empire at Bay*, London 2005, p. 48; M.N. PAWLAK, *Cesarstwo rzymskie od Walentyniana I do Teodozjusza I (363–395)*, [in:] *Świat rzymski w IV wieku*, ed. P. FILIPCZAK, R. KOSIŃSKI, Kraków 2015, p. 168.

⁵ Cf. e.g. R. MCKITTERICK, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987*, London–New York 1983, p. 33–38; I. WOOD, *The Merovingian Kingdoms 450–751*, London–New York 1994, p. 290–293.

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KAZIMIERZ GINTER, *Wizerunek władców bizantyńskich w Historii kościelnej Evagriusza Scholastyka [The Image of Byzantine Emperors in Evagrius Scholasticus's Ecclesiastical History]*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2018 [= *Byzantina Lodziensia*, 35], pp. 337*.

Kazimierz Ginter, the author of the presented book – published as part of the prestigious *Byzantina Lodziensia* series – is a theologian and historian affiliated with the Institute of Liturgical Studies at the Pontifical University of the Holy Cross in Rome. His interests include the relations between the Church and the state in the late Antiquity, particularly in the territory of Byzantium.

This publication is based on the doctoral dissertation supervised by Maciej Salomon and defended in 2006 at the Jagiellonian University. Kazimierz Ginter's primary goal was to recreate and analyze the image of Roman emperors emerging from Evagrius Scholasticus's account *Ecclesiastical History* (p. 11). The researcher explains that he analyzed this source on two levels (p. 12). The first relates to the direct description of the emperors: their physical appearance as well as their strong and weak points. The second dimension included an indirect description based on an interpretation of the events which, according to Evagrius, could have resulted from the politics of individual rulers. Simultaneously, Ginter is aware that the image of the emperors presented in *Ecclesiastical History* is encumbered by the subjective approach of the author, including his personal sympathies and dislikes (p. 13). In the next section of the preface, the researcher provides an overview of the structure of his book and the applied method of comparative analysis of the source texts (p. 13–17).

The first part of the monograph is devoted to Evagrius and his work (p. 21–79). It starts

with a presentation of the current state of research on *Ecclesiastical History* (p. 21–24). Next, he examines the information on the biography of the author (p. 24–28). Subsequently, the researcher offers a thorough analysis of the factors that could have determined Evagrius's worldview (p. 28–49). He believes that the religious environment of Antioch, where the historian lived having completed his studies, played a role in this respect. Ginter also observes that the disputes surrounding the reception of the Council of Chalcedon in the East were not without significance (p. 29–40). Evagrius's reading of select religious works, whose list the researcher tries to reconstruct, was another key factor (p. 40). The author of the monograph also makes a connection between Evagrius's classical education and his later views (p. 41–46). The latter indeed makes multiple references to authors who represented the Hellenic tradition and wrote about Roman history. Ginter further examines the writer's local cultural circle (p. 46–48). The researcher is struck by the fact that *Ecclesiastical History* omits references to the Syriac-language culture, although it thrived at the time (p. 47–48). He believes that, contrary to common opinions, Evagrius spoke Syriac on a daily basis (p. 48).

A substantial section of the first part of the book is devoted to *Ecclesiastical History* itself (p. 50–79). It informs us that the events described in this source begin in the 430s and end in the 590s (p. 50). The researcher also explains why some other scholars recognize this work

* This text was created as part of the project financed from the funds of the National Science Centre, Poland, granted under decision no. DEC-2018/31/B/HS3/03038.

as reliable and objective (p. 50–51). He agrees with their views although he observes that Evagrius's use of Chalcedonian and monophysite sources does not comport with his objectivism (p. 51–52). Ginger further analyzes the literary background of *Ecclesiastical History*, referencing the texts used by the author and other works from the epoch, which he treats as comparative material (p. 54–68). These include other *Ecclesiastical Histories*, chronicles, hagiographies, and panegyrics. This approach allowed for showing the figure of Evagrius in a broader historiographical context. Subsequently, the researcher illustrates the views of the authors whose works, according to him, influenced the historian's idea about a perfect ruler (p. 60–79).

Part two offers a detailed analysis of *Ecclesiastical History* through the lens of how the Byzantine emperors were depicted in the book (p. 81–272). It begins with Evagrius's views on Constantine the Great (p. 81–84). Ginter concludes that according to the late-Antiquity historian, that emperor was a key figure in the history of the Church and had the features of an ideal ruler (p. 84). The scholar moves on to discussing the image of emperor Theodosius II painted on the pages of *Ecclesiastical History* (p. 85–107). An analysis of the source text leads him to believe that Evagrius considered this ruler to be a pious man, guided by the good of the Church, and a fighter against paganism and Nestorius's heresy (p. 106–107). He also held the emperor's wife, Eudocia, in high esteem. According to the scholar, the way Evagrius presented Theodosius's successor, Marcian (p. 107–133), and his accomplishments suggests beyond doubt that the historian was a Chalcedonian (p. 132). Nevertheless, based on numerous fragments in which he references the accusations made against the emperor, Ginter suspects that the author did not avoid contacts with the circle of Monophysites (p. 132–133). Regardless of that, in *Ecclesiastical History*, Marcian was also portrayed as a perfect ruler. Further considerations are devoted to Leon I (p. 133–142). The scholar remarks that Evagrius's portrayal of this ruler is rather obscure and rudimentary. The author focused predominantly on his pro-Church activities.

Ginter proposes a hypothesis according to which the historian's attitude was influenced by negative accounts of other authors (p. 142). The subsequent emperor whose image was recreated in the presented book is Zenon (p. 142–159). According to the researcher, *Ecclesiastical History* depicts this emperor as a tyrant. However, he points out that when discussing religious issues, Zenon's reign was presented by Evagrius rather neutrally (p. 159). Ginter observes that the description of Anastasius's rule is rather problematic (p. 159–186). On the one hand, Evagrius considers the religious stance of the emperor as little less than heresy. On the other, he is willing to acknowledge some of Anastasius's military achievements (p. 185–186). Regarding the figure of Justin I, the scholar recapitulates that Evagrius's attitude towards this emperor is completely neutral (p. 186–193). Although Justin was a firm supporter of the Council of Chalcedon, he did not garner any more sympathy for it in the eyes of Evagrius. This leads Ginter to believe that the religious motif was only one of the factors that determined the historian's characterization of a given figure (p. 193). The image of Justinian I is a different matter (p. 194–227). This is the only ruler whom Evagrius condemns, which is expressed by sending him to hell after death. According to the researcher, there are several factors that influenced the historian's negative attitude towards this emperor. These include: imposing high taxes on landowners, a gradual collapse of Antioch, and the Aphthartodocetae edict recognized in *Ecclesiastical History* as heresy (p. 226–227). Justin II was also portrayed in a negative way (p. 227–240). Ginter believes that in this case, the emperor's mental illness and the defeat in the war with Persians sufficed to portray him in a bad light. This might also have been an expression of solidarity with patriarch Anastasios II, who was in conflict with the emperor. In either case, the image of Justin II that emerges from *Ecclesiastical History* does not deviate from the accounts of other authors. The researcher believes that emphasizing the promiscuous lifestyle of the emperor might have been the result of recognizing him as a tyrant. Lechery was one of the canonical


accusations brought against tyrannical rulers. Ginter concludes that the historian approached the portrayal of the next emperor, Tiberius, in a very pragmatic way (p. 240–250). He did not describe the ruler's religious politics towards the Monophysites, which was marked by tolerance. Since he wrote about him soon after his death, he preferred to emphasize his generosity and military successes. Ginter remarks that the fact that Tiberius adopted the name Constantine at the coronation had a symbolic meaning for Evagrius. It signified the beginning of a new era in the empire's politics following the failed reigns of Justinian I and Justin II (p. 249–250). According to the researcher, Maurice is presented by the author of *Ecclesiastical History* as an ideal leader (p. 250–272). His policies are portrayed as a series of successes and his figure as a defendant of Christianity. Simultaneously, he overlooks the emperor's defects, such as greediness (p. 271–272).

The subsequent pages include a recapitulation, which concludes the book (p. 273–284).

The monograph also features a list of abbreviations (p. 321–326) and indices: of people (p. 327–333) and geographical and ethnic names (p. 335–337).

The presented publication not only enriches our knowledge about Evagrius Scholasticus and the environment in which he wrote but also offers an interesting overview of the history of the Byzantine empire in the 5th and 6th centuries. Kazimierz Ginter draws original conclusions and confronts them with popular formulations. Furthermore, he often debates common views. I am confident that this extremely interesting monograph will be embraced by the broad scholarly community, and will contribute to further discussion about the evolution of ecclesiastical historiography in the East.

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**ІГОР ЛИЛЬО, Греки на території Руського воєводства у XV–XVIII ст.
Монографія [Ihor Lylo, *Greeks in the Territory of the Ruthenian
Voivodeship in the 15th–18th Centuries. Monograph*]
ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, Львів 2019, pp. 384.**

Anyone interested in the history of the Greeks in the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth should take note of the new monograph by Ihor Lylo, *Greeks in the Territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship in the 15th–18th Centuries*. Although the publication language is Ukrainian, a short summary in English is included. The book cannot leave anyone indifferent due to the research question it considers. The author has made what is overall the best choice of the period of Greek activity in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's Ruthenian Voivodeship. The 15th century saw the decline and eventual collapse of the Byzantine Empire, an event that led to intensified migration of Greek merchants and craftsmen to this area. One of Dr Ihor Lylo's main objectives was to provide the fullest possible explanation of the reasons why Greek diasporas appeared in the Ruthenian Voivodeship between the 15th and 18th centuries. The author has succeeded in outlining their everyday life and their activity in Lviv, Brody and Zamość. The research encompasses the causes and motives behind the migration of Greek merchants and craftsmen, their economic situation, community activity, degree of integration with local communities and the political-legal and cultural consequences of their activity. Dr Lylo's intention was to investigate and systematize these relations. The author also tasked himself with describing and analysing the Greeks' daily lives.

The period under consideration, i.e. from the 15th to the 18th century, was a time of the Greeks' strongest economic and communal activity in the Ruthenian Voivodeship. The time

considered in the work, however, is not detached from earlier Greek activity in the area. One of the chapters discusses contacts between the Galicia-Volhynia State and the Byzantine Empire between the 12th and 14th centuries. This is an extremely important issue because it shows the history of the relationships between Greek and Ruthenian political elites and church communities, as well as relationships in the arts community. The author points out that these political and economic contacts were also important after the area in question became part of the Kingdom of Poland in 1387. The time frame covered by the work ends in the 18th century, the latter half of which was a time of gradual waning of Greek activity in the Commonwealth's Ruthenian Voivodeship. The reasons for this were many. Those Greeks who found themselves under the Austrian rule after the partitions of Poland became assimilated and, over time, became part of the local elite.

The geographical area of the activity of the Greeks which is described in the book more or less corresponds to the Ruthenian Voivodeship, although there is also a section describing the Greeks' contacts with their compatriots living in Podolia, especially with the Greek diaspora in Kamieniec Podolski (Kamianets-Podilskyi). Contacts with Greeks living in Constantinople and in Bari, Italy, are also mentioned. Another important question concerns the origins of the Greeks living in the Ruthenian Voivodeship. The author underlines that most of them had been citizens of the Venetian Republic. This fact was not highlighted properly in historiography before.

It needs to be mentioned that this is the first time that Ukrainian historiography has fully explained the reasons behind the Greek migration. Dr Lylo has shown that Greek immigration was not random and that Greek entrepreneurs, including merchants and craftsmen, had intentionally chosen this part of Europe as a place where they wanted to operate and live. Until recently, historiography had focused on the Greeks in the context of ecclesiastical relations and issues. The author points out that the activity of the Greeks living in the area in question was part of contemporary economic processes and of the political developments in the lands between Moscow, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Principality of Moldavia, the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman State.

Dr Lylo is the first scholar to explain the economic phenomenon of the "wine boom", i.e. the growing demand for sweet wine varieties from the Mediterranean region on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's market. After analysing this phenomenon, the author argues that it had a significant impact on a sudden increase in the number of Greek merchants in towns in the Ruthenian Voivodeship. The growth of the Greek diaspora in towns did in fact occur in the 16th and 17th centuries. One such town was Lviv, which in the aforementioned period became a very important site on the trade route between Central-Eastern Europe on the one hand and Western Europe and the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin on the other.

The author also discusses the question of the self-identification of the Greeks living in the Ruthenian Voivodeship. Above all, it was based on the membership in the Orthodox Church and on a language community: for example, for decades, the Greeks signed all kinds of documents in Greek. As for confessional matters, one important place for the Greeks' activity and their collaboration with local Ukrainians was the Stauropegion Brotherhood, which was active at the Dormition Church in Lviv. It is worth noting that the author has devoted a chapter to the existence of another municipal centre in the region where the Greeks were active, namely Zamość. The Greeks set up their own centre there, which went on to become an integral part of the

town and played a major role in its history. The Greeks in Zamość were the only diaspora in the Polish-Ukrainian borderland that was to an extent legalized. At the same time, this diaspora provided support to Greek diasporas in other towns of the region. The author underlines the special role of Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski in the formation of the Greek diaspora in Zamość. Chancellor Zamoyski wanted to accelerate his town's economic development, which exacerbated the rivalry with Lviv. Zamoyski's activity influenced the character of the Greek diaspora in Zamość. The chancellor gave permission to settle on his land only to those Greeks who had once been subjects of Venice or Genoa. Dr Lylo's research enables the comparison between the respective features of the Zamość and Lviv diasporas and their multifaceted activity.

The book's description of Greek activity in the town of Brody deserves special attention. Greek craftsmen settled there in the first half of the 17th century, under the guardianship of Crown Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski. Despite the brief time of their activity in the town, they had worthy successors among local craftsmen, who continued their craft of embellishing fabrics with gold and silver.

Dr Lylo has used a number of previously unpublished research materials on the Greeks' contribution to the Ruthenian Voivodeship's material culture. One extremely important question presented in the book is the research on the genealogy of nine Lviv families boasting Greek origins. The author describes their activity from the time when they settled in the Ruthenian Voivodeship until they were assimilated into the population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The aforementioned issues are divided into ten chapters, which are preceded by a list of abbreviations and an introduction. The book also includes a summary and a dictionary of metrological and numismatic terms. The list of sources and references is impressive. The readers will find the index of personal and geographic names at the end of the book very useful. The work also features a brief summary in English and a list of the illustrations and maps included in the volume.

The methodological aspect of the work deserves attention. Besides Polish, English and other language skills, the author also knows Greek, which means that he reviewed the source texts “at first hand”. While the command of Greek would not seem an unusual skill in the case of someone studying the history of the Greeks in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, similar credentials were not always obvious. Dr Lylo is also a great admirer of and expert on the history of Lviv. Consequently, it is evident that the book was written by someone very well prepared for researching the history of the Greeks in the historical Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. To conclude, the book is the first work in Ukrainian historiography offering a comprehensive approach to the history of the Greek diaspora in the Ruthenian Voivodeship

between the 15th and 18th centuries. It is based on extensive source materials obtained from archives in Poland and Ukraine. This is a very valuable work of a very high academic standard, and at the same time an interesting study resource for a wide audience, especially in Ukraine but also in Poland. Ihor Lylo’s book is a compendium of knowledge about the role of the Greeks in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth’s Ruthenian Voivodeship. This is a must-have title for anyone interested in the history of the Greeks in the Commonwealth.



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ADRIAN JUSUPOVIĆ, *Kronika halicko-wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów w latopisarskiej kolekcji historycznej [The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (The Romanowicz Dynasty Chronicle) in the Historical Chronicle Collection], Avalon, Kraków–Warszawa 2019, pp. 203.*

The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (Kronika halicko-wołyńska) is among the most important historiographical works belonging to the south-Ruthenian group of chronicles, along with the *Russian Primary Chronicle* and the so-called *Kiev Chronicle*. It continues to attract readers and scholars alike. Notably, the latest critical edition has been prepared by Polish scholars¹, which deserves recognition. It should be pointed out that Adrian Jusupović,

¹ *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana. Chronica Romanoviciana*, ed. et praef. D. DĄBROWSKI, A. JUSUPOVIĆ, Kraków–Warszawa 2017 [= MPH.SN, 16]. It should be noted that Dariusz Dąbrowski and Adrian Jusupović prepared the translation of the Chronicle into Polish: *Kronika halicko-wołyńska. Kronika Romanowiczów*, trans. et ed. D. DĄBROWSKI, A. JUSUPOVIĆ, Kraków–Warszawa 2017.

² Adrian Jusupović specialised in Polish-Ruthenian relations starting from the end of the 10th century until the 14th century. He has published widely, both in Poland and abroad, including: *Elity ziemi halickiej i wołyńskiej w czasach Romanowiczów (1205–1269). Studium prozopograficzne*, Kraków 2013; *Галицкие „выгнанцы” или „выгонцы”?*, RAnt 2012, 2, 6, p. 114–133; *Miasto stołeczne Daniela Romanowicza. Dzieje Chełma do połowy XIV wieku*, [in:] *Przywrócona pamięci. Ikona Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej. Ikonografia – kult – kontekst społeczny*, ed. A. GIL, M. KALINOWSKI, I. SKOCZYŁAS, Lublin–Lwów 2016, p. 161–186; «Перемышль, Червень и иные грады» и их территориальная принадлежность в конце X – начале XI в., СРy 12, 2016, p. 27–62; *Tożsamość i obcość w czasach Daniela Romanowicza: konstrukcja narracji w Kronice halicko-wołyńskiej*, [in:] *Symboliczne i realne podstawy tożsamości społecznej w średniowieczu*, ed. S. GAWLAS, P. ŻMUDZKI, Warszawa 2017, p. 504–516.

the author of the work under review here, played a major role in the endeavour, together with prof. Dariusz Dąbrowski.

The discussion in the book centres on two basic matters: the narrative strategy employed by the author of *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* and the question as to whether it functioned “from the beginning as part of a historical collection?” (p. 14), and the chronological method used. The book is divided into five chapters. In the first one, *Encomium of Roman Mstislavich and the chronicles of the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century (Enkomion Romana Mściłowicza a latopisy końca XII – początku XIII w.*, p. 19–30), the author analyses the issue of the chronicler’s substituting the encomium of Roman Mstislavich for the information from the years 1198–1205 that was part of the *Kiev Chronicle of the Rościslawowicz Dynasty*. The second chapter, *Kiev Chronicle of the Rościslawowicz Dynasty (Kijowski latopis Rościslawowiczów*, p. 31–72), deals with the question of using the *Kiev Chronicle of the Rościslawowicz Dynasty* as a chronological basis for *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. In the third chapter, *The so-called Daniel’s feint (Tak zwany Zwód Daniela*, p. 73–96), the author deals with the issue of employing Daniel’s feint for retaining the *dating continuity* (p. 17) and for the purpose of introducing additions by the last editor of the *Chronicle* who functioned in the circle of Vladimir Vasilkovich. The chapter that follows, *Inspired chronicling (Kronikarstwo z inspiracji*, p. 97–112), deals with the matters of chronology with respect to the topics covered, such as the Yotvingian-Lithuanian or Mongolian

themes. Finally, the fifth chapter, *The chronicler of Vladimir Vasilkovich (Kronikarz Włodzimierza Wasylkowicza*, p. 113–154), is devoted to the author of the *Chronicle*. The book also includes a concluding section (p. 155–160), an annex: A chronological table of *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (the Romanowicz Dynasty Chronicle)*, an English summary (p. 171–174), indexes (of person names, p. 175–182, and of geographical and ethnic names, p. 183–186), as well as a list of abbreviations (p. 187–188), and a bibliography (p. 189–202).

In a profound and erudite fashion the book's discussion enables Adrian Jusupović to formulate interesting and, importantly, well-grounded conclusions about the issues signalled above.

As far as the first matter is concerned, A. Jusupović concludes that the *Chronicle* from the very beginning functioned as *part of the historiographical chronicle collections* (p. 156) and its main narrative strategy relied on justifying the right of Vladimir Vasilkovich to serve as a high duke *in accordance with the monarchical conception provided in the 'Sermon on Law and Grace'* (p. 157).

When it comes to the issue of dating the events in the *Chronicle*, the author ascertains the following: in the case of the years 1205–1228 dating was based on the (n.b. unknown) manuscript referred to as the *Kiev Chronicle of the Rościszlawowicz Dynasty* which simultaneously included information about Galician boyars as well as the story told by the widow of Roman Mstislavich (or someone from her circle); for the years 1228–1244 it was based on the so-called *Daniel's feint* (lost as well), arranged anachronistically and supplemented with additions from the last editor of the text; for the period of 1245–1259 the dating relied on the analysis of particular aspects of the policy of Volhynian-Galician princes, such as the Mongolian or Polish one (they are portrayed chronologically); for the years 1260–1290 the dating method is similar to that used for the 1228–1244 period. In the author's view the *Chronicle* was written in the last two decades of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century.

The reviewed book is undoubtedly an important and inspiring voice in the discussion about *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* itself but also more broadly about the Ruthenian chronography.

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SZYMON WIERZBIŃSKI, *U boku bazyleusa. Frankowie i Waregowie w cesarstwie bizantyńskim w XI w. [By the Side of the Basileus. The Franks and the Varangians in the Byzantine Empire in the 11th century]*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2019 [= Byzantina Lodziensia, 37], pp. 420.

The presented book is the newest volume of the Byzantina Lodziensia series. It was authored by Szymon Wierzbiński, a Byzantinist from Łódź, a representative of the younger generation, and a researcher at the Humanities Department (Faculty of Management and Engineering Production), Łódź University of Technology. He has published several articles¹ and his main research area is the military forces in the Middle Byzantine period. The basis for this monograph was his doctoral dissertation supervised by a University of Łódź Professor, dr hab Teresa Wolińska, and defended at the UŁ in 2013.

The book discusses the presence of the Varangians and the Franks in the Byzantine Army or more broadly speaking, in the Byzantine Empire in the 11th century. The first two chapters (ch. 1: *The Heirs to Imperium Romanum (Spadkobiercy Imperium Romanum)*, p. 29–70 and ch. 2: *New Challenges, Old Threats (Nowe wyzwania, stare zagrożenia)*, p. 71–86) offer an introduction to the reflections that will constitute the main subject of the book. The chapters

review the organization and makeup of the Byzantine Army but also present the debate over its size in the period preceding the times that are of primary interest to the author. These sections also characterize the standing of the empire in the international arena. In chapter 3: *Roads to Byzantium. New Drafting Areas (Drogi do Bizancjum. Nowe obszary zaciągu)*, p. 87–126), Szymon Wierzbiński moves on to the issue of the mercenaries in the Byzantine Army, establishing the territories from which they came in the 11th century (the Rus' and Scandinavia, Normandy and Southern Italia, and the British Isles). The next chapter: *The Barbarians of Ultima Thule (Barbarzyńcy z Ultima Thule)*, p. 127–206) is devoted to the Varangian Guard and the changes to its ethnical makeup occurring in the 11th century. In Chapter 5: *The Normans and "other Franks" (Normanowie i „inni Frankowie”*, p. 207–270) the author analyzes the presence of the Normans and the so-called “other Franks” in the Byzantine Army. Chapter 6: *The Riches, Fame and Glory (Bogactwo, sława i cześć*, p. 271–320) elaborates on the reasons why the Varangians and the Franks decided to enlist in the Byzantine Army, and points to specific examples of the mercenaries who made a career in Byzantium (e.g. Harald Hardrada or Hervē Frankopoul). The final chapter 7: *They Have Treason in Their Blood? (Zdradę mają w krwi?*, p. 321–346) considers the mutual relationship between the Franks and the Varangians. It also examines the attitude of the Byzantines to the latter. The book is complemented with the Introduction (p. 1–28), Conclusions (p. 347–346), List of Abbreviations

¹ E.g.: *Bizantyńskie dary w pochówku łodziowym z Sutton Hoo. Próba interpretacji*, PNH 6, 2007, p. 159–172; *From pagan Vikings to milites Christi*, [in:] *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. L.P. SŁUPECKI, R. SIMEK, Wien 2013, p. 357–373; *Normans and other Franks in 11th century Byzantium: The careers of the adventurers before the rule of Alexios I Comnenos*, SCer 4, 2014, p. 277–288; *Auri sacra fames? Arabscy jeńcy wojenni jako źródło korzyści finansowej dla armii bizantyńskiej w X wieku*, [in:] *W niewoli. Doświadczenie jenieckie i jego konteksty na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. M. JARZĄBEK, M. STACHURA, P. SZLANTA, Kraków 2019, p. 83–97.

(p. 365–368), Works Cited (p. 369–398), and indices of people, and geographical and ethnical names (p. 401).

The subject undertaken by Szymon Wierzbński is undoubtedly interesting but also difficult. Depicting the place which the Franks and Varangians had in the empire's army in the 11th century required studying a range of sources of various origin, from Greek to Scandinavian. The author typically extracted from these sources only snippets of information, which he confronted with each other, verified and matched in an attempt to put them into some kind of cohesive whole. Although in many cases, no more than approximations and guesses had to suffice, he still managed to construct a rather coherent image of the participation of the Franks and the Varangians in the mercenary forces of the Byzantium in the 11th century. The author draws from a rich, representative and multilingual literature of the subject, with which he frequently and successfully debates.

Szymon Wierzbński's monograph is undeniably an interesting piece of work that inspires further discussion about the role of mercenaries in the 11th-century Byzantium.

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ДИМО ЧЕШМЕДЖИЕВ, *Етюди върху български средновековни култове* [DİMO ČEŠMEDŽIEV, *Studies of Medieval Bulgarian Cults*], Фондация Българско историческо наследство, Пловдив 2019, пр. VIII, 177.

Dİmo Češmedžiev is a researcher established both in Bulgaria and internationally in the arena of scholars studying medieval Bulgaria. One of the main currents of his academic research is devoted to the veneration of saints. The majority of his publications focus on this subject, including the presented book¹. In the preface, the author declares that it comprises *част от един по-голям проект, който включва проучването на всички български култове през Средновековието* [part of a larger project whose aim is to study all the Bulgarian cults of the Middle Ages] (p. VII). The book features ten studies devoted to the veneration of Constantine the Great, Patriarch Joachim, Michael the Warrior, Filoteia Temnishka, Parascheva of Tărnovo (3 texts), Patriarch Euthymius (2 texts), and finally, the position of Metropolitan Cyprian on the veneration of Bulgarian and Serbian saints.

In the text *Notes on the veneration of Constantine the Great in medieval Bulgaria* (Бележки върху почитанието на Константин I Велики в средновековна България, p. 1–16) D. Češmedžiev lays out the genesis and the development of the veneration of the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (306–337),

¹ Е.г. *Към въпроса за култа на княз Борис-Михаил в средновековна България*, ИП 55, 3/4, 1999, p. 158–176; Кирил и Методий в българската историческа памет през Средните векове, София 2001; *Notes on the Cult of the Fifteen Theroiopolitan Martyrs in Medieval Bulgaria*, SCer 1, 2011, p. 143–156; Цар Петър във византийските извори, [in:] *Кръгла маса. “Златният век на цар Симеон: политика, религия и култура”*, ed. В. СТАНЕВ, София 2014, p. 103–110; *Култовете на българските светци през IX–XII в. Автореферат*, Пловдив 2016.

pointing out that his popularity in Bulgaria was affected by how he was perceived in Byzantium. Hence, when this figure of the fourth-century ruler inspired interest in the empire, it did so in the Bulgarian State as well (and vice versa). What the reviewers found particularly interesting was an answer to the question why it was Tsar Peter (927–969), and not his great predecessors Boris-Mihail (852–889) or Simeon I (893–927)², who was first linked to the veneration of Constantine the Great.

The subsequent fragment of the book, *St. Patriarch Joachim and his veneration in Bulgarian Middle Ages* (Светият патриарх Йоаким и неговия култ в Българското средновековие, p. 17–28) examines the life of Joachim I, the first patriarch in the Second Bulgarian Empire. Additionally, it analyzes the source material regarding his veneration, suggesting that he was the only medieval Bulgarian hierarch of the Church who is known to have been officially canonized.

The third text, *St. Michael – the mysterious warrior of medieval Bulgaria* (Св. Михаил – загадъчният воин на средновековна България, p. 29–46), centers around Michael the Warrior, who was celebrated on November 22nd. This figure is so mysterious that it is difficult to establish whether he really existed. His cult had not been confirmed until the 13th century, when

² Tsar Peter and his rule, including the issue of his cult, have recently been the subject of our research. It has produced two books co-authored by us: *The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, Łódź 2018 [= BL, 34]; Z.A. BRZOWSKA, M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, *Piotr I Święty, car bułgarski (ok. 912–969). Maria Leokapena, caryca bułgarska (ok. 912–?963)*, Kraków 2018.

his relics were moved from Potuka to Veliko Tŕrnovo, right before or after the Battle of Adrianople (1205).

The next section of the book, *Filoteia Temnishka – a mysterious saint of Tŕrnovo* (Филотея Темнишка – мистериозната тŕрновска светица, p. 47–58), discusses the figure of Filoteia of Pamphillia, known as Temnishka, and analyzes the sources connected to her veneration in Bulgaria. Similarly to Michael the Warrior, the state of knowledge about Filoteia is incredibly modest. It is unclear in what period she was alive. Her relics arrived in Tŕrnovo during the rule of Tsar Kaloyan. Following the Turkish conquest, they were transferred to Vidin, and were eventually relocated to Wallachia. She was celebrated on May 28th, and after her relics had been moved to Wallachia, on December 7th.

The fifth text, *Commentary on the veneration of St. Parascheva of Tŕrnovo in Bulgarian Middle Ages* (Бележки за култа на св. Петка Тŕрновска в Българското средновековие, p. 59–66), examines the figure of Parascheva/Petka of Tŕrnovo, the most popular saint of the Bulgarian pantheon, whose veneration has undoubtedly exceeded beyond the Bulgarian territory. Petka is a historic figure, who lived in the last decades of the 10th century and the early 11th century. The author reflects on the multifaceted nature of her veneration and her ties to the cult of Virgin Mary.

The study entitled *The orthodox church with the relics of St. Petka in Tŕrnovo* (Църквата с мощите на св. Петка в Тŕрново, p. 67–78) ponders which of the Veliko Tŕrnovo churches holds the relics of St. Petka. Interestingly, the sources that mention the transfer of Petka's relics to Tŕrnovo (during the rule of John Asen II) include no information about in which church they were laid, aside from referring to it as imperial or palatial. D. Češmedžiev presents the views of Bulgarian scholars, indicating that they have not developed a unanimous position on this issue. Their suggestions included, e.g. churches no. 2 and 5 in Tsarevets.

The subsequent part of the book, *An old church of “St. Petka” in Plovdiv* (Старата църква «Св. Петка» в Пловдив, p. 79–90), reviews preserved information on the medieval

“old” temple of St. Petka and reflects on its location (p. 79–121).

The following, vast study, *The cult of St. Euthymius – the last patriarch of Tŕrnovo* (Култът на св. Евтимий – последния тŕрновски патриарх, p. 91–120), is devoted to the cult of Patriarch Euthymius of Tŕrnovo. The author presents the figure of Euthymius and characterizes the sources that formed the foundation for his veneration, starting from Grigorij Camblak's *Eulogy*. D. Češmedžiev observes that it is not certain when and where the cult of Euthymius started. Most of the chapter discusses the location of the patriarch's burial site, concluding that it is possible that he was interred at the Bachkovo Monastery where he had died in the early 15th century.

In the text *Legends of Patriarch Euthymius* (Легенди за Патриарх Евтимий, p. 121–126) the author characterizes the legends devoted to Euthymius (regarding, e.g. the last years of his life and his burial site), commenting that most of them come from the Rhodopes. In the conclusion, he formulates a postulate to thoroughly examine the body of the legends that refer to Euthymius.

In the final study, *The Metropolitan Cyprian and the cults of Bulgarian saints* (Митрополит Киприан и култовете на българските светци, p. 127–139), D. Češmedžiev considers the issue of the presence of Bulgarian saints in the synaxarion of the Rus' Metropolitan Cyprian. It commemorates such saints, as Petka of Tŕrnovo (October 14th), Ivan of Rila (October 19th), and Hilarion Moglenski (October 20th). It also includes the Serbian saints Sava (January 14th) and Simeon (February 13th). The author reflects that this source is interesting in the context of the Bulgarian-Rus' relationships as it reveals the evolution of the veneration of Bulgarian saints in Rus' and is an expression of what is referred to as “the second South-Slavic influence” in Rus'.

The presented work is supplemented with a preface (p. VI–VII) and bibliography (p. 139–177).

It must be clearly emphasized that the book draws from a complete corpus of sources that have been subjected to a thorough analysis.

It was written using rich literature of the subject, whose findings are skillfully interwoven into the author's reflections. On the one hand, the presented work recapitulates previous research; on the other, it points to its new directions. The book will undoubtedly become an exit point for further discussion devoted to the veneration of saints in medieval Bulgaria.

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ЦВЕТАН ВАСИЛЕВ, *Гръцкият език в църквите със смесени надписи от XVII век в България – епиграфски репертоар, езикови особености, механизми на писане* [CVETAN VASILEV, *The Greek Language in the Churches with Mixed Inscriptions of the Seventeenth Century in Bulgaria – Epigraphic Repertoire, Language Features, Writing Methods*], Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски”, София 2017, pp. 498.

The book of Cvetan Vasilev should not go unnoticed in the fields of art history and wall painting inscriptions in the Byzantine tradition. It is based on his doctoral thesis which received the highest evaluation of the scientific jury. There are at least three reasons to call the book special: firstly, studies on non-classical epigraphic monuments are quite rare in Bulgarian scholarly literature. One may recall the names of Ivan Galabov, Stefan Smyadovski, Kazimir Popkonstantinov, Hristo Andreev or Emmanuel Moutafov, whose works, in different measure, concern Bulgarian medieval or later fresco inscriptions and their Bulgarian-Greek linguistic aspects. The second reason to praise Vasilev's monograph is the in-depth exploration of a specific theme: the Greek wall-painted inscriptions mixed with Slavonic ones from seventeenth century churches in regions with a predominantly Bulgarian population – western and northwestern territories in modern-day Bulgaria. Although the research is limited to a specific region and time frame, herein is the third point of its value. It additionally contributes to the broader subject of cultural interactions during the period of Ottoman domination in the Balkans.

In addition to the information given in the sub-title of the book, one should note that the study is also closely associated with art history, which constitutes another special merit. The linguistic aspect of the inscriptions is beyond the proficiency of the reviewer, there-

fore the emphasis will be laid mostly upon the art-historical importance of the monograph.

The study consists of a foreword, four chapters, and a conclusion. Each chapter has several sub-divisions, making the text logically structured and well-organized in spite of the complex nature of the investigation. The end of the book consists of the obligatory references for the 'genre': *Bibliography*, *Index inscriptionum*, *Index locorum*, *Index of iconography*, and *Supplement*, containing colour plates¹, documenting all the inscriptions.

In Chapter One, *Bilingualism: Historical Context and Function* (p. 23–49), Vasilev exposes the historically determined phenomenon of bilingualism in the Balkans and characterises its three functions: functional bilingualism in a bilingual milieu; asymmetrical bilingualism when the inscriptions in the second language – the Greek one – are of a lower level; fictitious bilingualism, attested mainly for sixteenth and seventeenth century churches in Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia. Chapters Two, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Churches with Mixed Inscriptions* (p. 51–303) and Three, *Inner Characteristics of the Inscriptions' Language* (p. 305–355) contain the essential linguistic data and detailed analysis of the Greek inscriptions. Chapter Four, *Outer Linguistic Characteristics of the Inscriptions* (p. 357–390), is most beneficial for art

¹ Regretfully, printing affected the quality of some photographs.

history and socio-cultural studies. Here the author relates the peculiarities of writing (spelling) to the language culture of the painters, showing how a linguistic analysis can establish similarities along with stylistic ones. The inscriptions and their parallel texts, as far as they are identifiable, create a model for the mechanism of wall painting not only in Bulgarian seventeenth century monuments, but also in the whole Balkan region. In the same chapter, Vasilev reveals the methods of writing: transcribed inscriptions, that is, copied from source texts, mainly from a *hermeneia*; inscriptions created from memory – usually these are often repeated liturgical readings; compilation inscriptions composed from memory but hard to identify. An astute observation of the author is that the supralinear graphemes, most often with incorrect orthography, had ornamental rather than lingual usage.

Particularly valuable for the general concept of the book is the short sub-chapter *Function of the Inscriptions* (p. 376–378). It touches on the subject of literacy of both artists and audience at a time of its relative decline, and the evidence, gathered by Vasilev, confirms a situation, recognized by other scholars as ‘decorative function of the words’² or ‘transformation of the text into image or into image-words’³. In Vasilev’s assessment, the process of degradation of the written text resulted in the murals to inspire *the more abstract idea of sanctity of the spiritual message based on the Byzantine iconographical tradition and its indisputable authority* (p. 378). In other words, Greek texts from the murals were more word-images to inspire than inscriptions to be read.

The essential part of Vasilev’s work is the catalogue of 228 Greek inscriptions (Chapter Two), taken from 18 churches. This is the first ever representation, if Bulgarian art historical practice is considered, of Greek fresco inscrip-

tions according to higher standards for the publishing of Byzantine monumental painting. Each catalogue entry strictly follows the seven precisely formulated parameters of description: disposition in the church; iconography of the scene/figure; general information about the inscription; reference to the *Corpus of the Seventeenth Century Wall Paintings in Bulgaria*⁴; copy of the original text accompanied by paragraphs describing in detail the orthography and supplying the reader with a transcription; identification of the text source and its meaning; and, linguistic characteristics. In this way Vasilev was able not only to correct many of the inscriptions as documented in the *Corpus* but to also add unregistered ones. All typical errors and the often-encountered cases of dialphabetism – the term is his – are meticulously analysed in the sub-chapter *Linguistic Peculiarities and Errors Depending on the Mechanisms of Writing* (p. 368–374).

Also notable, on p. 92 in paragraph 5.1, one can see the limitation of the Cyrillic font in the rendering of an inscription. This is further evidenced in paragraph 5.2 which contains a description of the orthographic features. For instance, in inscription MP 9, line 4, the word ТОМЕѢ has the acute accent above the inverted circumflex upon T instead of on O, and the second acute accent, on M, is placed so high that it links with the letter above (p. 92). Similarly, in inscription MP 10 in СѢМОИ (line 3) the acute accent upon C is omitted, as is the case with the inverted circumflex above the ligature AV in ПAVДо in line 4 (p. 93).

A precious tool for any further epigraphic and art historical investigations is the table of the identified primary sources for the inscriptions on the scrolls held by the depicted religious figures and their corresponding texts in the painters’ manuals (p. 379–389). Earlier in the monograph Vasilev has pointed out that these prescribed texts are secondary reference materials, between the original ones and the inscription *in situ*.

² А. РНОВУ, *Interactive Inscriptions: Byzantine Works of Art and Their Beholders*, [in:] *Пространственные иконы. Перформативное в Византии и Древней Руси*, ed. А. Лидов, Москва 2011, p. 319.

³ С. СМЯДОВСКИ, *Светци, свѣтъци, книги. Посланията на текста в иконографския репертоар*, София 2003, p. 104.

⁴ *Корпус на стенописите от XVII век в България*, ed. Б. ПЕНКОВА, Ц. КУНЕВА, София 2012.

In the *Conclusion* some of the above-mentioned results are summed up and the author lays stress upon the evidence that the travelling teams of painters – a typical phenomenon of seventeenth century art making – dealt mostly with standardised and memorised texts. Their education did not exceed a specific set of knowledge and skills necessary for practicing the craft (p. 399). What they gave to the recipients – the commissioners, the clergy, the congregation, the local population of predominantly Bulgarian origin – is symptomatic of their social and cultural profile: they had limited knowledge of Greek, were unable to read it fluently and, consequently, unable to apply adequately corrective measures during the writing process. This situation is most apparent in monuments with evident discrepancies between the content of the Greek texts and the respective images⁵.

The members of the painters' teams – travelling workshops, or groups of painters summoned on demand – often remain unknown to-date. They could have included Slavs, Greeks, and Albanians mixed together or teams of a single nationality. However, even the most perfect analysis of the orthography would not be able to prove with absolute certainty the origin of these artists. Errors in orthography or syntax may have been made equally by a Slav with insufficient knowledge of the Greek language or by a Greek with a low level of literacy. The linguistic evidence revealed by Vasilev gives new perspectives to researchers. Very promising are the cases where his results coincide with assumptions already made by art historians. Thus, not only is new light cast on the methods of work of these painters, but the whole picture of cultural interactions in the period becomes more vivid.

Though based on linguistic evidence and guided by linguistic analysis and a methodology of editing epigraphic monuments, the book of Cvetan Vasilev is a significant contribution and an indispensable companion to any study in the field of the seventeenth century Balkan culture, literacy and art history. His observations are especially valuable for the reconstruc-

tion of the artistic processes and the composition of painters' teams. Moreover, in Bulgarian scholarly literature the question of correspondence between some seventeenth century mural paintings and the much later painter's manuals has largely not been addressed. In this regard, exceptionally valuable is Vasilev's idea that the longer the inscriptions are and the closer they are to the *hermeneia* prescribed texts, the greater the probability is that earlier secondary sources were used instead of rote memory.

Vasilev's interdisciplinary approach to specific epigraphic material is led by the awareness that philological training alone, however excellent it may be, with a lack of knowledge in the subjects of liturgy, iconography, palaeography and sociolinguistics would be an insufficient instrument for the intended research. His book is an impressive result of a strictly followed, sound methodology. With its English summary, one would hope it will reach, and inform, a much larger audience.


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⁵ See *Conclusion*, p. 497–498 in the English summary.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.ŽS	Akme. Źródła Starożytne
AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAAHP	Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia
AASLAP	Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo
AAWG.PHK	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ABu	Archaeologia Bulgarica
AC	L'antiquité Classique
AClas	Acta Classica: Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa
AFLF.UM	Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Macerata
AFP	Archivum fratrum praedicatorum
AHBM	Allgemeine historische Bibliothek von Mitgliedern des königlichen Instituts der historischen Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AHM	Archives of Hellenic Medicine / Αρχεία Ελληνικής Ιατρικής
AHY	Austrian History Yearbook
AIEG	Annals de l'Institut d'Etudis Gironins
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AKi	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
ALGRM	<i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> , ed. H.W. ROSCHER, Leipzig 1884–1937; repr. 1965
AMM	Acta Militaria Mediaevalia
AMS	Asia-Minor-Studien
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , T. I, <i>Von den Anfängen Roms bis zum Ausgang der Republik</i> , Bd. I–IV, hrsg. H. TEMPORINI, New York–Berlin 1972–1973; T. II, <i>Principat</i> , Bd. I–XXXVII, hrsg. H. TEMPORINI, W. HAASE, New York–Berlin 1974–.
AnzSP	Anzeiger für slavische Philologie
AOC	Archives de l'Orient chrétien

AOL	Archives de l'Orient latin
APH	Acta Poloniae Historica
APhil	Ancient Philosophy
APHK	Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse
APQ	American Philosophical Quarterly
APu	Analele Putnei / The Annals of Putna
AQDGM	Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters
Arc	Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica
Archeo	Archaeology
ArtB	The Art Bulletin: a quarterly published by the College Art Association of America
ASEER	American Slavic and East European Review
ASSRJ	Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal
Aug	Augustinianum. Periodicum semestre Instituti Patristici Augustinianum, Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis
AUL.FH	Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica
AUNC.H	Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Filologia Polska
B	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines
B.EEL	Byzantium: A European Empire and Its Legacy
B.SBHC	Byzantios. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization
Balc	Balcanica. Annual of the Institute for Balkan Studies
Ban	Banatica
BAnt	Biblioteka Antyczna
BAR.IS	British Archaeological Reports. International Series
BArch	The Biblical Archaeologist
BArchiv	Byzantinisches Archiv
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists
BAus	Byzantina Australiensia
BBE	Bibliothèque byzantine. Études
BBg	Byzantinobulgarica
BBGG	Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata
BBOS	Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies

BTTT	Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations
BCBW	Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World
BCLSMF	Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Académie royale de Belgique
BCPENCGL	Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik
BGM	Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
Bi	Bizantinistica
BIFEAI	Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul
BJas	Biblicum Jassyense. Romanian Journal for Biblical Philology and Hermeneutics
BJHP	British Journal for the History of Philosophy
BKP	Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie
BL	Byzantina Lodziensia
BMd	Bulgaria Mediaevalis
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BNN	Byzantina et Neohellenica Neapolitana
BOR	Biserica Ortodoxă Română
BP.AS	Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia
BPLA	Biblioteka Przekładów z Literatury Antycznej
Brit	Britannia: A Journal of Romano-British and Kindred Studies
BS	Balkan Studies
BSGR	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
Bsl	Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines
Bsm	Bogoslovska smotra
BSNAF	Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
Byz	Byzas

BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CB	<i>Collection byzantine</i> , publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris 1926–
CC.SG	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series graeca</i>
CCRe	Cambridge Companions to Religion
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae</i>
CFHB.SBe	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Berolinensis</i>
CFHB.SBr	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Bruxellensis</i>
CFHB.SW	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Washingtonensis</i>
CG.ATAB	Classici greci. Autori della tarda antichità e dell'età bizantina
CGSer	Cambridge Geographical Series
Chr	Chronica
CMG	Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
ČMM	Časopis Matice Moravské
CMOMA.SP	Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen Ancien. Série philologique
COGD	<i>Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta</i> , vol. I–VII, <i>A Special Series of Corpus Christianorum</i> , 2006–
ColL	Collection Latomus
ConvLit	Convorbiri literare
CP	Classical Philology
CPE	Connaissance des Pères de l'Église
CPG	<i>Clavis patrum graecorum</i> , ed. M. GEERARD, F. GLORIE, Turnhout 1974–1987 et subs.
CPL	<i>Clavis patrum latinorum</i> , ³ Steenbrug 1995
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
CRS	Cultural and Religious Studies
CS	Cristianesimo nella Storia. Ricerche storiche, esegetiche, teologiche
CSCO	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium</i>
CSCO.SA	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Scriptores Armeniaci</i>
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i>

<i>CSHB</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae</i>
CSRSG.CHP	Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis. Classis historica et philologica
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
CW	The Classical World
Cyr	Cyrrilomethodianum
D	Dacoromania
<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
DByz	Dossiers Byzantins
DKAW.PhH	Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Classe
DOML	Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
DS	Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society
E	Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum
E.PMAM	Enarratio: Publications of the Medieval Association of the Midwest
EB	Études balkaniques. Revue trimestrielle publiée par l'Institut d'études balkaniques près l'Académie bulgare des sciences
EBA	Études byzantines et arméniennes
EBot	Economic Botany
ECEEMA	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450
ECF	The Early Church Fathers
EEM	East European Monographs
EH	Estudios Humanísticos
EHR	English Historical Review
EO	Échos d'Orient
eP	e-Perimetron
EPAHA	Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes, Institut historique belge de Rome
ESM	Early Science and Medicine
FAH	Fasciculi Archeologiae Historicae

FBR	Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte
FGHB	Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae / Гръцки извори за българската история
FGM	Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters
FHA	Fontes Historiae Antiquae. Zeszyty Źródłowe Zakładu Historii Społeczeństw Antycznych
FKG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte
For	Fornvännen. Tidskrift för svensk antikvarisk forskning
FVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde
G.SKA	Glas SKA
GA	Graeco-Arabica
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte</i>
GCS.NF	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge</i>
GGA	Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
GIDNS	Glasnik Istoriskog Društva u Novom Sadu
Gla	Gladius
GLB	Graeco-Latina Brunensia
GR	Greece & Rome
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
GSND	Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva
H	Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
HA.BH	<i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Byzantinisches Handbuch</i>
HBSJ	Historical Brass Society Journal
HCom	History Compass
HE	Human Ecology
Hel	Hellenica
HelS	Hellenic Studies
Hi	Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
Hol	The Holocene
Hor	Hormos. Ricerche di Storia Antica
HRes	Historical Research

HRev	Horticultural Reviews
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HSM	Histoire des sciences médicales
HTra	Historijska traganja
IBR.IS	Institute for Byzantine Research, International Symposia
IČ	Istoriski [Istorijski] časopis
ICMR	Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
ICS	Illinois Classical Studies
IHINW	Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien
IJGP	International Journal of Green Pharmacy
Ilu	Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones
IM	Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul
IMAC	I Monumenti dell'Arte Classica
IMU	Italia medioevale e umanistica
IMu	Imago Mundi
Ir	Irénikon. Quarterly Journal Published by the Monks of Chevetogne
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
Jan	Janus
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAS.R	Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JFSE	Journal of Food Science and Engineering
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JIH	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
JMH	Journal of Medieval History

JMP	Journal of Medicine and Philosophy
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRMES	Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSAH	Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
K	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
L	Latomus
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LFHCC	A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church. Anterior to the Division of the East and West
LL	Limbă și Literatură
LMA	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , München–Zürich 1977–1995
LMEH	Library of Middle East History
LPAH	Lancaster Pamphlets in Ancient History
LR	Limba Română
LSJ	H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES et al., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9Oxford 1996
Luc	Lucentum. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Prehistoria, Arqueología e Historia Antigua
M	Meander. Rocznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego (1946–1996 Meander. Miesięcznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego; 1997–2004 Meander. Dwumiesięcznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego; 2005–2012 Meander. Kwartalnik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego)
Ma	Maia
MAIBLIF	Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres de l'Institut de France
Manu	Manuscripta: A Journal for Manuscript Research
MArd	Mitropolia Ardealului

MCop	Le Monde Copte
MDom	Memorie Domenicane
MedHis	Medicina Historica
MEFR.A	Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité
MEFR.MÂ	Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen âge et temps modernes
Mel	Meletemata
METU	METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture
MG	Medioevo Greco
<i>MGH.Ca</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Capitularia regum Francorum</i>
<i>MGH.SRG</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi</i>
<i>MGH.SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores</i>
MHJ	The Medieval History Journal
Mil.S	Millennium-Studien. Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. / Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.
MillSt	Millenium Studies
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MK	Magyar Könyvszemle
MKKGG	Mitteilungen der Kaiserlichen und Königlichen geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien
<i>MLSDV</i>	<i>Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris</i>
MMe	The Medieval Mediterranean
Mn	Mnemosyne: a Journal of Classical Studies
<i>MPH.SN</i>	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series Nova</i>
MRGZ	Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
MS.AS	Medicina nei Secoli: Arte e Scienza
<i>MSSHSM</i>	<i>Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium</i>
NBA	Das neue Bild der Antike
NEMBIAB	Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale et autres bibliothèques

NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
<i>NPa</i>	<i>Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Das klassische Altertum und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte</i> , ed. H. CANCIK, H. SCHNEIDER, Stuttgart 1996–
<i>NPFC</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of Christian Church</i>
NRh	Nea Rhōmē / Νέα Ῥώμη
OAVG	Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. KAZHDAN et al., vol. I–III, New York–Oxford 1991
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
Or.JPTSIS	Oriens. Journal of Philosophy, Theology and Science in Islamic Societies
OSB	Oxford Studies in Byzantium
OSLA	Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity
OV	Orientalia Venetiana
P.RSC	Prometheus. Rivista di studi classici
Pare	Parekbolai. An Electronic Journal for Byzantine Literature
PB	Poikila Byzantina
Pbg	Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика
PBH	Patma-Banasirakan Handes. Revue historico-philologique
Pcl	Penguin Classics
PCRCICO.F	Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis. Fontes
PFL	Prace filologiczne. Literaturoznawstwo
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1857–1866
Phil.S	Philologus. Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption. Supplementband
Phoe	Phoenix. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada / Revue de la Société canadienne des études classiques
PI	Le Parole e le idee
PJAC	The Polish Journal of the Arts and Culture

PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1844–1880
PNAS	Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America
PNH	Przegląd Nauk Historycznych
PNUŚK	Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach
Poly	Poly
Porph	Porphyra. La prima rivista online su Bisanzio
PP	Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies
PRev	Philosophical Review
PS	<i>Patrologia syriaca</i> , ed. R. GRAFFIN, Paris 1894–1926
PSS	Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne
PST	Poznańskie Studia Teologiczne
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
QKKMR	Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance
QUCC	Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica
RA	Revue archéologique
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. T. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1950–
RAM	Revue d'ascétique et de mystique
Ram	Ramus: Critical Studies in Greek and Roman Literature
RAnt	Rossica Antiqua
RB	Revue biblique
RBNF	Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France
RBPH	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
RByz	Réalités Byzantines
RCT	Routledge Classical Translations
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. G. WISSOWA, W. KROLL, Stuttgart 1894–1978
REArm	Revue des études arméniennes
REB	Revue des études byzantines
REG	Revue des études grecques

RER	Revue des études roumaines
RES	Revue des études slaves
RESEE	Revue des études sud-est européennes
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RH	Revue historique
RHis	Russian History
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RHT	Revue d'histoire des textes
RHu	Roczniki Humanistyczne
RI	Revista istorică
RINASA	Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte
RIR	Revista istorică română
RK	<i>Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft</i>
RKJŁTN	Rozprawy Komisji Językowej ŁTN
RMac	Revue Macédonienne
RMP	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
Rom	Romania. Revue consacrée à l'étude des langues et des littératures romanes
RRH	Revue roumaine d'histoire
RSR	Revue des sciences religieuses
RSRe	Recherches de science religieuse
RT.KUL	Roczniki Teologiczne Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego
RUB	Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles
RZav	Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru
S	Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies
S.OIN	Spomenik. Odeljenje Istorijskih Nauka
S.SANU	Spomenik SANU
SACr	Studi di Antichità Cristiana
SAI	Studia Arabistyczne i Islamistyczne
SAIst	Studii și articole de istorie
SB.LA	Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abteilung
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography

SBU	Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia
SBVS	Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCBO	Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis
SCDB	Studii și Cercetări de Documentare și Bibliologie
SCer	Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-Eastern Europe
SCL	Studii și Cercetări de Lingvistică
SCI	Scripta Classica
ScM	The Scientific Monthly
Scri	Scrinium
SDŚ	Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza
SEER	The Slavonic and East European Review
SEGn	Studia Europea Gnesnensia
SEMA	Studies in the Early Middle Ages
SG	Siculorum Gymnasium. Rassegna semestrale della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Catania
SGKAKiO	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients
SHa	Subsidia hagiographica
SHS	Studia z Historii Sztuki
SKaz	<i>Sympozja kazimierskie poświęcone kulturze świata późnego antyku i wczesnego chrześcijaństwa</i> , red. B. IWASZKIEWICZ-WRONIKOWSKA, D. PRÓCHNIAK, Lublin 1998–
SKBAWM.HC	Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München. Historische Classe
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici
SMer	Slavia Meridionalis
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie
SMMIR	Studi e Materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano
SNPP.SM	Specimina Nova, Pars Prima. Sectio Mediaevalis
SO	Symbolae Osloenses. Auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latine
SP	<i>Studia patristica</i>

SPB	Studia Patristica et Byzantina
SPBSP	Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications
SPP	Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium
SRI	Studii Revistă de Istorie
SRJ	The Silk Road Journal
SSio	Srpski Sion
SSK	Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte
StCN	Studia Classica et Neolatina
STV	Studia Theologica Varsaviensia
SUA	Storia universale dell'arte
SUC	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis
SupByz	Supplementa Byzantina
Sym	Symmeikta
T	Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Thought, History, and Religion
TEB	Traité d'études byzantines
The	Theoria: A Swedish Journal of Philosophy and Psychology
TLG	<i>Thesaurus linguae graecae</i>
TM	Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines
TM.M	Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Collège de France. Monographies
TRW	The Transformation of the Roman World
TSCPP	Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia
TTB	Translated Texts for Byzantinists
TUGAL	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> , Leipzig–Berlin 1882–
UB	Urban-Bücher
UCPCS	University of California Publications. Classical Studies
VaV	Varangian Voice
VC.S	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae

Ves	Vesalius
VL	Visible Language
VP	Vox Patrum. Antyk Chrześcijański
VT	Vetus Testamentum: Quarterly Published by the International Organization of Old Testament Scholars
VT.S	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBS	Wiener byzantinistische Studien
WF	Wege der Forschung
WJA	Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft
WJK	Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte
WJS	World Journal of Surgery
WLK	Wielcy Ludzie Kościoła
WS	Die Welt der Slaven
WSt	Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
XP	Xenia Posnaniensia
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
ZAC	Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum
ZBi	Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen
ZKg	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZMSDN	Zbornik Matice Srpske za Društvene Nauke
ZMSI	Zbornik Matice Srpske za Istoriju
ZNUJ	Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZSG	Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte
ZSL	Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde
ZSM.S	Zentrum für Sprachenvielfalt und Mehrsprachigkeit. Studien
ZSSR.KA	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung

A	Αμάλθεια
Βκα	Βυζαντιακά
ΒΣυμ	Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα
Βυζ	Βυζαντινά. Ἐπιστημονικό Ὅργανο Κέντρου Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου
ΔΧΑΕ	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας
ΕΕΒΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
ΕΕΚΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν
ΗΦΜ	Ἠσυχαστικαὶ καὶ Φιλοσοφικαὶ Μελέται
Κρη	Κρητολογία
Νλλ	Νέος Ἐλληνομνήμων
ΠΒ	Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά

* * *

ΑДСВ	Αντιχνη древность и средние века
ΑΠΠ	Αρχив за Поселищни Проучвания
ΒΙΣ	Βαλκανский Исторический Сборник
ΒΠ	Βυλγaρски преглед
ΒΦΝ	Βυλγaρско Φιλοσοφско Наследство
ΒΑ	Βοенная археология
ΒΒ	Βυζαντινски временник
ΒΝУЛП	Βίςνικ Національного університету “Львівська політехніка”
ΒСПУ.Ι	Βестник Санкт-Петербургского Университета. История
ΒΥ	Βοпросы языкознания
ΓСУ.ΙΦΦ	Γοδιшник на Софийския Университет. Историко-Φιλολογически факултет
Δοβ	Δοβруджа
ΕΚЧ	Επισκοπ Κονσταντιнови четения
Επο	Εποхи
ЖМНП	Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения
ЗИАН.ΙΦΟ	Записки Императорской Академий Наукъ. По Историко-Φιλογическому Отделению

ЗИК	Зборник историје књижевности. Одељење језика и књижевности
ЗРВИ	Зборник Радова Византолошког Института
И	Историкии
ИП	Исторически преглед
ИРАИК	Извѣстія Русскаго археологическаго Института въ Константинополѣ
ИРИМГ	Известия на Регионалния исторически музей – Габрово
Ист	История
ИУГУ	Известия Уральского государственного университета
КМс	Кирило-Методиевски студии
МАИАСК	Материалы по археологии и истории античного и средневекового Крыма
НТПУПХ	Научни трудове на Пловдивски университет Паисий Хилендарски
ПАрх	Поволжская археология
ПИФ	Пловдивски исторически форум
<i>ПКШ</i>	<i>Преславска книжовна школа</i>
ППВ	Письменные Памятники Востока
<i>ПСРЛ</i>	<i>Полное собрание русских летописей</i>
СВ	Средние века
СЛ	Старобългарска литература
Слав	Славяноведение
СНУНК	Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина
СОРЯС	Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии наук
СРу	Средневековая Русь
<i>ТКШ</i>	<i>Търновска книжовна школа</i>
ТОДЛ	Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы Академии наук СССР
УП	Училищен преглед
ФП	Философски преглед
ЦВ	Църковен вестник

ЧИОИДР	Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете
ЮСНБУ	Юридическо списание на НБУ

* * *

ԳԱՏ ՀԳ	Հայկական ՍՍՌ-Գիտությունների Ակադեմիայի Տեղեկագիր (Հասարակական գիտությունները) / Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR (Social Sciences)
ԼՀԳ	Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների / Herald of the Social Sciences
ՊԲՀ	Պատմա-քանասիրական հանդես / Historical-Philological Journal
ՊՊԹ	Պետական պատմական թանգարան ՀՍՍՌ-ԳԱ / Bulletin of State Historical Museum of Academy of Science ASSR

GUIDELINES FOR THE AUTHORS

All manuscripts submitted to “Studia Ceranea” must be prepared according to the journal’s guidelines.

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.

Book numbers should be given in Roman numerals. Sources with singular structure are cited only in Arabic numerals. Pages are to be cited only when verses are counted on every page separately.

If the same source is cited for a second (or further) time, an abbreviated version of the title (signalized in the first use with the word ‘cetera:’), and not ‘*ibidem*’, should be used, e.g.:

²⁵ ZONARAS, XV, 13, 11.

²⁶ ZONARAS, XV, 13, 19–22.

2. Books by modern authors should be referenced as follows:

²¹ M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, Oxford 1975, p. 126.

²² И. ИЛИЕВ, *Св. Климент Охридски. Живот и дело*, Пловдив 2010, p. 142.

If the same work is cited for a second (or further) time, an abbreviated version of the title (consisting of the first word(s) of the title followed by an ellipsis) should be used, e.g.:

²³ G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

²⁴ A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 123.

²⁵ G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

²⁶ A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches...*, p. 44.

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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4. Articles in Festschrifts, collections of studies etc. should be cited as follow:

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 webpages or sources available online:

Ghewond's History, 10, trans. R. BEDROSIAN, p. 30–31, www.rbedrosian.com/ghew3.htm [20 VII 2011].

www.ancientrome.org/history.html [20 VII 2011].

6. Reviews:

P. СПЕСК, [rec.:] *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History / Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum...* – BZ 83, 1990, p. 471.

Footnote numbers should be placed before punctuation marks.

cetera:	<i>ibidem</i> (note: only used for secondary literature)	rec. [here: <i>recensuit / recognovit</i>]
cf.	IDEM/EADEM	[rec.:] [here: <i>recensio</i>]
col. [here: <i>columna</i>]	IDEM/IDEM/EADEM	s.a. [here: <i>sine anno</i>]
coll. [here: <i>collegit</i>]	[in:]	s.l. [here: <i>sine loco</i>]
e.g.	<i>l. cit.</i>	sel. [here: <i>selegit</i>]
ed.	p. [here: <i>pagina</i>]	sq, sqq
et al.	<i>passim</i>	trans.
etc.		vol.

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These are:

References to the Bible are also indicated using the standard Latin abbreviations:

Gn Ex Lv Nm Dt Ios Idc Rt 1Sam 2Sam 1Reg 2Reg 1Par 2Par Esd Ne Tb Idt Est Job Ps Prv Eccle Ct Sap Eccli Is Ier Lam Bar Ez Dn Os Il Am Abd Ion Mich Nah Hab Soph Ag Zach Mal 1Mac 2Mac

Mt Mc Lc Io Act Rom 1Cor 2Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1Thess 2Thess 1Tim 2Tim Tit Philm Heb Iac 1Pe 2Pe 1Io 2Io 3Io Ids Apc

Greek and Latin terms are either given in the original Greek or Latin version, in the nominative, without italics (a1), or transliterated (a2) – italicized, with accentuation (Greek only):

(a.1.) φρούριον, ιατροσοφιστής

(a.2.) *ius intercedendi, hálme, asfáragos, proskýnesis*

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The text should be followed by keywords and a final bibliography divided into primary sources and secondary literature. The final bibliography should be fully Romanised and alphabetised accordingly. The ‘scientific’ Romanisation of Cyrillic should be strictly adhered to in the final bibliography; the transliteration table is provided below:

(O)CS: (Old) Church Slavic, **Rus.:** Russian, **Blr.:** Belarusian, **Ukr.:** Ukrainian, **Bulg.:** Bulgarian, **Mac.:** Macedonian. Note: for Serbian, the official Serbian Latin script should be used.

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
a	a	a	a	a	a	a
б	b	b	b	b	b	b
В	v	v	v	v	v	v
г	g	g	h	h	g	g

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
ґ			(g)	g		
д	d	d	d	d	d	d
ѓ						ѓ
е		e	e	e	e	e
ӗ		ӗ	ӗ			
є	e			je		
ж	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž
з	z	z	z	z	z	z
ѕ	dz					dz
и	i	i		y	i	i
і	i	(i)	i	i		
ї	i			ї		
й		j	j	j	j	
ј						j
к	k	k	k	k	k	k
л	l	l	l	l	l	l
љ						lj
м	m	m	m	m	m	m
н	n	n	n	n	n	n
њ						nj
о	o	o	o	o	o	o
п	p	p	p	p	p	p
р	r	r	r	r	r	r
с	s	s	s	s	s	s
т	t	t	t	t	t	t
ќ						ќ
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у	u	u	u	u	u	u

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
ÿ			ÿ			
ф	f	f	f	f	f	f
х	ch	ch	ch	ch	h	h
ц	c	c	c	c	c	c
ч	č	č	č	č	č	č
џ						dž
ш	š	š	š	š	š	š
щ	št	šč		šč	št	
ъ	ъ	"			ă	
ы	y	y	y			
ь	ь	'	'	'	j	
ѣ	ě	(ě)	(ě)	(ě)	(ě)	
э		è	è			
ю	ju	ju	ju	ju	ju	
я		ja	ja	ja	ja	
‘			(omit)	(omit)		‘
Ѡ	o					
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Ѱ	ü					
Ѳ	je					
Ѵ	ja					

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