

# STUDIA CERANEA



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# STUDIA CERANEA



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SECOND COLLOQUIA CERANEA  
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## CONSTANTINE'S CITY: THE EARLY DAYS OF A CHRISTIAN CAPITAL

Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor and founder of the new capital Constantinople<sup>1</sup>, was, of course, a central figure in Byzantine state ideology of later centuries. In reality, however, the historical Constantine turned to Christianity only very gradually during his life, and although the conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity and the suppression of paganism certainly began in his age, it was actually a long process which extended over the fourth and fifth into the sixth century AD<sup>2</sup>.

It is true that the only contemporary biography of the emperor, the *Life of Constantine* by his friend and counsellor Eusebius of Caesarea<sup>3</sup>, gives us the impression that the violent suppression of paganism was already thoroughly planned and in large parts undertaken in Constantine's own lifetime – an impression which disagrees so much to our modern knowledge that it has led scholars like Henri Grégoire to the assumption that this *Life of Constantine* was in reality written long after Constantine and Eusebius<sup>4</sup>. But this is, as we know today, not the case, and

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<sup>1</sup> On the foundation of Constantinople and the early stages of its development, see G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974, p. 13–47; C. MANGO, *Le développement urbain des Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, <sup>2</sup>Paris 1990 [= TM.M], p. 23–36; also D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace de Constantinople*, EO 23, 1924, p. 289–314. For the monuments of Constantinople mentioned later in the text, see still R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, <sup>2</sup>Paris 1964.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example A. CAMERON, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, Oxford 2011; R. MACMULLEN, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100–400)*, New Haven 1984.

<sup>3</sup> *Eusebius Werke*, vol. I.1, *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, ed. F. WINKELMANN, <sup>2</sup>Berlin 1974 [= GCS, 7.1] (cetera: EUSEBIUS); EUSEBIUS, *Life of Constantine*, trans. AV. CAMERON, S. HALL, New York 1999. See also, in general: T.D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge Mass. 1981.

<sup>4</sup> H. GRÉGOIRE, *La 'conversion' de Constantin*, RUB 36, 1930–1931, p. 231–272; 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.

at a closer examination Eusebius' statements do not contain obvious lies, just a lot of selective perception and exaggeration<sup>5</sup>.

Constantine's religious policies were, as is well known, not as Christian as Eusebius and almost all Byzantine authors after him would us make believe. On the one hand, Constantine did definitely not adhere to the traditional Roman religion without criticism, he clearly supported Christianity and presided in person, for example, at the first Ecumenical Council in Nikaia – but on the other hand, he founded his own new city Constantinople and installed there an imperial cult for himself as the Invincible Sun god. Although Constantine received baptism shortly before the end of his life, he was still portrayed as the Sun God ascending to heaven on the consecration coin minted after his death; and his annual procession on the 11<sup>th</sup> May, which remembered the inauguration of Constantinople in 330, was continued after his death with a statue showing him as the Invincible Sun God, holding the reins of a quadriga in one hand, and a small statue of Tyche, the city goddess of Constantinople, in the other. The four horses of this quadriga, which are now kept at San Marco in Venice, is the last material remain of this ceremony – they were, however, not newly made in Constantine's time, but are reused pieces from the Hellenistic age<sup>6</sup>.

In fact, it took several centuries for the emperor to become an exemplary Orthodox Christian emperor, indeed a saint.

Constantine did not suppress pagan cult practices altogether, but certain excessive forms of them which may have offended also more intellectual followers of the old religion, such as bloody sacrifices of animals or sacred prostitution often associated with the cult of Aphrodite<sup>7</sup>. There is only one place where a pagan temple was completely destroyed in his lifetime, namely Jerusalem, where the Roman temple of Aphrodite was replaced by the church of the Holy Sepulchre<sup>8</sup>. But in many other cases, where temples were closed and their cult suppressed, no Christian church was established in their place instead.

Eusebius claims, also in his *Life of Constantine*, that the emperor prohibited the imperial cult by law<sup>9</sup> – something which is difficult to understand, especially if we look at what was going on in Constantinople in the first years and decades after its foundation.

<sup>5</sup> M. WALLRAFF, *Die antipaganen Maßnahmen Konstantins in der Darstellung des Euseb von Kaisareia*, [in:] *Spätantiker Staat und religiöser Konflikt. Imperiale und lokale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer*, ed. J. HAHN, Berlin 2011 [= *Mil.S.*, 34], p. 7–18.

<sup>6</sup> On which see M. JACOFF, *The Horses of San Marco and the Quadriga of the Lord*, Princeton N.J. 1993.

<sup>7</sup> T.D. BARNES, *Constantine's Prohibition of Pagan Sacrifice*, *AJP* 105, 1984, p. 69–72.

<sup>8</sup> See M. WALLRAFF, *Die antipaganen Maßnahmen...*, p. 12; for the church see, for example, C. COÜASNON, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London 1974.

<sup>9</sup> EUSEBIUS, *IV*, 16.

As late as in 333, a temple of the imperial family was newly built in Hispelum in Umbria, but its Latin inscription gives the order that – I quote – *the house dedicated in our name should not be polluted by any infectious deceit of superstition* – which means, probably, by bloody sacrifices in front of the emperor's statue<sup>10</sup>.

So what was Constantine's own religious concept? The best definition I know comes from Martin Wallraff, my colleague in Munich, who said<sup>11</sup>:

There is some evidence that Constantine had a kind of paganism in mind as the state religion which was purified by Christianity, a Hegelian synthesis, as it were, of the respective best parts of the empire's different religious traditions – a synthesis which probably nobody really understood among his contemporaries, and nobody really wanted. This programme can be particularly well understood from the profile of his newly founded capital on the Bosporus.

This is very true, for the imperial cult staged by Constantine in Constantinople was something rather peculiar, and although nobody may have wanted it, it was still alive and practised in his city for about twenty years after his death. Then, however, his son Constantius began to push the rather oppressive memory of his father into the background by actually making Constantinople a new, Christian capital, granting it the same rights as Rome, establishing a senate, appointing a city prefect, and building churches instead of imperial temples<sup>12</sup>.

When Constantine died in 337, the city was not much more than a monstrous construction site in which only few new building had been completed, among them the first nucleus of the Great Palace with the Hippodrome, and the centres of his imperial cult, namely the Forum, the Capitol, and his mausoleum. It took forty more years until the new part of the city was filled with houses, until a water supply line was in operation, and until the colonnaded streets had reached the city walls in the west. And what is most important: no major church was built in the city during Constantine's reign. The so-called "old church" in the city centre, today known as Saint Eirene, existed already before the city was refounded<sup>13</sup>. The first Great Church, later called Hagia Sophia, which had probably been built as a temple or assembly hall for the imperial cult of Constantine, was converted into a church only in 361<sup>14</sup>, and the church of the Apostles in 370<sup>15</sup>.

The urban development speeded up only when Theodosius I came to power in 379. Theodosius soon proclaimed Christianity in its orthodox form as the state

<sup>10</sup> See R. VAN DAM, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*, Cambridge 2007, p. 23–34.

<sup>11</sup> See M. WALLRAFF, *Die antipaganen Maßnahmen...*, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> G. DAGRON, *Naissance...* p. 86–89, 124–135, 226–230, 388–409.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 392–393.

<sup>14</sup> P. SPECK, *Das Konzept Konstantins des Großen für Konstantinopel: Die Umgestaltung der Audienz-halle zur Hagia Sophia und das Schicksal des Kapitols*, [in:] IDEM, *Varia* 7, Bonn 2000, p. 157–165; G. DAGRON, *Naissance...*, p. 397–399.

<sup>15</sup> G. DAGRON, *Naissance...*, p. 401–409.

religion, and effectively began to suppress paganism, closing, for example, the last pagan temples in Constantinople in 386<sup>16</sup>. But all this happened without invoking Constantine the Great, and a few decades later we can even observe that buildings from Constantine's age, which bore the name of a member of his family, were restored and renamed after members of the Theodosian dynasty<sup>17</sup>.

The foundation of Constantinople and its history in the first years are described by contemporary sources only very briefly. The political propaganda of the fourth and fifth century did its best to suppress the memory of Constantine's not-so-Christian religious policies – but one part of it visibly remained in the city, and there was no easy way to make it disappear. This is the decoration with ancient statues, that is, with works of Greek and Roman art which mostly showed pagan gods<sup>18</sup>. But did these statues really convey an ideological statement supporting the old, pagan imperial cult and state religion?

Here we have, first of all, a major problem of historical evidence: except for a short remark in the *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius of Caesarea, which will be discussed below, no contemporary source speaks about the statues of Constantinople. The Chronicle of Jerome, for example, in which we find the famous saying: *Constantinopolis dedicatur omnium paene urbium nuditate* (*Constantinople was dedicated by denudating almost all cities*)<sup>19</sup>, was written about forty years after Constantine's death. All these statues are today lost, and the few pictures from the Byzantine age which show them are mostly conventionalised or simplified<sup>20</sup>. To talk about the statues of Constantinople, therefore, mainly means to discuss the sources where they are mentioned.

Most information about the statues of Constantinople is contained in literary works of a much later time and of more popular character. The most important of them is the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, a collection of short notes and stories about the statues of Constantinople which was compiled in the eighth or ninth century<sup>21</sup>. It does not aim at a detailed and objective description of the statues, but tries to connect them to the local history of Byzantium by identifying them either with historical persons, or by explaining them either as pagan magical devices or predictions of the future.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 374–376.

<sup>17</sup> A. BERGER, *Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel*, IM 47, 1997, p. 351, 363.

<sup>18</sup> See the comprehensive survey by S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2004; I am currently preparing a study entitled *The statues of Constantinople*.

<sup>19</sup> *Eusebius Werke*, vol. VII, *Hieronymi Chronicon*, ad annum 330, ed. R. HELM, Berlin 1956 [= GCS, 47], p. 232.

<sup>20</sup> C. MANGO, *Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder*, DOP 17, 1963, p. 53–75.

<sup>21</sup> Edition and translation: *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century. The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. AV. CAMERON, J. HERRIN, Leiden 1984 [= CSCT, 10] (cetera: *Parastaseis*); for the date, see also P. ODORICO, *Du recueil à l'invention du texte: le cas des Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, BZ 107, 2014, p. 755–784.

Another such text, the so-called *Patria*, was compiled in the late tenth century mostly of older material from the sixth to ninth centuries, including the *Parastaseis*<sup>22</sup>.

A third important source for the monuments and statues of Constantinople are the poems of Constantine of Rhodes, a well-known author in the first half of the tenth century. Only a part of his poems on Constantinople has survived in their original shape, but more of them are quoted in the chronicle of Georgius Cedrenus, apparently from a more complete version of the text<sup>23</sup>.

Nicetas Choniates, the well-known historian, finally described the destruction of most ancient statues by the crusaders of the Fourth Crusade in 1204<sup>24</sup>.

All these sources, however, have one thing in common: They contain much information, for example about the foundation of Constantinople, which is unknown from older texts, and of which it is very difficult to imagine, given the popular character of these texts, how it could have possibly reached them after centuries of silence. I shall illustrate this problem with only one striking example:

One of the most impressive ancient statues in Constantinople was a monumental, over life-sized Hercules which stood in the Hippodrome until it was destroyed by the Crusaders in 1204. Hercules was shown in a crooked position, sitting on his lion's skin spread over a basket, with one hand on his face. This statue is a well-known object of ancient art: it was cast by the famous sculptor Lysippus for the city of Tarento and came to Rome as a trophy in 209 BC<sup>25</sup>. But only the *Parastaseis* contain the information that it was brought to Constantinople in the time of Julian the *consularis*, together with twelve other statues – probably those representing the zodiac which are also mentioned later in the Hippodrome<sup>26</sup>. The only Julian who bore this title is the city prefect of Rome from 326 to 329, which means that the statue must have arrived at Constantinople very early, even before the city was inaugurated in 330, and therefore was part of its initial decoration. The authors of the *Parastaseis* in eighth-century Constantinople can hardly have invented this detail, but where in heaven could they have found it? Since it was an enormous task to transport such a huge object from Rome to the new city, it must have been brought there not as a mere piece of decoration, but as a pagan symbol of the emperor's power.

<sup>22</sup> *Patria Constantinopoleos*, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. II, rec. T. PREGER, Lipsiae 1907 [= BSGR] (cetera: *Patria*). A translation: *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The Patria*, trans. A. BERGER, Cambridge Mass. 2013 [= DOML, 24].

<sup>23</sup> CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, *On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*, ed. L. JAMES, I. VASSIS, trans. V. DIMITROPOULOU, L. JAMES, R. JORDAN, Farnham 2012; *Georgii Cedreni Historiarum compendium*, ed. L. TARTAGLIA, Roma 2016 [= BC, 30] (cetera: CEDRENUS).

<sup>24</sup> *Nicetae Choniatae historia*, rec. J. VAN DIETEN, Berolini 1975 [= CFHB.SBe, 11] (cetera: NICETAS), p. 648.10–655.3; translation: H. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, Detroit 1984.

<sup>25</sup> For a detailed description of this object, see: NICETAS, p. 519.44–51, 649.84–650.9.

<sup>26</sup> *Parastaseis*, c. 37.

Let us now return to the question posed before, namely whether these statues really conveyed an ideological statement supporting the old, pagan imperial cult and state religion. Our earliest source about statues in the city is the *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius of Caesarea who says of the emperor Constantine<sup>27</sup>:

He displayed the sacred bronze figures, of which the error of the ancients had for a long time been proud, to all the public in all the squares of the Emperor's city, so that in one place the Pythian was displayed as a contemptible spectacle to the viewers, in another the Sminthian, in the Hippodrome itself the tripods from Delphi, and the Muses of Helicon at the palace. The city named after the Emperor was filled throughout with objects of skilled artwork in bronze dedicated in various provinces. To these same, under the name of gods, those sick with error had for long ages vainly offered innumerable hecatombs and whole burnt offerings, but now they had at last learnt sense, as the Emperor used these very toys for the laughter and amusement of the spectators.

Although Constantine the Great is depicted here as a purely Christian emperor whose aim was to destroy all remnants of paganism, we rather get the impression that Eusebius felt obliged to justify somehow the presence of all these pagan statues in the city against his better knowledge. Constantine did not, of course, bring these statues to Constantinople "for the laughter and amusement of the spectators", but with the intention to give them a new, spiritually elevated function in the context of his pagan or semi-pagan state religion. Many ancient statues which were brought to Constantinople in his age were obviously intended for such a religious context, beginning with the main monument of the new city, the emperor's own statue on the column of his new Forum.

The Forum was of circular shape, and built immediately outside the main gate of old Byzantium. It was inaugurated together with the city on the 11<sup>th</sup> May 330. The column with its height of almost 40 m and the gilded, brightly shining statue on top was certainly the most impressive monument of the new city in its first decades<sup>28</sup>.

In the so-called *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a Roman road map from the fourth century which survives in a Late Medieval copy, a picture of this statue symbolises Constantinople, together with the enthroned city goddess<sup>29</sup>. This representation is small and not very detailed, but the only one which was drawn while the statue still existed.

The first descriptions of the statue are found only in the mid-sixth century, more than two hundred years after Constantine. Hesychius of Miletus speaks of *the notable porphyry column, on which Constantine is set, whom we see shining like the sun upon the citizens*<sup>30</sup>, while Ioannes Malalas states that he *put a statue of himself*

<sup>27</sup> EUSEBIUS, III, 54, 2–3.

<sup>28</sup> J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge 2012, p. 26–34.

<sup>29</sup> M. RATHMANN, *Tabula Peutingeriana. Die einzige Weltkarte aus der Antike*, <sup>3</sup>Darmstadt 2018.

<sup>30</sup> *Hesychii Illustrii origines Constantinopolitanae*, c. 41, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. I, rec. T. PREGER, Lipsiae 1901 [= BSGR] (cetera: HESYCHIUS).

on top of this same column, which had seven rays on its head. He brought this work of bronze which had stood in Ilion, a town of Phrygia<sup>31</sup>.

The claim that the statue was a reused piece of ancient Greek art is often repeated later, and can only be explained if the statue did not show the emperor in the usual military costume<sup>32</sup>. The most plausible assumption is that the statue was, in fact, naked as shown in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and that it wore a crown with seven solar rays. The depiction of a Roman emperor in this shape is not without precedent, the most prominent example being the Colossus of Nero in Rome. In the case of Constantine, the iconography can be explained by his association to the cult of Sol Invictus, the Invincible Sun god. In this phase, which lasted from 310 to 325, Sol was propagated, among others, as his supporter in the victory over Maxentius in 312, and figures prominently on his Arch in Rome which was built to commemorate this event.

Since it is rather unlikely that a statue of this size and shape was newly made for this purpose, we should assume that actually a statue of a Hellenistic king or a god was reused here. But there is no reason to believe Malalas that it came from Ilion, the Roman successor settlement of Troy, for this claim alludes to the legend that Constantine transferred the legitimate world rule, that of the Trojans, from Rome back to the East – a legend which became popular only in the sixth century when Italy was reconquered from the Goths by the eastern Empire, and an explanation was necessary why emperor Justinian did not return to Rome, but stayed in Constantinople. The statue may instead have been taken from the temple of Helios which is attested in Byzantium before Constantine's time<sup>33</sup>.

The central monument of Constantinople was, therefore, clearly and visibly pagan in character. When the city gradually became Christian after Constantine's death, his naked statue in the shape of the Sun god still stood its column, and if the church historian Philostorgius is right, it still received veneration as a pagan god in the fifth century. Since Philostorgius was regarded as a heretic in later times, most of his work is lost, and is only known from the summary by patriarch Photius from the ninth century who says<sup>34</sup>:

This impious enemy of God also accuses the Christians of offering sacrifices to an image of Constantine placed upon a column of porphyry, and of honouring it with lighted lamps and incense, and of offering vows to it as to God, and making supplications to it to ward off calamities.

<sup>31</sup> *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, 13.7, rec. I. THURN, Berolini 2000 [= *CFHB*, 35]; translation: *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. E. JEFFREYS, M. JEFFREYS, R. SCOTT et al., Melbourne 1986 [= *BAus*, 4].

<sup>32</sup> For the following passage, see J. BARDILL, *Constantine...*, p. 33–34.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34, n. 19.

<sup>34</sup> PHILOSTORGIUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, II, 17, ed. F. WINKELMANN, J. BIDEZ, <sup>3</sup>Berlin 1981 [= *GCS*, 21].

But the longer the statue stood there, the more it became incomprehensible to its Christian beholders. The Forum was experienced as a pagan place, also on account of other ancient statues which stood there, a fact which eventually began to cause troubles for the regular ecclesiastical processions which passed through it<sup>35</sup>. When the statue finally fell down during a thunderstorm in April 1106, it had become, in the general perception, a purely pagan object whose relationship to the great Christian emperor Constantine was difficult to understand. The historian Anna Comnena reports that, when the statue had fallen, some people took this as a bad omen for her father, the emperor Alexius I Comnenus. But when he was informed about these rumours, he said: *I know one lord of life and death, and there is no reason why I should believe that the fall of pagan statues brings death*<sup>36</sup>.

Two other monuments from the first phase of the new city, the Capitol and Constantine's mausoleum, were also associated with his imperial cult, but in very different ways.

Let us first discuss the Capitol, which lay about 1.5 kilometers west of the Forum, at the point where a new street to the north-west branched off from the main avenue to the Golden Gate<sup>37</sup>. The Capitol is first mentioned in 407 when its "sign of the cross" was toppled by a thunderstorm<sup>38</sup>. In 427, it was converted into a law school, and appears under its name only rarely thereafter. Instead, beginning with the *Parastaseis*, the sources call it "the place of brotherly love", obviously referring to the two pairs of porphyry statues of emperors embracing each other in its eastern portico, which were carried off to Venice after 1204 and now stand at the church of San Marco. The fragment of one foot, which was missing and found in Istanbul, confirms their origin there. This is what the *Parastaseis* says about them<sup>39</sup>:

The so-called Philadelphion presents the sons of Constantine the Great. One of them arrived in Constantinople from Gaul after his father's death. They greeted each other with a great meeting and rejoicing, and at once they erected statues of themselves in the city preserving this scene.

In reality, Constantine the Great had only three surviving sons, not four, and they fought against each other until only Constantius II was left as the only Roman emperor. The embracing statues do clearly not depict them, but the first four

<sup>35</sup> The Forum was finally "christianised" by constructing a chapel near the foot of the column, see C. MANGO, *Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St Constantine*, *ΔΧΑΕ* 4.10, 1981, p. 103–110.

<sup>36</sup> *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, XII, 4, 5, rec. D.R. REINSCH, A. KAMBYLIS, Berolini 2001 [= *CFHB*, 40].

<sup>37</sup> P. SPECK, *Das Konzept...*, p. 161–163; see now also J. MORALEE, *Rome's Holy Mountain. The Capitoline Hill in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2018 [= *OSLA*], p. 104–108.

<sup>38</sup> *Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. DINDORE, Bonnae 1832 [= *CSHB*], p. 570. 6.

<sup>39</sup> *Parastaseis*, c. 70.

tetrarchs Diocletian, Maximianus, Galerius, and Constans. They must have originally formed a part of a monument in a tetrarchic residence, probably Nicomedia or Thessalonica, which consisted of two columns of about 8 m high, on whose shafts the figures were attached in pairs, standing on tables, and with free-standing statues on top of them<sup>40</sup>.

In Rome and other cities, the Capitol was the place where the mythological foundation of Rome was remembered, and where the Capitoline Triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva was venerated<sup>41</sup>. Was this also the case in the Capitol of Constantinople, or was Constantine venerated there as a new Jupiter, just as he was venerated as the Sun God in the Forum? And in either case, why should Constantine have decorated his new Capitol with the statues of the Tetrarchs?

To the last question, a plausible, but somewhat surprising answer was given some years ago independently by Philipp Niewöhner and Arne Effenberger<sup>42</sup>:

When the columns were cut into pieces in order to separate the tetrarchs from them, one was sawn horizontally into drums, while the other was dissected with slightly oblique longitudinal cuts. A result of this is that the group of two emperors on it was also cut in two, and one of them was badly damaged. The explanation for this strange procedure is probably that also an obelisk was cut from out of this columns, for later sources mention an four-sided pillar at the Capitol or Philadelphion which had a cross on it, probably the one which fell in 407<sup>43</sup>.

The columns, therefore, were not sawn up in 1204 when the Venetians took the tetrarchs away, but already in the fourth century, when Theodosius I brought them from Thessalonica to Constantinople in 380. The reason for this assumption is, first, that no monumental crosses on columns are attested by other sources before the age of Theodosius I, and second, that the figures were obviously reworked by adding diadems and imperial brooches, and beards to one emperor of every group. This means that they were interpreted as other persons, and in the given case, the three emperors Theodosius, Gratianus and Valentinianus II suggest themselves strongly<sup>44</sup>.

If this is the case, the fourth, more badly damaged emperor must have been set up separately and was only reassembled with the others in Venice centuries later. The identification with the three sons of Constantine, which appears first in the *Parastaseis*, also suggests a group of three only statues. In the end, only one thing remains inexplicable, namely that the noses and ears of all four figures are

<sup>40</sup> P. VERZONE, *I gruppi di porfido in S. Marco a Venezia ed il Philadelphion di Costantinopoli*, Pald 1, 1958, p. 8–14.

<sup>41</sup> J. MORALEE, *Rome's Holy Mountain...*, p. 59–62.

<sup>42</sup> P. NIEWÖHNER, U. PESCHLOW, *Neues zu den Tetrarchenfiguren in Venedig und zu ihrer Aufstellung in Konstantinopel*, IM 62, 2012, p. 341–367; A. EFFENBERGER, *Zur Wiederverwendung der venezianischen Tetrarchengruppen in Konstantinopel*, Mil 10, 2013, p. 215–274.

<sup>43</sup> P. NIEWÖHNER, U. PESCHLOW, *Neues zu den Tetrarchenfiguren...*, p. 359–360.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 361.

intentionally mutilated – which means that they were not always interpreted as the representations of Christian emperors, even in Constantinople<sup>45</sup>.

In short: neither the four tetrarchs nor the obelisk with the cross stood at the Capitol in Constantine's age, and we do not need any explication why he should have put these objects there. As to the building itself, we know almost nothing about its shape, except that it had a courtyard and a number of niches where, in later times, law instruction was given<sup>46</sup>.

The *Parastaseis*, in fact, does not mention the tetrarchs or sons of Constantine in any other entry, but identifies the Philadelphion as the place of his vision of the cross and speaks of four statues sitting on thrones – of Constantine himself, his mother Helena, and his two sons<sup>47</sup>. Could this have been, without the cross of course, the original decoration of the Capitol? And again, where could the authors of this text have known this from? Sitting emperors on thrones at this place did exist and were the last objects of art which had remained at the former Capitol or Philadelphion in the Late Byzantine age<sup>48</sup>, but why are they never mentioned before, except in the *Parastaseis*?

And still more: is it pure invention that the same *Parastaseis* claim elsewhere that Constantine's big bronze statue had been kept at the "place now called the Philadelphion" before it was brought in procession to the Forum and solemnly lifted on top of the column<sup>49</sup>, or is this an otherwise unknown piece of information from the founding days of the city?

In any case, it is almost impossible that the Capitol of Constantinople had a Christian component in it from its inception, as this has been claimed again very recently by Jason Moralee<sup>50</sup>. Instead, it certainly served the emperor's imperial cult, in one or the other way – and not only this, but there was also an imperial cult of his mother, Helena, attached to it, as I shall now try to demonstrate.

One of the most mysterious sites of Byzantine Constantinople was the place called *ta Amastrianou*, that is, the house or property "of the man from Amastris"<sup>51</sup>. Amastris, today's Amasra, is a small coastal town in Paphlagonia, in north-west

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 362–363.

<sup>46</sup> P. SPECK, *Das Konzept...*, p. 161–163.

<sup>47</sup> *Parastaseis*, c. 58.

<sup>48</sup> MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS, *Comparatio veteris et novae Romae*, c. 49, ed. C. BILLÒ, [in:] MANUELE CRISOLORA, *Confronto tra l'Antica e la Nuova Roma*, Torino 2000, p. 6–26; see also G.P. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Washington D.C. 1984, p. 145.

<sup>49</sup> *Parastaseis*, c. 56.

<sup>50</sup> J. MORALEE, *Rome's Holy Mountain...*, p. 108.

<sup>51</sup> On which see A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Bonn 1988 [= PB, 8], p. 341–346; IDEM, *Das Haus des Manns aus Amastris: Zu einem Gebäudekomplex im byzantinischen Konstantinopel*, AA.ASH 51, 2011, p. 87–96.

Asia Minor. The place *ta Amastrianou* was apparently a rectangular square on the southern side of the main street, the Mese, roughly opposite to the Capitol on its northern side. A semicircular courtyard in the south connected it to a monumental rotunda, probably the entrance hall of a palace which can be dated to the first decades of the fifth century<sup>52</sup>.

The rotunda collapsed at an unknown time, and its trunk was later turned into a cistern with a platform on top on which a small new palace was built. This palace, again, was converted into the Myrelaion monastery by emperor Romanus I Lakapenus around 920, with a church added on a separate substructure<sup>53</sup>. The trunk of the rotunda and the church still exist, though nothing has remained of the square in front of it or of its decoration with statues. A rather frustrating standard-class hotel occupies its place today.

The statues of *ta Amastrianou* are described only by the medieval sources already mentioned. The most important of them were a naked Apollo, a reclining Hercules or river god, Zeus Helios on a chariot. The *Parastaseis* also call the Capitol the old temple in the north and speak of a big fox of marble with an golden inlaid inscription on its chest saying "Aphrodite Selene"<sup>54</sup>. When talking about this place, Constantine of Rhodes, as quoted by the chronicle of Georgius Cedrenus, seems to believe that the palace in the south had once been a temple of Helios and Selene, of the gods of Sun and Moon<sup>55</sup>. But how can the name *ta Amastrianou* be explained? Who is the man from Amastris? The *Patria* give us the solution<sup>56</sup>:

And there was the standing marble statue of a lord who came from the land of Paphlagonia, and another one, buried in dung and urine and dust, the slave of the Paphlagonian from Amastris. Both were sacrificed to the demons at this place and set up as a source of wonder.

Already in 1890, Julius von Schlosser had observed that at least two statues of *ta Amastrianou* are depicted on coins from Amastris in the Roman age. One of them is Apollo, who is shown there as a naked standing figure with an arch in one hand and an unguent flask in the other, the second is a reclining Hercules<sup>57</sup>. And these statues are, without doubt, the *Patria*'s lord with his slave from Amastris. But what is their meaning in this place? Zeus Helios on a chariot links *ta Amastrianou*, again, to the imperial cult of Constantine himself.

<sup>52</sup> P. NIEWÖHNER, J. ABURA, *Der frühbyzantinische Rundbau beim Myrelaion in Konstantinopel. Kapitelle, Mosaiken und Ziegelstempel*, IM 60, 2010, p. 411–459; R. NAUMANN, *Der antike Rundbau beim Myrelaion und der Palast Romanos I. Lekapenos*, IM 50, 1966, p. 424–439.

<sup>53</sup> C.L. STRIKER, *The Myrelaion, Bodrum Camii, in Istanbul*, Princeton 1981.

<sup>54</sup> *Parastaseis*, c. 44.

<sup>55</sup> CEDRENUS, c. 344.13, p. 558.55 – 559.67.

<sup>56</sup> *Patria*, II, 52.

<sup>57</sup> J. VON SCHLOSSER, *Kleinasiatische und thrakische Münzbilder der Kaiserzeit*, NZ 23, 1891, p. 1–28.

Hans-Christoph von Mosch recently suggested that also a group of statues from ancient Lavinium may have ended up at *ta Amastrianou*<sup>58</sup>. Lavinium was an old city near Rome which had allegedly been founded by Aeneas himself, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes, in the Roman age, the statues on its forum which commemorated its foundation and consisted of an eagle, a she-wolf and a fox fighting for the fire of Vesta<sup>59</sup>. There is good reason to believe that the fox at *ta Amastrianou* with the inscription “Aphrodite Selene” belonged to this group, or rather, that it was a copy of it, for Dionysius speaks of bronze statues, while the statues at *ta Amastrianou* were of marble. In any case, the inscription connects it to the cult of the old Phœnician moon goddess, which was an important part of ancestry myths of empresses who wanted to be seen as members of the *gens Iulia*. Its function in Constantinople, therefore, must have been to align Constantine’s mother, Helena, to Aphrodite Selene in order to conceal her well-known humble origins.

We may conclude, then, that the fox and the other statues of *ta Amastrianou* were set up in the time of Constantine the Great himself, and that they formed a complement to the statues of the Capitol. The square *ta Amastrianou* was built at the same time as the Capitol and as a pendant to it, and was therefore older than the palace for which it later served as a forecourt.

So we have now, instead of one pagan cult site for the emperor himself, two of them, on the right and left side of the main avenue, one dedicated to Constantine, and another to his mother, Helena.

Let us now pass to the third and perhaps most bewildering place of Constantine’s imperial cult, namely his mausoleum high on a hill in the northwest of his city.

The *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius reports that the emperor built a mausoleum for himself in Constantinople, where he was buried in a sarcophagus surrounded by twelve cenotaphs of the Apostles<sup>60</sup>. This suggests that the mausoleum was a rotunda, similar to other imperial graves, such as that in Rome which has survived until today as the church Santa Costanza.

<sup>58</sup> H.-C. VON MOSCH, *Hadrians ‘Sandalenlöser’*. *Der Hermes des Lysipp (?) auf den Münzen von Trapezous, Amastris und Markianopolis*, JNG 63, 2013, p. 93–149; IDEM, *Aphrodite Selene. Von der Aenadon genetrix zum problematischen Bios der Helena Augusta*, JNG 67, 2017, p. 145–239.

<sup>59</sup> *Dionysii Halicarnasei Antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, I, 59, ed. C. JACOBY, Lipsiae 1885 [= BSGR].

<sup>60</sup> There has been a long and ongoing debate about the mausoleum and its relationship to the Church of the Apostles, to which it was attached later. See, among many others, A. EFFENBERGER, *Konstantinsmausoleum, Apostelkirche – und kein Ende?*, [in:] *Lithostroton. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle*, ed. B. BORKOPP-RESTLE, T. STEPPAN, Stuttgart 2000, p. 67–78; P. SPECK, *Konstantins Mausoleum. Zur Geschichte der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel*, [in:] IDEM, *Varia 7...*, p. 113–156.

Constantine was thus portrayed as apostolic or even Christ-like<sup>61</sup>, in a way which became unacceptable soon after his death and led, under Constantius, to his temporary transfer to another place and to the removal of the cenotaphs.

The idea that Constantine was equal to the Apostles later found its way into the legends of the foundation of Constantinople. There, a group of twelve senators come with him from Rome and he builds houses for them in the new city. This develops, in the end, into a complete historical anecdote in which the twelve senators are even mentioned by name. All these names belong, however, in reality to houses and to persons who must be dated at least one generation after Constantine, if not more<sup>62</sup>.

But let us return to Constantine's mausoleum: In 358, the bishop Macedonius of Constantinople ordered the removal of Constantine's sarcophagus from the mausoleum, under the pretext that it was damaged and urgently needed restoration – *nota bene* only twenty years after the emperor's burial. Macedonius had done this without the emperor's permission and therefore lost his office<sup>63</sup>. But the previous cult in the mausoleum was never restored; Constantine's sarcophagus stood in the eastern niche of it, not in the centre, and other emperors were buried there too<sup>64</sup>. Also, a big cruciform church of the Apostles was built and inaugurated in 370, to which the mausoleum now formed an annex. The church was replaced in the sixth century by a still more monumental construction with five domes, but the mausoleum survived until it was demolished, together with the church, after the Ottoman conquest in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and was replaced by the mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror.

Another pagan monument of early Constantinople which was almost forgotten in later times was the so-called Mesomphalon. It appears first in the tenth-century *Patria* in a short entry<sup>65</sup>:

The Mesolophon lies between the seven hills, that is, half of the city has three hills and the other has three hills, and it lies in the middle. The common people call it Mesomphalon.

The text, as it stands here, is a typical example of the pseudo-intellectual nonsense which we find so often in the *Patria*<sup>66</sup>. Mesomphalon, which means "middle navel", is obviously the correct word, and Mesolophon, which means "the place

<sup>61</sup> See, among others, G. DAGRON, *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le «césaropapisme» byzantin*, Paris 1996, p. 148–154.

<sup>62</sup> A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 220–224.

<sup>63</sup> P. SPECK, *Konstantins Mausoleum...*, p. 121–126.

<sup>64</sup> N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER, A. EFFENBERGER, *Die Porphyrsarkophage der oströmischen Kaiser*, Wiesbaden 2006, p. 52–69; P. GRIERSON, *The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)*, DOP 16, 1962, p. 21–23.

<sup>65</sup> *Patria*, III, 19; A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 468–470.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 182–185.

between the hills”, is just a fantastic explanation of it – which is, by the way, not very logical because six of the seven hills of Constantinople were usually located on the northern chain of hills over the Golden Horn, with the seventh hill far away in the southwest. It should be noted that the whole concept of Constantinople as a city of seven hills did not yet exist in Constantine’s age, as two of these hills lie outside his city and were included only later<sup>67</sup>.

The Mesomphalon, of which we are speaking here, was a monument representing the symbolic centre of the city of Constantinople. It stood in the tradition of the so-called navel stones of ancient cities, which all follow the example of the oldest one, that of Delphi. There is no mention of it, as already said, before the tenth century, and only two short mentions in later times which show that it must have been on the northern slope of the third hill near the Golden Horn. There, in fact, the remains of a structure with curved steps was found in the 1930s, which may have once belonged to a small theatre<sup>68</sup>. Nothing is visible of it today, and since it was situated very near to the place where today the İstanbul Metro leaves the tunnel and enters the bridge over the Golden Horn, there is no chance of finding it ever again.

Such a monument had no place in a Christian city, and must therefore have been built in the early days of Constantinople. We do not know whether at any time a cult was associated with this place. But one thing we can say for sure: if the symbolic centre of the city was located here, then the original plans for Constantinople did not include an extension to the west, as it happened eighty years later when the land walls of Theodosius II were built and defined the shape of the city for the entire Byzantine age and beyond. This suggests, instead, that an extension to the north over the Golden Horn was envisaged, to the suburb of Sykai which was later known as Galata or Pera<sup>69</sup>.

So far, I have tried to show how the semi-pagan imperial cult of Constantine the Great was reflected by various monuments and buildings of his not-so-Christian city, and how its memory was lost in later times, or suppressed by Christian authors. But as I said in the beginning, the Christianisation of the empire was a long process and not completed in fewer than two hundred years after Constantine’s death. The question therefore arises how his somewhat awkward religious policies were perceived by followers of the traditional Roman and Greek religion. This leads me to my last example, the cult of the city goddess, the Tyche of Constantinople. In his report on the foundation of Constantinople, Ioannes Malalas also says<sup>70</sup>:

<sup>67</sup> See A. BERGER, *Das apokalyptische Konstantinopel. Topographisches in apokalyptischen Schriften der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, [in:] *Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen*, ed. W. BRANDES, F. SCHMIEDER, Berlin 2008, p. 139–146.

<sup>68</sup> A.M. SCHNEIDER, *Byzanz*, Berlin 1936, p. 93 (no. 13) with plate 9.

<sup>69</sup> A. BERGER, *Regionen...*, p. 410–411.

<sup>70</sup> After the passage quoted at n. 29 above.

The Tyche of the city, which he had renewed and built in his name, he called Anthousa, offering a bloodless sacrifice to God.

The iconography of this Tyche is well known from coins and other representations: she had a mural crown on her head, a cornucopia in her hand, and her foot set upon a ship's bow<sup>71</sup>. Later in the Byzantine age, several statues or reliefs representing Tyche are mentioned by the sources without further comment. But the last pagan historian of the Roman empire, Zosimus, who wrote shortly before Malalas and depicts Constantine in the darkest light, gives us this account<sup>72</sup>:

In Byzantium there was a very large market-place with four porticos. There he erected two temples at the end of one of them, to which a flight of numerous steps ascends. There he placed the statue of Rhea, the mother of the gods, which Jason's companions had once set up on Mount Dindymon, which is near the city of Cyzicus. People say that through his contempt of religion he impaired this statue by taking away the lions that were on each side, and by changing the position of the hands. While she seemed to hold the lions before, she was now altered into a supplicating posture, looking towards the city and watching it. In the other temple he placed the statue of the Fortune of Rome.

This is really a nice story, and we should really hope that it is true, and that indeed an old statue of Kybele from Mount Dindymon – the peninsula near today's Bandırma on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara – was changed in this way into a city goddess of Constantinople. Kybele was usually depicted with a high headgear, the so-called *polos*, which could easily be interpreted as a mural crown appropriate for a city goddess. Zosimus, however, was no contemporary himself and must be read with some caution, for other sources know only one temple of the Tyche of Constantinople<sup>73</sup>. It stood near the market-place also called the Basilica in the city centre, and was later converted into the so-called Milion, the Golden Milestone of Constantinople<sup>74</sup>. What Zosimus teaches us is, in the end, quite clear: Constantine may not have been a good Christian, but he was not a good pagan either.

Constantinople became a Christian capital, and continued to exist as such for more than thousand years, while the memory of its not-so-Christian origins slowly faded away. And in the end, Constantinople was no more the city of Constantine, but the city of the Mother of God. It lies, however, beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this phenomenon and its development<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> G. BÜHL, *Constantinopolis und Roma. Stadtpersonifikationen der Spätantike*, Kilchberg–Zürich 1995 [= ACRe, 3], p. 9–78.

<sup>72</sup> ZOSIME, *Histoire nouvelle*, II, 31, 2–3, ed. et trans. F. PASCHOUD, Paris 1971–1989 [= CUE.SG], p. 104–105.

<sup>73</sup> HESYCHIUS, c. 15.

<sup>74</sup> A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 271–274.

<sup>75</sup> See, among others, AV. CAMERON, *The Theotokos in sixth-century Constantinople: A City Finds its Symbol*, JTS 29, 1978, p. 79–108; C. MANGO, *Constantinople as Theotokoupolis*, [in:] *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. VASSILAKI, Milan 2000, p. 17–25.

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**Abstract.** In his new city Constantinople, Constantine the Great established an imperial cult with pagan elements prevailing over Christian ones. This can be seen from a number of monuments and buildings, such as the Forum of Constantine with the emperor's statue on a column, the Capitol, the emperor's mausoleum, the Mesomphalon, and the temple of the city goddess Tyche.

**Keywords:** Constantine the Great, religious policies; Constantinople, foundation; Constantinople, ancient statuary

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## NIKEPHOROS BRYENNIOΣ THE YOUNGER – THE FIRST ONE NOT TO BECOME A BLIND MAN? POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF THE BRYENNIOΣ FAMILY IN THE 11<sup>TH</sup> AND EARLY 12<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

**N**ikephoros Bryennios the Younger (1062–1137) has a place in the history of the Byzantine Empire as a historian and husband of Anna Komnene (1083–1153), a woman from the imperial family. His historical work on the history of the Komnenian dynasty in the 11<sup>th</sup> century is an extremely valuable source of information about the policies of the empire’s major families, whose main goal was to seize power in Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. Nikephoros was also a talented commander, which he proved by serving his father-in-law Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and brother-in-law John II Komnenos (1118–1143). The marriage gave him free access to people and documents which he also enriched with the history of his own family. It happened because Nikephoros Bryennios was not the first representative of his family who played an important role in the internal policy of the empire. He had two predecessors, his grandfather, and great grandfather, who according to the family tradition had the same name as our hero. They

<sup>1</sup> J. SEGER, *Byzantinische Historiker des zehnten und elften Jahrhunderts*, vol. I, Nikephoros Bryennios, München 1888, p. 31–33; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke 2013, p. 344–345; A. KAZHDAN, *Bryennios, Nikephoros the Younger*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. I, p. 331; L. NEVILLE, *A History of the Caesar John Doukas in Nikephoros Bryennios’ Material for History?*, *BMGS* 32, 2008, p. 168–169; EADEM, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios*, Cambridge–New York 2012, p. 15–16; V. STANKOVIĆ, *Nikephoros Bryennios, Anna Komnene and Konstantios Doukas. A Story about Different Perspectives*, *BZ* 100, 2007, p. 169–175; E. JEFFREYS, *Nikephoros Bryennios Reconsidered*, [in:] *The Empire in Crisis(?). Byzantium in the 11<sup>th</sup> Century, (1025–1081)*, ed. V.N. VLYSSIDOU, Athens 2003, p. 211–213; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Anna Komnene and the Alexiad*, [in:] *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. MULLETT, D. SMYTHE, Belfast 1996, p. 232–302; R. MACRIDES, *The Pen and the Sword: Who Wrote the Alexiad?*, [in:] *Anna Komnene and Her Times*, ed. T. GOUMA-PETERSON, New York 2000, p. 63–81; D.R. REINSCH, *Ο Νικηφόρος Βρυέννιος – ένας “Μακεδόνας” συγγραφέας*, [in:] *Β’ Διεθνές Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία. Δίκαιο, θεολογία, φιλολογία*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2003, p. 169–177; V. STANKOVIĆ, *Uvod u Materijal Istorije Nićifora Vrijenija*, *ЗРВИ* 47, 2010, p. 137–148.

both took part in usurpations against the reigning emperors, for which they were blinded. Therefore, in this article we will try to determine why the fate of our hero was not similar.

The Bryennios family appears in Byzantine sources for the first time in one of the works of Constantine Porphyrogenetus (913–959), *De administrando imperio*<sup>2</sup>. Its first known representative is a *protospatharios* Theoktistos Bryennios. This man was the *strategos* of the Peloponnese theme during the reign of Theophilos (829–842). His main task was to break up the Slav rebellion, which he accomplished brilliantly, subjecting to the imperial power some of their tribes, while he pushed two tribes (Ezeritai and Melingoï) into the mountains and imposed tribute on them<sup>3</sup>. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions in the above account that Theoktistos commanded an army of Thracians, Macedonians and people from other Western provinces<sup>4</sup>. This indicates that our hero's family came from the Balkan part of the empire and its roots should be sought there. Unfortunately, we do not know whether he may be the direct ancestor of Bryennios from the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>5</sup>.

Another representative of the Bryennios family directly related to our hero is his great grandfather of the same name. Nikephoros Bryennios, whom we will describe as the first (I) in this article, came from Adrianople, which indicates that his family remained there since the ninth century as one of the most important families<sup>6</sup>. According to Skylitzes, around 1050 during the Patzinkas invasion, this patrician Nikephoros (I) was appointed by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) as the *ethnarch* who commanded troops consisting of Varangians, Franks and Turkmen horse archers<sup>7</sup>. Adrianople, Macedonia, and Thrace became the field of military operations conducted by Nikephoros Bryennios (*ethnarch*), where he defeated the opponents from the Black Sea Steppe. In his actions he cooperated with patrician Michael the *akolouthos* who commanded a formation of the Varangians. Their cooperation led to victories at Goloës, Toplitzos, and, finally,

<sup>2</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, 50, ed. G. MORAVCSIK, trans. R.J.H. JENKINS, Washington 1993 [= *CFHB*, 1; *DOT*, 1] (cetera: CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS), p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, 50, p. 232; A. KAZHDAN, *Bryennios*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. I, p. 328–329; F. CURTA, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, c. 500 to 1050. The Early Middle Ages*, Edinburgh 2011, p. 135–140; *Theoktistos Bryennios*, [in:] *PMZ*, Abt. I, (641–867), vol. IV, *Platon – Theophylaktos*, ed. F. WINKELMANN, R.-J. LILIE, Berlin 2001, p. 581–582, nr 8052; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica Vrijenija u XI i XII stoleću*, Belgrade 2003, p. 32–33.

<sup>4</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, 50, p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> A. KAZHDAN, *Bryennios...*, p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, rec. I. THURN, Berolini 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5] (cetera: SKYLITZES), p. 471; S. WITTEK-DE JONG, *Le César Nicéphore Bryennios, l'historien, et ses ascendantes*, B 23, 1953, p. 467; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 40–41.

Charioupolis where they slaughtered Patzinkas and stopped their raids on the Balkans for several years<sup>8</sup>. This success influenced the further career of the *ethnarch*.

According to the account of the irreplaceable Skylitzes, Nikephoros Bryennios (I), at the end of the life of the emperor Constantine Monomachos was one of the commanders leading troops of Macedonians operating in the east of the empire. While there, he received information about the death of this ruler and a change on the throne in Constantinople<sup>9</sup>. The *ethnarch* disagreed with the policy of the new ruler, Theodora, so he abandoned the front on which he operated and headed to Chrysopolis. In that city he was captured by the empress who sentenced him to exile and the confiscation of his property<sup>10</sup> for desertion from his position. After Theodora's death, he asked her successor Michael VI (1056–1057), who brought him back to his position, to return the money she had taken from him, but he was refused and was humiliated by the new emperor<sup>11</sup>. This was one of the reasons for the conflict between Bryennios (I) and the emperor, which was soon to escalate.

Bryennios was later sent to fight against the Turks and their leader Samouch. This expedition coincided with the preparations for rebellion against the emperor, formed in the ranks of army commanders from the east<sup>12</sup>. Skylitzes mentions that one of their leaders, Kekaumenos, opted to include Bryennios in the plot because he headed the army of Macedonians<sup>13</sup>. Ethnarch Bryennios travelled east with patrician John Opsaras who carried money for the army. When they arrived at a place deep in Anatolia, they began to distribute money to troops from Capadocia. When Bryennios ordered the sums intended for soldiers to be increased, Opsaras opposed him, arguing there were no proper orders from the emperor. This led to the rage of the *ethnarch* who beat Opsaras, ordered him to be shackled and kept under guard in his tent<sup>14</sup>. Then he distributed imperial money according to his preferences. Lykanthes, the commander of Pisidia and Lycaonia, who was

<sup>8</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 472–473; A. PAROŃ, *Pieczynogowie. Koczownicy w krajobrazie politycznym i kulturowym średniowiecznej Europy*, Wrocław 2015, p. 388–389; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum w dobie bitwy pod Mantzikert. Znaczenie zagrożenia seldżuckiego w polityce bizantyńskiej w XI wieku*, Kraków 2011 [= N.SAB, 7], p. 84–85; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2000, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 479.

<sup>10</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 480; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 46; B. KRSMANOVIĆ, *Uspon vojnog plemstva u Vizantii XI veka*, Beograd 2001, p. 142–144; J. DUDEK, *Pęknięte zwierciadło. Kryzys i odbudowa wizerunku władcy bizantyńskiego od 1056 do ok. 1095 roku*, Zielona Góra 2009, p. 50; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 41–42.

<sup>11</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 484.

<sup>12</sup> M. BÖHM, *The Military Policy of Isaac Komnenos at the Time of Battle of Petroe (1057)*, OPS 1, 2018, p. 137–139.

<sup>13</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 487; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 46.

<sup>14</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 487–488.

encamped nearby, attacked the Bryennios camp after receiving the news of the *ethnarch's* actions. Also Lykanthes surprised Bryennios with his actions. Perhaps he had an advantage over his forces because he had two units from Anatolia under his command. Bryennios was captured and Opsaras was freed. The latter personally blinded Nikephoros Bryennios (*ethnarch*) for the rebellion against the imperial power and then sent him back to the emperor<sup>15</sup>.

Ethnarch Nikephoros Bryennios left behind two sons, Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder (II) and John<sup>16</sup>. The second Nikephoros, like his father, was looking for a way of life for himself, starting his career in the empire's army. Anna Komnena mentions that the emperor Roman Diogenes (1020–1072) made Nikephoros (II) his brother through adoption<sup>17</sup>. This was probably at the very beginning of the reign of this *basileus*. Bryennios soon proved his worth as a commander. He took part in the campaign against Seljuks, which ended in defeat at Mantzikert<sup>18</sup>. He was one of the few commanders who discouraged the emperor from starting an open battle, suggesting that it would be better for the Byzantines to strengthen themselves in nearby cities, burn the nearby fields to starve the enemy, and finally wait in Theodosiupolis<sup>19</sup>. Before the battle, Roman IV entrusted Bryennios with the order of banishing the army of Turkish marauders. However, it turned out that the Turks put up fierce resistance, and the troops commanded by Nikephoros proved to be too small to meet this task, which is why he asked for the support of the emperor who did not understand the situation and accused him of cowardice<sup>20</sup>. Roman eventually sent him as support the unit of Nikephoros Basilakes which, however, chased after the Turks who pretended to escape, falling in a booby

<sup>15</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 488; K. INOUE, *The Rebellion of Isaakios Komnenos and the Provincial Aristocratic Oikoi*, Bsl 54, 1993, p. 272–273; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 47; B. KRSMANOVIĆ, *Uspon vojnog...*, p. 187–188; J. DUDEK, *Pęknijęte zwierciadło...*, p. 50; S. WITTEK-DE JONG, *Le César Nicéphore...*, p. 467; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 47–48.

<sup>16</sup> A. KAZHDAN, *Bryennios...*, p. 329.

<sup>17</sup> *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, X, 3, vol. I, rec. D.R. REINSCH, A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin 2001 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 40] (cetera: KOMNENE), p. 288.30–35.

<sup>18</sup> E. DE VRIES-VAN DER VELDEN, *Psellos, Romain IV Diogenes et Mantzikert*, Bsl 58, 1997, p. 274–310; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 52–57.

<sup>19</sup> NICÉPHORE BRYENNIOS, *Histoire*, I, 13, rec. P. GAUTIER, Bruxelles 1975 [= *CFHB*, 9] (cetera: BRYENNIOS), p. 107; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 161; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1980, p. 219; J. DUDEK, *Pęknijęte zwierciadło...*, p. 197.

<sup>20</sup> *Η Συνέχεια της Χρονογραφίας του Ιωάννου Σκυλίτζη (Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus)*, ed. E.T. ΤΣΟΛΑΚΗΣ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1968 (cetera: SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS), p. 145.16–22; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, *The History*, XX, 15, ed. A. KALDELLIS, D. KRALLIS, Cambridge Mass. 2012 [= *DOML*] (cetera: MICHAEL ATTALEIATES), p. 280; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum libri XIII–XVIII*, XVIII, 13, 12–13, rec. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonnae 1897 [= *CSHB*, 49] (cetera: ZONARAS), p. 697; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 167.

trap which Bryennios did not fall for. Along with its leader, the unit that came with Basilakes got captured by Seljuks<sup>21</sup>. Communication between the Byzantines failed here. Bryennios who, according to his grandson, was in command at the left wing of the army, tried to come to the rescue of his companion at the behest of the emperor, but this proved impossible<sup>22</sup>. Our hero's attempt to come to the rescue was successful. Despite the wound he managed to prevent the Turks from flanking his unit and successfully return to the camp<sup>23</sup>. With a wound and subsequent injuries, he continued to command the left wing, and was so successful that he managed to lead most of his people out of the defeat at Mantzikert<sup>24</sup>. This highly subjective vision presented by Nikephoros of his grandfather's bravery at the end of the battle of Mantzikert, is not entirely consistent with the accounts of other sources. Michael Attaliates does not say a word about Bryennios's actions in the final phase of the battle, especially after the capture of Emperor Roman IV. Skylitzes Continuatus similarly does not mention any greater activity of this representative of the Bryennios family in the end of that battle lost by the Byzantines.

Despite the defeat of his adoptive brother in the battle and later in the civil war, Bryennios (II) did not end up like him. The Emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) in 1075 summoned him from Odrysoi (Thrace) to Constantinople. There, he was elevated to the position of the *doux* of Bulgaria and was also entrusted with the task of breaking up the Slavic uprising in this land, a task which he successfully completed<sup>25</sup>. Recognising his military skills, the emperor later transferred him to the position of the *doux* of Dyrrachion, with the order of fighting against the Normans of southern Italy, Croats and the inhabitants of Duklja<sup>26</sup>. In the Western Balkans Bryennios effectively began his operations by fighting on land with the Slavs. He was successfully using local people as guides while clearing roads through passes manned by Croats and Dukljans, which enabled him to smash them in battle, capture their cities and take hostages from them, as a guarantee of their loyalty to the empire<sup>27</sup>. He also managed to rebuild the provincial fleet of Dyrrachion to some extent, which he used to fight the pirates from Italy who hunted merchant ships heading for the port-capital of the province he led<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 146.3–8; ZONARAS, XVIII, 13, 15–16, p. 698; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XX, 16, p. 282; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 168–169.

<sup>22</sup> BRYENNIOS, I, 14, p. 107–109.

<sup>23</sup> BRYENNIOS, I, 15, p. 111–113.

<sup>24</sup> BRYENNIOS, I, 16, p. 115; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 170–171.

<sup>25</sup> BRYENNIOS, III, 2–3, p. 211–213; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> BRYENNIOS, III, 3, p. 213; S. WITTEK-DE JONG, *Le César Nicéphore...*, p. 465; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personages...*, p. 220; L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 121; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> BRYENNIOS, III, 3, p. 213–215.

<sup>28</sup> BRYENNIOS, III, 3, p. 215.

The wining streak was interrupted by a change in the imperial policy towards the Seljuks, including concessions giving them almost all Anatolia, with which Bryennios disagreed. In 1077 he was dismissed from his position for his views, which led him on a straight path to rebellion. He proclaimed himself emperor and headed for his family Adrianopol leading his faithful troops<sup>29</sup>. The route he chose ran through Thessaloniki, where he met with Basilakes who was sent to replace him as the *doux* of Dyrrachium, and who did not defeat the new usurper<sup>30</sup>. Then he headed for Traianoupolis, where his brother John was waiting for him, along with the Varangians and Frankish troops, to which many Macedonians joined<sup>31</sup>. In Traianoupolis, he was proclaimed as the emperor, thus challenging the power of Michael VII<sup>32</sup>. Bryennios (II) according to his grandson considered rebellion as a terrible thing that would cause great evil<sup>33</sup>. People from the cities of Raidestos and Panion joined the usurpation<sup>34</sup>. In the first of these cities he made his brother John a *kouropalates*<sup>35</sup>. John was then sent at the head of the army towards Constantinople with an order to seize the city because Bryennios (II) hoped that the opposition against Michael VII would help him seize it<sup>36</sup>. The attempt was a failure and John achieved nothing<sup>37</sup>. Besides, the battle of Athyra in the suburbs of Constantinople, lost by Bryennios, did not help reach an agreement with the emperor from the Doukas family<sup>38</sup>.

Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder after the failure of his brother's action finally headed to his hometown of Adrianople<sup>39</sup>. His actions coincided with the rebellion of the second usurper, Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081), whom Bryennios's earlier defeat at the capital's walls helped to seize power in the capital and the empire. Also, Bryennios had to repel Patzinkas' and Cumans' attacks on

<sup>29</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 172–173; ZONARAS, XVIII, 17, 19, p. 716; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 1, p. 432; *Michaelis Glycae Annales*, rec. I. BEKKER, Bonnae 1836 [= CSHB, 24] (cetera: MICHAEL GLYCAS), p. 615–616; KOMNENE, I, 4, 2, p. 18; BRYENNIOS, III, 3, p. 215–217.

<sup>30</sup> MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 4, p. 448; BRYENNIOS, III, 8, p. 225.

<sup>31</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 173–174; ZONARAS, XVIII, 17, 20, p. 716; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 5, p. 450; BRYENNIOS, III, 4–5, p. 217–219.

<sup>32</sup> MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 5, p. 450; BRYENNIOS, III, 10, p. 231; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personna-ges...*, p. 221; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 71–72.

<sup>33</sup> BRYENNIOS, III, 5, p. 219.

<sup>34</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 174; ZONARAS, XVIII, 17, 22–23, p. 716; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 8, p. 454.

<sup>35</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 174.16–19; ZONARAS, XVIII, 17, 23–24, p. 716; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 9, p. 454; L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 105.

<sup>36</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 174; ZONARAS, XVIII, 17, 23–24, p. 716; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 9, p. 454; BRYENNIOS, III, 10, p. 231; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 192.

<sup>37</sup> ZONARAS, XVIII, 17, 25–26, p. 716; BRYENNIOS, III, 10, p. 231; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 10, p. 458; J. DUDEK, *Pęknięte zwierciadło...*, p. 67–71.

<sup>38</sup> MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXI, 11–12, p. 460–464; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 75.

<sup>39</sup> BRYENNIOS, III, 10, p. 231.

Adrianople, which ravaged the lands around this city and threatened him directly<sup>40</sup>. Botaneiates sent his envoys three times and offered him the rank of *kaisar* as well as adoption, but Nikephoros rejected all the opportunities to get along with the new emperor<sup>41</sup>. In the meantime, Bryennios agreed with Patzinkas whose army was beaten by his brother, and he included them in his forces<sup>42</sup>. Later, with their help, he tried to cut Constantinople ashore from Thrace, but this plan failed<sup>43</sup>. Afterwards Bryennios marched at the head of his army toward Constantinople. He did not know that the emperor entrusted the command of the army he had gathered to Alexios Komnenos, with the title of the great domestic of the West, together with the troops of Turkish mercenaries<sup>44</sup>.

The battle took place near Kalavrye on the way to the capital, where young Komnenos blocked the armies of Bryennios<sup>45</sup>. Having a more experienced army, Bryennios was counting on victory over Komnenos troops. Among the commanders accompanying him was his brother John, and Katakalon Tarchaneiotos, who commanded the wings of the army, while the usurper headed the nobility of Thrace and Macedonia, and the best Thessalian cavalry. At the crucial moment of the battle, Patzinkas, his allies, betrayed his cause and attacked the Macedonians' camp, leading his army to collapse<sup>46</sup>. Additionally, the troops of Alexios Komnenos led Bryennios's faithful military units into a trap, which ended in a total defeat of his army<sup>47</sup>. The usurper himself, after an attempt to cross the road through the Komnenos men chasing him, was captured and transferred to Alexios<sup>48</sup>.

Komnenos handed the captured usurper to the emperor and Botaneiates blinded him, which ended his efforts to obtain the imperial crown<sup>49</sup>. Botaneiates

<sup>40</sup> ZONARAS, XVIII, 18, 1, p. 716; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 175, 184.2–5; BRYENNIOS, III, 10, p. 231; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXII, 6, p. 476–478.

<sup>41</sup> MICHAEL GLYCAS, p. 616; ZONARAS, XVIII, 19, 2–4, p. 721; BRYENNIOS, IV, 4, p. 265; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 179; MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXIV, 1, p. 518.

<sup>42</sup> BRYENNIOS, III, 14, p. 237.

<sup>43</sup> MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXII, 14, p. 488; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 175–176.

<sup>44</sup> KOMNENE, I, 4, 1, p. 18; MICHAEL GLYCAS, p. 616; ZONARAS, XVIII, 19, 5, p. 721; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 180; V. STANKOVIĆ, *Komnini u Carigradu (1057–1185). Evolucija jedne vladarske porodice*, Belgrade 2006, p. 32; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 83.

<sup>45</sup> ZONARAS, XVIII, 19, 6, p. 721; KOMNENE, I, 5, 2, p. 20.

<sup>46</sup> MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXIV, 5, p. 528; BRYENNIOS, IV, 6, p. 269; KOMNENE, I, 5, 2–3, p. 20–21; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 221–222.

<sup>47</sup> MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXIV, 6, p. 530; KOMNENE, I, 5, 4–8, p. 21–23; J. BIRKENMEIER, *The Development of the Komnenian Army, 1081–1180*, Leiden 2002, p. 59; J. HALDON, *The Byzantine Wars. Battles and Campaigns of the Byzantine Era*, Stroud 2001, p. 129; N. TOBIAS, *The Tactics and Strategy of Alexius Comnenus at Calavrytae, 1078*, *ByzS* 6, 1979, p. 202–208; L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 126–127.

<sup>48</sup> MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXIV, 6, p. 530; BRYENNIOS, IV, 12–13, p. 277–279; ZONARAS, XVIII, 19, 6, p. 721–722; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 180; MICHAEL GLYCAS, p. 616; KOMNENE, I, 6, 5–6, p. 25–26; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 85–87.

<sup>49</sup> MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, XXXIV, 7, p. 530–532; ZONARAS, XVIII, 19, 6, p. 721–722; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 180; MICHAEL GLYCAS, p. 616; KOMNENE, I, 6, 9, p. 27; BRYENNIOS, IV, 17, p. 283.

later returned the property he took from him, and also gave him more<sup>50</sup>. Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder later became associated with the court of Alexios I Komnenos, and when he became emperor, he proved that by defending Adrianople against a usurper claiming to be the son of his adoptive brother, Roman Diogenes, in 1095<sup>51</sup>.

The third of our heroes, Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger, was born in Adrianople, best-educated among all his family members, and usually associated with a historical work probably written partly or entirely by him<sup>52</sup>. However, we are not completely sure if he was the son or grandson of his predecessor<sup>53</sup>. John Zonaras describes him with this first term, while Anna Komnena depicts him as the grandson of an earlier usurper<sup>54</sup>. His marriage to Anna was concluded in 1097, when Alexios I Komnenos raised him to the rank of *panhypersebastos*<sup>55</sup>. In the same year Nikephoros Bryennios (III) headed the troops mounted on the walls of Constantinople to discourage an attack on the city to be carried out by crusaders marching into the Holy Land<sup>56</sup>. These actions were successful. Bryennios spent the following years surrounded by his father-in-law, performing important tasks for him in internal politics, as well as taking part in his wars<sup>57</sup>. Anna Komnena recalls that at the end of Alexios's life, around 1115, as attempts were made at converting the Manichaeans from the city of Philippopolis, her father used Bryennios's (III) knowledge in the matter of holy books<sup>58</sup>. Alexios also benefited from his help during the battles with Seljuks and their ruler Melikshah, the sultan of Rûm<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> BRYENNIOS, IV, 18, p. 285; SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 184.24–25.

<sup>51</sup> KOMNENE, X, 3, p. 288–289; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 223; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 90–91.

<sup>52</sup> On the subject of authorship of this historical work and the controversy over whether Nikephoros was its author or someone else wrote it, see V. STANKOVIĆ, *Uvod...*, p. 140–141; IDEM, *Komnini...*, p. 48, 193.

<sup>53</sup> However, S. Wittek-de Jong recognized him as a grandson of the rebel from 1078, and modern science has followed this point of view. S. WITTEK-DE JONG, *Le César Nicéphore...*, p. 468.

<sup>54</sup> ZONARAS, XVIII, 22, 23, p. 738; KOMNENE, VII, 1, 6, p. 206.

<sup>55</sup> ZONARAS, XVIII, 22, 23–24, p. 738; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 225; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 100.

<sup>56</sup> KOMNENE, X, 9, 6–10, p. 311–313; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 225; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle...*, p. 345; L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup> KOMNENE, XII, 7, 4, p. 377–378; XIII, 7, 1, p. 403; XIII, 9, 2, p. 413; *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. II, *Du milieu du XI siècle à 1204*, ed. J. LEFORT, N. OIKONOMIDÈS, D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, H. MÉTRÉVÉLI, V. KRAVARI, Paris 1990 [= AAth, 16], p. 230–231; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 226–227; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle...*, p. 345.

<sup>58</sup> KOMNENE, XIV, 8, 9, p. 457; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 105.

<sup>59</sup> KOMNENE, XV, 4–5, p. 472–476; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 227; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle...*, p. 346; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 106.

Bryennios had a good relation with the father of his wife – Alexios I Komnenos, as well as with his mother-in-law – Eirena – who came from the Doukas family<sup>60</sup>. Reluctant to her son John, she favored Bryennios and Anna as the potential successors of her husband<sup>61</sup>. This is well confirmed by the words of Glykas and John Zonaras, who mention that thanks to Eirene Nikephoros had power in the palace, and even advocated judgments on behalf of his father-in-law<sup>62</sup>. This behavior of the mother did not escape the attention of John Komnenos, her son and his father's planned successor, who began to fear for his life and heritage<sup>63</sup>. As a result of this progressive conflict, two factions were born that wanted to have ultimate influence on who would become the new emperor. And when in 1118 Alexios I Komnenos became ill, his wife decided to act. Eirene, in conversations with her husband, began to praise the advantages of the character of *kaisar* Bryennios, as well as slandered her son, John<sup>64</sup>. As Nicetas Choniates reports to us, Alexios was aware of Eirena's love for Anna and her husband. So he ignored her suggestions, until he informed her that he would not pass his throne to a Macedonian (Bryennios) at the expense of his son<sup>65</sup>. John used his father's support and later became emperor himself. Upon hearing this, Eirene tried to encourage his son-in-law Bryennios to take the throne and to act against his wife's brother. Also, she promised her help in carrying out that plan but he did not take any action<sup>66</sup>. Another attempt was made by Eirene to force the dying Alexios to change the decision on the succession but it also failed<sup>67</sup>. The death of Alexios did not diminish the ambition of the mother and daughter, in which Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger was to be once again maneuvered.

<sup>60</sup> This relationship is particularly evident in the pages of a historical work related to Bryennios, where the author tried to present almost in a panegyric tone the right of the Dukas family to the imperial crown, in correlation with the Komnenian family. V. STANKOVIĆ, *Uvod...*, p. 141–142.

<sup>61</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge 1993, p. 193; V. STANKOVIĆ, *John II Komnenos before the Year 1118*, [in:] *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium. In the Shadow of Father and Son*, ed. A. BUCOSI, A.R. SUAREZ, London 2012, p. 18; V. STANKOVIĆ, *Komnini...*, p. 90–106, 229–230.

<sup>62</sup> MICHAEL GLYKAS, p. 622; ZONARAS, XVIII, 26, 14–15, p. 754; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 228; L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 18.

<sup>63</sup> ZONARAS, XVIII, 24, 19, p. 748.

<sup>64</sup> *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.-L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin–New York 1979 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 11] (cetera: NICETAS CHONIATES), p. 5, 1–5; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle...*, p. 346; L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 19–20.

<sup>65</sup> NICETAS CHONIATES, p. 6, 20–24; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 232; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 107.

<sup>66</sup> NICETAS CHONIATES, p. 7, 47–49.

<sup>67</sup> NICETAS CHONIATES, p. 7. Leonora Neville interprets these actions as an attempt to restore imperial power to the family of Doukas and Bryennios, at the same time, she suggests that the concept of the work of Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger arose before 1118, i.e. before the unsuccessful usurpation of Eirene and Anna. L. NEVILLE, *A History...*, p. 169; EADEM, *Heroes...*, p. 28.

A different version of these events is provided by an anonymous chronicle from Eddesa, whose author suggests that the plot was attempted by Nikephoros Bryennios and his mother-in-law Eirene, who were hostile to John II. The latter, anticipating the actions of the conspirators, was able to attack the imperial palace which he captured along with the treasury, while his brother-in-law was sent into exile, and his mother was locked up in a monastery<sup>68</sup>. There is no question of Anna Komnena's activity and her influence on her husband's actions. The existence of this source account confirms that Eirene's actions against her birth son were also followed by elites from the borderlands of the Byzantine Empire, which is why the account of that event has survived in this form, different from other sources.

In 1119, when John II Komnenos camped close to Philopatation, near the capital, a conspiracy was established to physically eliminate the emperor. Anna Komnena attempted to usurp the imperial power by gathering her supporters around her husband. They managed to bribe the guards of the city gates, but Bryennios again broke the whole action and showed no enthusiasm for the plans of his wife and her supporters. The attack failed because the potential usurper did not join it<sup>69</sup>. This caused Anna's anger and during an intercourse with Bryennios she caused a painful contraction of her vagina to punish him<sup>70</sup>. Mentioning this event, Choniates constructed his narrative in such a way as to show from his time perspective (the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century) the beginning of the fall of the Komnenian family, and to greatly diminish Anna's role and significance<sup>71</sup>. The next day, at the news of the conspiracy, John punished the people taking part in it, including his sister, with the loss of their property<sup>72</sup>. The fact that Byzantine sources do not mention any punishment for Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger, but only for his wife, shows that John II was perfectly aware of who was the main initiator of the attempted assassination. Until his death in 1137, Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger remained near John II<sup>73</sup>.

Each of the revolts related to the Bryennios family presented above was different and resulted from different reasons. The first one ended before it could begin. This was due to the excessive confidence of Nikephoros the *ethnarch* who underestimated the ability and fitness of those faithful to the ruling emperor, for which he was punished with blindness. The second Nikephoros Bryennios operated in different conditions and was the first man from his family to usurp the imperial power. He had the perfect opportunity for this in the era of chaos that swept

<sup>68</sup> *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, vol. II, ed. J.B. CHABOT, Paris 1916 [= CSCO.SS, Ser. 3, 15], p. 63; L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 23.

<sup>69</sup> NICETAS CHONIATES, p. 10; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 228, 230; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle...*, p. 346; S. RAJKOVIĆ, *Porodica...*, p. 108–109.

<sup>70</sup> NICETAS CHONIATES, p. 10, 52–56.

<sup>71</sup> L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 23–24.

<sup>72</sup> NICETAS CHONIATES, p. 11–12.

<sup>73</sup> KOMNENE, I, 3, 4, p. 8; B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages...*, p. 228–229.

Byzantium during the reign of the last of the Doukas. Unfortunately, having facilities in the Balkans, Thrace and Macedonia did not determine his success in the first phase of his usurpation. The problems of Bryennios helped another competitor to the imperial crown to capture the capital of the empire. Lost battles and an inept attempt to seize Constantinople worked against our hero. Alexios Komnenos dealt the last blow to his plans, defeating him in the battle of Kalavrye.

Probably it was the failure of this usurper that influenced the attitude of his family towards a new dynasty. Alexios bonding the Bryennios household with the Komnenian family through the marriage with Anna to some extent satisfied their ambitions. He gained powerful and influential allies in Macedonia and Thrace, who remained faithful to him in the later years of his reign. Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger, being constantly surrounded by Alexios, had feelings for him similar to those he had for his real father and grandfather. In the introduction to his historical work Bryennios strongly emphasizes that usurpation against the ruling emperor, who is predestined for imperial power, is one of the most serious offenses that a man can commit<sup>74</sup>. Bryennios (III) treated Alexios as a kind of messiah, a savior who tried to rebuild the lands of the Romans and raise them from the fall. Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger was a faithful man and put fidelity above all else, so he became one of the people of Komnenian clan, with direct access to the emperor<sup>75</sup>. Alexios was also a model for Bryennios (III) on how to deal with women. Warren Treadgold rightly describes Bryennios's attitude towards his wife as the same as that of Alexios towards his wife Eirene, namely passive resistance to her demands<sup>76</sup>.

Philopation, the place where Anna Komnene planned to overthrow her brother John II, also had a significance for Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger, which his wife seems to have forgotten. It was there that in 1078 his grandfather was blinded by the people of Nikephoros III<sup>77</sup>. Having among his predecessors two blind men who challenged the authority of the emperors and lost, Bryennios (III) probably did not want to join them. He therefore chose to be faithful to the idea of the Komnenian family at the expense of his own, which he founded with Anna. He was not the soldier type but more of a philosopher and scientist, or an idealist<sup>78</sup>. Of course, our basic sources of information about the last of the Bryennios are very subjective, especially Anna Komnena and Choniates, so it is hard to believe their full description of the character of Nikephoros Bryennios. Anna idealized her husband, and at the same time diminished the role of her brother John, while

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<sup>74</sup> BRYENNIOS, Preface, 10, p. 69–71.

<sup>75</sup> He reveals these views in a fragment of his work in which he describes the transition of Alexios Komnenos to the side of the usurper Botaniates. BRYENNIOS, III, 23, p. 251.

<sup>76</sup> W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle...*, p. 346.

<sup>77</sup> BRYENNIOS, IV, 17, p. 283.

<sup>78</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire...*, p. 194.

Choniates knew the story of Bryennios from the descriptions of other Byzantines. The personality and some events from the life of Bryennios (III) are also described by Theodoros Prodromos in his prose and poetry where he mentions the wisdom of *kaisar*, his greatness as a man, the double wedding of his sons, and finally his death after Alexios and Eirene<sup>79</sup>. Theodoros Prodromos also dedicated one of his works to him, entitled: *To Kaisar, or about green*. Green refers to the ceremonial color of the cloths assigned to the rank of *kaisar*, worn by Bryennios (III), which is better to Prodromos than blue and white<sup>80</sup>. We can look for a hidden dimension in the poet's words about colors because he personally knew the last of our heroes and the matter of his possible participation in the plot against John II or his absence would have to be known to him. The praise of green can therefore be read as the praise of the attitude of the *kaisar* who preferred to stick to the color given to him by his father-in-law rather than reach for the imperial purple. Victory at all cost, including the killing of his kinsmen, as Leonor Neville rightly pointed out, was not for him, and was not the road he would decide to take<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> THEODOROS PRODROMOS, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. HÖRANDNER, Wien 1974 [= WBS, 11] (cetera: THEODOROS PRODROMOS), II, 41, p. 186, 96, p. 188; XXXIX, 171, p. 387; THEODORE PRODROMOS, *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, I, 1–4, [in:] *Four Byzantine Novels*, trans. E. JEFFREYS, Liverpool 2012 [= TTB, 1], p. 19.

<sup>80</sup> THEODOROS PRODROMOS, p. 51.

<sup>81</sup> L. NEVILLE, *Heroes...*, p. 180–181.

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**Abstract.** Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger has a place in the history of Byzantium as the author of one of the works devoted to the Komnenos family coming to power. This outstanding observer and talented leader, who was fascinated by the person of his father-in-law Alexius I Komnenos, came from a family whose ambitions were no less than the those in the one into which Nikephoros himself married. His father and grandfather, also his namesake, were those who dreamed of an imperial crown for themselves and tried to reach for it armed. Apart from defeat, they both faced punishment which was blinding. One of those who captured and ordered the father of Nikephoros the Younger to be blinded was his future father-in-law. Like the later marriage with Anna Komnene, this had an impact on the respect he had for the new dynasty. However, the question is whether this respect should be explained by the man's reluctance to participate in a plot against his brother-in-law that his ambitious wife and her mother planned.

**Keywords:** Nikephoros Bryennios the Younger, Anna Komnene, Komnenian clan, Byzantine Empire, Balkans

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## UTOPIAN ELEMENTS IN PORPHYRY'S *DE ABSTINENTIA*\*

In a long passage from Book IV of his treatise *De abstinentia* (2–18)<sup>1</sup> Porphyry mentions as a positive model a series of “groups” (ἔθνη)<sup>2</sup> who practice abstinence from animal food, a rule that he, together with the Neoplatonists, strongly supports. The main features of all these communities are typical of utopian societies, who live in an out-of-history dimension. This element stands out strongly in the text, especially for the reason that Porphyry’s narration begins with the Greeks of the mythical era.

### The mythical time

At first Porphyry refers to primordial men and quotes a long fragment attributed to the work of the Peripatetic Dicaearchus<sup>3</sup>, according to whom the ancient Greeks, who were closer to the gods and belonged to a “golden race”, did not kill any living beings<sup>4</sup>. Referring to some lines from Hesiod’s *Opera et Dies*<sup>5</sup>, they are

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<sup>1</sup> See the edition of *Porphyrii philosophi Platonici Opuscula selecta*, rec. A. NAUCK, Hildesheim 1963 [= BSGR] (cetera: PORPHYRIUS).

<sup>2</sup> The best translation of ἔθνη in this case would not be “peoples”, but “communities, groups”, because Porphyry writes mainly about small congregations, whose members live apart from the rest of their people and adopt peculiar habits. On the way Porphyry uses the term ἔθνη, see A.P. JOHNSON, *Religion and Identity in Porphyry of Tyre. The Limits of Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2013 [= GCRW], p. 197–201.

<sup>3</sup> Dicaearchus’ fragment is number 49 in the edition *Die Schule des Aristoteles. Texte und Kommentar*, vol. I, *Dikaiarchos*, ed. F. WEHRLI, Basel–Stuttgart 1967. Translated and commented texts in DICAERARCHUS OF MESSANA, *Text, Translation and Discussion*, ed. W. FORTENBAUGH, E. SCHÜTRUMPF, New Brunswick N.J.–London 2001 [= RUSCH, 10].

<sup>4</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 2, 1.

<sup>5</sup> See HESIODUS, *Opera et Dies*, 116–119, [in:] *Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum*, ed. F. SOLMSEN, <sup>3</sup>Oxonii 1990 [= SCBO].

described as extraordinary people who lived in abundance and happiness, while the rich soil produced spontaneous fruits. According to Dicaearchus' narration<sup>6</sup> this was the lifestyle of the people at the time of Kronos. Besides, they had no knowledge of agriculture, nor of any other art; they were free from diseases, had a very simple diet that excluded meat, there were no wars among them and they lived without worries, in peace and harmony<sup>7</sup>.

This well-known passage can be interpreted as one of the representations in the Greek thought<sup>8</sup> of what was imagined as the "time of origins"<sup>9</sup>, the mythical time dominated by Kronos, when mankind lived in a "primitive" condition ahead of historical time and before gradually becoming civilized according to the criteria established by Greek society itself. It is essentially one of the many reworkings of the Hesiodic myth of the "origins" and of the stages of mankind<sup>10</sup>, that followed the scheme of a gradual degeneration from an initially ideal condition<sup>11</sup>.

Porphry's "narrative discourse" is constructed on the exaltation of a cultural model that shows the typical features of a lifestyle that goes back to a "state of nature". Such conceptual substratum is common to the descriptions of mankind in mythical times and emerges here too in the enumeration of the εθνη that the author offers as positive examples of contemplative life.

According to this ideological scheme, nature is opposed to culture, or *physis* to *nomos*<sup>12</sup>, where the former is exalted as the basis for the Neoplatonic ethical ideal celebrated by Porphyry. Basically, the distance from civilization becomes the model for a good philosophical education that implies a pure existence devoted to ascesis, to the preservation of truth and the custody of divine cults<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 2, 3.

<sup>7</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 2, 4–5.

<sup>8</sup> Porphyry's text directly refers to the first part of Hesiod's narration in *Works and Days* (vv. 106–126). A well-known analysis of the Hesiodic myth is by J.P. VERNANT, *Le mythe hésiodique des races. Essai d'analyse structurale*, RHR 157, 1960, p. 21–54. Cf. A.S. BROWN, *From the Golden Age to the Isles of the Blest*, Mn 51, 1998, p. 385–410.

<sup>9</sup> On the concept of "time of origins" as preceding historical time, see A. BRELICH, *Introduzione alla storia delle religioni*, Roma 1966, p. 7–12 and IDEM, *Mitologia. Contributo a un problema di fenomenologia religiosa*, [in:] *Liber Amicorum. Studies in Honour of Professor Dr. C.J. Bleeker*, Leiden 1969, p. 55–68.

<sup>10</sup> P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *Le mythe platonicien du Politique, les ambiguïtés de l'âge d'or et de l'histoire*, [in:] *Le chasseur noir. Formes de pensée et formes de société dans le monde grec*, Paris 1981, p. 361–380, specifically on the golden age, p. 361–366. On Porphyry's passage, see the observations of G. Girgent in PORFIRIO, *Astinenza dagli animali*, ed. G. GIRGENTI, A.R. SODANO, Milano 2005, p. 502–503, n. 3. On the characterization of Kronos' age as preceding the age of the *kosmos* ordered and ruled by Zeus, see G. GUASTELLA, *Saturno, signore dell'età dell'oro*, Lar 58, 1992, p. 163–182.

<sup>11</sup> A.O. LOVEJOY, G. BOAS, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, Baltimore–London 1935, p. 93–95.

<sup>12</sup> On the opposition *physis/nomos* in the "invention" of the Barbarians, see F. HARTOG, *Mémoire d'Ulysse. Récits sur la frontière en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1996, p. 139–147.

<sup>13</sup> On the ascetic ideal of Neoplatonic philosophers, R. FINN, *Asceticism in the Graeco-Roman World*, Cambridge 2009 [= KTAH], p. 9–14. On the close connection between philosophy and the ideal of an

Porphyry's text continues with a digression about the frugality of the lifestyle introduced by Lycurgus into Sparta<sup>14</sup>. Here too, as in the following examples, the author's words highlight the line of continuity with the Greeks of ancient times. The inhabitants of Sparta are thought to have lived under a similar regime: abstaining from meat, without luxury, without greed for wealth, and without injustice<sup>15</sup>. The structure of the discourse is intentionally built on an assimilation between the mythical time and the historical era.

### The Egyptian priests

What appears here worth examining is the reason why Porphyry's text continues to use the same conceptual model, when he describes other communities that, besides abstaining from meat, practiced a lifestyle comparable to that of the primordial human beings.

Later, the author states that abstinence from animal food was common to those groups (ἔθνη) who cared about equity, sobriety and devotion<sup>16</sup> and then specifies that this was a rule not only among the Greeks but also among the barbarians<sup>17</sup>.

In order to support his thesis, Porphyry refers to Chaeremon<sup>18</sup> the Stoic and mentions first of all the Egyptian priests<sup>19</sup>, who are also considered philosophers, choose temples as their homes and are honoured as sacred beings<sup>20</sup>. Besides, they forfeit any human activity and are devoted to contemplation and to the cult of divine things<sup>21</sup>; they have scarce contacts with other people and live isolated especially during their time of purification<sup>22</sup>; they abstain from many things,

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ascetic life, see G. Clark in the Introduction to PORPHYRY, *On Abstinence from Killing Animals*, trans. G. CLARK, London–New York 2000, p. 15–19. On the education of ascetic philosophers, who ought to practice a simple lifestyle, without passions and luxury, see I. GAMLATH, *The Training of Porphyry's Athlete: the Ascetic Philosopher in On the Abstinence from Eating Flesh*, SPP 28, 2018, p. 49–66.

<sup>14</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 3–5, 2. Porphyry's text derives from Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 8–10 and 12: see *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. I, trans. B. PERRIN, Cambridge–London 1967 [= LCL, 46], p. 227–235, 237–241.

<sup>15</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 2, 9; IV, 3, 1–6. On Lycurgus' abolition of luxury in Sparta see P. CHRISTENSEN, *Luxury, Lost in Translation: τρυφή in Plutarch's Sparta*, [in:] *Luxury and Wealth in the Archaic to Hellenistic Peloponnese*, ed. C. GALLOU, S. HODKINSON, Swansea 2020 (forthcoming).

<sup>16</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 5, 3.

<sup>17</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 5, 5. This passage demonstrates Porphyry's interest for universal ethics according to J.M. SCHOTT, *Porphyry on Christians and Others 'Barbarian Wisdom'. Identity Politics and Anti-Christian Polemics on the Eve of the Great Persecution*, JECS 13, 2005, p. 290. However, one must consider that the equivalence between barbarians and Greeks occurs only on the level of marginal communities, or through a symbolic shift onto the mythical level of primordial mankind.

<sup>18</sup> P.W. VAN DER HORST, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher. The Fragments Collected and Translated with Explanatory Notes*, fr. 10, Leiden 1987 [= EPROLR, 101].

<sup>19</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 6–10.

<sup>20</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 6, 2.

<sup>21</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 6, 3.

<sup>22</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 6, 5.

including wine and meat<sup>23</sup>; they avoid intercourse with women<sup>24</sup>; their beds are made of palm branches<sup>25</sup>; they are immune from diseases; they observe the stars and study arithmetic and geometry<sup>26</sup>.

Such a description of the Egyptian priests-philosophers contains several features that associate them to primordial men: notably, the fact that they do not work, are free from diseases and have a frugal diet. The description of the rules they respect shows a contemplative dimension in terms of a significant symbolic shifting on a level of timelessness<sup>27</sup>.

The Egyptian clergy is marked by a sharp separation from the customs of their own people. Porphyry's text explicitly states: *They practised simplicity, restraint, self-control, perseverance and in every thing justice and absence of greed*<sup>28</sup>. Such qualities show a life made of hardships and abstinence that determine their distance from the world.

It must be noted that Herodotus attributed to the Egyptian priests other specific prescriptions that define their peculiar lifestyle: they always wear a clean linen garment, shave their heads and do not consume their own things<sup>29</sup>. Herodotus, too, emphasises their peculiar diet: they eat from the oxen and geese meat that is offered to them but avoid fish and beans. In this context, it is worth observing that this is not the first time that the author of the *Histories* has used the motif of the diet<sup>30</sup> to define and criticize the otherness of barbaric customs<sup>31</sup>.

Porphyry's *De abstinentia*, too, makes use of this ethnographic model that is based on the same perspective as Herodotus. The difference lies in the fact that the intention of the Neoplatonic philosopher is to exalt, rather than to criticize, the choice of a life based on the rules of self-discipline<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> The section of the text devoted to the description of dietary prescriptions is very detailed: PORPHYRIUS, IV, 6, 8 – 8, 4.

<sup>24</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 7, 6.

<sup>25</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 8, 1.

<sup>26</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 8, 2.

<sup>27</sup> See the observations by F. HARTOG, *Mémoire d'Ulysse...*, p. 105–106.

<sup>28</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 6, 4. English translation by G. CLARK.

<sup>29</sup> *Herodoti Historiae. Libri I–IV*, II, 37, rec. N.G. WILSON, Oxonii 2015 [= SCBO] (cetera: HERODOTUS).

<sup>30</sup> On dietary prescriptions as a motif to define Barbarians, see A. DE JONG, *Traditions of the Magi. Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature*, Leiden 1997 [= RGRW, 133], p. 24. Also, P. GARNSEY, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 1999 [= KTAH], p. 65–73.

<sup>31</sup> To give some examples, Herodotus reports that the Indians eat grass (HERODOTUS, III, 100), the Androphagi eat humans (HERODOTUS, IV, 106), the Budini eat pinenuts (HERODOTUS, IV, 109), the Lotophagi eat lotus blossoms (HERODOTUS, IV, 177), the Ethiopian Troglodytes live on snakes, lizards and other reptilians (HERODOTUS, IV, 183), and the Gyzantians even eat monkeys (HERODOTUS, IV, 194). On the theme of alterity as developed in Herodotus' work, see F. HARTOG, *Le mirior d'Hérodote. Essai sur la représentation de l'autre*, Paris 1980 and E.S. GRUEN, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, Princeton N.J.–Oxford 2011 [= MCL]. Very useful is also R.V. MUNSON, *Telling Wonders. Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus*, Ann Arbor Mich. 2001.

<sup>32</sup> See A. SMITH, *Porphyry's Place in the Neoplatonic Tradition. A Study in Post-Plotinian Neoplatonism*, The Hague 1974, p. 20–39, who explains that the separation of the soul from the body is

## The Essenes

In the same section of Porphyry's *De abstinentia* very similar features to those of the Egyptian priests are attributed to other communities. The list goes on with the Essenes<sup>33</sup>, for whom pleasures are comparable to vices, while continence and control of their passions to virtues<sup>34</sup>; they despise wedlock<sup>35</sup> and wealth, and share their properties<sup>36</sup>. They never change their garments, nor their shoes until they are torn, they don't buy nor sell<sup>37</sup>, do not eat pork, nor fish without scales and animals with solid hoofs<sup>38</sup>. The narration underlines their strong devotion towards the divine (πρός τὸν θεῖον εὐσεβεῖς)<sup>39</sup>, thus showing the author's interest in this aspect of life.

Some elements of this description, such as the control of passions and the contempt for possessions, as well as the simplicity of the way of life, are the recurring aspects – as we have seen – in the representation of the men of mythical time.

In addition, it is worth noting that Porphyry's source for the description of the customs of the Essenes is Flavius Josephus' *The Jewish War*<sup>40</sup>. The Jewish historian provides further interesting elements regarding their lifestyle: they obey their elders<sup>41</sup>, they ban from their community those that commit serious crimes<sup>42</sup>, they are accurate in their judgments<sup>43</sup>, they rest on the seventh day<sup>44</sup>, they are long-lived

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at the basis of Porphyry's philosophy and his work *De Abstinentia* goes in this direction. According to D.A. DOMBROWSKY, *Porphyry and the Vegetarianism: A Contemporary Philosophical Approach*, [in:] ANRW, vol. II.36.2, ed. H. TEMPORINI, W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1987, p. 790–791, the vegetarian Greek philosophers like Porphyry were mostly concerned in pursuing moral goodness (*arete*). On this description by Porphyry, who indicate the Egyptian priests as the model of the philosopher-priest, see F. HARTOG, *Les Grecs égyptologues*, A.H 41, 1986, p. 953–967, in particular p. 964.

<sup>33</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 11–14.

<sup>34</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 11, 3.

<sup>35</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 11, 4.

<sup>36</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 11, 5.

<sup>37</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 11, 8.

<sup>38</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 14, 1.

<sup>39</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 12, 1–4. The information provided by Porphyry coincide with what is reported by FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *De Bello Judaico. Der Jüdische Krieg*, II, 8, 5, vol. I, ed. O. MICHEL, O. BAUERNEFEIND, Darmstadt–München 1959 (cetera: FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS). Before daylight they pray the Sun, they perform purification rites before eating, they consume their meals in a room especially provided for the people who share their faith, before and after meals their priests pronounce prayers.

<sup>40</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, II, 8, 2–13. See the observations in G. Clark's commentary in PORPHYRY, *On Abstinence...*, p. 185–186. On the fact that Porphyry followed the story of *The Jewish War* see G. VERMES, M. GOODMAN, *The Essenes according to the Classical Sources*, Sheffield 1989, p. 37–47. The commentary on the passages of Flavius Josephus can be found in T.S. BEALL, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Cambridge 1988, p. 35–112.

<sup>41</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, II, 8, 6.

<sup>42</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, II, 8, 8.

<sup>43</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, II, 8, 9.

<sup>44</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, II, 8, 9.

(many of them live longer than 100 years), they are indifferent to dangers and pain, they prefer death to immortality<sup>45</sup>, some are able to see into the future<sup>46</sup>.

The constitutive traits in the life of the Essenes – as reported by Porphyry and, to a greater extent, by Flavius Josephus – are perfectly in line with the typical motifs of Greek ethnography<sup>47</sup> which are used to mark the border between one's own culture and the *other* world of the barbarians. We find here the typical features of a utopian society, where every aspect of life is perfectly ordered and organized according to rules of sobriety and obedience to civil and religious prescriptions.

### The Magi

Further in his narration – after a brief mention of the Syrians<sup>48</sup> – Porphyry describes another class of priests, the Magi<sup>49</sup>. They are wise in divine concerns, worship divinity and the Persians venerate them, like the Egyptians do with their priests. They are classified in three groups<sup>50</sup>: the first do not eat or kill living beings, the second use some animals but do not feed on tame ones, the third class does not eat their meat. They believe in metempsychosis, because they assume that humans are strictly connected to animals, so much so that the former are given the names of the latter<sup>51</sup>.

Porphyry's information on the Magi can be compared to what is reported by Diogenes Laertius<sup>52</sup>, who highlights their connection with the divine world: they live honouring their gods, performing sacrifices, praying and practicing divination and formulating predictions. Besides, they do not wear golden ornaments and jewels, they wear a white garment, sleep on a bed of leaves and their diet is made of vegetables, cheese and wholemeal bread.

Diogenes Laertius's text provides a far larger amount of information compared to Porphyry's one, but in both cases the Magi appear as an ascetic community marked by rigid rules of abstinence.

<sup>45</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, II, 8, 10.

<sup>46</sup> FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, II, 8, 12.

<sup>47</sup> The theme of Flavius Josephus' debt to Greek ethnography was analysed by T. RAJAK, *Ciò che Giuseppe vide: Josephus and the Essenes*, [in:] *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period. Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, ed. F. PARENTE, J. SIEVERS, Leiden 1994, p. 141–160.

<sup>48</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 15. In this chapter, though, Porphyry does not describe the customs of the Syrians.

<sup>49</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 16.

<sup>50</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 16, 2.

<sup>51</sup> The documents from classical sources on the Magi are analysed by A. DE JONG, *Traditions of the Magi...*, p. 387–403.

<sup>52</sup> *Diogenis Laertii Vitae Philosophorum*, I, 6–8, vol. I, ed. M. MARCOVICH, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1999 [= BSGR] (cetera: DIOGENES LAERTIUS). See the analysis of this passage in A. DE JONG, *Traditions of the Magi...*, p. 205–228.

## The gymnosophists

Porphyry's list of communities who practice abstinence from meat ends up with the gymnosophists<sup>53</sup>. The author quotes Bardaisan<sup>54</sup> and explains that they are divided into two groups: the Brahmins and the Samanaeans. The Brahmins<sup>55</sup> are like a class of priests<sup>56</sup>; they are not subject to any ruler and do not pay tributes<sup>57</sup>. Those who live in the mountains eat fruit and drink cowmilk, those who are by the Ganges feed on fruit and rice that grow spontaneously<sup>58</sup>; they venerate their divinities by singing hymns day and night, and live isolated each in his own hut<sup>59</sup>. As to the Samanaeans, those who choose to belong to their group often give up any property, shave their bodies and abandon wife and children<sup>60</sup>; they live out of the city and spend their time debating theology; they have houses and temples built by the king, eat rice, bread, fruit and beans<sup>61</sup>. Common people venerate them, and the kings visit them to request to pray against calamities<sup>62</sup>.

Considering a wider context, there are several Greek sources – starting from the Hellenistic age up to the late Christian antiquity – that deal with the gymnosophists/Brahmins<sup>63</sup>.

First of all, it must be remembered that even in the *Indika* of Megasthenes<sup>64</sup>, mentioned by Strabo, there was a description similar to that of Porphyry concerning the two groups of Indian philosophers: the Brahmins and the Garmanes<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 17–18.

<sup>54</sup> *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 719 F 2, ed. F. JACOBY, Berlin–Leiden 1923–1958. On Bardaisan, see J.W. DRIJVERS, *Bardaisan of Edessa*, trans. G.E. VAN BAAREN-PAPE, Groningen 1966; I.L.E. RAMELLI, *Bardaisan of Edessa. A Reassessment of the Evidence and a New Interpretation*, Piscataway N.J. 2009 [= GECS].

<sup>55</sup> On the Brahmins in classical sources, see R. STONEMAN, *Who Are the Brahmins? Indian Lore and Cynic Doctrine in Palladius' De Bragmanibus and its Models*, CQ 44, 1994, p. 500–510 and *idem*, *Naked Philosophers: The Brahmins in the Alexander Historians and the Alexander Romance*, JHS 115, 1995, p. 99–114.

<sup>56</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 17, 1.

<sup>57</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 17, 4.

<sup>58</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 17, 4.

<sup>59</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 17, 5–6.

<sup>60</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 17, 7.

<sup>61</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 17, 8.

<sup>62</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 17, 8.

<sup>63</sup> The complete collection of the Greek and Latin sources concerning the Brahmins and the gymnosophists is in *Fontes historiae religionum Indicarum*, coll. B. BRELOER, F. BÖMER, Bonn 1939 [= FHR, 7].

<sup>64</sup> *FGrHist* 715 F 33.

<sup>65</sup> See the edition of STRABO, *Geography. Books 15–16*, vol. VII, trans. H.L. JONES, Cambridge Mass. 1930 [= LCL], p. 98: here we can find the words Βραχμῆναι and Γαρμῆναι. The same tradition of the two groups that form the gymnosophists can also be found in Clement of Alexandria, where Βραχμῆναι and Σαρμῆναι are mentioned. See CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Stromata. Buch I–VI*, XV, 71,

The first ones live in a forest outside the city for 37 years, lying on blankets of rags and skins, abstaining from meat and sexual practices, and discussing serious matters. Among the Garmanes, the most respected ones are dressed in tree barks (*Hylotibioi*), live in the forests feeding on leaves and wild fruits, abstaining from sexual intercourse and wine. Others, among them, are healers, soothsayers, enchanters.

Megasthenes' story contains a series of data – again recurring in Porphyry's passage – on which the Brahmanes' image is constructed as an *ideal alterity*<sup>66</sup> compared to Greek culture. The way of life of the Indian sages, as presented by the Greek authors<sup>67</sup>, has left traces in Porphyry's treatise, which uses elements that contribute to their assimilation with the men of the mythical time. They then became emblems of Christian asceticism, starting with the writers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries<sup>68</sup>.

In Porphyry's text, several elements of the life of the "naked philosophers" are very similar to the ones that characterize both the Egyptian priests and the Magi. Porphyry's information belongs to that largely documented tradition that considers all these groups as the initiators of philosophy<sup>69</sup> and the teachers of well-

5, vol. I–II, ed. O. STÄHLIN, Leipzig 1906 [= GCS, 15] (cetera: CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS). On the identification of the two groups see K. KARTTUNEN, *India and the Hellenistic World*, Helsinki 1997, p. 56–58.

<sup>66</sup> On the idealization of India see A. ZAMBRINI, *Gli Indiká di Megastene*, ASNPLF S. III, 12, 1982, p. 71–149 and IDEM, *Gli Indiká di Megastene. II*, ASNPLF S. III, 15, 1985, p. 781–853.

<sup>67</sup> See also *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica*, II, 40, vol. I, rec. L. DINDORF, F. VOGEL, <sup>3</sup>Stuttgartiae 1964 (cetera: DIODORUS), and especially *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia*, vol. II, *Scripta minorae et addenda*, XI, 1–8, ed. A.G. ROOS, Lipsiae 1928 [= BSGR], where the description of the Indian philosophers focuses on their frugality: they live naked, in winter they are exposed to the open air and sun, while in summer they shelter under the shade of large trees, and eat seasonal fruits and tree bark. Plutarch too describes similar traits for the Indian gymnosophists. See *Plutarchi Moralia*, 332 B, vol. II, rec. W. NACHSTÄDT, W. SIEVEKING, J.B. TITCHENER, Lipsiae 1935 [= BSGR], where it is said that they dedicate their time to the divinity, they are more frugal than Diogenes, because they do not even need a pouch, they obtain their food from the earth, they drink water from the rivers, and they have the leaves of the trees and the grass as their bed.

<sup>68</sup> See *Refutation of All Heresies*, I, 24, trans. et praef. D.M. LITWA, Atlanta 2016, and CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, III, 7, 60. See also the passage in *Eusebius Werke*, vol. VIII, *Die Praeparatio Evangelica*, VI, 10, 14, p. 1, ed. K. MRAS, Berlin 1982 [= GCS, 43.1], where Bardaisan is quoted (*FGrHist* 719 F 3b): [The Brahmanes] *never kill anybody, do not adore statues, never get drunk, do not drink wine or other fermented substances and never commit evil deeds, as they are devoted to the divine cult* (trans. by the author). The tradition of the Brahmanes seen as Christian ascetics continues in the so-called "Indian treatises" see: G. CARY, *The Medieval Alexander*, Cambridge 1956, p. 12–13, where the anonymous *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi* and Palladius' *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* are mentioned. Cf. *Alexander der Grosse und die "nackten Weisen" Indiens*, praef. et trans. M. STEINMANN, Berlin 2012, and PALLADIUS, *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, ed. W. BERGHOF, Meisenheim am Glan 1967 [= BKP, 24].

<sup>69</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS, I, 1 mentions the Magi as the initiators of philosophy among the Persians, the Chaldeans among the Babylonians and the Assyrians, the gymnosophists among the Indians, the Druids among the Celts and the Gauls. On the contrary, according to CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS,

-known Greek philosophers<sup>70</sup>. This type of evidence is the basis of the Greek construction of "Oriental wisdom"<sup>71</sup>, a form of *exoticism* that idealizes a distant, but at the same time attractive and significant, *otherness*, such as to be presented as the origin of the same Greek cultural values.

In addition to that, in the structure of Porphyry's discourse, it is precisely the exemplification of the customs of these "barbaric" communities<sup>72</sup> that constitutes the ideological foundation of his defence of an ascetic lifestyle, far from the way of life of contemporary society<sup>73</sup>.

### The utopian perspective

We have seen that a large part of Book IV of Porphyry's *De abstinentia* is devoted to the description of the customs of some ancient communities who are associated by their shared meat-free diet. This aspect is the focal point of the author's main purpose in his narration, that is to defend the actual model of life of Neoplatonic philosophers<sup>74</sup>.

However, if we examine the whole section of this Book, we can observe a network of multiple connections among these communities, whose importance is visibly

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I, 15, 71, 3–4, the first philosophers were the prophets among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans among the Assyrians, the Druids among the Gauls, the Samanaeans in Bactriana, some wisemen among the Celts, the Magi among the Persians, and the gymnosophists among the Indians.

<sup>70</sup> In DIODORUS, I, 96, we find a catalogue of famous mythical and historical figures who visited the Egyptian priests in order to learn their doctrine: Orpheus, Museus, Melampus, Dedalus, and Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Plato, Pythagoras, Eudoxus, Democritus and Oinopidos. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, IX, 35, narrates that Democritus visited first the Egyptian priests, later the Chaldeans in Persia and then the gymnosophists in India. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, IX, 61, reports that the philosopher Pyrrhus, following Anaxarchus in his travels, was able to have contacts with the gymnosophists and the Magi. The classical tradition offers a large amount of further information on this topic.

<sup>71</sup> On the theme of the Egyptians' wisdom that was admired by several Greek authors, see F. HARTOG, *Mémoire d'Ulysse...*, p. 74–106. On "Oriental wisdom" considered by the Greeks as the basis of their philosophy and attributed not only to the Indians, but also to the Egyptians and to the populations of the Near East, see K. KARTTUNEN, *Greeks and Indian Wisdom*, [in:] *Beyond Orientalism. The Work of Wilhelm Halbfass and its Impact on Indian and Cross-Cultural Studies*, ed. E. FRANCO, K. PEISENDANZ, Amsterdam–Atlanta 1997, p. 117–122, in particular p. 117. W. HALBFASS, *Indien und Europa. Perspektiven ihrer geistigen Begegnung*, Basel 1981, p. 3–4, remarks that Greek idea contributed to the foundation of the European view of Indian and "Eastern" thought.

<sup>72</sup> Regarding the question that Porphyry uses ethnographic material as an argument for his theoretical speculations, see A.P. JOHNSON, *Religion and Identity...*, p. 189–191, and in particular on this section of ethnographic dossography p. 215–220.

<sup>73</sup> In fact in the passage of *De abstinentia*, IV 18, 4 Porphyry criticizes the Greeks in comparison with the lifestyle of the groups he has mentioned.

<sup>74</sup> On the separation of the philosopher from the daily life of non-philosophers and the peculiar lifestyles of philosophical schools, see P. HADOT, *Exercices spirituels et philosophie antique*, Paris 1987, p. 12–16.

aimed at describing a utopian lifestyle. Therefore, it is important to analyse the reasons and the underlying meaning of the construction of this close correlation.

The first element that all these “groups” (ἔθνη) have in common is their strong devotion<sup>75</sup>. As a matter of fact, the author lists a series of communities with a specific religious status, as they all belong to priesthood: the Egyptian priests, the Magi, the Brahmins. Their descriptions show how the prescriptions that regulate their existence are totally different from the normal habits of their own people.

The familiarity with the divine is also common to the Essenes, who do not belong to priesthood but devote a large part of their life to prayers and purification<sup>76</sup>. Moreover, some of them can predict the future, a skill that they share with the Magi.

It must be remarked that Porphyry’s text repeatedly mentions a term referred to the lifestyle of the Egyptian priests and of the Essenes: *enkrateia*<sup>77</sup>. This word defines the hardships that the members of these two groups voluntarily undergo. Another recurring term is *askesis*<sup>78</sup>, which very clearly states the condition of “alienation” of these two groups from the rest of the world.

There are further similarities in the customs of the ἔθνη that Porphyry presents, for instance their simple clothes, their peculiar diet, their sexual abstinence<sup>79</sup>, the lack of diseases and wars, their having common properties, the lack of any productive activity and their isolation from civil life. The special emphasis on their lifestyle is the core of the Porphyry’s discourse: all these elements illustrate unmistakably a utopian life.

In these terms, the representation of all these groups – the Egyptian priests, the Essenes, the Magi and the gymnosophists – place them in an inactual, timeless dimension. The fact that Porphyry decided to associate these communities together in his text does not appear at all accidental, as his information goes back to previous traditions or are documented by other authors. This means that some

<sup>75</sup> PORPHYRIUS, IV, 5, 3.

<sup>76</sup> This is one of the features that the Essenes share with the Pythagoreans, with whom they also shared other habits: I. LÉVY, *La légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine*, Paris 1927, p. 270–288; A. CATASTINI, *Flavio Giuseppe e la filosofia degli Esseni*, [in:] *Flores Florentino. Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. A. HILHORST, É. PUECH, E. TIGCHELAAR, Leiden–Boston 2007 [= JSJ.S, 122], p. 53–62.

<sup>77</sup> With reference to the Egyptian priests, the term appears in PORPHYRIUS, IV, 6, 4; 8, 1; 8, 5, to the Essenes in PORPHYRIUS, IV, 11, 3; 12, 7.

<sup>78</sup> The term appears with reference to the Egyptian priests, and to the Essenes respectively in PORPHYRIUS, IV, 9, 1; IV, 13, 6.

<sup>79</sup> On sexual abstinence as one of the options in the lifestyle of Neoplatonic philosophers, see D.M. COSI, *Astensione alimentare e astinenza sessuale nel De abstinencia di Porfirio*, [in:] *La tradizione dell’Enkrateia. Motivazioni ontologiche e protologiche. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Milano, 20–23 aprile 1982*, ed. U. BIANCHI, Roma 1985, p. 698–701.

recurring motifs were already quite popular in the Greek literary production, especially in ethnographic works<sup>80</sup>.

Moreover we may add that Porphyry employs a typically Greek ideological-cultural system, which makes reference to a model of primordial mankind, and implements a symbolic shift onto the ideal level of *illud tempus*<sup>81</sup>, within which the customs of some specific communities become meaningful.

It is notable, and should be adequately remarked, that the mechanism of assimilation of these groups refers mainly to the Greeks of the mythical times. The defence of a lifestyle based on rigid prescriptions and prohibitions is acceptable only in a *qualitatively* different, “out-of-history” dimension.

A further confirmation of the “de-historicization” of the models that Porphyry presents as positive can come from the following two considerations: a) these communities are small, marginal groups within the peoples they belong to; b) these peoples live in territories that are far away from the Greek world and therefore represent the barbaric *otherness*<sup>82</sup>. This last point allows us to say that the ideological mechanism underlying Porphyry's narration about the ἔθνη also implies a projection of the “right” lifestyle for philosophers onto the symbolic level of the *ille locus*.

In short, the ethics that Porphyry proposes for the ascetic philosopher is grounded on what is distant both from history and civilization.

In this regard, it is worth recalling a passage from Thucydides, where he states that *the ancient Greeks used to live in a way comparable to that of today's barbarians*<sup>83</sup>. This is a synthesis of a conceptual structure that allowed the Greeks to believe in their own superiority. Thucydides' words show how this equivalence was made possible:

ancient Greeks = contemporary Barbarians.

Such a comparison occurred on two intersecting levels, the vertical axis of time and the horizontal axis of space. The Greek thought produced a “device” of marginalization in the dimension of *remoteness*, i.e. a distance both chronological and geographical as a powerful cultural pattern to criticize and control everything that appeared as *other*.

Consequently, it is easy to recognize in the work *De abstinentia*, despite the different narrative patterns, the same conceptual scheme which is used exhortatively to present a utopian and timeless existence as a high ethical and philosophical value.

<sup>80</sup> On the ethnographic aspects of Porphyry's work, see A.P. JOHNSON, *Religion and Identity...*, p. 189–257. Specifically, on the Hellenocentric view of the world, p. 222–243.

<sup>81</sup> On the concept of mythical time defined as *illud tempus* see M. ELIADE, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1949, p. 390–393.

<sup>82</sup> F. HARTOG, *Le mirior d'Hérodote...*, p. 61–62.

<sup>83</sup> THUCYDIDES, *Historiae*, I, 6, 6, vol. I, ed. H. STUART JONES, J.E. POWELL, Oxonii 1963 [= SCBO].

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**Abstract.** In the long passage of *De abstinentia*, IV, 2–18, Porphyry mentions a series of “groups” (ἔθνη) as examples of abstinence from animal food: the ancient Greeks of the “golden age”, the Lacedaemonians of Lycurgus’ era, the Egyptian priests, the Essenes among the Jews, the Magi among the Persians and the gymnosophists among the Indians. Such an association does not seem at all accidental, since Porphyry refers to a tradition in which these communities have similar habits of life, including the prohibition of eating meat and drinking wine, sexual abstinence, absence of diseases and wars, separation from the civil sphere, devotion to the sacred. All these elements constitute the specific connotation of a human existence that evokes the “time of the origins”, substantially a paradisiac dimension, far from history. It is a deliberate symbolic shift. This brief research will investigate the reasons and the deep meaning of the connection based on utopian life traits.

**Keywords:** golden age, abstinence from meat, sexual abstinence, remoteness from civilization, familiarity with the sacred, utopian lifestyle

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## TRANSLATION AND TRANSFORMATION OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S URBAN IMAGERY INTO OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

**St** John Chrysostom preached for 20 years in the two major cities of the Eastern Roman empire – Antioch (386–397) and Constantinople (398–404). He delivered hundreds of sermons, some of these were written down at the time of preaching, others were edited and published later. More than 800 are considered genuine, another thousand texts bear his name as the author<sup>1</sup>. His works were widely popular in all the neighbouring cultures from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Slavonic tradition joined this trend.

The title of my present research suggests mainly a survey on literary and cultural reception, but it also allows a discussion on several broader questions, such as the history of rhetoric and preaching, the use of literary sources as historical evidence, late antique and medieval architecture, city planning, and everyday life. John Chrysostom's extensive and diverse body of work provides a large number of examples and theoretical models in various study domains. Here I will focus on his depictions of the city and urban life and their rendition in the early Slavonic tradition.

John Chrysostom was a preacher and a writer – many of his sermons were both oral performances in an actual reality, and written works meant for reading in posterity, outside of their immediate context. His fellow-citizens in Antioch and Constantinople were his audience, but they were also subjects of his sermons. He drew material from contemporary events, natural disasters, political and social turmoil, local landmarks, the neighbourhood, etc. It is not surprising then, that his works served as documental sources in academic research. The written texts, which have come down to us in numerous manuscripts, still keep traces of direct communication<sup>2</sup>. The preacher addresses his audience from time to time, points

<sup>1</sup> S. VOICU, *Une nomenclature pour les anonymes du corpus pseudo-chrysostomien*, B 51, 1981, p. 297–305.

<sup>2</sup> Some aspects of this question are discussed also by other researchers, *Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. P. ALLEN, M. CUNNINGHAM, Leiden 1998, p. 18:

to the surroundings, refers to the previous day (“yesterday”), names particular persons, and local suburbs. One way of looking at his preaching, as Wendy Mayer points out, is as a liturgical act which takes place within a liturgical setting<sup>3</sup>. In this line of reasoning, Mayer poses a number of questions concerning the actual moment of delivery and the interaction between the preacher and his congregation, such as: “What behaviour does he expect of the audience during the homily”, “Where is his audience situated?”, “Can John project his voice adequately?”, “Who is sitting and who is standing?”, and so on<sup>4</sup>. Another strain of questions refers to the preacher’s surroundings: “In which city are John and the audience in question situated?”, “In what part of the urban or suburban landscape are they positioned?”, “In which building are they located?”, etc.<sup>5</sup> None of these questions, which represent the liturgical, topographical, social, or personal perspective on Chrysostom’s preaching, is relevant to the afterlife of his homilies. Later copies and translations take the homily away from the initial moment of delivery and bring it to a new readership (or audience), into another era and another cultural and topographical context. This loss of actuality is typical for all oral sermons put into writing<sup>6</sup>. The double nature of the homily – oral and written – creates an artificial, rhetorical reality, cf. W. Mayer again:

Even if we can confirm that the homily that survives was delivered before a live audience and is identical to the original, and we can demonstrate that John individualised the content in response to his audience, we must still deal with the fact that the information itself is presented within a rhetorical medium and represents a constructed reality<sup>7</sup>.

Some elements of the live delivery, such as improvised dialogues with the audience, *exempla*, deictic expressions and other references to the context, are often preserved in written sermons. However, they are not only remnants from a single past event, but also rhetorical devices aimed at attaining more convincing moral and instructive power<sup>8</sup>. The homily – be it exegetical, panegyric, polemical or

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*Homilies which were preached ex tempore obviously represent the best sources for this type of information; those which were prepared beforehand or edited after the event rarely indicate the dynamics of a particular occasion.*

<sup>3</sup> W. MAYER, *John Chrysostom: Extraordinary Preacher, Ordinary Audience*, [in:] *Preacher and Audience...*, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 115–116.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 126. W. Mayer gives a detailed account on the geographical, topographical, urban and architectural data in Chrysostom’s homilies, *ibidem*, p. 126–129; see also W. MAYER, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom. Provenance. Reshaping the Foundations*, Rome 2005, p. 289–302.

<sup>6</sup> The medieval sermon both as oral and literary genre in the Western tradition is examined in: *The Sermon*, ed. B.M. KIENZLE, Turnhout 2000, esp. p. 159–174; the signs of orality in written sermons and the tension between the written text and the oral discourse are summarized on p. 965–978. The volume gives also an extensive bibliography on general and specific questions.

<sup>7</sup> W. MAYER, *John Chrysostom: Extraordinary Preacher...*, p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g. *Preacher and Audience...*, p. 13: *By employing an informal and conversational method of discourse, frequently inventing imaginary interlocutors, preachers may be inventing a dialogue which did*

ethical – is a rhetorical genre and John Chrysostom is famously one of its best champions. His eloquence, acquired through classical education, applies some methods of the second sophistic in Christian context<sup>9</sup>. He uses metaphors, comparisons, *ecphraseis* and other vivid figures of speech in a wide range of topics. For instance, he borrows images from athletic games, medicine, sea and navigation, the hippodrome, the theater, etc. – sources typical for the sophists<sup>10</sup>, but always directed by the preacher at moral or religious instruction.

John Chrysostom's urban imagery also falls into these two categories. On the one hand, his descriptions of the cityscape and the urban life give a snapshot of the era and of the actual moment of delivery. On the other hand, they are *topoi* that transcend the particular space and time and, as written literature, fit into other contexts. By comparing some of these images with their translations into Old Church Slavonic I will try to determine how much of Chrysostom's urban imagery was preserved, what was adapted to the new audience, and what remained unchanged and detached from the actual reality. Some aspects of this cultural transfer were addressed in previous (predominantly lexical) studies on Greek and Roman *realia* and their rendition in Old Church Slavonic<sup>11</sup>. Terms, names, and places from the classical and late antique world were not entirely unfamiliar to the educated Slavic audience. Personal and geographical names, exotic food, and other objects are frequently mentioned in many genres of translated literature, such as biblical translations, historiography, hagiography, rhetoric, juridical texts, etc. At the same time, the abundant scribal errors suggest that many *realia* were misunderstood or entirely incomprehensible to the scribes.

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*not really exist, and again: rhetorical devices such as dialogue and diatribal interjections to the audience, the use of everyday imagery or exempla, and familiar topoi all must have helped to engage an audience which was expecting to some extent to be entertained, ibidem, p. 18.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. T. AMERINGER, *The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons of St. John Chrysostom. A Study in Greek Rhetoric*, Washington 1921 [= PSt, 5]; M.A. BURNS, *Saint John Chrysostom's Homilies on the Statues. A Study of Their Rhetorical Qualities and Form*, Washington 1930 [= PSt, 22].

<sup>10</sup> Examples from 4<sup>th</sup> century pagan orators, such as Himerius, Themistius and others, see in T. AMERINGER, *The Stylistic Influence...*, p. 17–19. Special chapters are dedicated to the praise of a country and of a city in Menander Rhetor, cf. *Menander Rhetor*, ed. et trans. D.A. RUSSELL, N.G. WILSON, Oxford 1981, p. 28–43, 46–75.

<sup>11</sup> On this topic see e.g. the following research papers and the references therein: A.-M. ТОТОНА-НОВА, *Сведенията за гръко-римския свят в славянския ексерпт от Хрониката на Юлий Африкан. Проблеми на рецепцията*, [in:] ПОЛУИСТОР. *Scripta slavica Mario Capaldo dicata*, ed. К. Дидди, Москва 2015, p. 316–327; Т. Илиева, *Античната култура през призмата на средновековния български книжовен език*, *Дзяло*, 10, 2017, [http://www.abcdar.com/magazine/X/T.Ilieva\\_1314-9067\\_X.pdf](http://www.abcdar.com/magazine/X/T.Ilieva_1314-9067_X.pdf) [3 IV 2020]; Т. Славова, *Византийски реалии в преводаческата практика на старобългарските книжовници*, [in:] *Laudator temporis acti. Studia in memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov*, vol. II, *Ius, imperium, potestas litterae ars et archaeologia*, ed. I.A. BILIARSKY, Sofia 2018, p. 242–253, and many others.

The descriptions of the urban life in the late antique city do not always contain specific vocabulary and therefore may remain undetected and unexamined in lexical research. Some of the examples cited below depict scenes set in an urban environment, and the present study investigates not only how specific objects were *named* but also how ordinary situations were *described*. The selection of the examples is based on several criteria. The study is focused on genuine Chrysostomian homilies<sup>12</sup> translated into Old Church Slavonic in the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century. John Chrysostom's authorship is an important criterium, because it gives a reliable point of reference in terms of time and place of origin of the homilies. The translations, however, belong to various anonymous Old Bulgarian translators and are mostly preserved in late manuscripts, some of which are not published<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, the manuscript tradition and the reception in the following centuries should also be kept in mind.

The passages I will discuss below refer to the urban environment, public and private buildings, and the everyday life of the citizens. The examples are excerpted from the following Old Church Slavonic collections and manuscripts: the Chrysorrhoeas collection (*Zlatostruy*)<sup>14</sup>, Chrysostom's *On the Statues*<sup>15</sup>, Codex Suprasl-

<sup>12</sup> Cf. W. MAYER, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom...*, p. 26–27; S. VOICU, *Pseudo-Giovanni Crisostomo: i confini del corpus*, JAC 39, 1996, p. 105–115.

<sup>13</sup> The Greek text of the examples below is cited according to the edition in *Patrologia Graeca*. The Old Church Slavonic translations are cited according to their respective editions, or according to the earliest accessible manuscripts, if they are unedited.

<sup>14</sup> Translated in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, its various versions are preserved in 12<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts, see Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй: старобългарски хомилетичен свод, създаден по инициатива на българския цар Симеон. Текстологическо и извороведско изследване*, София 2013. The so-called *Longer Zlatostruy*, which is preserved almost only in Russian manuscripts from 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, is unedited. Here it is cited after the earliest complete copy, a Russian manuscript from the Moscow Theological Academy (Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, 1474), cf. АРХИМ. ЛЕОНИД, *Сведение о славянских рукописях, поступивших из книгохранилища Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой лавры в библиотеку Троицкой духовной семинарии в 1747 г. (ныне находящихся в библиотеке Московской духовной академии)*, Вып. 2, Москва 1887, p. 66–68. It is available online <http://libfond.ru/lib-rgb/173-i/f-173-i-43/> [11 VII 2020].

<sup>15</sup> *De statu*s (*Ad populum Antiochenum homiliae* 1–21), CPG 4330. The scholars are not unanimous about the date and the number of the Old Church Slavonic translations, cf. А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Анрианты*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. II, Москва 2001, p. 410, <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/115376.html> [26 V 2020]; М.С. МУШИНСКАЯ, *Адрианты Иоанна Златоуста в южнославянских и русских памятниках*, [in:] *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка (2002–2003)*, Москва 2003, p. 27–74, [http://www.ruslang.ru/istochnik\\_2003](http://www.ruslang.ru/istochnik_2003) [26 V 2020], especially p. 28 – no data support a complete early Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) translation, only fragments are extant. But according to D. Bulanin, there was a nearly complete 10<sup>th</sup>-century translation that was revised and preserved in later copies, cf. Д. БУЛАНИН, *Текстологические и библиографические арабески. Приложение V. Андрианты в старшем славянском переводе*, [in:] *Каталог памятников древнерусской письменности XI–XIV вв.*, Санкт-Петербург 2014, p. 489–510. It is unedited, here it is cited after a 16<sup>th</sup>-century Russian manuscript from the Russian State Library 304/I, No 151 (1597), cf. ИЕРОМ. ИЛАРИЙ, ИЕРОМ. АРСЕНИЙ, *Описание славянских рукописей*

iensis (10<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>16</sup>, and Uspenskij codex (12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>17</sup>. Other important Slavonic manuscripts, such as the Symeon florilegium (Izbornik 1073, 11<sup>th</sup> century), the Troickij codex (12<sup>th</sup> century), the Mihanović homiliary (13<sup>th</sup> century), and the German codex (14<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>18</sup>, did not provide any more examples. Although John Chrysostom is the most translated author in the medieval Slavonic literature, one of the reasons for the scarcity of examples is the fact that only selected works and fragments were translated into Slavonic in the early period (9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century) and the selection was based on their topic and function. As a result, catechetical, festal, and panegyric homilies in the homiliaries are less likely to contain urban descriptions, compared to the ethical and even exegetical sermons, collected in instructive miscellanies such as *Zlatostruy*. Some brilliant references of John Chrysostom to the life of his fellow-citizens in Antioch and Constantinople were simply left out of the Slavonic selection. The translations of the later period (from 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards) are not taken into account, because they represent a different cultural context and principles of translation. Nevertheless, the available instances are sufficient for drawing some conclusions about the way the Slavonic audience saw the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine city.

### City streets and buildings

The first group of examples describes spacious streets, squares, and buildings. The two biggest cities of the Eastern Roman Empire in the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century were impressive in terms of infrastructure and population even by today's standards. They shared some features, e.g. busy streets and markets, big churches and tall buildings, a hippodrome, noise, nightlife, streetlights, baths, dense and stratified population. Reference to any of these features in Chrysostom's homilies could pertain to either city. Aside from that, Antioch was famous for its porticoed streets, the proximity to the Orontes river and the mountain, and the luxurious suburb Daphne<sup>19</sup>, whereas

библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой лавры, Москва 1878, p. 125–128. It is available online <http://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/304-i/f304i-151/> [11 VII 2020].

<sup>16</sup> *Супрасълски или Ретков сборник*, vol. I–II, ed. Й. ЗАИМОВ, М. КАПАЛДО, София 1982.

<sup>17</sup> *Успенский сборник XII–XIII вв.*, ed. С.И. КОТКОВ, Москва 1971.

<sup>18</sup> These manuscripts contain Old Church Slavonic original and translated texts from the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century, including Chrysostomian homilies, cf. *Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, vol. I, *Изследвания и текст*, София 1991; vol. II, *Речник-индекс*, София 1993; vol. III, *Гръцки извори*, София 2015; J. ROPOVSKI, F.J. THOMSON, W.R. VEDER, *The Troickij Sbornik (Cod. Moskva, GBL, F.304 (Troice-Sergieva Lavra) N 12)*. *Text in Transcription*, ПК 21–22, 1988; *Mihanović Homiliar*, ed. R. AITZETMÜLLER, Graz 1957; E. МИРЧЕВА, *Германов сборник от 1358/1359 г. Изследване и издание на текста*, София 2006.

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed study on the topography of Antioch in John Chrysostom's works see W. MAYER, *The Topography of Antioch Described in the Writings of John Chrysostom*, [in:] *Les sources de l'histoire du paysage urbain d'Antioche sur l'Oronte. Actes des journées d'études des 20 et 21 septembre 2010. Colloques de l'université Paris 8*, ed. C. SALIOU, Paris 2012, p. 81–100, with an exhaustive list of topographic data on p. 89–100.

Constantinople was surrounded on three sides by the sea and was distinguished by the imperial palace and the occasional presence of the emperor<sup>20</sup>.

The following example mentions not only the noise in the (unspecified) city, but also suburbs and houses with golden roofs and *triclinia*:

[1] Τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστον ἐγκώμιον ἔστι τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, οὐ τὸ θορύβους ἔχειν καὶ προάστεια, οὐδὲ χρυσορόφους οἴκους καὶ τρικλίνους, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔχειν δῆμον σπουδαῖον καὶ διεγρηγμένον (*De paenitentia homilia* 3, CPG 4333; PG, vol. XLIX, col. 291).

This is the biggest praise to our city, not its noise and suburbs, nor its golden-roofed houses furnished with couches, but its devoted and diligent people.

СЕ БО ІЕСТЬ ПОХВАЛА ВАШЕГО ГРАДА. ТАКОЖЕ НИ ПАНЦА НАБѢТН НИ ХЛѢВЬЦЬ. НИ ЗЛАТОКРОВЬНИХЪ ДЪМОВЪ. НИ ПОЛАТЪ. НЪ ІЕЖЕ НАБѢТН НАРОДЪ ПОСПѢШНВЪ Н ВЪСТАВЛЕНЪ (Uspenskij codex, 12<sup>th</sup> c., f. 180v, ed. С.И. КОТКОВ, *Успенский сборник...*, p. 305).

There are several issues in the Slavonic translation that should be addressed. First of all, it is the overall meaning of the phrase. According to John Chrysostom, the noise, the rich houses and the suburbs (where, supposedly, the wealthy citizens could retreat in their villas) are inherent to his city, but it is the people who are more praiseworthy<sup>21</sup>. However, the Slavonic translation suggests that this town has nothing but its people. The meaning is further adjusted by the vocabulary. Chrysostom's "our city" (τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως) has become "your city" (ВАШЕГО ГРАДА, \*ὑμετέρας) – a common itacistic error, but also a lost connection between the preacher and the audience. The Slavonic ХЛѢВЬЦЬ 'field, farm' hardly implied luxury<sup>22</sup>, and the big Roman house with many rooms, including the typical dining-room *triclinium* furnished with three couches, where the guests reclined for dinner, was rendered as ДЪМЫ Н ПОЛАТЫ, 'houses and palaces'.

The following passage refers undoubtedly to Antioch:

<sup>20</sup> Constantinople is well studied, see e.g. C. MANGO, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 1985; *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. NECIPOGLU, Leiden 2001 [= MMe, 33]; P. MAGDALINO, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, Aldershot 2007.

<sup>21</sup> The reference to the suburbs in this homily was one of the reasons for it to be located in Antioch because of its famous suburb Daphne. However, W. Mayer questions the validity of this criterion and comments on the meaning of the plural προάστεια: *Although in its singular form προάστειον is genuinely used by Chrysostom to indicate a physical suburb, it is possible that when the term appears in its plural form without a definite article, as in the instance adduced, it is being employed by him to describe not a physical area beyond the confines of the city but the dwellings or estates situated in those areas*, W. MAYER, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom...*, p. 389.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the next example below. There are also other instances where ХЛѢВЬЦЬ, ХЛѢВЕНЦА, ХЛѢВЬНИЦА correspond to προάστεια, cf. И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. III, Санкт-Петербург 1912, col. 1376.

[2] Ὅταν ἐθέλῃς τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν ἐγκώμιον, μὴ μοι τὴν Δάφνην εἴπῃς τὸ προάστειον, μηδὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μῆκος τῶν κυπαρίσσω, μηδὲ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, μηδὲ τὸ πολλοὺς τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν ἀνθρώπους, μηδὲ τὸ μέχρι βαθυτάτης ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διατρίβειν μετὰ ἀδείας πολλῆς, μηδὲ τῶν ὠνίων τὴν ἀφθονίαν (*Ad populum Antiochenum homilia 17, CPG 4330; PG, vol. XLIX, col. 179*).

Whenever you want to praise the city, do not tell me about the suburb of Daphne, the multitude and magnitude of the cypresses, and the water fountains, nor that many people live in the city and one can walk around the *agora* deep into the night without any fear, nor about the abundance of goods.

ЕГДА ХОЩЕШИ ГРАДЪ ПОВѢДАТИ ХВАЛЪ, НЕ ГЛѢ АН ДАФНН ХА҃ВЕЦЬ, НИ МНО҃СТВА НИ ВЫСОТН КИПАРИСНЫѦ НІ НСТОУ҃ЮЩИИ КЪ ВОДНѢ, НИ ЖНЕШЦѢ МНОГѢ УЛѢКѢ ПО ГРАДѢ НЕ ЕЖЕ ДО ВЕНЕРА ТЕМНА НА ТРОСѢХѢ ХОДѢТИ СЪ ПРОСТРАНЬСТВѢ МНО҃ЗѢМЪ, НИ КЪПОВАНН ВѢГНАѦ (*Russian State Library 304/I, No 151, 1597, f. 183v*).

Unlike the first example, this translation is faithful and unadapted, including the mention of the Daphne suburb and the cypresses in Antioch. Since the entire homiletical series *Ad populum Antiochenum* is famously dedicated to this particular city and its people, it is not surprising that the references to the topography remained unchanged. In the translation, it constructs a “rhetorical” reality, which is consistent within its own context and is not necessarily connected to the surroundings of the Slavonic reader<sup>23</sup>. Another passage from the same homily also mentions the columns and *stoas* in the city and adds some information about the lexical variety of the translation:

[3] Οὐ τὸ μητρόπολιν εἶναι, οὐδὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἔχειν καὶ κάλλος οἰκοδομημάτων, οὐδὲ τὸ πολλοὺς κίονας, καὶ στοὰς εὐρείας καὶ περιπάτους (*Ad populum Antiochenum homilia 17, CPG 4330; PG, vol. XLIX, col. 176*).

Not because it is a capital city, nor because of its big and beautiful buildings, numerous columns, broad colonnades and covered walks.

НЕ ЕЖЕ МΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΗ БЫ ꙗкоже неже величества наѣтън и довротоу зданїи, ꙗкоже неже ан многоу столпы и прикрылы и оуцнтелнїца (*Russian State Library 304/I, No 151, 1597, f. 181r*)<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Such a “constructed reality” is present not only in translation, but also in Chrysostom’s original: *The information that is supplied is largely allusive rather than specific. In addition, the way in which John refers collectively to “the baths”, “the agora”, and “the theatre” leads one to suspect that for pedagogical and polemical purposes he operates largely within a symbolic topography*, W. MAYER, *The Topography of Antioch...*, p. 86.

<sup>24</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup>-century translation (or revision, cf. note 15 above) of the homilies *On the Statues*, this sentence is as follows: НЕ ЕЖЕ МΗΤΡΟΠΟΛІА БЫТИ. НИ ЖЕ ЕЖЕ ВЕЛИЧЕСТВО НАѢТН. И ДОВРОТОУ ЗДАНІЮМЪ, НИ ЖЕ ЕЖЕ МНОГУ СТОПЫ И ПРИКРЫН НАѢТН И ѠВОДН (*Vladislav the Grammarian’s manuscript Rila 3/6, 1473, f. 254r*). The Slavonic *прикрывъ* is a standard rendition of the Greek word *στοά*, two more instances are listed below. The word *отъводъ* is not an exact match for the Greek *περίπατος* (‘walk’), but is etymologically closer than the word *оуцнтелнїца* in the example cited above.

The translation in this example (especially *ΠΗΚΥΡΩΛΩ Η ΟΥΨΗΤΕΛΗΝΙΪΑ*) does not convey the exact meaning of the Greek *στοὰς εὐρείας καὶ περιπάτους*. The contextual synonyms “columns”, “colonnades” and “(covered) walks” allude to the famous covered streets in Antioch. The Slavonic *ΟΥΨΗΤΕΛΗΝΗΪΑ* ‘school’ is an unusual counterpart to *περίπατος* ‘walk, place for walking’. However, it corresponds to one of the secondary meanings of this word ‘philosophical school’<sup>25</sup> and reveals either a very well educated translator, or a random and inexplicable mistake.

The next two examples are from a Constantinopolitan homily, *In sancto hieromartyre Phoca* (CPG 4364). The selected passages are just a small sample of all the references to the imperial city. They describe the surroundings and refer to a particular event at the time of the delivery of the sermon:

[4] Λαμπρὰ γέγονεν ἡμῖν χθὲς ἡ πόλις, λαμπρὰ καὶ περιφανής, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ κίονας εἶχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρα πομπεύοντα ἀπὸ Πόντου πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγενόμενον (*In sancto hieromartyre Phoca*, CPG 4364; PG, vol. L, col. 699).

The city was bright yesterday, bright and prominent, not because it has columns, but because of the martyr who came to us in a procession from the sea.

СВѢТЕЛЪ НАМЪ ГРА СВѢТЕЛЪ Н ѸТЕНЪ. НЕ НАМЪЖЕ МРАМОРАНИ, НАМЪ СТАЛЪПИ СТОΛΑΪΑ. НЪЪ ЕΛΜΑЖΕ ΜΥΝΗΙΚΑ ΟΔΟΛΕΪΨΑ. Ѡ ΜΟΡΑ Κ ΝΑ ΠΗΝΕΔΕ (*Longer Zlatostruy*, homily No 6, ed. Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй...*, p. 264).

[5] Ἀπελειφθῆς χθὲς; παραγενοῦ κἄν σήμερον, ἵνα ἴδῃς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον χῶρον ἀπαγόμενον. Εἶδες αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀγόμενον; βλέπε αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦ πελάγους πλέοντα (*In sancto hieromartyre Phoca*, CPG 4364; PG, vol. L, col. 699).

Did you miss it yesterday? Then be here today and see him being brought back to his own place. Did you see how he was carried across the *agora*? Watch him cross the sea, as well.

ОСТА ЛИ ВЧЕРА. ПРІИДИ ПОНЕ ВЪ ВТОРЫИ ДНѢ. ДА ВИДИШИ. Н НА СВОЕ МѢСТО НЕСОМА. ВИДѢ ЛИ ВРЕСЪ ТОРГЪ НЕСОМА. ВИЖѢ Н ВРЕСЪ ПОУΨΗΝΟΥ ПΛΟΒΟΥΨΑ (*Longer Zlatostruy*, homily No 6, ed. Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй...*, p. 264).

Chrysostom’s homily celebrates the two-day procession carrying the saint’s relics through the city and across the sea – a single event, which connects the preacher and his audience with their shared actual reality<sup>26</sup>. To the Slavonic reader (and, indeed, to every member of an audience other than the one present at

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *LSJ*, p. 1382, s.v. *περιπάτω* – one of the meanings is ‘walk about while teaching, discourse’ and ‘dispute, argue’, and for *περίπατος* cf. ‘school of philosophy, first used of the Academy’, and ‘generally, any school of philosophy’.

<sup>26</sup> On the date and provenance of the homily see SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *The Cult of the Saints. Select Homilies and Letters*, praef. et trans. W. MAYER, B. NEIL, New York 2006, p. 75–76.

the delivery of the sermon on this day in Constantinople) the deictic *χθές* 'yesterday' was already anachronistic, hence it was omitted in the translation of example 4. The word *βλνερα* in example 5, together with the sea and the "marble" columns of the city, create a new "rhetorical" reality, which includes also the images of other *exempla*, *ecphraseis*, and comparisons.

Chrysostom's cities were lively and dynamic, and their social and economic centres were the city squares and marketplaces, the *agorai*<sup>27</sup>. Chrysostom transfers the realistic image of the *agora* into the constructed reality of the rhetorical figures of speech. In the following *exemplum* he compares the troubled soul of an angry man to an *agora* and it is difficult to differentiate between the 4<sup>th</sup>-century reality and the *topos*. The description is very realistic, but its function in the text is purely rhetorical:

[6] ἡ τοῦτου δὲ (sc. ψυχῆ) ἀγορᾶ καὶ θορύβῳ καὶ ταῖς μέσαις τῶν πόλεων, ἔνθα πολλὴ ἡ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀπιόντων, τῶν ἐπανιόντων, καμήλων, καὶ ἡμιόνων, καὶ ὄνων, μεγάλα τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἐμβοώντων, ὥστε μὴ καταπατηθῆναι, καὶ πάλιν ἀργυροκόπων, χαλκοτύπων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκκρουόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐπηρεαζομένων, τῶν δὲ ἐπηρεαζόντων (*In Acta apostolorum* homilia 6, *CPG* 4426; Oxford, New College No 75, p. 143)<sup>28</sup>.

The soul of a troubled man] is similar to the clamour at the marketplace and the city streets, there is great noise from people coming and going, camels, mules, and donkeys, people shouting to the passers-by, so that they do not get trampled; and silversmiths and blacksmiths hammering from both sides; and people either bullying, or being bullied.

А ГИ'ЕВАНЕВАО ПОДОБНА ТРЪЖИЩОУ. НД'ЕЖЕ ВСАКЪ ПАНЩЬ ЕСТЬ. Н ВЕС'ЕДѦ (v.l. СТЬГН'ЕАНЪ) ГРѦННѦ. НД'ЕЖЕ ЛНОГЪ КЛНЪ (v.l. ПАНЩЬ) Н МАТ'ЕЖЪ. НЕХОДѦЩІ НЪ ГРАДА Н ЕХОДѦЩІ. В'Е-ЛБЕЛОУ' Н МЪЩАТЪ. Н ЖЕНОУЩІ ВЕЛНН КРНВАТН ПО НН. ДА ЧЛЪКЪ (v.l. КЪ ПРЕДЪННІАНЪ) НЕ ПОПЕРОУТЪ. Н ПАКЪ ПОДОБНА ЕСТЬ КЪ ЗЛАТАРЕ. Н КЪ ЖЕЛ'ЕЗОКОВЦЕ (v.l. КЪРЪНІАНЪ), ОБО-ЮДОУ КЛЕКЪТАНІЕ (v.l. КЛЮКАННІЕ) ТЕОРАЩІ. Н ХРАМН ТН ПА'ЪНН ТЕПТА (v.l. КЛЮКА) Н КЛЕВТА (v.l. ТЪПЪТА). ТАКА ТН ЕСТЬ ГИ'ЕВАНЕВЪ ДЪША. (*Longer Zlatostruy*, homily No 90, Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, f. 457v<sup>29</sup>).

<sup>27</sup> For his congregation, the main axes of life seem to be: the house, the agora, the baths and the church, see L.A. LAVAN, *The Agorai of Antioch and Constantinople as seen by John Chrysostom*, BICS 50, Issue Sup. 91, 2007, p. 157–167.

<sup>28</sup> The Old Church Slavonic translation is closer to the so called "rough" version, here cited after one of the oldest manuscript copies, Oxford, New College No 75 (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century). The text published in *Patrologia Graeca* has a somewhat different wording, cf.: ἡ ἐκείνου δὲ ἀγορᾶ καὶ θορύβῳ, ἔνθα πολλὴ ἡ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν καὶ καμήλοις, καὶ ἡμιόνοις. καὶ ὄνοις, μεγάλα τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἐμβοώντων, ὥστε μὴ καταπατηθῆναι; οὐχ ἡ μὲν τοῦ τοιοῦτου ταῖς μέσαις πάλιν τῶν πόλεων εἰκουῖά ἐστιν, ἔνθα νῦν μὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἀργυροκόπων, νῦν δὲ ἐκείθεν τῶν χαλκοτύπων ὁ ἦχος πολὺς γίνεται, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπηρεάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπηρεάζονται (*PG*, vol. LX, col. 61).

<sup>29</sup> The variants are after the so-called *Shorter Zlatostruy*, earliest copy Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, F.n.I. 46 (Russian, 12<sup>th</sup> century), edited in Т. ГЕОРГИЕВА, *Златоструй от XII век*, Силистра 2003.

Whether the camels in the marketplace were real or imaginary for the Constantinopolitan audience, they were not part of the everyday life of the 10<sup>th</sup>-century Bulgarian translator (nor of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Russian scribes and readers). However, any medieval audience could relate to the clamour and racket in the market (ἀγορά, *тръжница*), the mules and their shouting owners on the streets (μέσαι, *сѣньи*, incorrectly *βερεδαι*), or the deafening noise coming from the blacksmiths' workshops. Some variants of the words meaning 'noise' in the Slavonic manuscripts also suggest familiarity with the scene, which allows for a freer interpretation by the scribes.

### Private life and daily routine

The urban environment and the public spaces were the scene where a large part of the citizens' daily life took place. This interaction between man and city is presented in the following several examples. In the evenings the narrow streets and squares were not the best place for the poor and the homeless:

[7] και ὁ ἀποστερηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων δάκνηται χρείας, καὶ ὀλοφύρηται, καὶ μυρίους ἐφέλικηταί σοι κατηγόρους, καὶ τῆς ἐσπέρας καταλαβούσης περιήη τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἐντυγχάνων πᾶσι, καὶ διαπορούμενος καὶ οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς νυκτὸς θαρρεῖν ἔχων (*In Epistulam primam ad Corinthios* homilia 11, *CPG* 4428; *PG*, vol. LXI, col. 94).

And the deprived [by you] may be bitten by the most basic needs, and lament himself, and summon thousands of accusers upon you; and when the evening comes, he may go around the market-place, encountering all sorts of things in the alleys, and be at a loss, not daring to spend the night.

Н ОВЛНХОВАННН ТОВОЮ ОВНХОДН ПНЦА НЦА ПЛАВА СЛ Н РЫДАА. ВЕНЕРОУ<sup>Ѡ</sup> БЫЕ'ШΟΥ ОВНХОДН ОВЛНЦ'К НЕ НА'КА ГД'К ГЛАВЫ П'КЛОИИТН. ДА Н НОЦ'Ю ХОДА ПОИИИ Д'К' НА ТА К' ВЕ'К (*Longer Zlatostruy*, Homily No 74b, Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, f. 406r).

At the same time, the (wealthy) citizen in Chrysostom's reality, a member of his audience, visited the public baths in the evening before the late supper, after completing his daily chores in the *agora*:

[8] Καὶ σὺ μὲν ἐκ βαλανείου λελουμένος ἐπανέρχη, μαλακοῖς θαλπόμενος ἱματίοις, γεγηθῶς καὶ χαίρων, καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔτοιμον τρέχων πολυτελές (*In Epistulam primam ad Corinthios* homilia 11, *CPG* 4428; *PG*, vol. LXI, col. 94).

And you come back refreshed after bathing, kept warm in soft garments, cheerful and happy, rushing to a lavish dinner.

ТЫ ЖЕ ѿ БАНѦ ЛННОЖИЦЕЮ НЗЪМЫЕ СѦ НДЕШН. Н ВЪ МАКЪКЫ РИЗЫ ОЕЛЪУЕНЪ. РѦГА СѦ Н ВЕСЕЛА  
 СѦ НА ВЕЛНКОУ ВЕНЕРОЮ ГРАДЫН (*Longer Zlatostruy*, Homily No 74b, Russian State Library  
 173/I, No 43, f. 406r).

The Slavonic translation in example 7 mentions only the dark and narrow streets (στενωπός, ογληνιца, see also example 11 below) and omits the *agorai*, but although it simplifies the wording of the original passage, it renders truthfully its general meaning. The next example 8 from the same episode is not adapted to the Slavonic audience and the translation keeps both the baths (βαλανείον *ΒΑΝΙΑ*) and the sumptuous supper (δειπνον πολυτελής *ΒΕΛΗΚΑ ΒΕΝΕΡΙΑ*). The same image can be found also in other homilies<sup>30</sup>, e.g.:

[9] Ἐσπέρας δὲ πάλιν καταλαβούσης, οἱ μὲν εἰς λουτρὰ καὶ ἀνέσεις σπεύδουσιν (*In Epistulam primam ad Timotheum* homilia 14, CPG 4436; PG, vol. LXII, col. 577).

The evening comes again, and some are in a hurry to the public baths and relaxation.

ΒΕΝΕΡΟΥ ЖЕ ПАКЫ ДРОП'КЕ'ШΟΥ. ОНН ВО БАНѦ Н НАПОКОѦ Т'ЦАТ' СѦ (*Longer Zlatostruy*, Homily  
 No 37, Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, f. 229r).

The Greek word δειπνον from example 8 can denote any meal during the day, either lunch, dinner, or supper, but the context suggests that both going to the baths and the meal afterwards happen in the evening and the Slavonic translation reflects this accordingly. Examples 9 and 10 are unambiguous in this respect – the visit to the public baths (λουτρά) is in the evening and is followed by a banquet. This way of life was not accessible to all the citizens, cf. the continuation of example 9 below.

## The house

The following examples depict domestic scenes in big Roman houses with servants and lavish banquets:

[10] ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν πόνων ἀπολύσαντες ἑαυτοὺς, τότε τῇ τραπέζῃ προσανέχουσιν, οὐκ οἰκετῶν πληθὸς ἐγειρόντες, οὐδὲ περιτρέχοντες τὴν οἰκίαν, οὐδὲ θορυβοῦντες, οὐδὲ ὄψα πολλὰ παρατιθέμενοι, οὐδὲ κνίσσης γέμοντα, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄρτον μόνον καὶ ἄλας, οἱ δὲ

<sup>30</sup> Leslie Dossey's interesting study about the nightlife in the 4<sup>th</sup>-century big cities Antioch and Constantinople explores the shift of the main occupations of the citizens towards later hours (compared to the country and to earlier time-periods). Afternoon naps, baths, shopping and supper occur several hours later than before, cf. L. DOSSEY, *Night in the Big City. Temporal Patterns in Antioch and Constantinople as Revealed by Chrysostom's Sermons*, [in:] *Revisiting John Chrysostom*, ed. C.L. DE WET, W. MAYER, Leiden–Boston 2019 [= CAEC, 1], p. 698–732.

έλαιον προστιθέντες, ἕτεροι δὲ, ὅσοι ἀσθενέστεροι εἰσι, καὶ λαχάνων ἔχονται καὶ ὀσπρίων  
(*In Epistulam primam ad Timotheum* homilia 14, CPG 4436; PG, vol. LXII, col. 577).

The other ones attend to the table after finishing with their labour, without awakening a multitude of slaves, nor running around the house and raising a clamour, nor having many dishes full of meats, but some put on the table only bread and salt, others add olive-oil, and some – the weaker ones – have vegetables and beans.

Δ ΟΒΗ ΤΡΟΥΔΟΥΒЪ ΕΔ ΠΡΟΪΜΨΕ ΤΗ. ΤΟΥΤΑ ΝΑ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΕ ΣΑΔΟΥΨ ΝΕ ΜΗΟΥΤЪ ΡΑΒЪΤЪ ΣΥΖΥΒΑΙΟΥΨΕ, ΗΗ ΟΗΜΟΥΤЪ ΠΟ ΔΕΟΥΟΥ, ΗΗ ΠΛΕΪΜΟΥΨΕ, ΗΗ Ε΄ΕΡΗΝΙ ΜΗΟΥΟΥ΄ΕΚΗΝΗΤЪ ΠΡΕΛΑΓΑΙΟΥΨΕ. ΗΗ ΣΚΕΒΑΡΑΜΗΤЪ ΡΑΔΔΙΟΥΨΕ. ΗΤЪ ΟΒΗ ΧΛΕΒΕΤЪ, ΤΗ ΣΟΛΗ. ΟΒΗ ΜΑΣΛΟ ΠΡΟΛΙΨΕ΄ΨΕ. ΔΡΟΥΖΪΗ ΖΕ ΑΨΙΕ ΣΟΥΨ ΒΟΛΨΗ ΤΟ ΖΕΛΪΤΑ ΣΑ ΠΡΪΕΜΑΙΟΥΨΕ Η ΣΟΥΗΒΑ (*Longer Zlatostruy*, Homily No 37, Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, f. 229r).

This contrast between the wealthy citizens with their baths, big households and banquets, and the poor (the working people, τῶν πόνων ἀπολύσαντες ἑαυτοῦς), the ones who have simple meals and a small or no house at all, is a recurring motif in Chrysostom’s works:

[11] Ὅταν οὖν ἀνέλθῃς οἴκαδε, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ἀνακλιθῆς, ὅταν φῶς ἦ περὶ τὸν οἶκον λαμπρὸν, ὅταν ἐτοίμη καὶ δαψιλῆς ἡ τράπεζα, τότε ἀναμνήσθητι τοῦ ταλαιπώρου καὶ ἀθλίου ἐκεῖνου, τοῦ περιμόντος κατὰ τοὺς κύνας ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ τῷ σκότῳ καὶ τῷ πληθῷ  
(*In Epistulam primam ad Corinthios* homilia 11, CPG 4428; PG, vol. LXI, col. 94).

When you come home, when you lay down on the couch, when the lights shine bright in the house, when the table is ready and full, then remember that miserable and unhappy one, walking down the alleys like a dog, in darkness and mud.

ТЪ ΖΕ Ε΄Α ΠΗΔΕΨΗ Ε΄ ΔΟΥΗΤЪ ΣΗ. Η Σ΄ΕΨΟΥΨ ΤΗ ΠΟΣΤΑΒΕΛΨ ΠΡΕ΄ ΤΟΒΟΥΟ ΒΕΛΗΚΟΥΨ Η ΠΛΨΗΟΥΨ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΨ. ΤΟΥΤΑ Ε΄ΣΠΟΜΑΗΗ ΟΚΑΝΨΑΓΟ ΟΗΟΥΟ ΟΒΕΨΧΟΔΑΨΑΓΟ. ΔΚΥ ΨΑ ΠΟ ΣΑΗΝΑΨ. Ε΄ΤЪ ΤΑΨΕ Η Ε΄ΤЪ ΚΑΛΨΕ (*Longer Zlatostruy*, Homily No 74b, Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, f. 406r).

Example 11 presents a picture, where at least some streets or alleys (the same στενωποί from example 7) are dark and not paved. It also makes the transition from the public space into the residential area – into the dining-room of a Roman house. This is where the Slavonic translation shows some deviations and adaptations. The phrase “lights shining bright round the house” is omitted altogether (perhaps the medieval Bulgarian house was darker than its Byzantine counterpart, but this cannot be the only explanation of the omission). Chrysostom’s citizen reclines on a couch for supper in the customary manner (ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνῆς ἀνακλιθῆς) – probably the couch in the *triclinium* from example 1, whereas the man in the constructed reality of the Slavonic translation sits down (σ΄΄ΨΟΥΨ ΤΗ) and someone else (a slave? a servant? a wife?) puts the table in front of him. The

less fortunate men from example 10 are at the table in an unspecified position (τῆ τραπέζῃ προσανέχουσιν) and again “sitting” in the translation. These subtle deviations of the translation suggest that the Slavonic audience did not differentiate between sitting at the table and reclining on the couch of a *triclinium*.

The next examples also give some architectural details, e.g. the following image of a Roman house:

[12] Μανθανέτωσαν οἱ τὰς λαμπρὰς οἰκοδομοῦντες οἰκίας, καὶ τὰς εὐρείας στοὰς, καὶ τοὺς μακροὺς περιβόλους, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Χριστὸς ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατακλίνειν (*De proditiōne Iudae*, CPG 4336; PG, vol. XLIX, col. 378).

And those who build splendid houses and wide porticoes, and long courtyards, let them know that Christ did not have a place to rest his head.

ДА НАВѢКНИЖИТЬ НЖЕ СВѢТЛЫЯ ДОМЫ ДѢЛАЮЖИТЬ. И ПРОСТРАНЬЯ ПРЯТВОРЬ. И ДЛЪГЪЯ ДВОРЬ. ИАКО НЕ НАЧѢ ХЪ КДЕ ГЛАВЪ ПОДЪКЛОНИТИ (*Codex Suprasliensis*, ed. Ы. ЗАИМОВ, М. КАПАЛДО, *Супрасълски или Ретков сборник...*, p. 416).

In cases like this one, the description of the house is a rhetorical device, but it mentions a colonnaded courtyard. The Slavonic word *прятворь*, which is a common term of church architecture, is a regular counterpart to the Greek *στοά* (cf. note 24 above). The next example does not give any architectural details, but the translation enhances the episode:

[13] Ἄν διακύψῃς εἰς τὸν στενωπὸν, οὐκ ἀκούσῃ οὐδὲ φωνῆς· ἂν ἴδῃς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, πάντας ὄψει καθάπερ ἐν τάφῳ κειμένους (*In Acta apostolorum homilia 26*, CPG 4426; PG, vol. LX, col. 202).

If you peek out to the street, you will not hear a sound; if you look into the house, you will see everybody lying as if in a tomb.

АЩЕ БО СНИКНЕШ НА СТЕГНЫ <с> ПОЛАТЫ ТО НЕ СЛЫШИШИ ГЛѢСА, НИ ННОГО НИВУТО. АЩЕ АН СНИК-  
НЕШИ ВЪ ДВОРѢ СВОИ С ПОЛАТЫ. ТО ВСЕ ВЪДШИШ АКЫ ВЪ ГРОбѢ ЛЕЖАЩЕ (*Longer Zlatostruy*,  
Homily No 41, Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, f. 256v).

The Greek sentence suggests that an observer is looking through the window out (towards the narrow street), and in (towards the house). In the Slavonic text the house is a palace (*полатя*) and the observer is looking out to the street, and then back into a courtyard (*въ дворѣ*). An inner courtyard is imaginable only in a big building – in the palace or in a monastery.

In the following description of the morning routine of a common citizen, a small alteration in the translation gives us an idea about the layout of the house:

[14] Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἅμα διαναστάντες, καθήμεθα ἐπὶ πολὺ διατεινόμενοι, πρὸς χρεῖαν ἀπερχόμεθα, εἶτα νιπτόμεθα τὴν ὄψιν, τὰς χεῖρας· μετὰ τοῦτο ὑποδήματα καὶ ἐνδύματα λαμβάνομεν, καὶ πολὺς ἀναλίσκεται καιρὸς (*In Epistulam primam ad Timotheum* homilia 14, CPG 4436; PG, vol. LXII, col. 575).

As soon as we wake up, we sit up and stretch out, we answer the call of nature, then we wash our face and hands, afterwards we take our shoes and clothes, and a lot of time passes.

ВЪСТАВШЕ БО МЫ СЪДѢ. МНОГО ПРОЛѢКАЮЩЕ СѦ. И ЗДАТЬ НДЕМЪ. ТАЧЕ ОУМЫВАѢ ЛИЦА РОУЦѢ ПО ТРОМЪ. ВЪЗЕМЛѢ ЖЕ ОДЕЖЬ О И ОНОУЩѢ ТИ МНОГО ВРѢМѦ ПОГОУБИ (*Longer Zlatostruy*, Homily No 37, Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, f. 227v).

Early in the morning, after sitting up in the bed and stretching, and before washing and dressing, the citizen relieves himself (goes πρὸς χρεῖαν). In the translation, this happens behind the house, or at the back (здаць ндемъ). This deviation in the Slavonic translation alludes to an area of the house, or outside the house, that is otherwise rarely mentioned. It is also another point of difference between the well-equipped Roman house and the average medieval Slavic houses.

The last example, which is another description of a building, also gives some interesting information about architectural terminology and adaptations of the source text:

[15] Ὡσπερ γὰρ οἰκοδόμος θεμελίουσ θεις, τοίχους ἀναστήσας, ὄροφον καμαρώσας, τὴν καμάραν ἐκείνην εἰς ἓνα μέσον συνδήσας λίθον, ἂν ἐκείνον ἀφέλη, τὸν πάντα τῆς οἰκοδομῆς διέλυσσε σύνδεσμον (*Adversus Iudaeos oratio* 4, CPG 4327; PG, vol. XLVIII, col. 881).

Just like the architect, who lays the foundations, builds the walls, furnishes the roof with a vault, and locks that vault with a single stone in the middle, if he takes away that stone, the whole structure of his building will collapse.

ТАКОЖЕ БО ЗИЖИТЕЛЬ ОСНОВАНІИ ЕРО ПОЛОЖИВЪ СТѢНЫ ПОСТАВИВЪ. ОЛОВѢ СТРОПЪ ПОКРЫВЪ. КОМАРОУ ПОСРЕДѢ ЕДНИЧЕМЪ КАМЧЫКѢ СВЪЗАНЪ. АЩЕ ТОГО КАМЧЫКА ѠННИЕТЪ. ВСЕ СЪЗДАНИЕ РАЗРОИТ СѦ (*Longer Zlatostruy*, Homily No 8, Russian State Library 173/I, No 43, f. 76v).

The building in the Greek comparison has a vaulted roof built of stone, with a keystone on the top – a structure, characteristic not for a house, but for a church or a similar edifice. In the translation, it is covered with lead (оловѢ стропъ покрывъ) and there is also a stone on the top of the dome<sup>31</sup>. Other examples of

<sup>31</sup> The Greek word καμάρα is rendered with the borrowing комара, witnessed in other 10<sup>th</sup>-century translations such as John the Exarch's *Bogoslovie* and Pseudo-Kaisarios' *Erotapokrisis*, see И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря...*, vol. I, Санкт-Петербург 1893, col. 1263–1264 (s.v. комара); Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Диалозите на Псевдо-Кесарий в славянската ръкописна традиция*, София 2006 p. 544.

the word олово in some Slavonic texts refer specifically to covering churches with lead<sup>32</sup>. It seems that it was not unusual for a dome to be coated with lead, which suggests that the vault in this example was associated with a leaden church-dome – a notion which is not explicit in the Greek source.

Wide porticoes and long courtyards (cf. example 12) were not typical features of the medieval Bulgarian house, except for the ruler's palace. Even if we assume that the initial audience of the Old Church Slavonic translations was well familiar with the Byzantine culture, the topography of Constantinople, its squares, columns and obelisks, the surrounding sea etc. (cf. examples 4 and 5), the readers throughout the Slavic world in the following centuries most probably did not see villas with spacious courtyards, porticoes and a large body of water from their windows.

What did the 10<sup>th</sup>-century Bulgarian see from his window? Unlike Antioch and Constantinople, there is only limited archeological data about the medieval Bulgarian town and almost no information about the everyday life of the common citizen<sup>33</sup>. Pliska and Preslav, the two capitals of the First Bulgarian Kingdom (7<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century), had some monumental architecture, such as the ruler's palace<sup>34</sup>, churches, and city walls. However, the cities were in steady decline from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards and lost their significance in the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century). According to the archeological and historical studies, the medieval Bulgarian fortified town had a residential area outside the city walls. Most people lived in small semi-dug-in houses<sup>35</sup>, the door opened directly to the street. In the later centuries the houses were made of stone and could have a backyard with service buildings. Some prominent citizens owned two-storey houses with many rooms. The marketplaces and the town-squares, formed from the intersection of two roads, were an important economic and social element

<sup>32</sup> Cf. И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря...*, vol. II, Санкт-Петербург 1902, col. 661, s.v. олово: “сѣздана естъ церковь велнка кѣтъскы, покрыта же естъ всѧ оловомъ”; „Обновлена бысть церкы свѧтѧ Богородица... н покрыта бысть оловомъ от верхоу до комаръ н до прѧтворовъ”.

<sup>33</sup> The description of the medieval Bulgarian town is based on several general studies: К. МЯТЕВ, *Архитектурата в средновековна България*, София 1965; С. ЛИШЕВ, *Българският средновековен град. Обществено-икономически облик*, София 1970; М. ХАРБОВА, *Укрепеният български средновековен град XIII–XIV в.*, София 1979; Д. ПОЛИВЯНИИ, *Средновековният български град през XIII–XIV в. Очерци*, София 1989; А. МИЛАНОВА, *Градът във византийска България (XI–XII в.)*, [in:] *Средновековен урбанизъм. Памет – Сакралност – Традиции*, София 2007, p. 7–29; А. АЛАДЗНОВ, *The Byzantine Empire and the Establishment of the Early Medieval City in Bulgaria*, [in:] *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter*, vol. III, *Peripherie und Nachbarschaft*, ed. F. ДАИМ, J. ДРАУСЧКЕ, Mainz 2010, p. 113–158.

<sup>34</sup> ...since the palace covers a large area, its central part was taken by a courtyard enclosed by the balconies of the building, А. АЛАДЗНОВ, *The Byzantine Empire...*, p. 120. This structure was probably burnt down at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

of the medieval town. There is no information about city lights, but there were baths and a sewage system in the First Bulgarian kingdom<sup>36</sup> at least at the palace. In the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century the water supply was provided by cisterns and wells<sup>37</sup>.

The medieval Bulgarian town shared some features with the Byzantine major cities and differed in others. From the examples above, and the entire history of translation, transmission, and reception of Byzantine texts in the medieval Slavonic literature, it is evident that the homilies of John Chrysostom had many points of reference to the actual reality of 4<sup>th</sup>-century Antioch and Constantinople that were not present to the Slavonic audience. The translators of Chrysostom's homilies, however, did not adapt each detail that might be unfamiliar. Many *realia* are unchanged in the translation – there are exact renditions of *stoas*, columns, baths, vaulted roofs and camels in the *agora*, athletic games and theatrical performances (not included in this study), etc. At the same time, some passages were slightly adapted without damaging the general meaning, e.g. the villas with *triclina* in the suburbs, where people dined lying on couches, became “fields” and “palaces” (example 1), and the master sat at the table for dinner (example 11).

Urban images were transferred from the Byzantine world into medieval Bulgaria also in other literary genres, such as the juridical literature. One of the law texts translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic pertains to the same topic – life in the city – and uses vocabulary similar to the examples commented above. This text is the *Procheiros nomos* – a Byzantine juridical compendium based on Justinian's law<sup>38</sup>. Title 38 of the *Procheiros nomos* deals specifically with the urban environment, buildings and renovations, private and public property, relationships between neighbours, co-ownership, etc. The Slavonic translation (the earliest witness is from the 13<sup>th</sup> century) contains numerous technical terms which are a significant contribution to the terminological vocabulary of the Slavonic language. This text deserves special attention, but here I will briefly comment on some issues which are relevant to the present study.

The *Procheiros nomos* settles legal matters in the Eastern Roman Empire which are irrelevant to the medieval Bulgarian, Serbian, or Russian reality. For instance, the cases in chapters 14 and 18 involve multistorey residence buildings, which were not typical for the medieval Bulgarian town (upper floors should not be heavier than the ground-floor can support, and the residents of the ground-floor may not conduct smoke into the homes of their neighbours above). Other

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 118.

<sup>37</sup> Д. Поливянини, *Средновековният български град...*, p. 134–135.

<sup>38</sup> A lexical study and an edition of the Slavonic translation of title 38, with additional bibliography, see in: М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Градският закон и градското благоустройство в южнославянски контекст*, СЛ 57–58, 2018, p. 163–193. The Greek text is available in: J. ZEPOS, P. ZEPOS, *Prochiron*, [in:] *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. II, *Leges imperatorum Isaurorum et Macedonum*, Aalen 1962, p. 114–228. The numbers of the chapters below follow the segmentation in the Slavonic translation.

chapters deal with topography and landscaping characteristic to the Mediterranean – according to chapters 5 and 6, the residents have the right to preserve their unhindered view to the sea (the city is explicitly named – в' сѣмь богатѣмь градѣ. рекше въ цр҃ниградѣ<sup>39</sup>), and chapter 50 discusses olive- and fig-trees. Chapters 23–24, 37, 51, 58 deal with developed sewage and water systems, and chapter 34 mentions neighbouring porticoes (или прикоснеть се притворѣхъ на свою потрѣбу ѿкъмь<sup>40</sup>).

These big-city problems were translated into Slavonic without significant adaptation. Apart from several explanatory additions, the translation follows faithfully its Greek source. This lack of adjustment is an indication that the technical juridical text was perceived not as a legal manual, but as literature<sup>41</sup>. The connections to the actual reality in the original were lost in the new context of the translation in a way that is similar to the transformation of the oral sermon into a written literary genre.

The more a text is used and appropriated, the more it is subjected to alterations. The translations of John Chrysostom's homilies show both tendencies – in some cases they are true to the Greek source, in others they are adapted to the new audience. The examples cited above were translated by different anonymous translators in the early 10<sup>th</sup>-century Bulgaria, they represent various approaches towards the original. The genre of the homily is also an important factor in this process. Although the written homily is removed from the initial moment of delivery, it lives on as reading matter or material for new sermons. John Chrysostom's urban images are only a small piece of the cultural and literary history. They were often documents of his time, pictures of his fellow-citizens and their surroundings, which served sometimes as rhetorical means for conveying a deeper and more general message. For the Slavonic audience, however, these episodes were equal to all the other figures of speech – parables, *exempla*, etc., which were one step further from their day-to-day life. Most of this literature was monastic, for individual or collective reading in monasteries, but sometimes also for highly educated and prepared readers (we still do not know enough about the reception of these texts). Therefore, the translation of the *realia* into Old Church Slavonic involved not only adaptation in order to make the foreign reality more relatable, but it was also a transformation of a document into literature.

<sup>39</sup> М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Градският закон...*, p. 187.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 190, in the Greek text στοά, cf. J. ΖΕΡΟΣ, P. ΖΕΡΟΣ, *Prochiron...*, p. 211. For the same Slavonic word притворѣ cf. examples 3 and 12 and notes 24 and 32 above.

<sup>41</sup> D. Naydenova argues that the early translations of various Byzantine legal texts into Old Church Slavonic were part of the political ideology rather than a state legislation, and they should be considered literary sources, cf.: D. NAYDENOVA, *Cyrillo-Methodian Legal Heritage and Political Ideology in the Mediaeval Slavic States*, PBAS.HSS 1.1, 2014, p. 3–16.

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**Abstract.** John Chrysostom was not only one of the most prolific and influential authors of late antiquity but also a renown preacher, exegete, and public figure. His homilies and sermons combined the classical rhetorical craft with some vivid imagery from everyday life. He used descriptions, comparisons, and metaphors that were both a rhetorical device and a reference to the real world familiar to his audience. From 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards, many of Chrysostom's works were translated into Old Church Slavonic and were widely used for either private or communal reading. Even if they had lost the spontaneity of the oral performance, they still preserved the references to the 4<sup>th</sup>-century City, to the streets and the homes in a distant world, transferred into the 10<sup>th</sup>-century Bulgaria and beyond. The article examines how some of these urban images were translated and sometimes adapted to the medieval Slavonic audience, how the realia and the figures of speech were rendered into the Slavonic language and culture. It is a survey on the reception of the oral sermon put into writing, and at the same time, it is a glimpse into the late antique everyday life in the Eastern Mediterranean.

**Keywords:** John Chrysostom, literary reception, translations into Old Church Slavonic, urban life, Antioch, Constantinople

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## SOME REMARKS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GOLD BASED ON BYZANTINE EKPHRASEIS OF WORKS OF ART

Gold is considered one of the most characteristic elements of Byzantine culture. This view applies especially to art. Undoubtedly, this statement is quite right: it is best confirmed by the preserved works of painting and artistic craftsmanship, especially those of jewellery. In sum, Byzantine artists used to use gold on a large scale, showing great technical skill. It is therefore surprising that this issue has not received a separate and comprehensive study yet<sup>1</sup>. Although researchers recognise the presence of gold, unfortunately, they rarely go beyond the general observations<sup>2</sup>. Despite this, in the literature devoted to Byzantine art,

<sup>1</sup> In this context, it is worth emphasizing that researchers are paying more and more attention to Byzantine goldsmiths, i.a. *New Research on Late Byzantine Goldsmiths' Works (13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*. *Neue Forschungen zur spätbyzantinischen Goldschmiedekunst (13.–15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. A. BOSSELMANN-RUICKBIE, Mainz 2019 [= BOO, 13]; EADEM, *Byzantinischer Schmuck des 9. bis frühen 13. Untersuchungen zum metallenen dekorativen Körperschmuck der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit anhand datierter Funde*, Wiesbaden 2011 [= SFCbB, 28]; *Intelligible Beauty. Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery*, ed. C. ENTWISTLE, N. ADAMS, London 2010. Works related to gold in the context of Late Antique and Byzantine culture are noteworthy as well, e.g. M. GRÜNBART, *Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes*, [in:] *Gold und Blei. Byzantinische Kostbarkeiten aus dem Münsterland*, ed. IDEM, Wien 2012, p. 53–66; D. JANES, *God and Gold in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Cambridge 1998); S. AWIERINCEW, *Złoto w systemie symboli kultury wczesnobizantyjskiej*, [in:] IDEM, *Na skrzyżowaniu tradycji. Szkice o literaturze i kulturze wczesnobizantyjskiej*, trans. et ed. D. ULICKA, Warszawa 1988, p. 175–201 (orig. ed. С.С. АВЕРИНЦЕВ, *Золото в системе символов ранневизантийской культуры*, [in:] *Византия, южные славяне и Древняя Русь. Западная Европа. Искусство и культура. Сборник статей в честь В.Н. Лазарева*, ed. В.Н. ГРАЩЕНКОВ, Москва 1973, p. 43–52).

<sup>2</sup> The striking lack of more accurate references to gold is particularly evident in studies on Byzantine aesthetics, in which the focus of their authors is mainly the role of the Neoplatonic thought, e.g. В.Н. ЛАЗАРЕВ, *История византийской живописи*, vol. I, Москва 1947, p. 23–33, 104; П.А. МИХЕЛНЗ, *Αισθητική θεώρηση της βυζαντινής τέχνης*, Αθήνα 2006, p. 106–111, 131, 156–157 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Αθήνα 1946); P.A. MICHELIS, *Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Byzantine Art*, JAAC 11, 1952, p. 21–45; IDEM, *L'esthétique d'Hagia-Sophia*, Faenza 1963, p. 44–60 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Αθήνα 1946); G. МАТНЕР, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, London 1963, p. 13–22, 144; В.В. БЫЧКОВ, *Византийская эстетика. Теоретические проблемы*, Москва 1977, *passim*; IDEM, *Малая история византийской эстетики*, Киев 1991, *passim*.

it is assumed that gold was used primarily because of its symbolic meanings<sup>3</sup>. As a result, the issues pertaining to aesthetics and aesthetic experiences are ignored<sup>4</sup>, although they are the main subject in Byzantine texts. In fact, reading these modern studies, we learn more about contemporary beliefs about Byzantine art than about it itself. The issue of the significance of gold in Byzantine art is unquestionably complex, and for this reason, this article may be only a preliminary outline of the most important questions related to the subject. Selected examples of Byzantine source texts in which their authors referred to gold in a strictly artistic context are the backbone for all considerations. The main thesis statement, which will be proved here, is as follows: gold, as a substantial medium of artistic expression, was used on a large scale primarily for aesthetic reasons. At the outset, it should also be highlighted that the primary sources testify that for over a thousand years of the existence of the Byzantine Empire views on gold did not undergo major shifts, hence these texts do not reflect the changes of Byzantine art. Therefore, it was decided to discuss the topic using the content criterion referring to the aesthetic values that were associated with gold in Byzantium. These values are above all: glow, colour, and splendour.

In the context of the issue of the significance of gold in Byzantine art, ekphra-seis (ἐκφράσεις) are the most useful type of texts<sup>5</sup>. They are usually part of larger texts, both poetic and prose ones. Ekphra-seis, present in Greek literature from its

<sup>3</sup> It seems that Julius Lange was the first who directly indicated that gold backgrounds in medieval paintings can also be understood in symbolic categories. The research direction he outlined was developed and eventually became dominant – also in relation to Byzantine painting; J. LANGE, *Et blad af koloritens historie* (1893), [in:] *Udvalgte Skrifter af Julius Lange*, ed. G. BRANDES, P. KØBKE, København 1901, p. 136–156.

<sup>4</sup> This is a general problem related to the study of mediaeval art, because – as Mary Carruthers points out – researchers are used to the question “what does it mean?”, and that is why they so easily overlook the problem of aesthetic pleasure of mediaeval people. Her observation can be equally well applied to the study of Byzantine art. However, as Carruthers reasonably indicates, to tackle this kind of topic, our understanding must be changed, because we should move away from nineteenth-century Romantic and twentieth-century Modern categories relevant to art and its perception; M. CARRUTHERS, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2013, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> On ekphrasis and its association with art as well i.a. M. SQUIRE, *Ekphrasis. Visual and Verbal Interactions in Ancient Greek and Latin Literature*, [in:] *Oxford Handbooks Online*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935390.013.58> [12 V 2020]; R. WEBB, *Ekphra-seis of Buildings in Byzantium. Theory and Practice*, Bsl 69.3, 2011, p. 20–32; EADEM, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, Farnham 2009; M. SQUIRE, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, Cambridge 2015 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Cambridge 2009); S. BARTSCH, J. ELSNER, *Introduction. Eight Ways of Looking at an Ekphrasis*, CP 102.1, 2007, p. I–VI; S. GOLDHILL, *What Is Ekphrasis for?*, CP 102.1, 2007, p. 1–19; J. ELSNER, *Introduction. The Genres of Ekphrasis*, Ram 31.1–2, 2002, p. 1–18; R. WEBB, *Ekphrasis Ancient and Modern. The Invention of a Genre*, WI 15.1, 1999, p. 7–18; EADEM, *The Aesthetics of Sacred Space. Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in “Ekphra-seis” of Church Buildings*, DOP 53, 1999, p. 59–74; L. JAMES, R. WEBB, “To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places”. *Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium*, ArH 14.1, 1991, p. 1–17.

very beginnings, became extremely popular in late antiquity because they allowed both the use of a variety of stylistic devices and the choice of attractive subjects<sup>6</sup>. Byzantine authors carried on taste for them. Nicholas of Myra (also known as Nicholas Rhetor, ca. 410 – ca. 490) defined the ekphrasis in his *Progymnasmata* (Προγυμνάσματα) as follows:

ἔκφρασις ἐστὶ λόγος ἀφηγηματικός, ὕπ' ὅσιν ἄγων ἐναργῶς τὸ δηλούμενον. πρόσκειται δὲ ἐναργῶς, ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τῆς διηγήσεως διαφέρει· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ψιλὴν ἔχει ἔκθεσιν πραγμάτων, ἢ δὲ πειρᾶται θεατὰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐργάζεσθαι. ἐκφράζομεν δὲ τόπους, χρόνους, πρόσωπα, πανηγύρεις, πράγματα. [...] Δεῖ δὲ, ἤνικα ἂν ἐκφράζωμεν καὶ μάλιστα ἀγάλματα τυχὸν ἢ εἰκόνας ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, πειρᾶσθαι λογισμὸς προστιθέναι τοῦ τοιοῦδε ἢ τοιοῦδε παρὰ τοῦ γραφέως ἢ πλάστου σχήματος, οἷον τυχὸν ἢ ὅτι ὀργιζόμενον ἔγραψε διὰ τήνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἢ ἡδόμενον, ἢ ἄλλο τι πάθος ἐροῦμεν συμβαῖνον τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἐκφραζόμενου ἱστορίᾳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁμοίως πλείστα οἱ λογισμοὶ συντελοῦσιν εἰς ἐνάργειαν<sup>7</sup>

[...] ecphrasis (*ekphrasis*) is descriptive speech, bringing what is described clearly (*enargós*) before the eyes. “Clearly” is added because in this way it most differs from narration; the latter gives a plain exposition of actions, the former tries to make the hearers into spectators. We compose ecphrases of places, times, persons, festivals, things done [...] Whenever we compose ecphrases, and especially descriptions of statues or pictures or anything of that sort, we should try to add an account of this or that impression made by the painter or by the molded form; for example, that he painted the figure as angry for this reason, or as pleased; or we shall mention some other emotion as occurring because of the history of what is being described. Similarly in other cases also, explanations contribute to vividness<sup>8</sup>.

Therefore, the key to a brilliant ekphrasis is to bring the described things – including works of art – or events clearly (ἐναργῶς; so also φανερώς, i.e.: plainly, openly, manifestly, evidently<sup>9</sup>) before the eyes of an audience (ὕπ' ὅσιν ἄγων ἐναργῶς τὸ δηλούμενον), since this is the only way that listeners can become spectators (ἢ δὲ πειρᾶται θεατὰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐργάζεσθαι). The way to achieve this desirable feature was, in particular, a thoroughgoing description which was supposed to evoke images (φαντασίαι) in minds of listeners. In Byzantium, the creation of ekphraseis – as in antiquity – was a part of the elementary stage of

<sup>6</sup> M. ROBERTS, *The Jeweled Style. Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity*, Ithaca 1989, p. 39–65.

<sup>7</sup> *Nicolai progymnasmata*, 68–69, ed. J. FELTEN, Leipzig 1913 [= RG, 11; BSGR].

<sup>8</sup> *Progymnasmata. Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, 68–69, trans., praef. G.A. KENNEDY, Atlanta 2003 [= WGRW, 10], p. 166–167.

<sup>9</sup> *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 753.15, vol. I, ed. J.A.H. TITTMANN, Leipzig 1808. “Ἐνάργεια: ἢ τῶν λόγων λευκότης καὶ φανότης. Ἐνέργεια δὲ ἢ ἐν λόγοις, ἢ ἢ ἀθρόα προσβολή” (ε 1126 Adler); “Ἐναργής: φανερός” (ε 1127 Adler); “Μετ’ ἐναργείας: μετ’ ἀληθείας” (μ 761 Adler); *The Suda on Line*, <http://www.stoa.org/sol/> [25 V 2020]. Cf. *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ε 467, vol. I, ed. E.L. DE STEFANI, Leipzig 1909 [= BSGR]; *Etymologicum magnum*, 337, ed. T. GAISFORD, Oxford 1848; *Etymologicum Symeonis (Γ–Ε)*, ε 391, ed. D. BALDI, Turnhout 2013 [= CC.SG, 79]. On understanding the term “ἐνάργεια” in the Middle Byzantine period: S. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΟΥ, *Byzantine Enargeia and Theories of Representation*, Bsl 69, 2011, p. 48–60.

the rhetorical education during which the late antique textbooks with the preliminary exercises (i.e. προγυμνάσματα, praexercitamina) were employed. These works, as well as other texts on the theory of rhetoric, were commented and summarized by Byzantine authors. Some of them, e.g. John Geometres (ca. 935 – ca. 1000)<sup>10</sup>, Nikephoros Basilakes (ca. 1115 – after 1182)<sup>11</sup>, and George Pachymeres (1242 – ca. 1310)<sup>12</sup>, prepared their own ones as well<sup>13</sup>.

Ekphraseis are often very significant sources for Byzantine art studies. Byzantine authors of such descriptions used to write not so much about the details of the appearance of a given image or building, but mainly about the reactions of the audience. In fact, the most crucial task was not to refer to a real, specific work of art, but to evoke in a listener – by referring to the collective cultural memory – the sense that such piece of art might exist. Thus, ekphraseis were, above all, a kind of intellectual play of a given author with his listeners. Hence, they may say a lot about the culture in which they were created. These texts may be helpful in comprehending Byzantine notions on art as well, because they indicate to us what Byzantines found significant. On their basis, therefore, it is possible to draw conclusions regarding the perception of works of art, as well as prized aesthetic values. Although in ekphraseis there are many well-known *topoi* (τόποι), it should be emphasized that they were not only ornaments indicating the author's erudition, but also elements carrying specific and legible content. The use of *topoi* that would no longer be understandable would interfere with communication, and as a result, an ekphrasis would not bring the subject described before the eyes with visual vividness<sup>14</sup>. The authors, however, had a wide range of rhetorical devices to

<sup>10</sup> *The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres*, ed. A.R. LITTLEWOOD, Amsterdam 1972.

<sup>11</sup> NICEFORO BASILACE, *Progimnasmi e monodie*, ed. A. PIGNANI, Napoli 1983 [= BNN, 10], p. 71–232; *The Rhetorical Exercises of Nikephoros Basilakes. "Progymnasmata" from Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, ed., trans. J. BENEKER, C.A. GIBSON, Cambridge Mass.–London 2016 [= DOML, 43].

<sup>12</sup> *Rhetores Graeci*, 551–596, vol. I, ed. C. WALZ, Stuttgart 1832.

<sup>13</sup> H. CICHOCKA, *Teoria retoryki bizantyńskiej*, Warszawa 1994, p. 86–125; R. BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, Cambridge 2018, p. 203–222.

<sup>14</sup> L. JAMES, R. WEBB, "To Understand...", p. 3, 9, 14. Cf. C. MANGO, *Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder*, DOP 17, 1963, p. 64–70; H. MAGUIRE, *Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art*, DOP 28, 1974, p. 113–140; J. ONIANS, *Abstraction and Imagination in Late Antiquity*, *ArH* 3, 1980, p. 1–24; H. MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton 1981, p. 22–52; L. BRUBAKER, *Perception and Conception. Art, Theory and Culture in Ninth-Century Byzantium*, *WI 5*, 1989, p. 19–32; A. EASTMOND, *An Intentional Error? Imperial Art and "Mis"-Interpretation under Andronikos I Komnenos*, *ArtB* 76, 1994, p. 502–510; H. MAGUIRE, *Originality in Byzantine Art*, [in:] *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music. A Collection of Essays*, ed. A.R. LITTLEWOOD, Oxford 1995 [= OMon, 50], p. 101–114; R.S. NELSON, *To Say and to See. Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium*, [in:] *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance. Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. IDEM, Cambridge 2000, p. 143–168; H. MAGUIRE, *Art and Text*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. JEFFREYS, J. HALDON, R. CORMACK, Oxford 2008, p. 721–730; IDEM, *The Realities of Ekphrasis*, *Bsl* 69.3, 2011, p. 7–19; N. ZARRAS, *A Gem of Artistic Ekphrasis. Nicholas Mesarites' Description of the Mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*, [in:] *Byzantium, 1180–1204. 'The Sad*

achieve this required effect in their texts. In the *Description of the all-praiseworthy St. Euphemia* (Ἐκφρασις εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Εὐφημίαν τὴν πανεύφημον), Asterius the bishop of Amasea (ca. 350 – ca. 410) wrote about these media of expression, using a vivid metaphor: οὐδὲ γὰρ φαυλότερα πάντως τῶν ζωγράφων οἱ μουσῶν παῖδες ἔχομεν φάρμακα<sup>15</sup> (*For we, men of letters, can use colors no worse than painters do*)<sup>16</sup>. Thus, Henry Maguire pertinently points out that:

A closer reading of the Byzantine rhetorical writers reveals that they were extremely sensitive to artistic styles and to their meanings, whether those styles were, in present-day terms, classicizing and naturalistic on the one hand, or unclassical and schematic on the other. The difference between Byzantine and modern art criticism lies not in perception but in language. The Byzantines were not blind, but they were using a language completely different from those of twentieth-century critics, and for this reason their statements have been misunderstood<sup>17</sup>.

Hence, despite some conventionality and a specific language, ekphrasis may be substantial primary sources, also when it comes to the issue of the significance of gold in Byzantine art.

According to Byzantine texts, beauty was the main idea with which gold was associated. Plotinus (ca. 204 – ca. 270) was the first who constituted the theoretical fundament for thinking about beauty (τὸ καλόν) as the idea (τὸ εἶδος). This philosopher pointed out that beauty is the idea manifested in different ways. Then, the presence of the idea is vital<sup>18</sup>. In this way, therefore, widespread observations

*Quarter of a Century?*, ed. A. SIMPSON, Athens 2015, p. 261–282; P.Ł. GROTEWSKI, *O sztuce cytolwania – chresis jako źródło w badaniach nad recepcją idei obrazu w Bizancjum*, [in:] *Hypomnemata Byzantina. Prace ofiarowane Maciejowi Salamoniowi*, ed. J. BONAREK, S. TURLEJ, Piotrków Trybunalski 2017, p. 56–57; H. MAGUIRE, *The Asymmetry of Text and Image in Byzantium*, PM.RELLMA 38, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.4000/peme.12218> [12 V 2020]; M. SMORAĞ RÓŻYCKA, *Miejsce ekfrazy w bizantynistycznej historiografii artystycznej*, VP 70, 2018, p. 471–484.

<sup>15</sup> *Euphémie de Chalcedoine. Légendes byzantines*, 1.14–15, ed. F. HALKIN, Bruxelles 1965 [= SHa, 41].

<sup>16</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453*, Toronto–Buffalo–London 2013 [= Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching, 16], p. 38 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Englewood Cliffs 1972).

<sup>17</sup> H. MAGUIRE, *Originality...*, p. 102.

<sup>18</sup> *Plotini opera*, vol. I, *Porphyrrii vita Plotini et enneades I–III*, e.g. 1.6.1.1–3; 1.6.1.17–36; 1.6.2.1–6; 1.6.2.11–28, ed. P. HENRY, H.-R. SCHWYZER, Leiden 1951 [= ML.SPh, 33]. In this context, it is also worth pointing to Michael Psellos' short commentary:

Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ δὲ 'εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο' φησὶν ἦν τὸ ὑπέρκαλλον κάλλι ἀμυγχανῶ, τί ἂν τούτου τοῦ ὁρωμένου ἦν κάλλιον; οἱ δὲ μεμφόμενοι τούτου οὐκ ἐξ ὄλων ὁρωσι μερῶν, ἀλλ' οἷον μέρος ζῶου ἀπολαμβάνοντες, τρίχα ἢ ὄνυχα ἢ χολὴν καὶ φλέγμα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτου πρὸς ὃ παρῆκται σκοπήσαντες, ὅπερ τοῦ μέρους δυσχεραίνουσι ἀποπτύουσι κατὰ τοῦ παντός. εἰ δὲ τις ὁμοῦ <πάντα> λάβῃ τε καὶ συλλάβῃ καὶ γνοίῃ τὰς τε οὐσίας αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἄλλο κράσεις καὶ μίξεις καὶ σχέσεις καὶ ἔτι τὸ πᾶν ἐννοήσῃεν, ἀπατηθεῖν ἂν ἴσως ἐντεῦθεν, ὅτι αὐτὸ τούτου τὸ πρῶτως καλόν, δι' ὃ καὶ τὸ εἶναι ποθεινόν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁμοίωμα τοῦ καλοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτως καλόν, ἵνα δὴ πάλιν εἰπωμεν ἀναλύσαντες, ὁ πρῶτος νοῦς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πρῶτα νοήματα, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, ἅπερ ἔχει μὲν παρὰ τὰγαθοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖθεν ὑφέστηκεν, ἐκφαίνει δὲ πρῶτος. τὸ δὲ

– Plotinus, after all, did not have to order people to recognize light, gold, or stars as beautiful – gained a weighty philosophical foundation. As for the late antique and Byzantine plastic arts themselves, it is difficult to talk about the direct impact of the Plotinus’ thoughts on their shape<sup>19</sup>. His aesthetic considerations, however, played an important role in Byzantine culture, because they were accepted by the Church Fathers thanks to whom the Plotinus’ understanding of the perceptible beauty was consolidated<sup>20</sup>.

For Byzantine authors, the beauty of gold essentially meant its glow – so it was directly related to light – as well its colour. Both attributes were positively perceived in antiquity, but it seems that they were particularly appreciated in late antiquity, and on this account, it can be said that at that time there was formed an aesthetic thought in which variegation (ποικιλία) was the most important value.

ἐνταῦθα κάλλος ἐπακτὸν καὶ εἶδωλον τοῦ καλοῦ, ἵνα καὶ καλὸν φαίνεται. ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ καλὴ μὲν τὴν φύσιν, καλλίων δὲ ὅταν ἐκεῖ βλέπῃ· εἰ γὰρ αὐτόθεν καλή, ἦν ἂν πᾶσα καλή. ὁ δὲ νοῦς αὐτὸ τοῦτο κάλλος καὶ τὰ μετ’ ἐκείνον καλὰ ἢ εὐθὺς μετ’ ἐκείνον ἢ πολλοστά. τὰ μὲν οὖν μετ’ ἐκείνον πρῶτως ἀστράπτει, τὰ δὲ διὰ μέσων μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ ἐκεῖ κάλλους, ὅσῳ πορρῶτερον, τοσοῦτῳ καὶ ἀμυδρότερον τὸ κάλλος ἴσχουσιν,

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· *περὶ νοητοῦ κάλλους*, [in:] *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora*, vol. II, ed. D.J. O’MEARA, Leipzig 1989 [= BSGR], p. 117.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e.g.: A. GRABAR, *Plotin et les origines de l’esthétique médiévale*, [in:] IDEM, *Les origines de l’esthétique médiévale*, ed. G. DAGRON, Paris 1992, p. 29–87 (orig. ed. CAR 1, 1945, p. 15–34); P.A. MICHELIS, *Neo-Platonic Philosophy...*, p. 21–45; H.P. L’ORANGE, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire*, Princeton 1965, p. 19–33 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Oslo 1958); G. MATHEW, *Byzantine...*, p. 2–22; G.M. GURTNER, *Plotinus and Byzantine Aesthetics*, MSch 66.4, 1989, p. 275–284. See as well: S. MARIEV, *Introduction. Byzantine Aesthetics*, [in:] *Aesthetics and Theurgy in Byzantium*, ed. S. MARIEV, W.-M. STOCK, Berlin–Boston 2013 [= BArchiv, 25], p. 2–11; J. HALDANE, *Medieval Aesthetics*, [in:] *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*, ed. B. GAUT, D. MCIVER LOPES, London 2013 [= RPhC], p. 26–28 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. London 2000).

<sup>20</sup> E.g.:

Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐν σώματι καλὸν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν συμμετρίας, καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανομένης εὐχροίας, τὸ εἶναι ἔχει, πῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀπλοῦ τὴν φύσιν ὄντος καὶ ὁμοιομεροῦς, ὁ τοῦ καλοῦ διασώζεται λόγος; Ἡ ὅτι τῷ φωτὶ τὸ σύμμετρον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἀλύπῳ καὶ προσηνεῖ μαρτυρεῖται; Οὕτω γὰρ καὶ χρυσὸς καλὸς, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τῶν μερῶν συμμετρίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς εὐχροίας μόνης, τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν κεκτημένος. Καὶ ἔσπερος ἀστέρων κάλλιστος, οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀναλογουῖντα ἔχειν τὰ μέρη ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀλυπὸν τινα καὶ ἡδεῖαν τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ αὐγὴν ἐμπίπτειν τοῖς ὀμμασιν. Ἐπειτα νῦν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσις περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, οὐ πάντως πρὸς τὸ ἐν ὄψει τερπνὸν ἀποβλέποντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς ὕστερον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὠφέλειαν προορωμένου γεγέννηται. Ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦσαν κριτικοὶ τοῦ ἐν φωτὶ κάλλους. [...] Ἐπεὶ καὶ χεῖρ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν, καὶ ὀφθαλμὸς ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος μελῶν διηρημένως κείμενα, οὐκ ἂν φανεῖν καλὰ τῷ τυχόντι· πρὸς δὲ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν ἀποτεθέντα, τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀναλογίας, ἐμφανὲς μόλις ποτὲ, καὶ τῷ ἰδιώτη παρέχεται γνῶριμον. Ὁ μὲντοι τεχνίτης καὶ πρὸ τῆς συνθέσεως οἶδε τὸ ἐκάστου καλὸν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον, πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν ἐπαναφέρων τὴν ἔννοιαν. Τοιοῦτος οὖν δὴ τις καὶ νῦν ἔντεχνος ἐπαινέτης τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἔργων ὁ Θεὸς ἀναγέγραπται· μέλλει δὲ τὸν προσήκοντα ἔπαινον καὶ παντὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπαρτισθέντι πληροῦν,

BASILE DE CÉSARÉE, *Homélie sur l’hexaéméron*, 2.7.39–55; 3.10.8–18, ed. S. GIET, Paris 1968 [= SC, 26 bis].

It was related to colours and visual effects on shimmering surfaces of various materials, such as gold, precious stones, marbles, and fabrics. This kind of aesthetic inclinations was then adopted in Byzantium where they did not lose its relevance until the end of the empire's existence, as evidenced by numerous texts and works of art.

In the context of the late antique aesthetics, Michael Roberts coined the evocative term “jeweled style” to illustrate concisely a change in taste in the contemporary poetry, whereby he refers chiefly to the Latin literature. According to Roberts, the classical poetics was then rejected in favour of a new one, in which instead of the simplicity and unity of composition, the variety (*varietas*, *variatio*) was particularly delighted and due to it even a simple topic could become interesting and decorative (*ornatus*). Therefore, repetition was avoided, and authors used to use synonyms and circumlocutions to prevent monotony. The literature created in this way was supposed to be like a shimmering gem (*gemma*) that attracts attention with its glitter (*lumen*) and colour (*color*)<sup>21</sup>. Although it is difficult to agree with all the detailed considerations of the researcher, who sometimes compares literature with painting too easily, his term “jeweled style”, in the context of art understood simply as a predilection for sophisticated, multi-coloured and shiny materials, quite aptly describes the late-antique and Byzantine aesthetics<sup>22</sup>.

Referring directly to Byzantine primary sources, it should be stressed that gold in ekphraseis, full of admiration for visible beauty, appears as one of the quintessential precious materials, and this is the most characteristic feature: gold does not have a unique, special position among them, since marbles, precious stones, and expensive fabrics are not perceived as less valued. Let's study some specific examples. Describing the church of the Holy Wisdom in Constantinople, Paulus Silentiarius (died ca. 575–580) wrote:

<sup>21</sup> M. ROBERTS, *The Jeweled...*, p. 39–65.

<sup>22</sup> Cf.: P. COX MILLER, “*The Little Blue Flower Is Red*”. *Relics and the Poetizing of the Body*, JECS 8.2, 2000, p. 213–236; T.K. THOMAS, *The Medium Matters. Reading the Remains of a Late Antique Textile*, [in:] *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. E. SEARS, T.K. THOMAS, Ann Arbor 2002, p. 39–49; L. JAMES, *Color and Meaning in Byzantium*, JECS 11.2, 2003, p. 223–233; E.S. BOLMAN, *Late Antique Aesthetics, Chromophobia and the Red Monastery, Sohag, Egypt*, ECA 3, 2006, p. 18–22; J. ELSNER, *Late Antique Art. The Problem of the Concept and the Cumulative Aesthetic*, [in:] *Approaching Late Antiquity. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, ed. S. SWAIN, M. EDWARDS, Oxford 2006, p. 271–309; P. COX MILLER, *The Corporeal Imagination. Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity*, Philadelphia 2009, p. 17, 18, 43–44; E.S. BOLMAN, *Painted Skins. The Illusions and Realities of Architectural Polychromy, Sinai and Egypt*, [in:] *Approaching the Holy Mountain. Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, ed. S.E.J. GERSTEL, R.S. NELSON, Turnhout 2010 [= CMu, 11], p. 119–140; B.V. PENTCHEVA, *The Sensual Icon. Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium*, University Park 2010, p. 139–149; N. SCHIBILLE, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience*, Farnham 2014, p. 97–99, 108; B.V. PENTCHEVA, *Hagia Sophia, Sound, Space, and Spirit in Byzantium*, University Park 2017, p. 121–149; V. IVANOVICI, *Divine Light through Earthly Colours. Mediating Perception in Late Antique Churches*, [in:] *Colour and Light in Ancient and Medieval Art*, ed. C.N. DUCKWORTH, A.E. SASSIN, New York–London 2018, p. 81–91.

χρυσεοκολλήτους δὲ τέγος ψηφίδας ἐέργει,  
ὦν ἄπο μαρμαίρουσα χύδην χρυσόρρυτος ἀκτὶς  
ἀνδρομέοις ἄτλητος ἐπεσκίρτησε προσώποις.  
φαίη τις φαέθοντα μεσημβρινὸν εἶαρος ὥρη  
εἰσοράαν, ὅτε πᾶσαν ἐπεχρύσωσεν ἐρίπτην<sup>23</sup>

The roof is compacted of gilded tesserae from which a glittering stream of golden rays pours abundantly and strikes men's eyes with irresistible force. It is as if one were gazing at the mid-day sun in spring, when he gilds each mountain top<sup>24</sup>.

Here, the poet drew attention not only to the golden mosaic cubes (χρυσεοκολλήτους ψηφίδας) covering the vaulted parts but also emphasized that the rays of light (ἄπο μαρμαίρουσα χύδην χρυσόρρυτος ἀκτὶς) reflecting from their surface are so intense that it is even difficult to look at them (ἀνδρομέοις ἄτλητος ἐπεσκίρτησε προσώποις). The brilliance of the tesserae hurts eyes like the spring sun illuminating the mountain peaks at noon (φαέθοντα μεσημβρινὸν εἶαρος ὥρη). It should be noted that the colour of the sun's rays, both in the church and outside, is described as golden (χρυσόρρυτος; ἐπεχρύσωσεν).

It is worth adding that Silentarius in some very poetic lines contained quite specific content because authors frequently used to stop on more general statements. For example, Procopius of Caesarea (ca. 500 – ca. 565) wrote on the same church: “χρυσῶ μὲν ἀκιβδήλω καταλήλειπται ἡ ὄροφή πᾶσα, κεραννῦσα τὸν κόμπον τῷ κάλλει, νικᾷ μέντοι ἢ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐγῇ ἀνταστράπτουσα τῷ χρυσῶ<sup>25</sup> (*The whole ceiling is overlaid with pure gold, which adds glory to the beauty, yet the light reflected from the stones prevails, shining out in rivalry with the gold*)<sup>26</sup>. Thus he did not specify that the vaults were decorated with gold tesserae but he admitted that this part of the building is beautiful and resplendent. Notwithstanding this opinion, Procopius found that the glow of marbles (ἢ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐγῇ ἀνταστράπτουσα) is stronger than that of gold (νικᾷ μέντοι τῷ χρυσῶ). His view may seem somewhat surprising, but a little further we read as well: “ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς οὗτος τὸ μὲν χρωμᾶ ἐστὶ χρυσοῦ ἀκιβδήλου πραότερος, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ ἀποδέων ἰσοστάσιος ἀργύρω εἶναι<sup>27</sup> (*This brass, in its colour, is softer than pure gold, and its value is not much less than that of an equal weight of silver*)<sup>28</sup>. It is

<sup>23</sup> PAULUS SILENTIARIUS, *Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae*, 668–672, [in:] PAULUS SILENTIARIUS, *Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae, Descriptio Ambonis*, ed. C. DE STEFANI, Berlin–New York 2010 [= BSGR] (cetera: PAULUS SILENTIARIUS).

<sup>24</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 86.

<sup>25</sup> *Procopii Caesarensis opera omnia. De aedificiis*, I, 1, 54, vol. IV, ed. J. HAURY, rec. G. WIRTH, Leipzig 1964 [= BSGR] (cetera: PROCOPIUS).

<sup>26</sup> PROCOPIUS, *On Buildings*, I, 1, 54, trans. H.B. DEWING, G. DOWNEY, Cambridge Mass.–London 1954 [= LCL, 343].

<sup>27</sup> PROCOPIUS, I, 2, 4.

<sup>28</sup> PROCOPIUS, *On Buildings...*, I, 2, 4.

interesting that both Procopius and Silentarius noticed some weaknesses of gold, especially since their feelings are opposite – although they both described the same dome – because for the first author gold glitters less than marbles, and its colour is less delicate than that of copper, and for the second one, the glow of golden mosaic cubes is too dazzling.

Other writers also used to point to the special visual effects associated with golden surfaces, both earlier such as Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260 – ca. 339)<sup>29</sup> and later ones. Of the latter, it is especially worth paying attention to the text from around the mid-twelfth century whose author is Michael *protecdicus* (πρωτέκδικος)<sup>30</sup> of the church of Thessalonica and later deacon of the church of the Holy Wisdom in Constantinople. His composition is on folios 123r–124v of the Escorial codex Y–II–10 (Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial) and it is the ekphrasis of the Holy Wisdom church written for the annual celebration of the inauguration of the church. This text consists of 232 lines – unfortunately, it is incomplete now – and refers to the architectural form of the church and its symbolic interpretation as well<sup>31</sup>. What is more, the author remarked on the building's decoration, and, at the very beginning, he emphasized that the beauty of the church is related to gold (ὅς καὶ πυρράζει τὴν ὄψιν ὡς ὑγρότης πάντη χρυσόν)<sup>32</sup>. Regarding the narthex, we read:

καὶ ἡ τοῦ χρυσοῦ στιλπνότης ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ καταστάζειν ποεὶ νομίζεσθαι τὸν χρυσόν. τοὺς γὰρ ὑγροὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῇ ἀνταυγείᾳ ὡσπερ κυμαίνουσα, τὰς ἐκείνων νοτίδας εἰς τὸν χρυσόν ἐφάντασε τὸν ὀρώμενον, καὶ δοκεῖ ῥευσεῖσθαι τηκόμενος. λίθος δὲ ἀλλὰ ποδαπὴ περιπέπηγε τῇ οἰκοδομῇ, τῷ πολυχρόφῳ καὶ λείῳ διαμιλλωμένη πρὸς τὸν χρυσόν, ἐκ μὲν λειότητος στίλβουσα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἄνθους ὄντος ποικίλου πλέον τι ἔχουσα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν μονόχρουν χρυσόν

[...] and the brightness of the gold almost makes the gold appear to drip down; for by its refulgence making waves to arise, as it were, in eyes that are moist, it causes their moisture to appear in the gold which is seen, and it seems to be flowing in a molten stream. But what

<sup>29</sup> E.g. his description of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople:

αὐτὸς δὲ νεῶν ἅπαντα εἰς ὕψος ἄφατον ἐπάρας, λίθων ποικιλίας παντοίων ἐξαστράπτοντα ἐποίει, εἰς αὐτὸν ὄροφον ἐξ ἐδάφους πλακώσας, διαλαβὼν δὲ λεπτοῖς φατνώμασι τὴν στέγην χρυσῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκάλυπτεν. ἄνω δὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτην πρὸς αὐτῷ δώματι χαλκὸς μὲν ἀντὶ κεράμου φυλακὴν τῷ ἔργῳ πρὸς ὑετῶν ἀσφάλειαν παρείχε· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ πολὺς περιέλαμπε χρυσός, ὡς μαρμαρυγὰς τοῖς πόρρωθεν ἀφορώσι ταῖς ἡλίου αὐγαῖς ἀντανακλωμέναις ἐκπέμπειν. δικτυωτὰ δὲ περίξ ἐκύκλου τὸ δωμάτιον ἀνάγλυφα χαλκῷ καὶ χρυσῷ κατειργασμένα,

*Eusebius Werke*, vol. I.1, *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, 4.58–4.59, ed. F. WINKELMANN, Berlin 1975 [= GCS].

<sup>30</sup> *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, vol. VI, ed. C. DU FRESNE DU CANGE, Niort 1883–1887, 541a (s.v. *Protecdicus*).

<sup>31</sup> C. MANGO, J. PARKER, *A Twelfth-Century Description of St. Sophia*, DOP 14, 1960, p. 233–235.

<sup>32</sup> This text was edited and translated by Cyril Mango and John Parker. They also provided it with an introduction and commentary; C. MANGO, J. PARKER, *A Twelfth-Century...*, 1.12–13, p. 235.

manner of stonework is this that fastened around the building, striving with its variegated coloring and smoothness against gold, shining because of its smoothness and, because of its diversified bloom having something that surpasses even the gold, which is of one color?<sup>33</sup>.

To Michael, gold – because of its intense gloss – seems to be flowing down the walls (καὶ ἡ τοῦ χρυσοῦ στιλπνότης ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ καταστάζειν ποεῖ νομίζεσθαι τὸν χρυσόν). The shimmer of gold is glaring and it results in watery eyes (τοὺς γὰρ ὑγροὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆ ἀνταυγείᾳ ὥσπερ κυμαίνουσα, τὰς ἐκείνων νοτίδας εἰς τὸν χρυσόν ἐφάντασε τὸν ὀρώμενον, καὶ δοκεῖ βρυσσεῖσθαι τηρόμενος), and the stones, due to their variegation of colours, resemble flowers in bloom (ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἄνθους ὄντος ποικίλου)<sup>34</sup>. Interestingly, the author is inclined to consider the multi-coloured revetments as more beautiful than gold which is, after all, of one colour (μονόχρους)<sup>35</sup>. A monochromaticity seems to be less valued than colourfulness (πολύχρους), although there were exceptions to this rule, as evidenced by the description of the floor in one of the homilies of Leo VI the Wise (886–912)<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> C. MANGO, J. PARKER, *A Twelfth-Century...*, 3.67–79, p. 237 (There are the Greek text and the English translation).

<sup>34</sup> This kind of comparison of multi-coloured stones to blooming flowers is quite common in Byzantine literature, and its general prototype can be found in *The Hall* (*Περὶ τοῦ οἴκου*) of Lucian of Samosata. However, he compared frescoes, not marbles, to a flourishing meadow; LUCIAN, *The Hall*, 9, [in:] LUCIAN, *Phalaris. Hippas or The Bath. Dionysus. Heracles. Amber or The Swans. The Fly. Nigrinus. Demonax. The Hall. My Native Land. Octogenarians. A True Story. Slander. The Consonants at Law. The Carousal (Symposium) or The Lapiths*, vol. I, ed. A.M. HARMON, Cambridge Mass. 1913 [= LCL, 14]. This motif, as it seems, has been referred to marble revetments and floors since the 6<sup>th</sup> century; H. MAGUIRE, *Nectar & Illusion. Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*, Oxford 2016 [= OSHC], p. 121–122 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Oxford 2012). In this early period, we find it, among others, in Procopius (PROCOPIUS, 1.1.59–60), as well as in the carved inscription of the church of St. Polyeuctus in Constantinople (*Anthologia Graeca*, 1.10.60–69, vol. I, ed. H. BECKBY, München 1965). This comparison turned out to be extremely enduring, because it was often used for the next centuries, until the end of Byzantium, since the beauty of various stones decorating interiors was constantly emphasized and glorified. See as well: GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *De sancto Theodoro*, [in:] PG, vol. XLVI, col. 737.48–740.6; *Choricii Gazaei opera*, 2.2.40, ed. R. FOERSTER, E. RICHTSTEIG, Leipzig 1929 [= BSGR] (cetera: CHORICIUS).

<sup>35</sup> Reading Byzantine primary sources, one could often find that the most wonderful visual effects are associated not with gold but with multi-coloured stones, both marbles, and gems, to which the former ones are regularly compared. In the context of stone revetments, the example of the poetic ekphrasis of the Constantinopolitan church of the Holy Wisdom of Sientiaris is significant. His description of the church's marbles is extensive and very detailed, because it does not boil down to the general highlighting of their diverse colours and extraordinary gloss. Therefore, almost all the stones mentioned in the poem can be accurately recognized and assigned to individual places of the church; N. SCHIBILLE, *Hagia Sophia...*, p. 97–109, 241–243. It should be clearly emphasized that the Sientiaris' ekphrasis is a unique combination of elaborate poetry with a large dose of specific information, which was quoted in a very erudite form; PAULUS SILENTIARIUS, 617–646, 664–667.

<sup>36</sup> Μαρμάρου γὰρ λευκῆς ἐκ πλακῶν ὑπέστρωται, τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς διαφανείας μηδενὸς ἄλλου διατειχίζοντος χρώματος, προτετιμηκότος τοῦ τεχνίτου τὸ ἀμυγὲς τῆς ἀγλαΐας τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ποικίλης κατασκευῆς ἄνθους, οἶα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐδαφῶν κατασκευαῖς ὄραται. Πλὴν ὡσπὲρ τινα ὄρια

The author underlined there that the pavement made of white slabs is beautiful because of its one colour, and it is a pure splendour for him. In general, the combination of materials of different colours providing stunning visual effects was valued more than simplicity praised by Leo.

In the context of extraordinary impressions, the *X Homily* of Photius I of Constantinople (858–867, 877–886) immediately comes to mind. The patriarch prepared it on the occasion of the inauguration of the church of the Virgin of the Pharos at the Great Palace of Constantinople. This event took place in 864 during the reign of Michael III (842–867)<sup>37</sup>:

Ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν μηδενὸς ἐπιπροσθοῦντος μηδαμόθεν ἐμβεβηκῶς καὶ τοῖς πολυμῶρφοις καὶ πανταχόθεν ὑποφαινομένοις κάλλεσιν ὡς ἄστροις περιλαμπόμενος ὅλος ἐκπεληγμένος γίνεται. Δοκεῖ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐν ἐκστάσει εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸ περιδιεῖσθαι τὸ τέμενος· ταῖς γὰρ οἰκειαῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς περιστροφαῖς καὶ συνεχέσι κινήσεσιν, ἃ πάντως παθεῖν τὸν θεατὴν ἢ πανταχόθεν ποικιλία βιάζεται τοῦ θεάματος, εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ὀρώμενον τὸ οἰκεῖον φαντάζεται πάθημα. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ χρυσὸς τε καὶ ἄργυρος τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ ναοῦ διειλήφασιν, ὁ μὲν ψηφίσις ἐπαλειφόμενος, ὁ δὲ εἰς πλάκας ἀποξεόμενος τε καὶ τυπούμενος, ἄλλος ἄλλοις ἐπιπασσόμενος μέρεσιν· ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπλεκόμενα κιονόκρανα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ διὰ χρυσοῦ περιζώματα· ἀλλαχόθι δὲ ταῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἐπιπλεκόμενος χρυσός, ἢ χρυσοῦ τι θαυμασιώτερον, ἢ θεία τράπεζα, σύνθημα. Ἄργυρος δὲ περὶ τὰς πυλίδας καὶ στυλίδας τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου σὺν τοῖς περιστάσι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κωνοειδὴς καὶ τῇ θείᾳ τραπεζῇ ἐπικείμενος σὺν τοῖς ὑπερείδουσι στυλίσκοις ὑπώροφοις ὄροφος. Καὶ μαρμάρων δὲ πολυχρῶμων ὅσα μὴ χρυσὸς ἐπέδραμεν ἢ ἄργυρος περιέλαβεν, ἀμῆχανόν τι καὶ τερπνὸν φιλοτέχνημα τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ ναοῦ διεκόσμησεν<sup>38</sup>

It is as if one had entered heaven itself with no one barring the way from any side, and was illuminated by the beauty in all forms shining all around like so many stars, so is one utterly amazed. Thenceforth it seems that everything is in ecstatic motion, and the church itself is circling around. For the spectator, through his whirling about in all directions and being constantly astir, which he is forced to experience by the variegated spectacle on all sides, imagines that his personal own is transferred to the object. Gold and silver cover the greater part of the church, the one smeared on tesserae, the other cut out and fashioned into plaques, or otherwise applied to other parts. Over here are capitals adorned *with gold*, over there are golden cornices. Elsewhere gold is twined into chains, but more wonderful than gold is the composition of the holy table. The little doors and columns of the sanctuary together with the peristyle are covered with silver; so also is the conical roof set over the holy table with the

ἔξωθεν περιθέοντα τῆς λευκῆς ἐπιφανείας ἐκ πλακῶς ἑτεροχρόου, τῇ βραχεῖα παραμείψει τῆς θεάς, τερπνὴν οὖσαν τὴν τοῦ λευκοῦ διαφάνειαν, τερπνοτέραν ὅμως ποιεῖ,

*Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini Homiliae*, 31.54–61, ed. T. ΑΝΤΩΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Turnhout 2008 [= CC.SG 63] (cetera: LEO VI).

<sup>37</sup> R.J.H. JENKINS, C. MANGO, *The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius*, DOP 9/10, 1956, p. 125–140; A. RÓŻYCKA BRYZEK, *Fojusz, patriarcha Konstantynopola, „Homilia X”*, Z 466.3, 1994, p. 57.

<sup>38</sup> *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Φωτίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὁμιλία, ῥηθεῖσα ὡς ἐν ἐκφράσει τοῦ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις περιωνύμου ναοῦ*, 10, [in:] *Φωτίου Ὁμιλία*, ed. B. ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑΣ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1959 [= ΕΠΣΕΜΣΠ, 12] (cetera: ΠΟΤΙΟΥ), p. 101.18–31 – 102.1–5.

little pillars and canopy that support it. The rest of the church, as much of it as gold has not overspread or silver covered, is adorned with many-hued marble, a surpassingly fair work<sup>39</sup>.

In his solemn speech, Photius used well-known and much earlier developed schemes for describing the church's interior, and his *ekphrasis* is, in fact, rather general, thus it could be applied easily as a description of another church. As for gold, he mentioned that it is in the mosaic cubes (ὁ μὲν ψηφίσιν ἐπαλειφόμενος) and that capitals, cornices, and chains are gilded (ἐνταῦθα ἐπικοσμούμενα κιονόκρανα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ διὰ χρυσοῦ περιζώματα· ἀλλαχόθι δὲ ταῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἐπιπλεκόμενος χρυσός). The author, however, emphasized that the altar with the silver ciborium is more beautiful than gold (ἢ χρυσοῦ τι θαυμασιώτερον, ἢ θεία τράπεζα, σύνθημα). It seems that in this way Photius rather indicates that the sanctuary is the most important part of the church than comments on aesthetics. The patriarch certainly succeeded in creating the vision of the splendour of the new foundation: completely covered with gold and silver (Ἀλλὰ γὰρ χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ ναοῦ διελήφασιν) and also with multi-coloured marbles (μαρμάρων δὲ πολυχρώμων). It is worth adding that the homily was given *in situ*, which also allowed for less scrupulous explanations. Anyway, the Photius himself justified his approach with rhetorical emphasis:

Χαίρω δ' οὖν ἔγωγε οὐδὲν ἦττον, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον ὁ λόγος ἀπηνέγκατο, ἢ εἰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἱκανῶς ἐχούσης ἀφίκετο διηγήσεως· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐν λόγῳ δυνάμεως ἐπίδειξιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάλλιστόν τε εἶναι τὸν ναὸν καὶ ὠραιότατον καὶ νικῶντα νόμους ἐκφράσεως παραστήσαι προήρημαι<sup>40</sup>

Yet, even if my speech has fallen below the mark, I am not any the less content than if it had risen to the level of an adequate description. For my purpose was not to make an exhibition of eloquence but to show that the church is most excellent and beautiful and that it defeats the canons of an *ekphrasis*<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*, 10.5, trans., praef. C. MANGO, Cambridge Mass. 1958 [= DOS, 3], p. 186–187.

<sup>40</sup> ΡΗΟΤΙΟΥ, 10, p. 103.23–27. In *Homily XVII*, Photius also emphasized the power of sight – a sense that surpasses hearing (ΡΗΟΤΙΟΥ, 17, p. 170.28–33):

εἰ γὰρ καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων ἐκάτερον συνεισάγεται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ προέχειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐπιδεικνύεται τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀκοὴν εἰσδυομένης μαθήσεως ἢ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως ἐγγινομένη κατάληψις. Ἐκκλινέ τις τὸ οὐς εἰς διήγημα; εἴλκυσε φανταζομένη τὸ ἀκουσθὲν ἢ διάνοια; νηφούση μελέτη τὸ κριθὲν τῇ μνήμῃ ἐναπέθετο. Οὐδὲν τούτων ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, κρατεῖ τὰ τῆς ὄψεως.

Cf. Καὶ τί ἄν τις ἐν οὕτῳ βραχεῖ καιρῷ τὰ τοῦ περιωνύμου τεμένους λόγῳ πειράται περιέρχεσθαι θαύματα; ὅπου γε οὐδ' αὐτὴ ἢ ὄψις οὐδ' ἐπὶ συχνὸν χρόνον, καίτοι τὰς ἄλλας αἰσθήσεις τῷ τάχει κατόπιν ἄγουσα, ἀντιλαβέσθαι τούτων οὐδαμῶς ἐλέγχεται κατισχύουσα,

ΡΗΟΤΙΟΥ, 10, p. 103.19–23. On the theory of perception of Photius: R. BETANCOURT, *Sight...*, p. 109–195.

<sup>41</sup> *The Homilies of Photius...*, 10.7, p. 189.

The *X Homily* of Photius, which passages were cited above, was formerly considered a speech for the inauguration of the so-called New Church (Νέα Ἐκκλησία) funded by Basil I the Macedonian (867–886). Cyril Mango proves, however, that the text refers to the church of the Virgin of the Pharos<sup>42</sup>. The description of the New Church is found in the panegyric *Vita Basilii* (Ἱστορικὴ διήγησις τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων Βασιλείου τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως), which is the only extant secular biography in Byzantine literature. The emperor was presented there not only as a brave warrior, but also as a generous founder, who raised many churches from ruin and also built numerous new ones<sup>43</sup>.

ὄν ὡς νύμφην ὠραϊσμένην καὶ περικεκοσμημένην μαργάροις τε καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρου λαμπρότησιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μαρμάρων πολυχρῶν ποικιλίας καὶ ψηφίδων συνθέσεσιν καὶ σηρικῶν ὑφασμάτων καταστολαῖς τῷ ἀθανάτῳ προσήγαγεν νυμφίῳ Χριστῷ. Ὅ τε γὰρ ὄροφος ἐκ πέντε συμπληρούμενος ἡμισφαιρίων στίλβει χρυσῷ καὶ εἰκόνων ὡς ἀστέρων ἐξαστράπτει κά(λ)λεσιν, ἔξωθεν μετάλλοις ἐμφοροῦς χρυσίῳ χαλκοῦ καλλυνόμενος, οἷ τε παρ' ἑκάτερα τοῖχοι τῷ πολυτελεῖ καὶ πολυχρῷ τῶν μαρμάρων καταποικίλλονται, || καὶ τὰ ἄδυστα τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ (λίθοις) τιμίοις καὶ μαργάροις καταπεποικίλται καὶ καταπεπλούτισται. καὶ αἱ τῶν ἐκτὸς διείργουσαι τὰ θυσιαστήρια κιγκλίδες καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς περιστυλα καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν οἶον ὑπέρθυρα κρηματίζοντα οἷ τε ἐντὸς θάκοι καὶ αἱ πρὸ τούτων βαθμίδες καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ ἱεραὶ τράπεζαι, ἐξ ἀργύρου πάντα(οθεν) περικεχυμένον ἔχοντος τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις ἐκ μαργαριτῶν ἡμφιεσμένοις πολυτελῶν τὴν σύμπηξιν καὶ σύστασιν ἔχουσιν. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος σηρικῶν ὑφασμάτων ἢ Σιδονίων ἔργων ἐφηπλωμένων δόξει τυγχάνειν ἀνάπλεων· οὕτω πᾶν ἐξωραΐσται καὶ καταπεποικίλται τῷ πολυχρῷ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐκ μαρμάρων πλακῶν καὶ ταῖς πολυειδέσι τῶν ταύτας περικλειουσῶν ψηφίδων ζώναις καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀρμογῆς ἀκριβεῖ καὶ τῷ περιττῷ τῆς περιθεούσης ἐν ἅπασι χάριτος

The emperor offered this church to Christ, the immortal Bridegroom, as a bride decked out and adorned with pearls and gold and gleaming silver and, moreover, with a variety of many-colored marbles, mosaic compositions and silken robes. The ceilings of that five-domed church glitter with gold and flash forth (their) beautiful representations like (as many) stars; on the outside, the roof is embellished with brass work resembling gold; the shrine's (interior) walls on either side are varied with costly and many-colored marbles and its sanctuary is variously decked out with a wealth of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls. The chancel barrier that separates the outside area from the altar space; the colonnade set into this barrier and the (parts) above, functioning as lintels, as it were; the seats within (the sanctuary); the steps leading to them; and the altars themselves are all given massivity and substance by

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 177–183.

<sup>43</sup> Ὁ δὲ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς Βασιλεῖος μεταξὺ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα πολλακίας ὥσπερ ἀγνωθετῶν πρὸς τὸ δέον κατηύθυνε, πολλοὺς τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θεῶν ναῶν ἐκ τῶν προγεγονότων διαρραγέντας σεισμῶν καὶ ἢ καταβληθέντας παντελῶς ἢ πτώσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥηγμάτων σύντομον ὑπομεῖναι δηλοῦντας, ἐπιμελεῖα τε διηνεκεῖ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν | ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθόνῳ χορηγία καὶ παροχὴ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ πτώματος ἠγειρεν, τῇ ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ κάλλος προσθεῖς, τῶν δὲ τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἐνισχύσας διὰ τῆς τῶν δεόντων ἐπιβολῆς καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως, τοῦ μὴ καταρρηῆναι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀκμὴν αὐθις ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ νεότητα ἐγένετο αἷτιος. δηλωτέον δὲ καὶ (τὰ) καθ' ἕκαστα”

*Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur*, 78, ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, Berlin–Boston 2011 [= CFHB.SBe, 42] (cetera: *Vita Basilii*).

silver that is gilded all over and (adorned) with precious stones in settings made [?] from costly pearls. As for the pavement, it first will appear to be spread with (rugs) woven of silk or with Sidonian fabrics, so beautifully has all of it been inlaid and varied by marble panels of many hues set into the ground; by the variegated mosaic bands that enclose these panels; by the precision with which everything has been joined together; and by the superabundant elegance spreading throughout<sup>44</sup>.

The quoted ekphrasis although quite extensive, does not contain many details – like that of Photius. This is another evocation of a dazzling imperial foundation which is composed primarily by the discussing of wonderful and expensive materials exploited in the church embellishment, namely: gold, silver, tesserae, fabrics, and various many-hued stones. In this instance, like in previous ones, the beauty is grounded on variegation (οὕτω ποικίλαι ταύτας τοῦ τεχνίτου θελήσαντος, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πολυμόρφου θηρῶντος τὸ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ ἐράσμιον)<sup>45</sup>. Besides, the lavish decoration of the shrine is compared to the fine attire of a bride (ὄν ὡς νύμφην ὠραϊσμένην καὶ περικεκοσμημένην). This comparison also indicates that the Church is married to Christ, the immortal Bridegroom (τῷ ἀθανάτῳ προσήγαγεν νυμφίῳ Χριστῷ). Thereupon each church building also in terms of external appearance must be appropriate for such a great Groom. On this account, the adorned “garment” of the New Church consists of marble cladding, mosaics, silk fabrics, pearls, gold, and silver. All these elements are costly and shiny, and they differ in colours as well.

Gold, probably in the form of tesserae, also covered the interiors of the five domes (πέντε συμπληρούμενος ἡμισφαιρίων στίλβει χρυσῷ καὶ εἰκόνων ὡς ἀστέρων ἐξαστράπτει κά(λ)λεσιν), shimmering like stars. Moreover, all parts of the templon and the altars were made of silver and thereafter gilded (ἐξ ἀργύρου πάντα(οθεν) περικεχυμένον ἔχοντος τὸν χρυσόν). Very similar elements of a description are also found in the somewhat earlier poetic ekphrasis of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. It was written by Constantine of Rhodes (ca. 870 – after 931) who dedicated his work to Constantine VII

<sup>44</sup> *Vita Basilii*, 83.15–19, 84.1–18 (There are the Greek text and the English translation). Liutprand of Cremona (ca. 920 – ca. 972) mentioned this church in the *Retributio* (*Ανταπόδοσις*), where he described his first diplomatic mission at the court of Constantinople, during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959):

Fabricavit autem precioso et mirabili opere iuxta palatium orientem versus ecclesiam in honorem summi et caelestis militiae principis, archangeli Michahelis, qui Grece archistrátigos, hoc est militiae princeps, appellatur. Ecclesiam autem ipsam Nean, hoc est novam, alii vocant, alii vero Ennean, quod nostra lingua novennalem sonat, appellant, eo quod ibidem ecclesiasticarum horarum machina novem pulsata ictibus sonet,

LIUDPRAND DE CRÉMONE, *Antapodosis*, 3.34.555–560, [in:] LIUDPRAND DE CRÉMONE, *Œuvres*, ed. F. BOUGARD, Paris 2015 [= *SHM*, 41].

<sup>45</sup> *Vita Basilii*, 89.15–17.

Porphyrogenitus (913–959)<sup>46</sup>. The poet mentioned there the names of the architects Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, known most of all from the design of the church of the Holy Wisdom, and stressed that due to their theoretical knowledge it was possible to erect such a magnificent building. The church of the Holy Apostles, however, was ravishing not only because of the engineering concepts but also because of the stunning decoration. The latter is compared to a bride with golden ornaments (ὅποια νύμφην κροσσωτοῖσι χρυσέοις) – this motive was used, as we have seen, also in reference to the New Church – and to a wedding chamber glistening with gold (παστάδα χρύσαυγον ὠραϊσμένην). The extraordinary glow of the church interior is associated with gold, as well as with multi-coloured marbles (μαρμάρων πολυχρόων), precious stones, and pearls giving fiery reflections (ταῖς ἐκ λίθων τε μαργάρων φρυκτωρίας) and coming from different parts of the whole world (τῶν ἐξ ὅλης σχεδόν γε τῆς οἰκουμένης / καὶ μέχρις Ἰνδῶν Λιβύης τε κ' Εὐρώπης / τῆς Ἀσίας τε πανταχοῦ θρυλλουμένων). A little further, Constantine of Rhodes also pointed to golden tesserae<sup>47</sup>, against which – as can be

<sup>46</sup> Τοίαις μὲν οὗτος καὶ τόσαις τεχνουργίαις  
καὶ σχηματισμοῖς γραμμικῆς θεωρίας  
ὄλον διαμπὰξ συγκατήρτισε<ν> δόμον  
τὸν ἀστρολαμπή τῶν σοφῶν Ἀποστόλων,  
εἴτ' Ἀνθέμιος, εἴτ' Ἰσίδωρος νέος,  
ὔλαις ἀπείροις μαρμάρων πολυχρόων  
καὶ λαμπρότησι τῶν μετάλλων τῶν ξένων  
ἐπενδύσας τε καὶ καλῶς συναρμόσας,  
ὅποια νύμφην κροσσωτοῖσι χρυσέοις  
ἢ παστάδα χρύσαυγον ὠραϊσμένην  
ταῖς ἐκ λίθων τε μαργάρων φρυκτωρίας  
τῶν ἐξ ὅλης σχεδόν γε τῆς οἰκουμένης  
καὶ μέχρις Ἰνδῶν Λιβύης τε κ' Εὐρώπης  
τῆς Ἀσίας τε πανταχοῦ θρυλλουμένων,

CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, *On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*, 636–649, ed. L. JAMES, I. VASSIS, trans. V. DIMITROPOULOU, L. JAMES, R. JORDAN, Farnham 2012 (cetera: CONSTANTINE OF RHODES). Then follows the description of the used marbles. They, as we read, cover the building like a chiton (ἄς ὡς χιτῶνας ἐνδύσας τοὺς ὀρθίους τοίχους) and create in the interior the impression of a meadow full of blooming flowers with colours reminiscent of precious stones (CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, 650–674; 686–695). It is worth comparing this part of the ekphrasis to the some passages from the Silentiary's poem on the church of the Holy Wisdom, vide PAULUS SILENTIARIUS, 617–646.

<sup>47</sup> Χρυσῶ δὲ μίγδην ὑέλῳ πεφυκότι  
ἅπαν κατεχρύσωσε τοῦνδοθεν μέρος,  
ὅσον τ' ἐν ὕψει σφαιροσυνθέτου στέγης  
χ' ὅσον λαγόσιν ἀψίδων ὑπερφέρει,  
καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν μαρμάρων πολυχρόων  
καὶ μέχρις αὐτῶν κοσμητῶν τῶν δευτέρων

concluded from the description – scenes from the life of Christ were depicted<sup>48</sup>. It is noteworthy that the author had regard to technical detail, namely, that the golden mosaic cubes were made of glass and gold (Χρυσῶ δὲ μίγδην ὑέλω πεφουκότι).

The golden glow was also associated with shiny fabrics, as evidenced, for example, by Silentiarius's ekphrasis of one of the silk purple fabrics<sup>49</sup> prepared for the church of the Holy Wisdom:

τοῦτο δὲ καλλιπόνοιο φυτεύσατο χεῖρεσι τέχνης  
οὐ γλυφίς, οὐ ραφίδων τις ἐλαυνομένης διὰ πέπλων, ἀλλὰ μεταλλάσσουσα  
πολύχροα νήματα πήνη,  
νήματα ποικιλόμορφα, τὰ βάρβαρος ἤροσε μύρμηξ.  
χρυσοφαεὶς δ' ἀμάρυγμα βολαῖς ῥοδοπήχεος ἠοῦς  
ἀπλοῖς ἀντήστραψε θεοκράντων ἐπὶ γυίων,  
καὶ Τυρίη πόρφυρε χιτῶν ἀλιανθεί κόχλω,  
δεξιὸν εὐτύκτοις ὑπὸ νήμασιν ὤμον ἐρέπτων·  
κεῖθι γὰρ ἀμπεχόνης μὲν ἀπωλίσθησε καλύπτρη,  
καλὰ δ' ἀνερπύζουσα διὰ πλευρῆς ὑπὲρ ὤμου  
ἀγκέχυται λαιοῖο· γεγύμνωται δὲ καλύπτρης  
πῆχυς καὶ θέναρ ἄκρον. ἔοικε δὲ δάκτυλα τείνειν  
δεξιτερῆς, ἄτε μῦθον ἀειζῶντα πιφαύσκων,

γράφας ἀέθλους καὶ σεβασμίους τύπους  
τοὺς τὴν κένωσιν ἐκδιδάσκοντας Λόγου  
καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς βροτοὺς παρουσίαν,

CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, 742–750.

<sup>48</sup> This is a quite long description, CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, 751–980. The church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople was demolished in 1453, therefore a form of this church is reconstructed primarily on the basis of written sources, which include, first of all, the ekphraseis created by Procopius of Caesarea, Constantine of Rhodes, and Nicholas Mesarites. The earliest of them discussed only the architectural form, and the other two also depicted scenes. Perhaps these mosaic pictures were made during the reign of Basil I; L. JAMES, *Constantine of Rhodes's Poem and Art History*, [in:] CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, *On Constantinople...*, p. 181–217. On the place where the church was built: *Constantinople. Archaeology of a Byzantine Megapolis. Final Report on the Istanbul Rescue Archaeology Project 1998–2004*, ed. K. DARK, F. ÖZGÜMÜŞ, Oxford–Oakville 2013, p. 83–96. It is worth noting that there was a “Dumbarton Oaks Symposium” dedicated to this church (24–26 April 2015); M. MULLETT, R. OUSERHOUT, *The Holy Apostles. Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 24–26 April 2015*, DOP 70, 2016, p. 325–326; a collection of essays related to this conference has been recently published: *The Holy Apostles – A Lost Monument, a Forgotten Project, and the Presentness of the Past*, ed. M. MULLETT, R.G. OUSTERHOUT, Washington D.C. 2020 [= DOBSC].

<sup>49</sup> On various aspects of silk, as well as purple in Byzantium, i.a.: A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*, Vienna 1997; EADEM, *Essential Processes, Looms, and Technical Aspects of the Production of Silk Textiles*, [in:] *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. I, ed. A.E. LAIOU, Washington 2002, p. 147–168; A. MUTHESIUS, *Studies in Silk in Byzantium*, London 2004; D. JACOBY, *Silk Production*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine...*, p. 421–428. Procopius of Caesarea described the history of silkworm smuggling, which was to be done by Byzantine monks: *Procopii Caesarensis opera omnia. De bellis libri*, 8.17.1–8, vol. II, ed. J. HAURY, rec. G. WIRTH, Leipzig 1963 [= BSGR].

λαίη βίβλον ἔχων ζαθέων ἐπίστορα μύθων,  
 βίβλον ἀπαγγέλλουσαν, ὅσα χραισμῆτορι βουλή  
 αὐτὸς ἀναξ ἐτέλεσεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ ταρσὸν ἐρείδων.  
 πᾶσα δ' ἀπαστράπτει χρυσῆ στολὶς· ἐν γὰρ ἐκείνῃ  
 τρητὸς λεπταλέος περὶ νήματα χρυσὸς ἐλιχθεὶς,  
 σχήμασιν ἢ σωλήνος ὁμοῖος ἢ τινος αὐλοῦ,  
 δέσμιος ἱμερόεντος ἐρείδεται ὑψόθι πέπλου,  
 ὀξυτέραις ῥαφίδεσσι δεθεὶς καὶ νήμασι Σηρῶν<sup>50</sup>

This has been fashioned not by artists' skilful hands plying the knife, nor by the needle driven through cloth, but by the web, the produce of the foreign worm, changing its colored threads of many shades. Upon the divine legs is a garment reflecting a golden glow under the rays of rosy-fingered Dawn, and a chiton, dyed purple by the Tyrian seashell, covers the right shoulder beneath its well-woven fabric; for at that point the upper garment has slipped down while, pulled up across the side, it envelops the left shoulder. The forearm and hand are thus laid bare. He seems to be stretching out the fingers of the right hand, as if preaching His immortal words, while in His left He holds the book of divine message – the book that tells what He, the Lord, accomplished with provident mind when His foot trod the earth. The whole robe shines with gold: for on it gold leaf has been wrapped round thread after the manner of a pipe or a reed, and so it projects above the lovely cloth, firmly bound with silken thread by sharp needles<sup>51</sup>.

The poet described the liturgical fabric that was laid on the altar. It was made of silk dyed with the Tyrian purple, and the figure of Christ Pantocrator was embroidered with gold thread. According to Silentarius, this cloth glistened wonderfully in the morning sun, spreading the golden glare all-round. In the following lines, the author also referred to other scenes and persons, including Peter and Paul who are next to Christ<sup>52</sup>. They are standing under golden arcades (νηὸς ἐκολπῶθη χρύσεος; τέτρασι χρυσείοις ἐπὶ κίοισι). The both saints, having a rank lower than Christ, were embroidered with silver threads (ἄμφω δὲ στολίδεσσι ὑπ' ἀργυφέησι

<sup>50</sup> PAULUS SILENTIARIUS, 765–785.

<sup>51</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 88–89.

<sup>52</sup> ἄμφω δὲ στολίδεσσι ὑπ' ἀργυφέησι πυκάζει  
 πῆνη ποικιλόεργος· ἐπ' ἀμβροσίων δὲ καρῆνων  
 νηὸς ἐκολπῶθη χρύσεος, τριέλικτον ἐγείρων  
 ἀγλαίην ἀψίδος· ἐφεδρήσσει δὲ βεβηκῶς  
 τέτρασι χρυσείοις ἐπὶ κίοισι· χεῖλεσι δ' ἄκροις  
 χρυσοδέτου πέπλοιο κατέγραφεν ἄσπετα τέχνη  
 ἔργα πολισσοῦχων ἐριούνια παμβασιλῆων·  
 πῆ μὲν νουσαλέων τις ἀκέστορας ὄψεται οἴκους,  
 πῆ δὲ δόμους ἱερούς· ἐτέρωθι δὲ θαύματα λάμπει  
 οὐρανίου Χριστοῦ· χάρις δ' ἐπιλείβεται ἔργοις  
 ἐν δ' ἐτέροις πέπλοισι συναπτομένους βασιλῆας  
 ἄλλοθι μὲν παλάμαις Μαρίας θεοκύμονος εὖροις,  
 ἄλλοθι δὲ Χριστοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ· πάντα δὲ πῆνης  
 νήμασι χρυσοπόρων τε μίτων ποικίλλεται αἴγλη,

PAULUS SILENTIARIUS, 792–805.

πυκάζει / πήγη ποικιλόεργος). This kind of composition and its major colours can bring to mind the fantastic architecture, which is depicted in the mosaics in the dome of the Rotunda in Thessalonica<sup>53</sup>. This architecture was depicted primarily of gold mosaic cubes, and it also frames the figures of standing saints or courtiers. In the case of the described fabric, buildings funded by emperors as well as the scenes of Christ's miracles were embroidered with gold thread<sup>54</sup>. As a result, the cloth is beautiful because of the content shown and the craftsmanship, and it is lighted by the golden glow of the threads.

It should be noted that examples of this kind of fabric's ekphraseis are quite numerous, especially in the late antique Latin literature<sup>55</sup>. At that time, imperial and consular robes were widely described. This theme was popular because it gave the opportunity – as in the case of architecture – to present splendid objects made of expensive, multi-coloured, and shiny materials<sup>56</sup>. In the context of this so-called “jeweled aesthetics”, it is worth citing some passages from the semi-legendary *Narration on the Hagia Sophia* (Διήγησις περι τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας). Its chapters

<sup>53</sup> On the Rotunda cf.: C. BAKIRTZIS, P. MASTORA, *Are the Mosaics in the Rotunda into Thessaloniki Linked to its Conversion to a Christian Church?*, HB 9, 2011, p. 33–46; C. BAKIRTZIS, *Rotunda*, [in:] *Mosaics of Thessaloniki 4<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup>*, ed. IDEM, trans. A. DOUMAS, Athens 2012, p. 51–117; H. TORP, *La rotonde palatine à Thessalonique. Architecture et mosaïques*, vol. I, Athènes 2018, p. 17–18, 445–466; IDEM, *Considerations on the Chronology of the Rotunda Mosaics*, [in:] *The Mosaics of Thessaloniki Revisited. Papers from the 2014 Symposium at the Courtauld Institute of Art*, ed. A. EASTMOND, M. HATZAKI, Athens 2017, p. 35–47; L. JAMES, *Mosaics in the Medieval World. From Late Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge 2017, p. 174–179.

<sup>54</sup> Cyril Mango indicates that the linen fabric with the scene of the *Daniel in the Lions' Den* which is in the collection of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin (*Fragment eines Behanges mit Daniel in der Löwengrube*, <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collecton&objectId=1965177&viewType=detailView> [16 V 2020]) corresponds to the description of Silentiarius. Churches and the miracles of Christ are depicted on the linen fabric's hems; C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 89, n. 165; J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Orient oder Rom. Beitrag zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst*, Leipzig 1901, p. 91–98 (il. IV, 41–42).

<sup>55</sup> M. ROBERTS, *The Jeweled...*, p. 111–116.

<sup>56</sup> E.g.: CLAUDIAN, *Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius*, 190–207, [in:] CLAUDIAN, *Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius. Against Rufinus 1 and 2. War against Gildo. Against Eutropius 1 and 2. Fescennine Verses on the Marriage of Honorius. Epithalamium of Honorius and Maria. Panegyrics on the Third and Fourth Consulships of Honorius. Panegyric on the Consulship of Manlius. On Stilicho's Consulship 1*, vol. I, ed. M. PLATNAUER, Cambridge Mass. 1922 [= LCL, 135]; CLAUDIAN, *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulships of Honorius*, 585–609, [in:] CLAUDIAN, *Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius. Against Rufinus...*; CLAUDIAN, *On Stilicho's Consulship 2–3*, 2.339–389, [in:] CLAUDIAN, *On Stilicho's Consulship 2–3. Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of Honorius. The Gothic War. Shorter Poems. Rape of Proserpina*, vol. II, ed. M. PLATNAUER, Cambridge Mass. 1922 [= LCL, 136]; CLAUDIAN, *Rape of Proserpina*, 1.245–287, [in:] CLAUDIAN, *On Stilicho's Consulship 2–3. Panegyric...*; CLAUDIAN, *Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of Honorius*, 177–192, [in:] CLAUDIAN, *On Stilicho's Consulship 2–3. Panegyric...*; SIDONIUS, *Poems and Letters*, 15.126–195, vol. I, ed. W.B. ANDERSON, Cambridge Mass. 1936 [= LCL, 296]; FLAVIUS CRESCONIUS CORIPPUS, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris. Libri IV*, 1.275–290, ed. AV. CAMERON, London 1976.

15–19, 21–24, and 26 relate mainly to costly materials used in the church. In most cases, there are not many detailed descriptive parts among them: only two of them are quite extensive ekphraseis. The first one refers to the altar commissioned by Justinian I (527–565):

Ἐποίησε δὲ μηχανὴν τοιαύτην· βουλόμενος γὰρ κρείττονα τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν καὶ πολυτελεστέραν ποιῆσαι ὑπὲρ χρυσοῦ προσεκαλέσατο ἐπιστήμονας πολλοὺς εἰρηκῶς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο. Οἱ δὲ ἔφησαν αὐτῷ· ‘εἰς χωνευτήριον ἐμβάλωμεν χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λίθους τιμίους καὶ παντοίους καὶ μαργαρίτας καὶ ζάμβυκας, χαλκόν, ἤλεκτρον, μόλιβδον, σίδηρον, κασσίτερον, ὕελον καὶ λοιπὴν πᾶσαν μεταλλικὴν ὕλην.’ καὶ τριψάντες ἀμφοτέρα αὐτῶν εἰς ὄλμους καὶ δῆσαντες, ἐπὶ τὸ χωνευτήριον ἔχυσαν. Καὶ ἀναμαζάμενον τὸ πῦρ, ἀνέλαβον ταῦτα οἱ τεχνίται ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ἔχυσαν εἰς τύπον· καὶ ἐγένετο χυτὴ πάμμικτος ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα ἀτίμητος· καὶ εἶθ οὕτως ἔστησεν αὐτήν· ὑποκάτω δὲ αὐτῆς ἔστησε κίονας καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀλοχρῦσους μετὰ λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ χυμεύσεων, καὶ τὴν περὶ κλίμακα, ἐν ἣ ἴστανται οἱ ἱερεῖς εἰς τὸ ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, καὶ αὐτὴν ὀλοάργυρον. Τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ἐξ ἀτιμῶν λίθων πεποίηκε καὶ κατεχρῶσεν αὐτήν. Τίς γὰρ θεάσεται τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης καὶ οὐκ ἐκπλαγείη; ἢ τίς δυνήσεται κατανοῆσαι ταύτην διὰ τὸ πολλὰς χροιάς καὶ στιλπνότητος ἐναλλάσσειν, ὡς ὄρασθαι τὸ ταύτης εἶδος ποτε μὲν χρυσοῖον, ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ τόπῳ ἀργυροῖον, εἰς ἄλλο σαμφοειροῖον, ἐξαστράπττον καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀποστέλλον οὐβ’ χροιάς κατὰ τὰς φύσεις τῶν τε λίθων καὶ μαργαρίτων καὶ πάντων τῶν μετᾶλλων;<sup>57</sup>

He also make the following contrivance. Wishing to make the holy altar table better and more precious than gold, he consulted many wise men and told them so. They said to him. “Let us throw gold, silver, various precious stones, pearls and mother of pearl, bronze, electrum, lead, iron, tin, glass and every other metallic material into melting furnace.” Having crushed and bound all of these in mortars, they poured them into the melting furnace. And when the fire had kneaded these together, the craftsman took them out of the fire and poured them into a casting mold. And so the altar table was cast, made up of all materials and priceless. And then he set it up in this manner, and placed columns of pure gold under it with precious stones and enamels; and he made the surrounding stairs, on which the priests stand when they kiss the holy altar table, also of pure silver. He made the liturgical basin (*thalassa*) of the altar table of priceless stones and gilded it. So who can behold the beauty of the holy altar table and not be amazed? Or who can comprehend it as its many colors and brilliances change, so that it appears sometimes as gold, in other places as silver, elsewhere gleaming with sapphire – radiating and, in a word, sending out seventy-two colors according to the nature of the stones, pearls and all the metals?<sup>58</sup>.

In this description, where gold is a synonym of the most valuable substance, Justinian, however, managed to find a way to obtain a material even more wonderful and expensive (κρείττονα τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν καὶ πολυτελεστέραν ποιῆσαι ὑπὲρ χρυσοῦ), since he ordered to melt all possible precious materials – apart

<sup>57</sup> Διήγησις περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, 17, [in:] *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. I, ed. T. PREGGER, Leipzig 1901 (cetera: Narration).

<sup>58</sup> *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The Patria*, 17, trans. A. BERGER, Cambridge Mass.–London 2013 (cetera: *Patria*), p. 257, 259 [= DOML, 24].

from gold also silver, electrum, bronze, pearls, and precious stones – along with more common metals – i.e. lead, iron, tin, and with glass – in one crucible. Consequently, a priceless mixture (πάμμυγος ἀτίμητος) was created. As we read, it was characterized by a multitude of colours and it shimmered in different ways, like the materials of which it was made. It can be assumed that the author, explaining how the altar was built, above all tried to emphasize the emperor's involvement and generosity, as he cumulated the most expensive materials for the most vital part of the church's furnishings. Therefore, this description should not be taken literally<sup>59</sup>. In turn, the seventy-two colours probably allude to the number of disciples sent by Christ to preach the Gospel<sup>60</sup>. Importantly, an anonymous author of the *Narration* clearly stressed a brilliance and colourfulness of the costly materials. In the second ekphrasis – regarding the floor and symbolic interpretation of the four stripes on it<sup>61</sup> – he directly stated that: “Θαῦμα δὲ ἦν ιδέσθαι ἐν τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τοῦ ναοῦ· ὅτι πάντοθεν ἔκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου ἐξήστραπτεν”<sup>62</sup> (*It was wonderful to see the beauty and variety of the church, for it shone all around with gold and silver*)<sup>63</sup>. Thus, the most prized aesthetic value is still the variegation (ποικιλία, πολυποικιλία). Evidences of this preference can be found throughout the text, since it glitters with precious and shiny materials such as, among others: golden mosaic cubes (ὑέλινος χρυσός), niello (ἀργυροέγκαυστος), sardonyx (σαρδόνυξ), crystal (κρύος), jasper (ιάσπιον), sapphire (σάπφειρος), ruby (λυχνιτάριον) and emerald (σμάραγδος). They are all so wonderful and dazzling that the author rhetorically asks: “Τὴν δὲ ὠραιότητα καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ κεχρυσωμένου καὶ διηργυρωμένου ναοῦ ἀπὸ ὀρόφους ἕως ἐδάφους τίς διηγήσεται;”<sup>64</sup> (*Who can relate the loveliness and the excessive beauty of this church, gilded and sheathed with silver from ceiling to floor?*)<sup>65</sup>.

From the texts discussed so far, it follows that gold was valued primarily for its extraordinary glow – sometimes even too blinding – with which light was

<sup>59</sup> Cf. L. BRUBAKER, *Talking about the Great Church. Ekphrasis and the “Narration on Hagia Sophia”*, Bsl 69.3, 2011, p. 82.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Lc 10, 1.

<sup>61</sup> The author interpreted these stripes as the Paradise rivers. At the end of chapter 28, where he discussed the reconstruction of the church after the collapse of the dome on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 558, the author pointed out that the pavement was almost entirely made of the Proconesian marble, only the strips were of a green stone. He did not provide information about the place of its origin, but it is known to be the Thessalian marble (*verde antico*). “Εἰς δὲ τὸν πάτον οὐκ ἠδύνατο εὔρεϊν τοιαῦτα πολυποίκιλα καὶ μέγιστα ἀβάκια, καὶ ἀποστείλας Μανασσῆ πατρίκιον καὶ πραιπόσιτον ἐν Προκωννήσῳ ἔπρισεν ἐκεῖ τὰ μάρμαρα εἰς ὁμοιότητα τῆς γῆς, τὰ δὲ πράσινα εἰς ὁμοιότητα τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν ἐμβαινόντων ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ”, *Narration*, 28.37–42.

<sup>62</sup> *Narration*, 26.23–25.

<sup>63</sup> *Patria*, 26, p. 265.

<sup>64</sup> *Narration*, 26.3–5.

<sup>65</sup> *Patria*, 26, p. 267.

inevitably related. The authors, as could be seen, regularly point out that rays falling on golden surfaces are reflected from them, scattering golden reflections all-round. Thus, the aforementioned “jeweled aesthetics” do not exist without light, because it “triggers” these, described with pleasure and highly praised, characteristic visual effects. Hence, gold needs a light source to fully show its beauty. In turn, the light can take dazzling colour of gold. It is not surprising, then, that Sergey Averintsev termed gold the “absolute metaphor of light”<sup>66</sup>.

In the accounts of Byzantine writers, gold is also a colour, although this issue was considered less often because in terms of colours marbles and precious stones were much more praised. They were, as already mentioned, compared to meadows in full bloom. All the more, it is worth quoting a passage from the already cited homily of Leo VI, where he explains the reason for using golden mosaic cubes in the church:

Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τοῦ ὄλου τοῦ ναοῦ κύτους καὶ τῶν αἰς ἀνέχεται ἀψίδων ὁ ὄροφος, τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειῶν ἀνεστήλωνται θεραπόντων εἰκόνες, πᾶσαι ψηφίδος χρυσοῦ ἀλειφομένης πεποιημένα, ἐνταῦθα τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ χρυσοῦ κατιδόντος τοῦ τεχνίτου καὶ ἀφθόνως χρησαμένου. Ἐβουλήθη γὰρ ταῖς εἰκόσι τῆ τοῦ χρυσοῦ μίξει τοιοῦτον ἐνθεῖναι κάλλος, οἷον εἰκὸς ἀμφιένυσθαι τοὺς βασιλέως πλησίον, ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γράψαι τοῖς μέλεσιν ἀρετῆς χρῶμα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ κατενόησεν χρησιμεύουσαν ὠχρότητα<sup>67</sup>

The rest of the church's hollow and the arches on which the roof is supported have images of [God's] own servants, all of them made of mosaic smeared with gold. The craftsman has made abundant use of gold whose utility he perceived: for, by its admixture, he intended to endow the pictures with such beauty as appears in the apparel of the emperor's entourage. Furthermore, he realized that the pallor of gold was an appropriate color to express the virtue of [Christ's] member<sup>68</sup>.

The emperor points out there that the pale hue of gold (ὠχρότητα) reminds the costumes of the imperial court (εἰκὸς ἀμφιένυσθαι τοὺς βασιλέως πλησίον), and that it is suitable for the images of saints because it emphasises their sainthood (πρὸς τὸ γράψαι τοῖς μέλεσιν ἀρετῆς χρῶμα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ κατενόησεν χρησιμεύουσαν ὠχρότητα). In this context, it is also worth paying attention to the short poem of Eugenius of Palermo (ca. 1130–1202) dedicated to the image of Saint John Chrysostom:

Καὶ χρῶμα χρυσοῦν, πάμμακαρ, σοὶ καὶ στόμα·  
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκχέον χρυσοῦς λόγους  
τὴν κλήσιν ἀπήνεγκεν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων,

<sup>66</sup> S. AWIERINCEW, *Złoto...*, p. 184.

<sup>67</sup> LEO VI, 31.70–78.

<sup>68</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 203.

τουδι τὸ σεμνὸν ὠχρότης διαγράφει·  
σὴν σάρκα καὶ γὰρ πυρπολῶν ἀσιτίαις  
ἔχρωσας αὐτὴν χλωρότητι χρυσοῦ<sup>69</sup>

All blessed one, both your color and your voice are golden.  
For the one [your voice], pouring out to us golden words,  
took its name from your deeds,  
while pallor delineates the holiness of your color.  
For consuming your flesh by the fire of fasting,  
you have tinged it with the pallor of gold<sup>70</sup>.

In this case, the poet specified that the golden colour – due to its pallor (ὠχρότης, χλωρότης) – was very suitable for the representation of the ascetic saint whose body, experienced by fasting, lost its more vivid colours.

The beauty of gold was also associated with splendour. This question was also raised, e.g., by Choricus of Gaza (491–518) in the ekphrasis of the church of St. Stephen at Gaza:

εἰ δὲ περίεργος θεατὴς πάντα διερευνήσεται μαρμάρων ἢ χρυσοῦ γυμνὸν τι ζητῶν, οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα τοιοῦτον εὐρήσει. εἴ τινες οὖν ἀπορία χρυσοῦ καὶ πλακῶν ἐπὶ λίθους καὶ λίθων συνθήκην καταφεύγουσι, τούτοις ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωθεν ὄψεως ταῦτα περιεργάζεσθαι<sup>71</sup>

The curious observer may look high and low in search of a spot bare of either marble or gold: he will not find one here. Those who are embarrassed by [so much] gold and marble, and seek relief in stones and masonry, will be able to study the latter on the outside<sup>72</sup>.

The effulgent embellishment of the church consists of gold and marble revetment. They contrast with the outside stone walls which can provide a respite from the richness of the interior. Recognizing that this type of decoration could be too overwhelming to spectators, the author also hurried to explain that the building has a very good style that would only be appreciated by true art experts. Of course, there is a trap here: those who perceive a building negatively have no knowledge of art<sup>73</sup>. Choricus, though sure of the incomparable beauty of the church, made

<sup>69</sup> EUGENIUS PANORMITANUS, *In imaginem Chrysostomi*, 11, [in:] *Versus Iambici*, ed. M. GIGANTE, Palermo 1964 [= TMon, 10].

<sup>70</sup> H. MAGUIRE, *Nectar...*, p. 130.

<sup>71</sup> CHORICIUS, 2.2.49.

<sup>72</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 71–72.

<sup>73</sup> [...] συνελθέτωσαν ἄνδρες πολλῶν ἱστορήσαντες πόλεων ἱερά, ἄλλος ἄλλο τι δοκιμάζειν ἔργον εἰδῶς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πανταχοῦ βεβοημένους νεῶς κρινέσθω καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τὸ τέμενος ἐκ τοιούτων συνεστηκότι κριτῶν. οἷον ὁ μὲν γραφῆς ἔστω φιλοθεάμων, οὐ τῆς ἐν χρώμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν ψηφίδι μιμουμένης ἐκείνην· ὁ δὲ μαρμάρων δοκιμαστής, ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐξ ὧν μεταλλεύεται προσαγορεύουσι τόπων, τοῖς δὲ τὰ χρώματα δίδωσιν ὀνόματα. ἄλλω κίωνων μελέτω τὰς κεφαλίδας

it clear that the right proportions must be respected in the use of gold, because both an excess and a shortness is wrong. Just from this one example, it can be seen that the attitude to gold was to some extent marked by suspiciousness. The authors often felt obliged to clarify that the decorations of gold did not exceed the appropriate measure (ἀμετρία): gold is beautiful, but it is necessary to use it purposefully and decorously.

Against a backdrop of the moderation in a use of gold, the description of the church of Saint George in the Mangana quarter<sup>74</sup> written by Michael Psellos (ca. 1017–1078?) is an interesting example. He characterised the church rebuilt by Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) as a combination of beauty and luxury:

καὶ τεχνικώτερα πάντα· καὶ χρυσὸς ὑπαλείφων τὸν ὄροφον· τῶν δὲ λίθων ὅποσα χλοάζουσιν, αἱ μὲν κατεστρώννυντο· αἱ δὲ τοῖς τοίχοις ἠρμόζοντο· καὶ ἄλλη τις ἐφ' ἑτέρα ἐπήνθει, ἢ ἐφ' ὁμοίῳ τῷ χρώματι· ἐναλλάξ παραλλάττουσαι. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς, ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ταμιείων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀφθόνων πηγῶν καχλάζοντι ἐπέρρει τῷ ρεύματι. [...] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ναὸς, ὡσπερ τις οὐρανὸς χρυσοῖς ἀστράσι πάντοθεν ἐπεποίκιλτο. μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μὲν αἰθέριον σῶμα ἐκ διαστημάτων κατακεχρύσεται· ἐκείνῳ δὲ ὁ χρυσὸς, ὡσπερ ἐκ κέντρου ῥυεῖς, ἀφθόνῳ τῷ ρεύματι πᾶσαν ἀδιαστάτως ἐπέδραμεν ἐπιφάνειαν<sup>75</sup>

Everything was made more artful, the ceiling was covered with gold, slabs of a verdant color were laid in the pavement and affixed to the walls, and each kind of marble bloomed next to another which was either of the same or of contrasting hue. And gold flowed in a torrential stream from the public treasury as from an inexhaustible source. [...] Indeed, the church was

<σκοπεῖν>. χρυσὸν ἕτερος μέτρα πολυπραγμονεῖτω σαφῶς, εἴ πού τι γέγονεν ἐνδεὲς ἢ περιττόν· ἐκάτερον γὰρ ἀμετρία. ἄλλος κατανοεῖτω τὸν ὄροφον ἀκριβῶς, ἂν ἄρα μὴ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος ἀπειρηξὺλα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πολυτελεῖ καλαθίσκοις κεκαλυμμένα τοῦ τε πρὸς ἰσχὺν ἄμα καὶ πρὸς κάλλος εὐῆχειν· συνιόντων οὖν τῶν δικαστῶν καὶ τοῦτο κρίνειν ἐκάστου λαχόντος ὅπερ ἂν ἄμεινον τῶν ἄλλων τύχοι γινώσκων, πάσαις ἡμῖν ὁ νεὸς νικήσει ταῖς ψήφοις,

CHORICIUS, 2.2.52–54.

<sup>74</sup> In the *History* of Niketas Choniates, we read that Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) destroyed this church with the adjacent palace, and the building materials obtained during this demolition were then used for other edifices:

σὺν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τὸν περικλυτὸν οἶκον τῶν Μαγγάνων κατέβαλε, μήτε τὸ τοῦ ἔργου κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος αἰδεσθεῖς, μήτε τὸν τροπαιοφόρον μάρτυρα πτοηθεῖς, ᾧ ἀνέκειτο οὐτοσί. Ἐπισκενάσαι δὲ βουλευθεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀνάπλω νεῶν τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου τῶν ἄνω τάξεων Μιχαήλ, εἴ τις ἐν πλαξὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις δόμοις ὑπέστρωτο καὶ περιήμπισχε τοὺς τοίχους καλλίστη τε τῇ στιλπνότητι καὶ ρανίσιν ἐστιγμένη ποικιλοχρόοις, ἐκέισε μετακεκόμικεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου διὰ χρωμάτων καὶ ψηφίδων τυπώματα, ὅποσα ἢ πόλις ἔστειγεν ἢ κώμαι καὶ χώραι ἀνέκειντο φυλακτήρια, χειρὸς ἀρχαίας ἔργα καὶ θαυμασίας, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ συνήθροισε τέμενος,

*Nicetae Choniatae historia, pars prior*, Isaac2, pt3, ed. J. VAN DIETEN, Berlin 1975 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 11.1], p. 442.18–27.

<sup>75</sup> *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*, 6.185.13–18; 6.186.10–14, ed. D.R. REINSCH, Berlin–Boston 2014 [= *Mil.S*, 51] (cetera: PSELLOS).

like the sky adorned on all sides with golden stars; to be more exact, the heavens are gilded only at intervals, while here the gold, flowing as it were, from the center in a copious stream, has covered the entire surface without interruption<sup>76</sup>.

Although Psellos admired this church, he also recognized it as a crowning example of the exaggeration of the emperor who wanted to surpass all other churches:

ὁ δέ γε λόγος τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἐκείνου κατατιώμενος, ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὴ χωρεῖ τὸ κεφάλαιον, φημί δὴ ὃν ἐκεῖνος ναὸν τῷ μάρτυρι Γεωργίῳ καθίδρυσεν. οὐ δὴ πάντα συνέτριψε καὶ ἠφάνικε· καὶ τέλος, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τοῖς συντριβεῖσι προσέθετο. [...] εἶτα δὴ χρόνον διεληθόντος τινός, ἔρωτές τινες αὐτὸν ὑπεξέκαιον, ὥστε πρὸς πάσας τὰς πώποτε γεγυυίας ἀμιλληθῆναι οἰκοδομὰς· καὶ ταῦτας ὑπερβαλέσθαι μακρῶ<sup>77</sup>

My indictment of his [Constantine IX's] excesses now comes to its principal point, namely the church he founded in honor of the martyr George, which he then entirely destroyed and wiped out, and [after rebuilding it] reduced it once again to ruin. [...] Later on, however, he became consumed by the passion of rivalling all the buildings of the past and even surpassing them by far<sup>78</sup>.

Therefore, Psellos heavily criticised exaggerated aspirations of the emperor, and the ruler's intention was decisive for considering the church too luxurious. However the funding of various edifices was a quite significant task of emperors, sometimes they were reprehended for the activity of this sort. It could also be a way of showing general disapproval of the policy pursued by a given emperor, just to mention the particularly symptomatic case of Procopius of Caesarea<sup>79</sup>.

In the case of art, splendour of gold could be very desirable, as evidenced by epigrams devoted to icons made of precious materials or, at least, clad with them<sup>80</sup>. And to give an example, Nicholas Kallikles (ca. 1080 – ca. 1150) prepared a poem for an icon of Christ, which John II Komnenos (1118–1143) commissioned for the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople:

<sup>76</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 219.

<sup>77</sup> PSELLOS, 6.185.1–5; 6.185.8–11.

<sup>78</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 218.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. PROCOPIUS, 1.1.11–12, 1.1.17–19; *Procopii Caesarensis opera omnia. Historia quae dicitur arcana*, 8.7–9; 11.3–4; 19.6; 26.23–24, vol. III, ed. J. HAURY, rec. G. WIRTH, Leipzig 1963 [= BSGR].

<sup>80</sup> On precious-metal icon revetments i.a.: A. GRABAR, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du Moyen Âge*, Venice 1975; N. PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, *Vita Icons and "Decorated" Icons of the Komnenian Period*, [in:] *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, ed. B. DAVEZAC, Houston 1992, p. 57–69; T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, *The Display of Accumulated Wealth in Luxury Icons. Gift-Giving from the Byzantine Aristocracy to God in the Twelfth Century*, [in:] *Βυζαντινές εικόνες. Τέχνη, τεχνική και τεχνολογία. Διεθνές Συμπόσιο, Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Αμερικανική Σχολή Κλασικών Σπουδών, 20–21 Φεβρουαρίου 1998*, ed. M. ΒΑΣΙΛΑΚΗ, Ηράκλειο 2002, p. 35–49; J. DURAND, *Precious-Metal Icon Revetments*, [in:] *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H.C. EVANS, New York–New Haven 2004, p. 243–251.

Ἄν ώραϊζω χρυσίω τὴν εἰκόνα,  
 τῷ παμβασιλεῖ βασιλεὺς φόρους νέμω·  
 ἂν λαμπρυνῶ δὲ τοῖς πανεντίμοις λίθοις,  
 ‘προσκομματός’ σε ‘λίθον’<sup>81</sup> οὐκ ἔχειν θέλω·  
 ὡς συνδέτην τιμῶ δε τοῖν ἄκροιν λίθον,  
 ὡς ἔμπορος κτῶμαί σε κοσμῶν μαργάρους,  
 τὸν τίμιόν τε καὶ καλὸν μαργαρίτην,  
 ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ πᾶν ἐφεῦρον εἰς εὐκκληρίαν,  
 χρῆσμα θρόνου καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ κλεινὸν στέφος.  
 Ἄν Περσικός τις ἐξυλακτοίη κύων,  
 ἂν Σκυθικὴ πάρδαλις, ἂν Γέτης λύκος,  
 ἂν Παιόνες βοῶσιν, ἂν θροῆ Δάκης,  
 θραῦσον, δυνατέ, θλάσον αὐτοῦ τὰς γνάθους·  
 τὰ τέκνα τήρει, κλῆμα βοτρυηφόρον,  
 λειμώνος ἄνθη, λευκὰ ‘κοιλιάδων κρίνα’<sup>82</sup>·  
 ζωὴν μακρὰν δός· ἐν δὲ τῇ κρίσει τότε  
 συζυγίαν κραθεῖσαν εἰς ψυχὴν μίαν,  
 ἦν θάνατος διεῖλεν εἰς μέρη δύο,  
 ἡμίτομον λιπὼν με καὶ νεκρὸν πλέον.  
 ἔνωσον αὐτὸς αὐθις, οἷς οἶδας τρόποις,  
 δοὺς τὴν Ἑδὲμ σχοίνισμα καὶ κληρουχίαν.  
 Ἰωάννης σοι ταῦτα Κομνηνός, Λόγε,  
 ὁ πορφυροβλάστητος Αὐσόνων ἄναξ<sup>83</sup>

When I beautify your icon with gold,  
 I, the king, pay tribute to the king of all.  
 When I [make it] glitter with precious stones,  
 I do not want you [to be] an “obstructing stone”,  
 for I honour you as [the] cornerstone that unites all extremities.  
 And thus, like a merchant I attain you and adorn you with pearls,  
 you, the worthy and beautiful pearl,  
 from whom I have won all my good fortune:  
 an anointed throne, and sceptre, and glorious crown.  
 Should some Persian dog,  
 Scythian leopard, or Hungarian wolf howl,  
 should Panonians clamour and Dacians mount [their chargers],  
 strike them, O powerful one, smash their jaws.  
 Protect my offspring, the vine’s fruit,  
 the flowers of the meadow, the white “lilies of the valley” –  
 give [them] long life. And in that future judgement  
 let me be united with my consort in a single soul  
 that death divided in twain,  
 leaving me half and already dead.  
 Unite that man immediately, as you know how,

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Rom 9, 33.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Ct 2, 1.

<sup>83</sup> NICOLA CALLICIE, *Carmi*, 2.12–34, ed. R. ROMANO, Napoli 1980 [= BNN, 8].

bestowing the garden of Eden as [his] lot.  
So these things I, John Komnenos, [address] to you, O Word,  
I, the king of the Ausonites, sprung from the purple<sup>84</sup>.

This emperor also funded another icon of Christ, which is associated with an epigram (Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ὑπεραγάθου σωτήρος Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἀπὸ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου) written by Theodore Prodromos (ca. 1100 – ca. 1165):

Σὺ μὲν καθιστᾶς γῆς με πάσης δεσπότην,  
ὁ παμβασιλεὺς ὑπεράγαθος Λόγος,  
καί μοι πρὸς ταρσῶν πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον κλίνεις,  
ὡς καὶ φόρους μοι δουλικῶς συνεισφέρειν·  
καὶ προσκύνησιν οὐκ ἔμοι μόνον νέμει,  
ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἡμῶν εἰκονισθῆ καὶ τύπος·  
ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ πλάσαντι καὶ στέψαντί με  
καὶ ταῦτα πάντα δόντι †καὶ στέψαντί με†  
τὴν δουλικὴν εὐνοίαν εἰσφέρω πάλιν  
καὶ ζωγραφῶν σε προσκυνῶ σου τὸν τύπον  
καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ χάριν  
καθὼς περ ἄλλους εἰσκομίζω σοι φόρους·  
ἔμοι γὰρ ἕκ σου καὶ βίου πρώτη πλάσις  
καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ πάτριος ἀρχικὸς θρόνος  
καὶ μυρίων πέλαγος ἀριστευμάτων,  
ὦν ἥλιος μὲν μάρτυς ἀψευδῆς ἄνω,  
κάτω δὲ τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης τὰ πλάτη·  
ἀλλ' ὃ κραταῖε πανσθενὲς παντοκράτωρ,  
καὶ τοὺς προλοίπους δάμασόν μοι βαρβάρους  
καὶ τοῖς ἔμοις φύλαττε τὴν πόλιν πόνοις  
καὶ ψυχικὴν δὸς ἐν τέλει σωτηρίαν.  
Ἰωάννης σοι ταῦτα πιστὸς οἰκέτης  
πορφυρόβλαστος Κομνηνὸς αὐτοκράτωρ  
τῷ βασιλεῖ μου καὶ θεῷ καὶ δεσπότη<sup>85</sup>

You who made me lord of all the world,  
You the King of All and abundantly good Logos  
who makes all barbarians bow at my feet,  
and pay servile tribute to me.  
It is not to my person alone that they bow down  
but wherever else the image of our features is depicted.  
I, to Him that made and crowned me,  
once again pay the homage of a slave,  
and painting you I venerate your form;  
adorning you with gold and silver  
is my way of paying you tribute.  
To you I owe both life's existence

<sup>84</sup> T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, *The Display...*, p. 37–38.

<sup>85</sup> THEODOROS PRODROMOS, *Historische Gedichte*, 21, ed. W. HÖRANDNER, Wien 1974 [= WBS, 11].

and my royal sceptre,  
 and the throne inherited from my father,  
 and a sea of myriad trophies  
 of which above the sun is unimpeachable witness  
 and below, the breadth of sea and earth.  
 But, O sovereign and all-powerful Pantokrator,  
 rein in for me the remaining barbarians,  
 and preserve my city through my own pains,  
 and at the end give my soul salvation.  
 The emperor Komnenos sprung from the purple,  
 to my king and God and Lord<sup>86</sup>.

In the both poems, the emperor decided to commission an icon decorated with expensive materials – in the first case they are gold, pearls, and precious stones, in the second one – silver and gold. The descriptions are quite general, but it can be assumed that these materials formed revetments: it is especially likely in the last epigram, where both the painting layer and adornment are distinguished (καὶ ζωγραφῶν σε προσκυνῶ σου τὸν τύπον / καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ χάριν / καθὼς περ ἄλλους εἰσκομίζω σοι φόρους). John II Komnenos chooses these gifts to thank for all the favours he has received so far and to ask God for further support in both state and personal matters. The emperor presents himself as the greatest earthly ruler who addresses the supreme king, therefore the gift must be worthy of both of them. In the context of material goods, precious metals and stones are the most valuable. Hence, Komnenos intended them to deck the images of Christ. There are more Byzantine poems composed around the problem of icons with precious-metal revetments, which proves the popularity of the motif and this type of votive gifts as well<sup>87</sup>.

Costly and shiny materials creating a dazzling decoration were suitable not only for churches but also for the imperial court. In ekphraseis of imperial residences, the richness of the materials used – as well as the way they are characterised – virtually does not differ from that employed for descriptions of religious architecture. In this context, it is worth quoting the ekphrasis of the palace of Digenis Akritis. His residence is an example of unreal architecture, created for the purpose of the poem, therefore it is more magnificent than any real palace:

Μέσον αὐτοῦ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ καὶ τερπνοῦ παραδείσου  
 οἶκον τερπνὸν ἀνήγειρεν ὁ γενναῖος Ἀκρίτης  
 εὐμεγέθη, τετράγωνον ἐκ λίθων πεπρισμένων,  
 ἄνωθεν δὲ μετὰ σεμνῶν κίωνων καὶ θυρίδων.  
 Τοὺς ὀρόφους ἐκόσμησε πάντα μετὰ μουσείου  
 ἐκ μαρμάρων πολυτελῶν τῇ αἴγλῃ ἀστραπτόντων·  
 τὸ ἔδαφος ἐφαίδρυνεν, ἐψήφωσεν ἐν λίθοις,

<sup>86</sup> T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, *The Display...*, p. 38.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39–47.

ἔσωθεν δὲ τριώροφα ποιήσας ὑπερῶα,  
 ἔχοντα ὕψος ἰκανόν, ὀρόφους παμποικίλους,  
 ἀνδρώνας <τε> σταυροειδεῖς, πεντακούβουκλα ξένα  
 μετὰ μαρμάρων φαεινῶν λίαν ἀστραπηβόλων.  
 Τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐκάλλυνε τὸ ἔργον ὁ τεχνίτης,  
 ὥστε νομίζειν ὑφαντὰ τὰ ὀρώμενα εἶναι  
 ἔκ τε τῶν λίθων τῆς φαιδράς καὶ πολυμόρφου θεάς·  
 τὸ ἔδαφος κατέστρωσεν ἐκ λίθων ὄνυχίτων  
 ἠκονημένων ἰσχυρῶς, ὡς δοκεῖν τοὺς ὀρώντας  
 ὕδωρ ὑπάρχειν πεπηγὸς εἰς κρυστάλλινον φύσιν.  
 Ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἴδρυσε τῶν μερῶν ἐκ πλαγίου  
 χαμοτρικλίνους θαυμαστούς, εὐμήκεις, χρυσορόφους,  
 ἐν οἷς πάντων τὰ τρόπαια τῶν πάλοι ἐν ἀνδρεία  
 λαμπάντων ἀνιστόρησε χρυσόμουσα, ὠραῖα<sup>88</sup>

In the midst of this wonderfully pleasant garden the noble Akrites erected a big square house of cut stone having stately columns and windows up above. He adorned all the ceilings with mosaic, he decorated the pavement with precious gleaming marbles and tesserae of stone. Inside he made upper chambers on three floors having sufficient height and decorated ceilings; [he also made] cruciform halls, strange *pentacubicula*, containing shining marbles reflecting shafts of light. So beautiful was the artist's work that the gay, many-figured aspect of the stones made one think of woven tapestry. He paved the floor with onyx so smoothly polished that those who saw it mistook it for water congealed to ice. On either side he set up long, wondrous reclining-rooms having golden ceilings upon which he represented in mosaic the victories of all those men of yore who shone in valor<sup>89</sup>.

In the description of the residence of Akritis, sparkling marbles (ἐκ μαρμάρων τῆ αἴγλη ἀστραπτόντων; μετὰ μαρμάρων φαεινῶν λίαν ἀστραπηβόλων), mosaics (ἐφαιδρυνεν, ἐψήφωσεν ἐν λίθοις, χρυσόμουσα), and gilded ceilings (χρυσορόφους) are specified: their glow is clearly emphasized. As for colours, they are actually not particularised. This imagined palace is described in accordance with the established convention, and – due to the epic character of the poem – all the features are exaggerated and idealised. As the Akritis' residence is an example of fantastic architecture, so its opposite is the palace Muchrutas, which brief ekphrasis was composed by Nicholas Mesarites (ca. 1163 – after 1216). It is a very interesting text because in this case, the author had to face the necessity of crossing the formulaic patterns since the building was erected in a style referring to Muslim architecture:

ὁ δὲ Μουχροῦτας ἔστι τι δῶμα τεράστιον, τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου ἀπτόμενον, ὡς πρὸς δυσμὴν διακειμένον. [...] τὸ οἶκημα χειρὸς ἔργον οὐ Ῥωμαῖδος, οὐ Σικελικῆς, οὐ Κελτίβηρος, οὐ Συβαρτικῆς, οὐ Κυπρίου, οὐ Κίλικος· Περσικῆς μὲν οὖν, ὅτι καὶ ιδέας φέρει Περσῶν

<sup>88</sup> DIGENIS AKRITIS, *The Grottaferrata and Escorial versions*, 7.13–41, ed. E. JEFFREYS, Cambridge 1998 [= CMC, 7].

<sup>89</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 215–216.

παραλλαγὰς τε στολῶν. αἱ τοῦ ὀρόφου σκηναὶ παντοδαπαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι, ἐξ ἡμισφαιρίων τῶ οὐρανοειδεῖ ὀρόφῳ προσηλωμένα, πυκναὶ αἱ τῶν γωνιῶν εἰσοχαὶ τε καὶ ἐξοχαὶ, κάλλος τῶν γλυφίδων ἀμήχανον, τῶν κοιλωμάτων θέαμα πάντερπνον, ἴριν φαντάζον πολυχρωμοτέραν τῆς ἐν τοῖς νέφεσι, χρυσοῦ τούτῳ ὑπεστρωμένου. οὐκ ἐς βάθος, κατ' ἐπιφάνειαν ἀκόρεστος τερπωλή, οὐ τοῖς ἄρτι πρῶτως τὴν ὄρατικὴν πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς συχνὰ παραβάλλουσι θάμβος καὶ ἔκπληξις. τερπνότερος ὁ Περσικὸς οὗτος δόμος τῶν Λακωνικῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τοῦ Μενέλεω<sup>90</sup>

The Mouchroutas is an enormous building adjacent to the Chrysotriklinos, lying as it does on the west side of the latter. [...] This building is the work not of a Roman, nor a Sicilian, nor a Celt-Iberian, nor a Sybaritic, nor a Cypriot, nor a Cilician hand, but of a Persian hand, by virtue of which it contains images of Persians in their different costumes. The canopy of the roof, consisting of hemispheres joined to the heaven-like ceiling, offers a variegated spectacle; closely packed angles project inward and outward; the beauty of the carving is extraordinary, and wonderful is the appearance of the cavities which, overlaid with gold, produce the effect of rainbow more colourful than the one in the clouds. There is insatiable enjoyment here – not hidden, but on the surface. Not only those who direct their gaze to these things for the first time, but those who have often done so are struck with wonder and astonishment. Indeed, this Persian building is more delightful than the Laconian ones of Menelaus<sup>91</sup>.

It is assumed that this palace was built around the mid-twelfth century<sup>92</sup>. Its most characteristic element was – as can be deduced from the text – a muqarnas vault. The author, using a heavily rhetorical style, describes its complex form. He employs the common comparison of the vault with the heaven (τῶ οὐρανοειδεῖ ὀρόφῳ) and highlights the delightful – surpassing the rainbow – glow of gold reflections (τῶν κοιλωμάτων θέαμα πάντερπνον, ἴριν φαντάζον πολυχρωμοτέραν τῆς ἐν τοῖς νέφεσι, χρυσοῦ τούτῳ ὑπεστρωμένου). He concludes the whole with a statement of the extraordinary beauty of the building, even more magnificent than the Menelaus' palace. In this way, Mesarites pointed to the Poet and his scheme of ekphrasis of dazzling residence of the mighty ruler<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΜΕΣΑΡΙΤΗΣ, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. A. HEISENBERG, Würzburg 1907 [= PKAGW], p. 44.27, 27–29, 34–36, p. 45.27, 1–9.

<sup>91</sup> C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine...*, p. 228–229.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. A. WALKER, *Middle Byzantine Aesthetics of Power and the Incomparability of Islamic Art. The Architectural Ekphrasis of Nikolaos Mesarites*, *Muq* 27, 2010, p. 79–84; N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER, “Mouchrutas”. *Der seldschukische Schaupavillion im Grossen Palast von Konstantinopel*, B 74, 2004, p. 313–324.

<sup>93</sup> [...] οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες

θαύμαζον κατὰ δῶμα διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος·  
ὥς τε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης  
δῶμα καθ' ὑπερεφές Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο.  
[...] δὴ τότε Τηλέμαχος προσεφώνεε Νέστορος υἱόν,  
ἄγχι σχῶν κεφαλὴν, ἵνα μὴ πευθοῖαθ' οἱ ἄλλοι·  
“φράζεο, Νεστορίδη, τῶ ἐμῶ κεχαρισμένε θυμῶ,  
χαλκοῦ τε στεροπὴν κατὰ δώματα ἠχήμενα

To summarize the remarks on the significance of gold in Byzantine ekphraseis, and at the same time indicate how long-lasting – reaching even beyond the fall of Constantinople – the inclination for gleaming and costly materials, including gold, was, it is proper to cite the passage on the Pammakaristos Church from the *History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from 1454 to 1578* (Πατριαρχική Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ιστορία από τοῦ ,αυνδ' ἔως τοῦ ,αφοη' ἔτους Χριστοῦ) which was written by Manuel Malaxos (died ca. 1580):

ἔχει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός, καθὼς τὸν ἐβλέπομεν, ἥλιον φεγγάρη ἄστρη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. ἔχει δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ναὸς τῆς παμμακαρίστου ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ὠραιότατον καὶ λαμπρότατον χρυσὸν τέμπλον, ἀπάνω μετὰ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ χρυσοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅπου ἔναι εἰς αὐτὸν ἐσταυρωμένος ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ σωτὴρ παντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους, καὶ αἱ εἰκόνα τῶν δώδεκα δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶν, καὶ κάτωθεν τοῦ τέμπλου ἡ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεγάλη καὶ λαμπροτάτη, καὶ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει ἡ εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου, τῆς παμμακαρίστου, ὠραιότατη καὶ λαμπρὴ, ἔχοντες πολῦτιμες ποδαῖς χρυσαῖς. καὶ βημόθυρον μέγα ἐκλεκτόν, πολλῆς τιμῆς· καὶ αἱ πόρται τοῦ ἁγίου βήματος πάνχρυσαις, μετὸν θεῖον εὐαγγελικὸν ἀσπασμὸν τῆς πανυπεράγνου θεοτόκου. καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔχει τὰς ἀργυρᾶς κανδήλας καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῶν θείων εἰκόνων

χρυσοῦ τ' ἠλέκτρον τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος.  
Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή,  
ὅσσα τὰδ' ἄσπετα πολλά· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα,

*Homeri Odyssea*, 4.43–46, 4.69–75, ed. P. VON DER MÜHLL, Basel 1962 (cetera: HOMER);

[...] αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
Ἄλκινόου πρὸς δώματ' ἔε κλυτὰ· πολλὰ δὲ οἱ κῆρ  
ᾠρμαιν' ἴσταμένω, πρὶν χάλκεον οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι.  
ὥς τε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης  
δῶμα καθ' ὑπερεφές μεγαλήτορος Ἄλκινόοιο.  
χάλκειο μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐληλέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
ἔς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ, περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνοιο·  
chrύσειαι δὲ θύραι πυκινὸν δόμον ἐντὸς ἔεργον·  
ἀργύρειοι δὲ σταθμοὶ ἐν χαλκῷ ἔστασαν οὐδῶ,  
ἀργύρεον δ' ἔφ' ὑπερθύριον, χρυσῆ δὲ κορώνη.  
chrύσειοι δ' ἐκάτερθε καὶ ἀργύρειοι κύνες ἦσαν,  
οὐς Ἥφαιστος ἔτευξεν ἰδυίησι πραπίδεσσι  
δῶμα φυλασσέμεναι μεγαλήτορος Ἄλκινόοιο,  
ἀθανάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀγήρωσ ἤματα πάντα.  
ἐν δὲ θρόνοι περὶ τοῖχον ἐρηρέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
ἔς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῖο διαμπερές, ἔνθ' ἐνὶ πέπλοι  
λεπτοὶ εὐννητοὶ βεβλήατο, ἔργα γυναικῶν.  
ἔνθα δὲ Φαιήκων ἠγήτορες ἐδριόωντο  
πίνοντες καὶ ἔδοντες· ἐπητανὸν γὰρ ἔχεσκον.  
chrύσειοι δ' ἄρα κοῦροι ἐϋδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν  
ἔστασαν αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες,  
φαίνοντες νύκτας κατὰ δώματα δαιτυμόνεσσι,  
HOMER, 7.81–102.

καὶ ὅλην τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ναοῦ [...] ἔναι δὲ καὶ λέγεται αὐτὸς ὁ ναὸς τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῆς παμμακαρίστου ἐπίγειος οὐρανός, νέα Σιών<sup>94</sup>

The sky – when we look at it – has the sun, moon, stars and other [celestial bodies]. In turn, this church of the All-Blessed instead of the light of the sun has the most beautiful and brightest golden templon with a life-giving and golden cross on the top, where the crucified Jesus Christ, Lord and Saviour of all mankind, is set, as well as the representation of the Twelve Great Feasts, and below the image of Our Lord Jesus Christ, great and brightest, and on the right, the image of the All-Blessed Virgin Mary, the most beautiful and bright: both have extremely valuable golden podeai. [There are] also gates to the sanctuary, really excellent and of great value; the door wings of the holy sanctuary [are] all gold and with the evangelical salutation of the Holy Mother of God. Instead of moonlight and stars, it has silver candlesticks and the splendour of sacred images, and all the glory of the shrine. [...] And this church is called the great church of the All-Blessed and is the heaven on earth, the new Zion.

Gold in Byzantine texts appears primarily as one of the most beautiful materials available to artists. Its beauty lies in its glow and colour, although despite the dazzling appearance, some authors stated that multi-coloured marbles are more wonderful. Above all, the variegation (ποικιλία, πολυποικιλία) was valued the most. It was the main feature of the “jeweled aesthetics” developed in late antiquity and carried on by Byzantines. Byzantine writers relatively rarely referred to symbolic issues. For instance, in an ekphrasis of an icon of Virgin and Christ written by John Eugenikos (ca. 1400 – ca. 1453), we read that a gold colour of Christ’s cloak indicates his divine nature<sup>95</sup>. A similar interpretation of the significance of gold we find in an epigram associated with Manuel Philes (ca. 1275–1345). He explains there that a silver gilded revetment of an icon designates spiritual features of the depicted Virgin<sup>96</sup>. The same motive is in an epigram on a bronze gilded statue of the charioteer Porphyrios: gold is referred to the merits of the famous athlete<sup>97</sup>. What is more important, for Byzantine authors, wonderful aesthetic properties of gold could also have a symbolic meaning. Nonetheless, they more frequently used to discuss aesthetic questions. Then, it seems that these matters need more attention of researchers because now they are rather neglected. In closing, it should also be added that highly appreciated visual effects created

<sup>94</sup> MANUEL MALAXUS, *Historia politica Constantinopoleos (a 1454 usque ad 1578 annum Christi)*, 7–22, 7–9, [in:] *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1849 [= CSHB, 32], p. 203–204.

<sup>95</sup> See *Anecdota nova*, ed. J.F. BOISSONADE, Paris 1844, p. 335–340. See as well G. GALAVARIS, *The Stars of the Virgin. An Ekphrasis of an Icon of the Mother of God*, ECR 1, 1966, p. 364–369 (reprinted in: G. GALAVARIS, *Colours, Symbols, Worship. The Mission of the Byzantine Artist*, London 2012).

<sup>96</sup> See *Manuelis Philae carmina inedita*, 35, ed. A. MARTINI, Napoli 1900. See as well H. MAGUIRE, *Originality...*, p. 110.

<sup>97</sup> See *The Greek Anthology*, vol. V, *Book 13: Epigrams in Various Metres. Book 14: Arithmetical Problems, Riddles, Oracles. Book 15: Miscellanea. Book 16: Epigrams of the Planudean Anthology Not in the Palatine Manuscript*, 15.46, ed. W.R. PATON, London–New York 1918 [= LCL, 86]. See as well A. CAMERON, *Porphyrios the Charioteer*, Oxford 1973, p. 96–116.

on gold surfaces are not only associated with diverse conceptual meanings but also with technical aspects which pertain to, among others, various methods of gilding and polishing. It is very important problem due to its direct impact on a final shape of works of art. This issue, however, is the subject for a different paper.

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**Abstract.** The abundance of gilding is considered to be a particularly characteristic feature of Byzantine art. This attribute can be confirmed by even a cursory analysis of works of art. In short, Byzantine artists used gold on a large scale, showing great technical skill. It is therefore quite surprising that this issue has not yet received a separate, comprehensive study. Admittedly, researchers recognize the presence of gold but unfortunately, they almost do not go beyond general observations. On the one hand, they emphasize the primary role of the symbolic meanings of gold, and, on the other, they indicate the high material value of this precious metal. These comments are usually very general and their authors rarely refer to specific primary sources. Their observations, however, speak more about present-day ideas about Byzantine culture than about it itself. The indicated problem is an important and extensive task to be done, hence this paper is only an outline of the most important questions, each of which requires a separate and in-depth study. Therefore, this synthetic article introduces the most basic points associated with the understanding of gold in Byzantium. For this purpose, selected examples of Byzantine texts in which their authors referred to gold in a strictly artistic context are analysed. Thus, the main thesis is as follows: in Byzantine painting, gold, one of the most important devices of artistic expression, was used on a large scale primarily for aesthetic reasons.

**Keywords:** Byzantine aesthetics, ekphrasis, gilding, mosaic, marble

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## THE MONASTIC DIET IN THE LIGHT OF MEDICAL SCIENCE THEODORET OF CYRUS AND MEDICS ON DATES AND FIGS

Theodoret (c. 393 – c. 466), a clergyman, theologian and Christian writer, is one of the most prominent figures of late Antiquity<sup>1</sup>. In 423, he was appointed the Bishop of Cyrus, a small town near his hometown of Antioch. While holding his office, he made himself known as a pastor devoted to the members of the Christian community, offering them both spiritual and material support. However, he was involved not only in the affairs of the local Church. His participation

<sup>1</sup> Details on the life, theological views and literary heritage of the Bishop of Cyrus are included, e.g. in: P. CANIVET, *Introduction. Première partie*, [in:] THÉODORET DE CYR, *L'histoire des moines de Syrie*, vol. I, ed. P. CANIVET, A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, Paris 1977 [= SC, 234], p. 9–55; A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Introduction. Deuxième partie*, [in:] THÉODORET DE CYR, *L'histoire des moines de Syrie*, vol. I..., p. 57–113; O. JUREWICZ, *Historia literatury bizantyńskiej. Zarys*, Wrocław 1984, p. 49–50; R.M. PRICE, *Introduction*, [in:] THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, trans. et comm. R.M. PRICE, Kalamazoo 1985 [= CSSe, 88], p. IX–XXXVII; B. ALTANER, A. STUIBER, *Patrologia. Życie, pisma i nauka Ojców Kościoła*, trans. P. PACHCIAREK, Warszawa 1990, p. 454–457; M. KARAS, *Apologetyka Teodoreta z Cyru wobec filozofii Platona*, VP 21, 2001, p. 317–335; T. URBAINCZYK, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The Bishop and the Holy Man*, Ann Arbor 2002; S. LONGOSZ, *Szkoła antiocheńska*, [in:] *Literatura Grecji starożytnej*, vol. II, *Proza historyczna, krasomówstwo, filozofia i nauka, literatura chrześcijańska*, ed. H. PODBIELSKI, Lublin 2005, p. 1061–1067; M. KIELING, *Kościół jako wspólnota miłości w świetle Komentarza do 1 Listu św. Pawła do Koryntian Teodoreta z Cyru*, KSTe 5, 2006, p. 191–206; I. PASZTORI-KUPAN, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, London–New York 2006, p. 3–80; P.B. CLAYTON, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus. Antiochene Christology from the Council of Ephesus (431) to the Council of Chalcedon (451)*, Oxford 2007 [= OECS]; K. AUGUSTYNIAK, *Wstęp. Historia mnichów syryjskich*, [in:] THEODORET BISKUP CYRU, *Dzieje miłości Bożej. Historia mnichów syryjskich*, trans. K. AUGUSTYNIAK, praef. E. WIPSZYCKA, K. AUGUSTYNIAK, Kraków 2011, p. 37–50; A.M. SCHOR, *Theodoret's People. Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria*, Berkeley–London 2011 [= TCH, 48].

in doctrinal disputes and combat against heretics resulted in his temporary removal from office and being sentenced to exile. Theodoret also benefited subsequent generations by leaving behind numerous works, including exegetical, apologetic, dogmatic and historical writings as well as speeches and letters. For historians, these are an extremely rich source of information about the Eastern Roman Empire of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The bishop's writings of an historical nature include the work entitled in the Greek original Φιλόθεος ιστορία (also appearing under the Latin title *Historia religiosa*), today most commonly known as *A History of the Monks of Syria*<sup>2</sup>. This is the only source that familiarizes us with the history of ascetics living in Syria in the period from the early 4<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup>. In his work, Theodoret presented the lives of thirty Syrian monks who devoted themselves to the pursuit of spiritual perfection in the name of God. For them, the obstacle in achieving this goal was the outside world and its temptations as well as their own physicality. Viewing their bodies as the enemy, they tried to defeat them on the path of fighting with all their needs<sup>4</sup>. One of several fields where the monks conducted these battles was their daily eating habits<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> THÉODORET DE CYR, *L'histoire des moines de Syrie*, vol. I–II, ed. P. CANIVET, A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, Paris 1977–1979 [= SC, 234, 257] (cetera: THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*). English translation: THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *A History of the Monks...*

<sup>3</sup> Studies dealing with Syrian monasticism include primarily: A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient. A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, vol. II–III, *Early Monasticism in Mesopotamia and Syria*, Louvain 1960–1988 [= CSCO, 197, 500]; P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr*, Paris 1977; P. ESCOLAN, *Monachisme et église. Le monachisme syrien du IV<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Un monachisme charismatique*, Paris 1999 [= TH, 109]; E. WIPSYZKA, *Wstęp. Charakter i formy ascetyzmu syryjskiego*, [in:] TEODORET BISKUP CYRU, *Dzieje miłości Bożej...*, p. 9–36; L. MISIARCZYK, *Antyczny monastycyzm syryjski*, SPI 40, 2012, p. 83–96.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, Prologos, 5, vol. I, p. 132; E. WIPSYZKA, *Wstęp. Charakter i formy...*, p. 18–19.

<sup>5</sup> The subject of Syrian monks' diet has not yet been comprehensively developed. In several of our articles, based on the data from Theodoret of Cyrus, we have presented some of its issues, see: M. KOKOSZKO, K. GIBEL, *Dieta mnichów syryjskich. Komentarz do terminu autofya lachana (αὐτοφῶν ἰαχάνα) w Historia religiosa Teodoreta z Cyru*, [in:] *Omnia tempus habent. Miscellanea theologica Vincentio Myszor quadragesimum annum laboris scientifi celebranti ab amicis, sodalibus discipulisque oblata*, ed. A. REGINEK, G. STRZELCZYK, A. ŻĄDŁO, Katowice 2009, p. 145–156; M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Dieta mnichów syryjskich. Komentarz do terminu ospria (ὄσπρια) w Historia religiosa Teodoreta z Cyru*, BPT 7.1, 2014, p. 115–143; IDEM, *Dieta monastyczna w świetle nauki medycznej. Teodoret z Cyru i medycy o soczewicy*, VP 34, 2014, p. 297–329; IDEM, *Dieta mnichów syryjskich. Komentarz do terminu artos kachrydias (ἄρτος καχυρδίας) w Historia religiosa Teodoreta z Cyru*, BPT 8.3, 2015, p. 123–156. The studies related to this subject in general, treating monasticism as a whole, include: M. DEMBIŃSKA, *Diet: A Comparison of Food Consumption between Some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, B 55, 1985, p. 431–462; E. KISLINGER, *Christians of the East. Rules and Realities of the Byzantine Diet*, [in:] *Food. A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. J.-L. FLANDRIN, M. MONTANARI, Eng. ed. A. SONNENFELD, New York–Chichester 1999, p. 194–206; M. HARLOW, W. SMITH, *Between Fasting and Feasting. The Literary and Archaeobo-*

In the narrative of the Bishop of Cyrus, the issues of food consumed by the monks are of secondary, if not tertiary, importance. Ultimately, as he writes, ascetics found the greatest pleasure not in alimentation but prayer and the singing of psalms<sup>6</sup>. Nonetheless, *Historia religiosa*, offers us a glimpse into the daily life of the desert fathers while providing some detail about the type and amount of food they ate and how it was produced. This article aims to introduce one of the issues related to the diet of Syrian monks. We will examine the species of fruits that were in the menu of Theodoret's protagonists, namely, dates and figs. We will also try to determine why they selected these fruits and how their consumption could have affected the body. To this end, we will go beyond early Christian literature and reach for medical treatises created in late Antiquity and the early Byzantine era, i.e. in the period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. The selection of these sources is motivated by the fact that they are the compendium of Antiquity's and Byzantium's knowledge on edible plants<sup>7</sup>.

It is important and noteworthy that Theodoret, a man who was thoroughly educated<sup>8</sup> and could boast his knowledge about medicine-related subjects<sup>9</sup>, was well aware of the fact that doctors at the time regarded food as medicine. He expressed this in *Historia religiosa* by presenting the figure of the monk Macedonius:

As food he used neither bread nor pulses, but ground barley, merely soaked in water; it was this food that my mother, who became his friend, supplied him with for a very long time. On one occasion, visiting her when she was unwell and learning that she refused to take the food appropriate for her illness – for she herself already embraced the ascetic life – he urged her

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*tanical Evidence for Monastic Diet in Late Antique Egypt*, An 75, 2001, p. 758–768; A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium*, Totnes 2003, p. 93–97; A.-M. TALBOT, *Mealtime in Monasteries. The Culture of the Byzantine Refectory*, [in:] *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19). Food and Wine in Byzantium. Papers of the 37<sup>th</sup> Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, K. LINARDOU, Aldershot 2007, p. 109–125; L.A. GREGORICKA, S.G. SHERIDAN, *Ascetic or Affluent? Byzantine Diet at the Monastic Community of St. Stephen's, Jerusalem from Stable Carbon and Nitrogen Isotopes*, JAA 32.1, 2013, p. 63–73.

<sup>6</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, Prologos, 7, vol. I, p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> Antiquity's dietary literature is discussed by M. KOKOSZKO in: *Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (III–VII w.)*, Łódź 2005 [= BL, 9], p. 9–23. For ancient opinions on the relationship between diet and human health, see: L. EDELSTEIN, *The Dietetics of Antiquity*, [in:] IDEM, *Ancient Medicine. Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*, ed. O. TEMKIN, C.L. TEMKIN, trans. C.L. TEMKIN, Baltimore 1967, p. 303–316 (esp. 311–312); I. MAZZINI, *Diet and Medicine in the Ancient World*, [in:] *Food. A Culinary History...*, p. 141–152; M. KOKOSZKO, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Dietetyka w De re coquinaria*, PNH 10.2, 2011, p. 5–8. We base our reflections on a chronological framework broader than that set out by *Historia religiosa* due to the continuity of the toposes recurring in the treatises to which we refer. On these toposes, among others: A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium...*, p. 127–169.

<sup>8</sup> I. PASZTORI-KUPAN, *Theodoret of Cyrus...*, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> About the medical knowledge of the Bishop of Cyrus: V. NUTTON, *Ancient Medicine*, New York–London 2004, p. 302.

to yield to her doctors and consider such food a medicine, since it was being offered her not for the sake of luxury but because of need<sup>10</sup>.

In another of his works, entitled *Oratio de divina et sancta charitate* in Latin, the Bishop of Cyrus demonstrates his knowledge of what we now call the energy value (calorific content) of food. He writes that it is not fire or clothing but food that provides the human body with heat. Given this, he doubts the value of the heat and blood generated in the monks' bodies considering that they ate grass (ποηφαγέω) or legumes soaked in water (ῥσπρα)<sup>11</sup>. The two above-mentioned quotes from Theodoret's work provoke a question whether it was only personal experience or perhaps a certain extent of medical knowledge (even if minimal) that justified the daily diet choices made by monks.

In *Historia religiosa*, Theodoret treated the eating habits of the ascetics, similarly to any other element of their temporal life, as a harbinger of their future holiness<sup>12</sup>. In the prologue to his work, he summarized them as follows:

...they expelled the satiety of the belly and taught it to accept what satisfied, not pleasure, but need, and indeed just so much as could prevent death from hunger.<sup>13</sup>

When humble portions proved to be too small of austerity to serve God, the monks resorted to strict fasting<sup>14</sup>. Some ate once a day, in the evening<sup>15</sup>, others every few days<sup>16</sup> or once a week<sup>17</sup>. Fasting, however, could last for several weeks<sup>18</sup>,

<sup>10</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XIII, 3, vol. I, p. 476–478 (trans. R.M. PRICE, p. 101).

<sup>11</sup> THEODORETUS, *Oratio de divina et sancta charitate*, 2, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXIII, col. 1497–1500.

<sup>12</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 2, vol. I, p. 196; II, 4, vol. I, p. 200; III, 3, vol. I, p. 250; IX, 3, vol. I, p. 410–412; X, 5, vol. I, p. 444 etc.

<sup>13</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, Prologos, 6, vol. I, p. 134–136 (trans. R.M. PRICE, p. 6). Cf. THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, Prologos, 7, vol. I, p. 136; I, 3, vol. I, p. 164; III, 3, vol. I, p. 250; V, 3, vol. I, p. 332; XI, 3, vol. I, p. 456–458; V. GRIMM, *From Feasting to Fasting. The Evolution of a Sin. Attitudes to Food in Late Antiquity*, London 1996, p. 95–96; E. KISLINGER, *Christians of the East...*, p. 199–201.

<sup>14</sup> For the role of fasting in the lives of Christians of this period, see: R. ARBESMANN, *Fasting and Prophecy in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*, T 7, 1951, p. 1–71; H. MUSURILLO, *The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic Writers*, T 12, 1956, p. 1–64; A.-M. TALBOT, *An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism*, ICS 12.2, 1987, p. 233; K.M. DUGAN, *Fasting for Life. The Place of Fasting in the Christian Tradition*, JAAR 63.3, 1995, p. 539–548; T.M. SHAW, *The Burden of the Flesh. Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity*, Minneapolis 1998; A. JOTISCHKY, *A Hermit's Cookbook. Monks, Food and Fasting in the Middle Ages*, London–New York 2011, p. 31–60; S. BRALEWSKI, *Praktykowanie postu w świetle historiografii kościelnej V wieku*, VP 33, 2013, p. 359–378.

<sup>15</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 3, vol. I, p. 250; III, 12, vol. I, p. 270; VIII, 3, vol. I, p. 378; XVII, 6, vol. II, p. 44.

<sup>16</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 12, vol. I, p. 270; IV, 5, vol. I, p. 300; IX, 3, vol. I, p. 412; XXVI, 5, vol. II, p. 166.

<sup>17</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 2, vol. I, p. 196; XXI, 11, vol. II, p. 86; XXVI, 5, vol. II, p. 166–168; XXVI, 22, vol. II, p. 206.

<sup>18</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XXIX, 7, vol. II, p. 238. Cf. THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVIII, 4, vol. II, p. 56.

or, to follow Moses' example, for forty days<sup>19</sup>. There were also those who avoided water<sup>20</sup>. However, exhaustion of the body as a result of extreme fasting had its limits – the monks were warned by their superiors to not perceive suicide as a virtue because it was something contrary to it: the greatest crime<sup>21</sup>.

The main merits that should characterize the food consumed by ascetics were its simplicity and low price<sup>22</sup>.

Reading *Historia religiosa* leads to the conclusion that the basis of the Syrian monks' diet was bread, which is most often referred to in this work by the general term *artos* (ἄρτος)<sup>23</sup>. As in any other case, the desert fathers avoided all luxury in relation to bread as well. They shunned sophisticated types and ate bread from crude grain (πιτυρίας)<sup>24</sup>. Good quality white bread, *artos lampros* (ἄρτος λαμπρός), was served only to guests<sup>25</sup>. In a few cases, we learn that the brothers consumed *artos kachrydias* (ἄρτος καχυρδίας), i.e. barley bread prepared from roasted grains<sup>26</sup>. Salt, *hales* (ἄλες), was added to bread<sup>27</sup>.

Products that did not undergo any heat treatment were also valued<sup>28</sup>. In one of our previous texts<sup>29</sup>, we investigated the reasons for this depreciation of the

<sup>19</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XXVI, 7, vol. II, p. 172; XXVI, 9, vol. II, p. 176; XXIX, 7, vol. II, p. 238.

<sup>20</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 3, vol. I, p. 250; IV, 12, vol. I, p. 322; XVII, 6, vol. II, p. 44; XXVI, 7, vol. II, p. 174.

<sup>21</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XXVI, 7, vol. II, p. 172. The asceticism, including fasting, that led to extreme exhaustion of the body was condemned by the Church, cf. K. WARE, *The Way of the Ascetics. Negative or Affirmative?*, [in:] *Asceticism*, ed. V.L. WIMBUSH, R. VALANTASIS, New York–Oxford 1995, p. 8–12.

<sup>22</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, X, 3, vol. I, p. 442.

<sup>23</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 13, vol. I, p. 222; III, 3, vol. I, p. 250; III, 12, vol. I, p. 270; V, 3, vol. I, p. 332; VIII, 3, vol. I, p. 378; IX, 3, vol. I, p. 412; XI, 1, vol. I, p. 454; XII, 3, vol. I, p. 462; XIII, 3, vol. I, p. 478; XX, 3, vol. II, p. 66. The most zealous monks could even forego that – e.g.: THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 21, vol. I, p. 286; XIII, 3, vol. I, p. 476; XXVI, 7, vol. II, p. 174. For more on the role of bread in ascetic diet, see: M. DEMBIŃSKA, *Diet: A Comparison of Food...*, p. 438–439; A.-M. TALBOT, *Mealtime in Monasteries...*, p. 114; A. JOTISCHKY, *A Hermit's Cookbook...*, p. 53–58; L.A. GREGORICKA, S.G. SHERIDAN, *Ascetic or Affluent?...*, p. 65. The issue of bread as an element of the monastic diet was comprehensively covered by Y. HIRSCHFELD (*The Importance of Bread in the Diet of Monks in the Judean Desert*, B 66, 1996, p. 143–155). It shows that the ascetics living in the Judean Desert in the early Byzantine period ate wheat bread, which they baked themselves. They bought grain partly thanks to donations from pilgrims, stored it in granaries and ground it into flour. In large monasteries, this production took place on a large scale.

<sup>24</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 2, vol. I, p. 196; II, 4, vol. I, p. 200.

<sup>25</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVII, 7, vol. II, p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 2, vol. I, p. 196; II, 4, vol. I, p. 200. For more on this type of bread, see: M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŃNICKA, *Dieta mnichów syryjskich. Komentarz do terminu artos kachrydias...*

<sup>27</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 2, vol. I, p. 196; II, 4, vol. I, p. 200; II, 13, vol. I, p. 222; XI, 1, vol. I, p. 454; XX, 3, vol. II, p. 66.

<sup>28</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 21, vol. I, p. 286; XVII, 6, vol. II, p. 44; XXI, 11, vol. II, p. 84.

<sup>29</sup> M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŃNICKA, *Dieta monastyczna...*, p. 302–304.

art of cooking or baking, which, as in the case of lentils<sup>30</sup>, was often replaced by soaking alone<sup>31</sup>. There could be three reasons for this. First, as we have already mentioned, the well-educated Theodoret, and perhaps also some of the monks he described, might have been familiar with the medical theories at the time that food undergoes a process similar to cooking in the stomach<sup>32</sup>. Unwilling to facilitate or accelerate digestion occurring in their bodies, they may have deliberately opted for raw products. In this way, they made their asceticism even more stringent<sup>33</sup>. Secondly, by avoiding cooking, they may have saved time that they could devote to prayer. And finally, the monks might have identified cooked food with everything else related to culture and civilization, and raw foodstuffs with their opposites, thus, they found another way to show their separateness from the world whose temptations distanced them from God<sup>34</sup>.

An important component of the ascetics' diet were undoubtedly vegetables; wild ones that the earth itself (αὐτοφυῶς) produced<sup>35</sup> as well as cultivated ones<sup>36</sup>, fresh and dried ones<sup>37</sup> were all consumed. Dietary restrictions resulting from the practice of asceticism also applied to them. The monk Afraates did not eat vegetables until he reached a very old age, and even then, he waited until sunset before having them<sup>38</sup>. Although cooking vegetables was practiced<sup>39</sup>, there were also monks who forewent it<sup>40</sup> or replaced it with soaking<sup>41</sup>. Without going into

<sup>30</sup> In the case of lentils, soaking instead of cooking was a normal practice – THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XV, 1, vol. II, p. 18; XXI, 12, vol. II, p. 88; XXIV, 5, vol. II, p. 146; XXX, 2–3, vol. II, p. 242–244.

<sup>31</sup> Monks also soaked chickpeas and broad beans – THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVIII, 1, vol. II, p. 52. They did the same with flour (THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 21, vol. I, p. 286) and barley (THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XIII, 3, vol. I, p. 476).

<sup>32</sup> This theory was formulated by Galen, the greatest doctor of Antiquity, see: GALENUS, *De naturalibus facultatibus*, 160, 17 – 168, 5, [in:] *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. II, ed. D.C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1821; GALENUS, *De usu partium*, 275, 3 – 281, 19, [in:] *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. III–IV, ed. D.C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1822.

<sup>33</sup> Ancient doctors were of the opinion that cooked food is not only easier for the body to digest but it is also healthier for humans, cf. I. MAZZINI, *Diet and Medicine...*, p. 145, 148–149.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. M. MONTANARI, *Food Is Culture*, trans. A. SONNENFELD, New York–Chichester 2006, p. 43–44. Ancient medical treatises provide evidence that this is how the medics of that time viewed this issue, see: C. SEGAL, *The Raw and the Cooked in Greek Literature. Structure, Values, Metaphor*, CJ 69, 1974, p. 289–308 (esp. 298–301). Nowadays, this issue is examined by cultural anthropology, see: C. LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Trójkąt kulinarny*, trans. S. CIECHOWICZ, Tw 2, 1972, p. 73. Cf. IDEM, *Surowe i gotowane*, trans. M. FALSKI, Warszawa 2010; E. LEACH, *Levi-Strauss*, trans. P. NIKLEWICZ, Warszawa 1973, p. 22–39.

<sup>35</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, I, 2, vol. I, p. 162.

<sup>36</sup> The monks Theodosius (THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, X, 2, vol. I, p. 440) and Salamanes (THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XIX, 1, vol. II, p. 58) did gardening for their own consumption.

<sup>37</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 12, vol. I, p. 270.

<sup>38</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, VIII, 3, vol. I, p. 378.

<sup>39</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 12, vol. I, p. 270.

<sup>40</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVII, 6, vol. II, p. 44.

<sup>41</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, III, 21, vol. I, p. 286; XIII, 3, vol. I, p. 476; XVIII, 1, vol. II, p. 52 etc.

detail, the bishop notes that ascetics ate lettuce, *thridakine* (θριδακίνη)<sup>42</sup>, chicory, *seris* (σέρις)<sup>43</sup>, and celery, *selinon* (σέλινον)<sup>44</sup>. One biography makes a reference to wild vegetables, *autophya lachana* (αὐτοφυᾶ λάχανα)<sup>45</sup>, and how to preserve them<sup>46</sup>. This term refers to the shoots of some trees and shrubs, i.e. *blasta* (βλάστα), plants called prickly (ἀκάνθα or ἀκανθώδη [φυτά]), and vegetables which at that time had already been domesticated, but could still be found in their wild form, harvested and consumed. Legumes, *ospria* (ὄσπρια)<sup>47</sup>, must have played a crucial role in the diet of Syrian monks. In *Historia religiosa*, Theodoret mentions lentils, *fakos* (φακός)<sup>48</sup>, several times while chickpeas, *erebinthos* (ἐρέβινθος), and broad beans, *kyamos* (κύαμος), appear once<sup>49</sup>.

Finally, a separate group that is of interest to us were the fruits that the bishop calls by the general name of *oporai* (ὀπῶραι)<sup>50</sup>. Of these, he specifically mentions three species: apples, *mela* (μήλα)<sup>51</sup>, dates, *foinikes* (φοίνικες)<sup>52</sup>, and figs, *ischades* (ισχάδες)<sup>53</sup>.

In the case of dates, mentioned only in one biography, Simeon the Elder's, Theodoret cites an extraordinary story of how a lion delivered these fruits to the old man:

...there appeared at a distance a lion. Those with the old man were filled with alarm; but when the man sitting on the den saw it, he stood up and gestured to the lion to go across to the other side. It immediately obeyed and came up carrying the bunch of dates. It then turned and went back again and at a distance from the men lay down and went to sleep. So he distributed the dates among all of them, and joined with them in prayer and psalmody; at the end of the liturgy at break of day he took leave of them, and sent them on their way awe-struck at this novel spectacle<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVII, 6, vol. II, p. 44; XXVI, 7, vol. II, p. 174.

<sup>43</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVII, 6, vol. II, p. 44; XXVI, 7, vol. II, p. 174.

<sup>44</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVII, 6, vol. II, p. 44.

<sup>45</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 4, vol. I, p. 200.

<sup>46</sup> For more on this subject, see: M. KOKOSZKO, K. GIBEL, *Dieta mnichów syryjskich...*

<sup>47</sup> Cf. THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XIII, 3, vol. I, p. 476. For more on this subject, see: M. KOKOSZKO, J. DYBAŁA, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Dieta mnichów syryjskich. Komentarz do terminu ospria...*; IDEM, *Dieta monastyczna w świetle...*

<sup>48</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, V, 8, vol. I, p. 342; XV, 1, vol. II, p. 18; XXI, 12, vol. II, p. 88; XXIV, 5, vol. II, p. 146. Lentils was also consumed by the female ascetic Domnina: THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XXX, 2–3, vol. II, p. 242–244.

<sup>49</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVIII, 1, vol. II, p. 52.

<sup>50</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVII, 6, vol. II, p. 44; XXX, 3, vol. II, p. 244.

<sup>51</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, VI, 12, vol. I, p. 362.

<sup>52</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, VI, 9–10, vol. I, p. 358–360.

<sup>53</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 10, vol. I, p. 218; XVIII, 1, vol. II, p. 52; XVIII, 4, vol. II, p. 56; XXIV, 9, vol. II, p. 152.

<sup>54</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, VI, 10, vol. I, p. 360 (trans. R.M. PRICE, p. 66).

Evidently, Theodoret devoted little space to dates. All his account suggests, if we omit the question of how credible the lion's behavior was, is that the monks did not hesitate to eat the miraculous gift in the form of fresh date palm fruit. Based on this short fragment only, it would be difficult to conclude whether such a meal was something natural for them or if they usually tried to avoid it because of the possible pleasure of it, and this time made an exception considering it as a wonderful gift from God which ought to be embraced.

However, what we know is that dates were very important in the restrictive diet of monks and could be eaten by Christian hermits even far from their harvest places, e.g. in Gaul<sup>55</sup>. In Syria itself, or more broadly, in the Middle East, where date palms have been a native crop for about 5,000 years, occurring in many varieties, and their fruit was an important element of the diet<sup>56</sup>, monks often included them in their menu<sup>57</sup>.

Today, it is known that dates are rich in many components needed by the human body, including simple sugars, dietary fiber, selenium, iron, potassium, manganese, magnesium, vitamin C and B vitamins as well as antioxidants, including carotenoids (such as lutein and  $\beta$ -carotene)<sup>58</sup>. Their very high energy value (comparable to the meat of some farm animals) is worth emphasizing. From this point of view, the presence of dates in the menu of recluses, who avoided the pleasures

<sup>55</sup> GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Historiae – Gregorii episcopi Turonensis libri historiarum X*, VI, 6, ed. B. KRUSCH, W. LEVISON, Hannover 1951.

<sup>56</sup> It is not our intention to present here the natural history of dates (and later, figs) and discuss their meanings in the Mediterranean world more widely, because it could disturb the proportions and disrupt the framework of this article. We refer interested readers to the following papers: A. STEIER, *Phoenix (1)*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XX.1, Stuttgart 1941, col. 386–403; D. ZOHARY, M. HOPE, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World*, Oxford 1993, p. 157; A. DALBY, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 113–114; J.P. ALCOCK, *Food in the Ancient World*, Westport–London 2006, p. 41–42; M. TOUSSAINT-SAMAT, *Historia naturalna i moralna jedzenia*, trans. A.B. MATUSIAK, M. OCHAB, Warszawa 2008, p. 610–611; N. NASRALLAH, *Dates. A Global History*, London 2011, p. 92–93. On the benefits that the monks could derive from the date palm, in addition to eating its fruit, in: M. DEMBIŃSKA, *Diet: A Comparison of Food...*, p. 435–436. The following sources also contain information about the consumption of dates, cf. e.g. *Athenaei Naucratisae Dipnosophistarum libri XV*, 651 b, vol. I–III, rec. G. KAIBEL, Lipsiae–Berolini 1887–1890 (cetera: ATHENAEUS NAUCRATITA); APICIUS, *A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe Text Apicius*, VIII, 6, 7; VIII, 8, 2–3; VIII, 8, 12; IX, 10, 6–7, ed. C. GROCOCK, S. GRAINGER, Blackawton–Totnes 2006 (cetera: APICIUS). Date wine is a separate issue: cf. *Herodoti Historiae*, I, 193, 22–25, vol. I–II, ed. N.G. WILSON, Oxford 2015 [= SCBO]; XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, II, 3, 14, [in:] *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. III, ed. E.C. MARCHANT, Oxford 1904; *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque*, V, 31, 1, 1–2, 7, vol. I–III, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berlin 1907–1914 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES); ATHENAEUS NAUCRATITA, 29 d; APICIUS, I, 1, 1.

<sup>57</sup> M. DEMBIŃSKA, *Diet: A Comparison of Food...*, p. 434–437, 441–442.

<sup>58</sup> W. AL-SHAHIB, R.J. MARSHALL, *The Fruit of the Date Palm: its Possible Use as the Best Food for the Future?*, *IJFSN* 54.4, 2003, p. 247–259; M.A. AL-FARSI, C.Y. LEE, *The Functional Values of Dates*, [in:] *Dates. Production, Processing, Food, and Medicinal Values*, ed. A. MANICKAVASAGAN, M. MOHAMED ESSA, E. SUKUMAR, Boca Raton 2012, p. 351–358.

of the palate, appears to be justified, because it provided them with a relatively high nutritional value with a small amount of eaten food, which was almost exclusively plant-based, and this, in turn was consistent with the tenets of ascetic life.

It is, however, worth looking at this food choice through the prism of the findings of late Antiquity/early Byzantine medicine, whose representatives (existing in a similar reality to the monks' described by Theodoret) discussed the impact of eating dates on the human body in their treatises. As for the dietary and medical properties of the fruits in question, the most important medic of this era, Galen (around 129–216 AD), stated that Syrian dates were soft, moist and sweet. He further gave a number of their negative properties and effects of consumption. According to him, they were difficult to digest and caused headaches if eaten in excess. In his opinion, when consumed, the juice of the dates, which was thick and sticky, could lead to a severe blockage of the liver and cause damage to this organ through inflammation and complete hardening. As a consequence, it could also damage the spleen<sup>59</sup>. In addition, Galen believed that sweet date varieties had hotter juices while the more tart ones had cooler juices. He also warned against eating unripe fruit, as it may lead to liver problems<sup>60</sup>. What he did recommend was cooking ripe dates with fenugreek and eating them to alleviate chronic chest pain<sup>61</sup>. Oribasius (around 330–400) assessed dates as nutritious, and their juice as mostly good for the stomach, but he maintained Galen's negative opinion on the effect of the sticky juice on the liver as well as the pancreas. He also added that dates could hinder the work of the intestines and confirmed their bad influence on the head if eaten in excess<sup>62</sup>. Later, Paul of Aegina (about 625–690)<sup>63</sup> assessed them similarly. Antimus (*fl.* first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century) also believed that they offered health benefits but should not be eaten too often. In addition, he claimed that their consumption caused the formation of gas in the body<sup>64</sup>. Quite the opposite information can be found in the anonymous work *De re coquinaria* (about the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century), where juicy dates were described as one of the components of a digestive and anti-flatulence agent<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus libri III*, 607, 1 – 608, 5, [in:] *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. VI, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1823 (cetera: GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*).

<sup>60</sup> GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 608, 10–13.

<sup>61</sup> GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 538, 9–15.

<sup>62</sup> *Oribasii Collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, I, 53, 1–4, vol. I–IV, ed. I. RAEDER, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928–1933 [= CMG, 6.1–4] (cetera: ORIBASIVS).

<sup>63</sup> *Paulus Aegineta*, I, 81, 2, 14–3, 1, vol. I–II, ed. I.L. HEIBERG, Lipsiae–Berolini 1921–1924 [= CMG, 9.1] (cetera: PAULUS AEGINETA).

<sup>64</sup> ANTHIMUS, *On the Observance of Foods. De observatione ciborum*, 92, ed. M. GRANT, Totnes–Blackawton 2007 (cetera: ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*).

<sup>65</sup> APICIUS, III, 18, 3. It is difficult to say what can explain this contradiction. *De re coquinaria* is not a medical treatise but a collection of recipes. Its author may not have known the findings of the medical art of his time, ignored them based on his own practical experience, or he might have been influenced by another medical tradition. However, the source of that tradition, unlike the dominant school in medicine at that time, which was derived from Galen, is untraceable from today's perspective.

Hence, ancient authors emphasized the nutritious quality of dates but also noted the possible side effects of their consumption, which occurred, according to them, especially when these fruits were eaten in excess.

Theodoret of Cyrus' references to figs, though multiple, are definitely more prosaic and, thus, more credible to us. In each case, we find out that they were eaten in the dried form<sup>66</sup>. They undoubtedly must have been regarded as a highly nutritious food, because, according to our author, Eusebius ate them very infrequently to support his weakened body<sup>67</sup>, and survived the entire seven-week fast, eating only fifteen pieces of them<sup>68</sup>. They also must have been one of the most important components of the diet, because Asterius, who visited Julian (Saba) as often as three times a year, usually brought dried figs, loaded on two or three mules, to his confreres<sup>69</sup>.

The practices described above show that the diet of Syrian monks, although different from the diet of the general population of this area due to severe restrictions on the amount and variety of food consumed, was still based on local, common and easily available ingredients. The fruit of the common fig tree, known and cultivated in this area even earlier than dates (as early as 8–7,000 BC), in late Antiquity, grown in many varieties and eaten in a number of ways<sup>70</sup>, is a perfect example.

As in the case of dates, laboratory tests have shown that figs are fruits containing many elements needed for the proper functioning of the body and that dried figs are two, three or even four times more valuable than fresh ones (depending on the particular component). These elements include simple sugars, dietary fiber,

<sup>66</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 10, vol. I, p. 218; XVIII, 1, vol. II, p. 52; XVIII, 4, vol. II, p. 56; XXIV, 9, vol. II, p. 152.

<sup>67</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVIII, 1, vol. II, p. 52–54.

<sup>68</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, XVIII, 4, vol. II, p. 56.

<sup>69</sup> THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, II, 10, vol. I, p. 218.

<sup>70</sup> The detailed history of the cultivation and significance of figs in the ancient Mediterranean world is not the subject of our research in this text. To inquisitive readers, we would like to suggest the following works: D. ZOHARY, M. HOPF, *Domestication of Plants...*, p. 150–156; D.J. BREWER, D.B. REDFORD, S. REDFORD, *Domestic Plants and Animals. The Egyptians Origins*, Warminster 1995, p. 51–52; M. GRANT, *Roman Cookery. Ancient Recipes for Modern Kitchens*, London 2002, p. 92–95; A. DALBY, *Food in the Ancient World...*, p. 143–144; J.P. ALCOCK, *Food in the Ancient World...*, p. 42–44; M. RAUTMAN, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, Westport–Oxford 2006, p. 96; E. STOVER, M. ARADHYA, L. FERGUSON, C.H. CRISOSTO, *The Fig: Overview of an Ancient Fruit*, HSc 42.5, 2007, p. 1083; M. TOUSSAINT-SAMAT, *Historia naturalna...*, p. 605–609; M. KOKOSZKO, *Smaki Konstantynopola*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, Warszawa 2011, p. 531–532. A lot of information on the consumption of figs was provided by antique treaties, cf. DIOSCORIDES, V, 32; PLINY, *Natural History*, XIV, 19, 102, vol. I–X, trans. H. RACKHAM, W.H.S. JONES, D.E. EICHHOLZ, Cambridge Mass. 1938–1963 [= LCL]; ATHENAEUS NAUCRATITA, 74 c – 80 e; 652 b – 653 b; *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani viri illustrius opus agriculturae. De veterinaria medicina. De insitione*, IV, 10, 33, ed. R.H. RODGERS, Leipzig 1975 [= BSGR]; APICIUS, I, 20; VII, 9, 2–3; ORIBASIIUS, I, 39, 6; *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, X, 54, 1–2; 56, 3; 56, 5, rec. H. BECKH, Lipsiae 1895.

B vitamins, vitamin K, calcium, manganese, potassium, iron, magnesium, phosphorus, and zinc<sup>71</sup>. Based on the findings of the researchers, it should be stated that, as in the case of dates, the presence of figs in Syrian monks' diet was very beneficial for their health. Furthermore, it is worth emphasizing that due to the high sugar content, closely arranged dried figs can be stored for up to several years<sup>72</sup>, which could have been significant in the climate of Syria, and also for ascetics.

As far as we know from the preserved sources, late Antiquity/early Byzantine medicine took a position similar to the modern one, although it was, naturally, developed on a completely different basis. Therefore, the dietary assessment of figs that can be found in the works of Antiquity and Byzantine specialists was rather good. Oribasius wrote that they passed quickly through the stomach and the whole body, and had cleansing properties, which he considered as beneficial. In addition, he noted that, although they generated flatulence, it was of a short duration. He found fully ripe and dried figs the most beneficial to health, e.g. for the stomach and kidneys. However, he noticed some of their drawbacks: according to him, they produced bad blood in the body and had an adverse effect on a previously irritated liver and pancreas. In addition, according to Oribasius, you should not eat figs with fattening foods<sup>73</sup>, and their sustenance was so great that the Greeks and Romans recommended eating them to athletes training intensively<sup>74</sup>. This characteristic coincides with the earlier findings of Galen, who elaborates on Oribasius' remark about the harmfulness of figs on an irritated liver and pancreas. According to his account, doctors, aware of this property of figs, mixed them with thyme, pepper, ginger, pennyroyal, chowder, calamint, oregano or hyssop, thus, obtaining a medicine with the opposite effect, i.e. beneficial for the irritated liver and pancreas<sup>75</sup>. According to Paul of Aegina, the consumption of figs did not lead to a serious disturbance of the balance of basic elements in the consumer's organism, i.e. humoral imbalance. In addition, eating these fruits led to the cleansing of the digestive tract, promoted the production of urine and purified the kidneys. However, since they caused flatulence and rather bad blood, one should not eat too much of them<sup>76</sup>. Similar formulations can be found in Aëtius of Amida<sup>77</sup> (6<sup>th</sup> century),

<sup>71</sup> N. SONI, S. MEHTA, G. SATPATHY, R.K. GUPTA, *Estimation of Nutritional, Phytochemical, Antioxidant and Antibacterial Activity of Dried Fig (Ficus carica)*, JPhPh 3.2, 2014, p. 158–165; S. MAHMOUDI, M. KHALI, A. BENKHALED, I. BOUCETTA, Y. DAHMANI, Z. ATTALLAH, S. BELBRAOUE, *Fresh Figs (Ficus carica L.): Pomological Characteristics, Nutritional Value, and Phytochemical Properties*, EJHS 83.2, 2018, p. 104–113.

<sup>72</sup> L. FOXHALL, *Fig*, [in:] *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. HORNBLLOWER, A. SPAWFORTH, E. EIDINOW, Oxford 2012, p. 575.

<sup>73</sup> ORIBASIUS, I, 39, 1–6.

<sup>74</sup> ORIBASIUS, I, 40, 2–3.

<sup>75</sup> GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, 571, 1 – 573, 8.

<sup>76</sup> PAULUS AEGINETA, I, 81, 1, 1–6.

<sup>77</sup> *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales I–VIII*, I, 380, 1–32, ed. A. OLIVIERI, Lipsiae–Berolini 1935–1950 [= CMG, 8].

and all of them can be traced to Galen. Citing other authors, Athenaeus of Naucratis (2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century) reported that figs were believed to facilitate digestion and bowel movement. He also included the view that fig juice was excellent for infant development, and fresh fruit was rubbed on children's eyes as the best medicine<sup>78</sup>. Antimus expressed an interesting opinion, recommending chewing dried figs to prevent a runny nose. He also advised their consumption by people suffering from sore throats and hoarseness<sup>79</sup>.

The dietetic characteristic of figs in the writings of the authors related to medicine is overwhelmingly positive. They emphasized the nutritiousness of these fruits in particular, the fact that they stimulated digestion, which was beneficial to health, and their overall good effect on the body. At the same time, certain circumstances were noted, such as the pre-existing irritation of some internal organs, in which case, figs should be avoided.

Theodoret of Cyrus' account contained in his *Historia religiosa* shows that the fruits consumed by Syrian monks were dates and, above all, figs. The reason for that must have been the especially easy access to them since they had been known and cultivated in Syria for a long time. They found their way to the desert, directly to ascetics, through visitors. Another crucial advantage of these fruits was the fact that they could be eaten without being processed or wasting time, which allowed for the maintenance of the rigor of asceticism. In desert conditions, they were also the food which kept well in a dried form for long periods.

Dates and figs, due to their high sugar content, supplied monks with a lot of calories. In the case of dried figs, this is confirmed by Theodoret himself. He wrote, for example, that they were the food that the desert fathers reached for when their bodies were weakened, and in very small quantities, during the periods of long, restrictive fasting. This was particularly important if we consider the overall nature of the ascetic diet, which excluded particularly nutritious meat but also other animal products. In terms of energy, both fruits ranked very high in this diet.

Modern research proves that dates and figs, especially in the dried form, are the food that is extremely valuable for the human body. The aforementioned medical characteristics of these fruits, created by the late Antiquity and early Byzantine authors, are ambiguous, especially when it comes to dates. According to the cited medics, their consumption could have had both a positive and a negative impact on the human body. Compared to dates, figs appear to be particularly valuable for health.

To recapitulate, in the context of the consumption by Syrian monks, we believe that the main advantage of the fruits discussed in this article was their high energy value.

<sup>78</sup> ATHENAEUS NAUCRATITA, 78 d; 79 a–e.

<sup>79</sup> ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 93. Cf. A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium...*, p. 136–137.

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**Abstract.** The aim of this article is to present the menu of early Christian monks in the context of the findings of Greek and Roman medicine in the field of dietetics. It draws from the passages of *Historia religiosa* by Theodoret of Cyrus about the consumption of dates and figs by Syrian ascetics.

Both species of fruit did not comprise the basis of the monks' limited diet. Figs and dates were treated as additional food by them, which they ate rarely and in small quantities. According to Theodoret, they did so especially when their bodies were weakened, during long and exhausting fasts.

According to modern dietetics, this was justified as both figs and dates are calorie- and nutrient-rich foods, which consumed even in small amounts can significantly supplement an adult's daily balance in this regard.

The authors of ancient and medical texts stemming from the tradition of Antiquity (Galen, Orbasius, Antimus, Aëtius of Amida, Paul of Aegina and others) also drew attention to the nutritious quality of dates and figs, in addition to numerous others health-promoting properties (especially in the context of the latter species). However, they further noted that excessive consumption of both fruits could lead to some health problems.

In the context of these findings, occasional consumption of dates and figs by Syrian ascetics appears justified, as they could provide their weakened bodies with food of high energy value and nutritious content, whose small amount – and, therefore, fitting in the ideal of mortification – would suffice to improve their health condition.

**Keywords:** Theodoret of Cyrus, Syrian ascetics, diet, dates, figs, Greek and Roman medicine

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## POWER AND ARISTOCRACY – TRANSFORMATION AND COMPOSITION OF THE KOMNENOS “CLAN” (1081–1200) – A STATISTICAL APPROACH

Alexios I Komnenos proved to be the creator of one of the most durable systems of power in the history of the Byzantine Empire. Acting in the face of problems plaguing the state in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Alexios resorted to solutions specific to the environment of the provincial aristocracy to which he belonged. He used his family to support his power. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Byzantine aristocracy began to form groups for the protection of its interests<sup>1</sup>. Such groups are often referred to as “clans”<sup>2</sup>. They were structures made up of aristocrats of one or more families connected through the bonds of kinship. Their purpose was to protect its common interests. The family in the Byzantine culture was strictly protected by law. Raising a hand on your own relative was considered absolutely unacceptable and was considered as crime. That’s why building a network of alliances through marriages was a common strategy among the Byzantine aristocracy<sup>3</sup>. Alexios I Komnenos, as a usurper taking over power in a very unfavourable period, full of pretenders to the throne, had to stabilize his and his family’s position on the throne. He surrounded himself with allied aristocratic families

<sup>1</sup> J.-C. CHEYNET, *Klasy kierujące cesarstwem*, [in:] *Świat Bizancjum*, vol. II, *Cesarstwo Bizantyńskie 641–1204*, ed. IDEM, trans. A. GRABOŃ, Kraków 2011, p. 205–234.

<sup>2</sup> Terminology concerning Byzantine aristocratic groups, families and kinship can cause some problem and still are a field of discussions. It is tempting to replace the term “clan” with *genos* (γένος), following recent observations on this subject by Nathan Leidholm. Yet he also remarked that it is hard to define the clear limits of a single *genos*, thus using this word in the context of this study could be misleading, as my understanding of the Komnenos “clan” can include multiple and mixed *gene*, cf. N. LEIDHOLM, *Elite Byzantine Kinship, ca. 950–1204. Blood Reputation and the Genos*, Leeds 2019, p. 1, 35, 103–106.

<sup>3</sup> P. FRANKOPAN, *Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium*, EHR 122, 2007, p. 2; P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge 1993, p. 180–181; IDEM, *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. 148.

and his kin. To strengthen the relations between one and the other, he connected both of them through a network of marriages that ensured relative security and stability of the alliance. That wasn't a new concept. Alexios' predecessors also pursued similar policy, aimed at creating a loyal and influential party, though never on such a scale<sup>4</sup>. What distinguished the Komnenoi from its predecessors, was how institutionalized and deeply rooted inside the state this new system was. Alexios, seeking a way to achieve the absolute domination of his "clan" and uninterrupted continuation of his dynasty, reformed the system of court dignities. New titles, derived in many cases from the title of *sebastos*, were mostly reserved for the members of imperial family<sup>5</sup>. In this manner the new court hierarchy was created, that served as a special way of elevating the elite "clan" above the rest of the society.

However, the success of the Alexios' work was limited. After the death of his grandson Manuel I, the empire entered another period of crisis. This time of political collapse, followed by the Fourth Crusade was, of course a multifaceted phenomenon rooted in both the internal situation of the country and its foreign policy<sup>6</sup>. Perhaps the most important problem of the last twenty years of the 12<sup>th</sup> century is the decline of imperial authority. The emperor's position in the state throughout all of the 12<sup>th</sup> century remained in inseparable connection with the aristocracy. Hence, the study of the ruling aristocratic family "clan" is the basis for understanding the political condition of Byzantium. It was this group of the wealthiest and most influential aristocrats close to the ruler, that had great impact on the internal situation of the empire. This is clearly seen when one observes that all pretenders and rebels, seeking to gain imperial power in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, derived almost exclusively from the Komnenos "clan"<sup>7</sup>. The existence of such group allowed to rule the state like a family property, but also posed a serious threat, since as Kinnamos and Choniates remarks, claims to power could have been inherited<sup>8</sup>. In a country like Byzantium, without clear rules for inheriting power, the greater the number of potential contenders, the harder it was to maintain stability. If one take into account the clear disparity in the number of revolts for the period 1100–1180 and

<sup>4</sup> R. MACRIDES, *Dynastic Marriages and Political Kinship*, [in:] *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. SHEPARD, S. FRANKLIN, Aldershot 1992 [= SPBSP, 1], p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204. A Political History*, London–New York 1997, p. 148; *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, III, 4, 3, vol. I, rec. D.R. REINSCH, A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin 2001 [= CFHB.SBe, 40] (cetera: KOMNENE), p. 96.

<sup>6</sup> On late 12<sup>th</sup> century crisis see especially: *Byzantium 1180–1204. "The Sad Quarter of a Century?"*, ed. A. SIMPSON, Athens 2015; C.M. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts the West 1180–1204*, Cambridge Mass. 1968.

<sup>7</sup> P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2004, p. 276–277.

<sup>8</sup> *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, rec. A. MEINEKE, Bonnae 1836 [= CSHB, 23.1] (cetera: KINNAMOS), p. 53–54; *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, vol. I, rec. I.A. VAN DIETEN, Berolini 1975 [= CFHB, 11] (cetera: CHONIATES), p. 280.

1180–1204<sup>9</sup>, it leads to a fairly obvious conclusion: the reliance on blood-related aristocratic group was helpful in maintaining the dominance of the dynasty, only if the emperor possessed the indisputable position of the head of the family. The position that was successfully achieved by Alexios I, Ioannes II and Manuel I, and was never reached by Andronikos I and the Angelos dynasty. Failure in this scenario meant that this cluster of rich and influential aristocrats of imperial family origin, could become the main source of potential contenders and subversive element undermining the imperial authority. The more numerous this group was the more danger it posed.

Relations between the authorities and the aristocracy in the 12<sup>th</sup> century have already been the subject of much research<sup>10</sup>. However, so far, no one approached the issue of the internal composition of the Komnenian aristocratic elites basing on available prosopographic data. This article is the result of working with such contributions and an attempt to use basic descriptive statistics in order to present the internal composition and transformations occurring in the Komnenos "clan", and show the impact of these on the Byzantine Empire situation. Certainly, such study, based on somewhat incomplete data can stir some controversy and arise the questions of verifiability or justifiability. After all, statistics requires precision and information about some more or less obscure aristocratic families in the medieval period, are anything but precise. Being well aware of the limitations of this kind, I would like to point out two attributes of this work:

First, the primary goal of juxtaposing statistics and prosopography of the aristocracy, is only to show some important general trends, that can be observed inside the "clan" structure even with available limited data. Although some numbers are bound to appear, the purpose of this study is not to give specific and precise values regarding the aristocratic families, as it is undeniably impossible due to limited amount of source information. Therefore, values presented later on, with the help of which the composition of the "clan" will be examined, should be treated as an approximations.

Secondly, the current state of research and coverage of the Byzantine aristocracy in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, in particular the Komnenos "clan", is relatively extensive. The early years of the dynasty are especially well described. It is no surprise. During the Alexios' reign, his "clan" was still a small group, counting no more than

<sup>9</sup> According to Cheynet's list of revolts, cf. J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Paris 1990, p. 90–145.

<sup>10</sup> The bibliography on relations between aristocracy and power in the 12<sup>th</sup> century is very extensive. Here are some of the most notable works that are important from the perspective of the Komnenos dynasty: J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*; *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. ANGOLD, Oxford 1984; А.П. Каждан, *Социальный состав господствующего класса Византии XI–XII вв.* Москва 1974; P. MAGDALINO, *Court Society and Aristocracy*, [in:] *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J.F. HALDON, Chichester 2009, p. 212–232; *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. P. ARMSTRONG, Farnham 2013.

20 members at best, so all of its members could have been described in one source or another. As this group grew over time, certain family branches disappeared from narratives. Most of them only partially, but some completely. Yet it is still possible to trace down most of them, so it can be safely concluded that majority of the people who formed the “clan” are known. The evidence of this is that until at least 1180, there are rarely aristocrats, at least among this elite group of emperor’s relatives, who could not be identified and located in the family tree. The situation changes at the turn of the century. The lack of complete information, especially in the case of families related to the Komnenoi by affinity, means that their number may be underestimated. A good example is the summed number of sons of both *mega doux* Andronikos Kontostephanos and Andronikos Doukas Angelos, who according to Choniates had 16 sons in total<sup>11</sup>. It is possible to identify 11 of them, the rest remains unknown<sup>12</sup>. The resulting hypothetical higher number of aristocrats is by no means an obstacle, in fact it can even further confirm the conclusions, as it will be evident later. The research sample is therefore reliable and sufficient to form some general conclusions. Its partial incompleteness is nothing uncommon for a historian, as neither historical source material fully reflects the past reality.

As of today, there are different approaches to how the Komnenos “clan” was structured. Perhaps the most comprehensive stratification was presented by Lucien Stiernon, where he used the title hierarchy as a key to this distinction<sup>13</sup>. This study will be however focused on genealogy rather than court dignities. From that perspective, different levels of kinship function as conditions that specify the position of any aristocrat within the described group. Genealogical relations are far less susceptible to changes over a span of one century and allow for a more credible structuring than non-hereditary and prone to change, titles and dignities. From that point of view, there are two most important attributes of the Komnenos “clan” that needs to be examined before presenting the results. These are: elitism and heterogeneity.

The elitism manifested itself within the clearly defined boundaries, differentiating the elevated status of this group clearly from the rest of the society. The line that divided those belonging to the “clan” and those outside from it, is so clear that the whole Byzantine aristocracy in the 12<sup>th</sup> century can be divided into two categories: the elite, that is part of the Komnenos “clan” and the remaining “second class” aristocracy, excluded from the benefits of special status at the imperial court<sup>14</sup>. The first of these groups completely dominated the military offices, exercising virtually full control over the country’s armed force, thus preventing outsiders from gaining

<sup>11</sup> CHONIATES, p. 266.

<sup>12</sup> Κ. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. II, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, p. 289.

<sup>13</sup> L. STIERNON, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et Gambros*, REB 23, 1965, p. 222–243.

<sup>14</sup> A. CATANZARO, *The Political Problem of Internal “ἀσφάλεια” in Niketas Choniates’ Chronikè Diéghesis: a Contributing Factor to the Constantinople’s Fall in 1204*, ΒΣυμ 22, 2013, p. 234.

influence in a significant part of the army, which undermined any plans of potential pretenders from outer ranks of the aristocracy. An important element of the status of the "clan" aristocrats was also the wealth and possessions gathered in their hands<sup>15</sup>. In addition to material goods, their special position was also manifested in aforementioned very specific titles reserved only for this group. Their hierarchy was closely related to the degree of consanguinity with the ruling family<sup>16</sup>. This was in line with the trend characteristic of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine society, in which good birth (Εὐγένεια) played a very important role in the development of the aristocratic family identity<sup>17</sup>. This group of the most influential dignitaries was clearly separated from the rest of society not only by their material status and titles. It was the bond of kinship with the ruling dynasty that made them special. The only way to join this circle was through marriage. This greatly limited social mobility in the state and hindered (though not entirely) particularly merited individuals from joining the ranks of aristocracy. On the other hand, such limitations allowed to reduce number of people who could have a real impact on the state's policy and the position of the emperor. By connecting family relations with the apparatus of power, the emperor theoretically could exercise direct control over the process of accession into the elites.

The so called "second class" aristocracy consisted of many influential and wealthy people, often from known and distinguished families, but clearly separated from the ruling "clan". This does not mean that they were irrelevant. On the contrary, one can find very influential individuals and even whole families within this group, who as a result of their actions could later have the privilege of joining the elite circle of the Komnenos "clan", as happened with the family of Kamytzes or Branas<sup>18</sup>. Apart from these few people, who through marriage managed to advance in the social hierarchy, most of this group was effectively cut off from attempts to usurp the throne. In fact, the only rebels who came from this group in the 12<sup>th</sup> century were separatists, focused on forming local dominions, restricted to usually one major city and surrounding region<sup>19</sup>. It is from this group that the Bulgarian

<sup>15</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Byzantine Aristocratic oikos*, [in:] *The Byzantine Aristocracy...*, p. 95.

<sup>16</sup> B. HILL, *Alexios I Komnenos and the Imperial Women*, [in:] *Alexios I Komnenos...*, p. 40.

<sup>17</sup> А.П. КАЖДАН, *Социальный...*, p. 37–38.

<sup>18</sup> The Kamytzes family entered the circle of "clan" aristocratic elite through the marriage of Konstantinos Kamytzes and Maria Angelina Komnene, cf. THEODOROS PRODROMOS, *Historische Gedichte*, LXIV, rec. W. HÖRANDNER, Wien 1974 [= WBS, 11] (cetera: PRODROMOS), p. 498. The Kamytzes family was quite distinguished before, this is proved by *proedros* and *chartularios tou staulou* Eustathios Kamytzes who appears on the list of participants of the Blachernai synod in 1094, cf. P. GAUTIER, *Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Etude prosopographique*, REB 29, 1971, p. 218. The Branas family belonged to the provincial aristocracy originating in Adrianople. Although Alexios Branas was connected with the Isaakios Komnenos (brother of Alexios I) line through his maternal line, it wasn't until his marriage with Anna Komnene Vatatzaina that his family became part of the Komnenos "clan", cf. K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 396.

<sup>19</sup> P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan...*, p. 279.

Asenid dynasty and such people as Theodoros Gabras<sup>20</sup>, or Theodoros Mangaphas come from<sup>21</sup>. Determining the composition and number of aristocrats belonging to this part of society is probably impossible. Two basic problems prevent this group from being thoroughly examined. First, Byzantine society was characterized by its lack of strict social hierarchy, comparable to these in the Western Europe<sup>22</sup>. The aristocracy was not a legally defined entity. Belonging to this group was also not completely hereditary, although the role of ancestry and *eugeneia*, certainly played an increasingly significant role as the time gone. Secondly, we do not have a sufficient number of sources, that would allow us to reconstruct the composition of this group. However, it seems very likely that this minor aristocracy constituted the majority outside of Constantinople. It was a very diverse group, where one could find wealthy and influential local governors, administrative officials, all sorts of parvenus, as well as those from the impoverished families, who lost their significance after the Komnenoi came to power.

Blood relations with the imperial family became in the 12<sup>th</sup> century the fundamental defining element of the elite social position of some aristocratic families. Parallel to this, there was also the aforementioned system of court titles devised by Alexios I. However, despite its clear hierarchy and strict rules to which it was subjected, it is not a fully reliable indicator of whether someone belong to the Komnenos “clan” or not. The titles derived from the *sebastos* rank could sometimes be given to people outside the circle of the closest related aristocrats. The Venetian Doge Domenico Silvio was granted the title of *protosebastos* in exchange for help in the Byzantine-Norman war at the beginning of Alexios I rule<sup>23</sup>. His wife Theodora Doukas was the daughter of Konstantinos X Doukas, so that made Alexios and Domenico distantly related<sup>24</sup>. But the title of *protosebastos*, being higher on the ladder than the normal *sebastos*, was usually reserved for someone from the closer family like Adrianos Komnenos brother of Alexios I or the sons of Andronikos Komnenos brother of Manuel I<sup>25</sup>. It is also not uncommon to encounter some aristocrats, that despite being among the closest relatives of the imperial family, either did not use them or it is unknown if they even received them. A good example is Andronikos Angelos Doukas, son of Konstantinos Angelos and Theodora Komnene daughter of Alexios I<sup>26</sup>. None of the available sources indicate that he

<sup>20</sup> Later, one branch of the Gabrades also entered the “clan” through marriage of Michael Gabras and Eudokia Komnene one of the granddaughters of Alexios I, cf. CHONIATES, p. 75.

<sup>21</sup> Neither Asenid nor Mangaphas family were related in any way to the Komnenoi by the late 1180s.

<sup>22</sup> A. KAZHDAN, G. CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies*, Washington D.C. 1982, p. 25; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 249.

<sup>23</sup> KOMNENE, VI, 5, 10, p. 178.

<sup>24</sup> D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London 1968, p. 54.

<sup>25</sup> *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae historiarum libri XVIII, libri XIII–XVIII*, XVIII, 21, 8, vol. III, rec. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonnæ 1897 [= CSHB, 31] (cetera: ZONARAS), p. 732; KINNAMOS, p. 126.

<sup>26</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 656–662.

received any of the honorary titles. Obviously this does not prove that he wasn't gifted one. As a distinguished member of the Komnenos “clan”, that was on the lead of the embassy to king Baldouin IV, and one of the participants of the Battle of Myriokephalon, he certainly was an important figure at the court<sup>27</sup>. There is no doubt that he received the title of *sebastos* or was called *gambros*, as a cousin of Manuel I but there are no proven records of that.

The unreliability of official titles as a marker of the “clan's” border becomes even more evident from the half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. As Paul Magdalino noted, the official titlature was given less attention later on than the level of kinship. He referenced the synodal lists of participants, where one can observe the omission of the titles, in favour of plain description of the genealogical relation to the emperor<sup>28</sup>. The latter are also a common sight on lead seals<sup>29</sup>. If it is noticeable under the Manuel rule it becomes striking after his death. The hierarchy of court titles from 1180 onward seems quite chaotic. Lavish politics of Alexios III, who apparently was granting the title of *sebastos* to people outside of the aristocracy is only one side of the problem<sup>30</sup>. Together with the expansion of the number of aristocrats belonging to the “clan”, the titles value was inflated. It seems that by the end of 12<sup>th</sup> century only those of *kaisar* and *sebastokrator* retained its exceptional value<sup>31</sup>. The lower titles granted usually to the emperor's sons-in-law are harder to trace, although they were probably still in use by the end of the century, as there exist a seal of Leon Sgouros, where he uses the title of *sebastohypertatos*<sup>32</sup>, probably granted to him after he married Eudokia, one of the daughters of Alexios III<sup>33</sup>.

When the titles lost most of its splendour, it was genealogy, that became gradually more important as a determinant of the position in aristocratic elites<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> CHONIATES, p. 180; F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, vol. II, *Regesten von 1025–1204*, München 1995, p. 271.

<sup>28</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire...*, p. 183.

<sup>29</sup> A.A. VOLKOFF, *Power, Family, and Identity: Social and Personal Elements in Byzantine Sigillography*, [in:] *A Companion to Seals in the Middle Ages*, ed. L. WHATLEY, Leiden–Boston 2019 [= RMS, 2], p. 231–232.

<sup>30</sup> Alexios III lavish policy is only a part of the titles inflation problem, that can be traced way into Manuel I reign, cf. CHONIATES, p. 484; L. STIERNON, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et Gambros...*, p. 228.

<sup>31</sup> Both were granted only to emperor's closest kin, cf. K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 806.

<sup>32</sup> <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/1942/> [20 IV 2020].

<sup>33</sup> CHONIATES, p. 608.

<sup>34</sup> It's especially visible in poems of Theodoros Prodromos who in many occasions stresses the value of *eugeneia*, cf. PRODROMOS, I, XVIII, XLIV, p. 181, 303, 406. It's also strikingly apparent in Nikephoros Bryennios work, cf. *Nicéphore Bryennio Histoire*, Préface, 5; Préface, 9; IV, 26, rec. P. GAUTIER, Bruxelles 1975 [= CFHB, 9] (cetera: BRYENNIOS), p. 57, 67, 295. The art also served as a medium for aristocrats to demonstrate their noble origins, cf. N. OIKONOMIDES, *Pictorial Propaganda in XII<sup>th</sup> c. Constantinople*, [in:] *Society, Culture and Politics in Byzantium*, ed. E. ZACHARIADOU, Aldershot 2005, p. 97; I. SINKEVIĆ, *Alexios Angelos Komnenos, a Patron without History?*, Ges 35, 1996, p. 34; L. KALLIRROE, *Imperial Impersonations: Disguised Portraits of a Komnenian Prince and his Fa-*

Ancestry was more important than non-heritable court dignities, so affiliation with the imperial Komnenos *genos* was the condition of belonging to the elite. Every *genos* had its progenitor, so another question that will help to define the statistical sample is: which of the noble imperial ancestors should be regarded, as the root (ρίζη) of the imperial “clan”? That won’t be Isaakios I Komnenos. Surely he played an important role in raising the status of the Komnenos family before 1081, but he is not a common ancestor for later families belonging to the “clan”<sup>35</sup>. The main line from this perspective follows his brother Ioannes Komnenos father of Alexios I and all his brothers and sisters that were the progenitors of all later elite aristocratic branches<sup>36</sup>. The line of *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos for example, despite not being the imperial one, still remain one of the most distinguished and noble ones. It is visible in the way that the ancestry of certain Andronikos and Ioannes Kontostephanoi is glorified. Their mother – Theodora was from renowned Komnenoi (Κομνηνῶν εὐκλεοῦς ἔφυν γένους). She was one of the granddaughters of *sebastokrator* and her lack of direct connection with the imperial line doesn’t seem to diminish her position<sup>37</sup>. It appears that not only the descendants of Alexios I were the heirs of his glory (and claims), but also his siblings and their children. That’s why in this study all of the descendants of Ioannes Komnenos are being considered and not only those coming directly from the imperial line.

It is now necessary to focus on the crucial for this study second attribute of the Komnenos “clan”, its internal heterogeneity. Looking through the genealogy of some family lines connected with the dynasty, one immediately encounter various aristocratic surnames: Angelos, Kontostephanos, Vatazes, Axouch, Dalassenos, Bryennios and many others. The Komnenos family, although the most revered one and in hold of the power, was only the central part of a much bigger structure. The “clan” was not a monolith. Other aristocrats related to the emperors came from different families, with their own alliances, interests and animosities and usually they retained their independent family awareness<sup>38</sup>. At the same time, however, they didn’t shun from using proudly the Komnenos or Doukas surnames, if there was something to gain from this<sup>39</sup>. The abandonment of the paternal surname in favour of the more illustrious one of maternal ancestor was one of the

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ther, [in:] *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium. In the Shadow of Father and Son*, ed. A. BUCOSI, A. RODRÍGUEZ SUÁREZ, London–New York 2016, p. 156–157.

<sup>35</sup> Isaakios I Komnenos short reign was enough to legitimize claims of Alexios I, but he is rarely mentioned outside of this context in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, cf. BRYENNIOS, Préface, 5, p. 57.

<sup>36</sup> Every Komnenos branch of the 12<sup>th</sup> century traces back to Ioannes Komnenos eight children, cf. BRYENNIOS, I, 2, p. 77–79; K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 877.

<sup>37</sup> *Εἰς τὰ φων του Κοντοστεφάνου*, [in:] *Spicilegium Prodromeum*, rec. L. STERNBACH, Cracovia 1904, p. 32.

<sup>38</sup> N. LEIDHOLM, *Elite Byzantine...*, p. 159.

<sup>39</sup> L. STIERNON, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. A propos de trois membres de la famille Rogerios (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, REB 22, 1964, p. 196.

ways of manipulating the reputation of the family, its prestige and identity<sup>40</sup>. It is noticeable both among those that did not have a rich history before joining the “clan” and those who were already at the moment of connection with the dynasty from well established lineages. Bryennioi for example were proud of their most esteemed ancestry going back as far as the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41</sup>. Their connection to the Komnenoi through the marriage of Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnene was only an addition to already rich history of the family, yet their descendants still favoured the use of the imperial surname. The opposite was true regarding the Angeloi, who were a completely unremarkable family before their connection with the imperial dynasty<sup>42</sup>. The offspring of Konstantinos Angelos was higher in the social hierarchy than earlier generations, but still used their patrilinear surname. Benefits of the marriages with the imperial dynasty were most likely limited only to the spouse and his children. This could cause an internal division inside one family. Good example of that is the case of Vatatzoi. Theodoros Vatatzes’ descendants belonged to the “clan”, and were proud of their dual ancestry, which they manifested by using both Komnenos and Vatatzes surname<sup>43</sup>. There was however also Basileios Vatatzes who shared the same surname, and probably was somehow related to Theodoros, but was not a part of his eminent line. It is proved by Nike-tas Choniates’ description, who writes that he was from undistinguished family, despite previous connections of alternative Vatatzes line with the emperor’s kins<sup>44</sup>. It shows that some families were integrated into the “clan” only partially. Those who were included celebrated their roots by adopting imperial surnames. This common practice of collecting, replacing or using them interchangeably was addressed by Donald Nicol, and can be confusing for an inexperienced historian<sup>45</sup>.

Sources leave somewhat contradictory information when it comes to distinguishing individual families within the broader Komnenos “clan”. Isaakios II and Alexios III are described at one point by Choniates as the “Angeloi brothers” (οἱ Ἀγγελώνυμοι κασίγνητοι)<sup>46</sup>. But when the latter was rejected by the citizens of Constantinople, the Byzantine historian describes the reason for that noting: “[the people] didn’t want to be ruled by a Komnenos”<sup>47</sup>. Thus it is implied that

<sup>40</sup> N. LEIDHOLM, *Elite Byzantine...*, p. 124–126.

<sup>41</sup> L. NEVILLE, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios*, Cambridge 2012, p. 15.

<sup>42</sup> CHONIATES, p. 55.

<sup>43</sup> Although they certainly preferred to highlight their connection with the Komnenoi, and as such this name appears as first on most of their seals, cf. <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/3874/> [20 IV 2020]; <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/3038/> [20 IV 2020]; <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/3039/> [20 IV 2020].

<sup>44</sup> CHONIATES, p. 400, 182, 193.

<sup>45</sup> D. NICOL, *The Prosopography of the Byzantine Aristocracy*, [in:] *The Byzantine Aristocracy...*, p. 81.

<sup>46</sup> CHONIATES, p. 538.

<sup>47</sup> CHONIATES, p. 456.

Alexios III was treated as a member of the Komnenos family. It is known that he started to use this imperial surname upon dethronement of his brother, but was that enough to suddenly change his identity in the eyes of the empire's population? Unlikely. It seems that he was treated by Niketas Choniates, as having mixed descent, part Angelos, part Komnenos, as evidenced by the interchangeable use of both surnames in his orations<sup>48</sup>. Eustathios of Thessalonika also differentiates the Angelos family from the Komnenoi, even if only because he wanted to underline this difference in order to strengthen the claims of Isaakios II<sup>49</sup>. Alexios III even as emperor sometimes used his paternal surname on his seals and they prove that he clearly was aware, that he belonged only to one of the matrilineal branches of the imperial family<sup>50</sup>.

It is clear that, the Byzantines accurately distinguished kinship and affinity or connection by marriage, as well as kinship through paternal or maternal ancestors. Their awareness in this regard was quite clear, despite the fact that there was a certain, legally unrestricted freedom in terms of shaping the family identity, very different from the most of Western European aristocracy. This is evident in the descriptions of the origin of some people found in the 12<sup>th</sup> century sources. Nikephoros Bryennios, who in his "Ἰστορία" puts so much importance to the value of *eugenia*, precisely distinguishes paternal and maternal line. When he describes the wife of Andronikos Doukas, he indicates that from her father's side (πατρώθεν) she was connected to the Bulgarian tsar Samuel and from her mother's side (μητρóθεν) she came from famous and rich Kontostephanoi, Aballantes and Phokas families<sup>51</sup>. This example, which is one of many similar in the 12<sup>th</sup> century sources, illustrates the division that can be translated into the Komnenos "clan"<sup>52</sup>.

Within this group there was a central line of aristocrats who belonged to the Komnenos family through their paternal side. In other words they can be described as the "core" of the "clan". All of power disputes in the period between 1100 and 1185 concentrated around them. The first date marks the moment when other families were finally defeated after many rebellions and plots during the first twenty years of Alexios' I rule. It is around this time that the rebellion of Michael

<sup>48</sup> Niketas Choniates uses surnames of and alludes to both families when writing about Alexios III, cf. *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, rec. I.A. VAN DIETEN, Berolini 1972 [= *CFHB*, 3], p. 53, 101, 105, 130; The problem of mixed descent and the familial identity still requires further research. See some remarks on the problem: N. LEIDHOLM, *Elite Byzantine...*, p. 103–106.

<sup>49</sup> Eustathios uses the word *genos* towards the Angelos family, indicating that he clearly differentiates them from *genos* of the Komnenoi, cf. 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. 33.

<sup>50</sup> <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/2971/> [20 IV 2020]; <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/86/> [20 IV 2020].

<sup>51</sup> BRYENNIOS, p. 219.

<sup>52</sup> About the issue of certain priority of paternal descent, cf. N. LEIDHOLM, *Elite Byzantine...*, p. 106–109.

Anemas happened, which was the last conspiracy in this period openly aimed at overthrowing the ruler, whose participants came from outside of the circles of the Komnenos “clan”<sup>53</sup>. The ending date is the rebellion of Isaakios II Angelos, who was the first usurper connected with the Komnenoi only indirectly, through his paternal grandmother. Within this period all conspiracies and rebellions which purpose was to seize power in Constantinople were initiated (or supported) by aristocrats who belonged to the “core” of the “clan”, so to the already mentioned direct male line of the imperial dynasty<sup>54</sup>. The plots of emperor’s sons-in-law like Nikephoros Bryennios or Ioannes Roger Dalassenos do not deny that. Admittedly, in the case of their victory they would sit on the throne and perhaps establish their own dynasties, but in the first place their claims were based on their connection by marriage (κῆδος) with the imperial dynasty<sup>55</sup>. Such a situation, in which a woman is the element through which claims are transmitted, is nothing new and occurs in both the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>56</sup>. The marriage with a princess was an element ennobling the family of aristocrats who entered into such a relationship, but allowed also to legitimize claims in certain situations. A good example is Ioannes III Doukas Vatatzes who may have been not a person of imperial origin, but after his marriage with one of the Theodoros’ I daughters, he could claim the throne, on behalf of his wife<sup>57</sup>.

Another attribute of this “core” of the Komnenos “clan”, directly connected to the aforementioned division into paternal and maternal lines, is the way in which surnames function among this group. Although surnames as it was described earlier, can be unreliable as an indicator, there are some aspects of them that can prove helpful while dealing with the internal structure of the “clan”. The “core” aristocrats almost exclusively use only a single surname – Komnenos. The adoption of surnames from the maternal side is virtually nonexistent in this group. Alexios I Komnenos is nowhere referred to as Alexios Komnenos Dalassenos, also none of his descendants use the surname of Anna Dalassene. This seems

<sup>53</sup> The conspirators cooperating with Michael Anemas were from senator elites and military aristocracy not connected with the Komnenoi, cf. KOMNENE, XII, 5, 4, p. 372.

<sup>54</sup> J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 100–119. All of the rebellions that were targeted at achieving the imperial power were either initialized by the “core” Komnenoi (or husbands of such as it is with the cases of Alexios Axouch or Ioannes Roger Dalassenos), or supporting one of its members (i.e. Theodoros Stypeiotes or Ioannes Vatatzes Komnenos rebellions). The rebellion of Isaakios Angelos was the first one that broke the monopoly of imperial power for the male descendants of Alexios I.

<sup>55</sup> Affinity (κῆδος) was enough to put forward claims. It was a quality stressed out by contenders during Manuel I succession, cf. CHONIATES, p. 46.

<sup>56</sup> Perhaps the most known example of such legitimization are the emperors-husbands of the last scions of the Macedonian Dynasty between 1028 and 1056.

<sup>57</sup> Although such a succession was apparently heavily contested as it is evident from the rebellions of Theodoros’ I Laskaris brothers Alexios and Isaakios, cf. *Georgii Acropolitae Annales*, 19, 22, [in:] *Constantinus Manasses, Ioel, Georgius Acropolita*, rec. I. BEKKERUS, Bonnae 1837 [= CSHB, 6], p. 35, 37–39.

reasonable. If the surnames were a vital element of the family identity and served as a means of emphasizing the status of given aristocrat, then there was no reason for the descendants of Ioannes Komnenos and Anna Dalassene to took the surname of the latter. The direct descent from the Komnenos imperial family had a value incomparable to the one coming from the Dalassenos origin. If there is a different name used by the “core” group of aristocrats it’s the one of Doukas, because this family, that also exercised imperial power in its time, had the same high value<sup>58</sup>.

The part of the Komnenos “clan”, which consists of aristocracy that is associated with the dynasty only through the maternal line, is the second group that needs clarification. First of all, it consists of various aristocratic families, which through marriage at some point entered the structure of the “clan”. Since the most important element connecting such families with the Komnenoi is the marriage, hence it also seems to be the most appropriate to refer to this group as affine families. Unlike the “core”, it is a group that, while holding the highest positions in the state and receiving highest dignities, is somewhat in the shadow of the main Komnenos line throughout the whole period up to Andronikos I. This subordination to the ruling dynasty is evidenced by the fact, that no candidate to the throne came from this group, until the weakening of the Komnenos family, and the takeover of the Angeloi<sup>59</sup>. For the purposes of this study and because of the greater degree of inaccuracy in available information on these affine families, this group is treated as one entity. This does not mean that it functioned as single block, with the same goals and shared family identity. Rather it only means that it can be regarded as a counterweight to the “core” of the “clan”, as a source of potential contenders for power, in the case of absence of suitable candidates from among the imperial dynasty.

Surnames in the affine group functions quite differently than in the “core”. Double or interchangeable surnames are common occurrence<sup>60</sup>. As it was already presented in the example of the Vatatzes family, children who had mother from the imperial dynasty, often used the Komnenos surname while also adding their paternal one. In some cases, the paternal aristocratic surname could be replaced completely. Such was the case among the descendants of Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnene, who identified themselves as Komnenoi and Doukai rather than Bryennioi<sup>61</sup>. The Angelos family, in turn, is characterized by the completely free use of the Angelos, Doukas and Komnenos surnames<sup>62</sup>. On one hand, this

<sup>58</sup> Theodoros Prodromos defines them as “divine kins” (θεία γένη), cf. PRODROMOS, XIV, p. 269.

<sup>59</sup> See note 54.

<sup>60</sup> D. NICOL, *The Prosopography...*, p. 80–81.

<sup>61</sup> *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, vol. I, ed. J. THOMAS, A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO, Washington D.C. 2000 [= DOS, 35], p. 701; CHONIATES, p. 94; KINNAMOS, p. 128.

<sup>62</sup> CHONIATES, p. 459. Perhaps the best example of this is the first ruler of Epiros – Michael who was described, depending on source, as either Angelos, Komnenos or Doukas, cf. D. NICOL, *The Prosopography...*, p. 82.

proves that in many cases the family identity was not completely lost after merging with the imperial family. On the other hand, it shows a subtle inferiority of these related families, whose members were adding or replacing their paternal surnames, in order to raise their authority.

To sum up this fundamental division. The Komnenos “clan” in this study is understood as consisted of two groups:

– The “core”

This group included all female (excluding their partners and offspring) and male descendants of Ioannes Komnenos, brother of Isaakios I Komnenos. They constituted the central group that exercised power in the Byzantine Empire between 1081 and 1185.

– Affine families

These were the descendants of all female aristocrats belonging to the “core” in the first generation and each subsequent. Their male lineage originated from various aristocratic families. They exercised power from 1185 until the end of the state.

Having established this internal division, it is also necessary to address some other methodological issues regarding this study. The extensive prosopographic material, which has been developed over the years and is still being expanded is invaluable in such research. The monumental work of Konstantinos Varzos still remains the basis for the genealogy of the Komnenos family. It describes in detail all of its members from the first generation (end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century) to the seventh generation (end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>63</sup>. Other generations were included in the list where all known aristocrats from the Komnenos family and related families are listed, up to the twelfth generation (15<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>64</sup>. The author makes no distinction in his genealogy between patrilineal and matrilineal lines, including all descendants of the oldest common ancestor (Isaakios Komnenos father of Manuel Erotikos Komnenos) regardless of their surnames. Thanks to this, the work contains both the aforementioned “core” of the “clan”, as well as the affine families.

Other prosopographic contributions are also helpful. The work of Demetrios Polemis about the Doukas family, serves as an additional source of information<sup>65</sup>. There are also some amount of contributions regarding other lesser families, which were closely connected with the Komnenos dynasty<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 34.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 877–895.

<sup>65</sup> D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai...*

<sup>66</sup> D. NICOL, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, Washington 1968 [= DOS, 11]; A. BRYER, *A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades*, c. 979 – c. 1653, [in:] *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, ed. IDEM, London 1980,

The limitations associated with the use of prosopographic data for statistical research were already mentioned at the beginning of the article, but it is worth to highlight some other more specific issues. The degree to which the “core” of the Komnenos “clan” is described is noticeably higher in comparison with the related affine families. This is due to the fact that the Komnenoi are at the centre of the historical narrative of this period, hence they appear in the sources more often than other aristocrats. Even so, among the ruling dynasty there are still some family lines that eventually just cut off. This applies in particular to the families derived from brothers of Alexios I: Isaakios, Adrianos and Nikephoros. By far the best described is the numerous family line of the oldest of them<sup>67</sup>. This is due to the fact, that many of his descendants were connected with known and famous aristocratic families. The granddaughter of *sebastokrator* Isaakios – Maria Komnene married the well-known commander Alexios Branas, while another by the name of Theodora was married to Andronikos Kontostephanos (not *mega doux* of the fleet from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>68</sup>. The families of brothers of Ioannes II and especially Manuel I, are well described. We owe that to many literates of that time, working under the patronage of aristocrats<sup>69</sup>.

Unlike the “core”, other aristocratic families have an uneven degree of description. The Angeloi have quite complete genealogy, which of course is a result of their reign at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>70</sup>. Others, such as Gabrades or Rogerioi Dalassenoi are not so well described<sup>71</sup>. It is impossible to state unequivocally whether this is due to their actual small number or the lack of source information.

The dates of birth and death also deserve some attention. Unfortunately, both are often indeterminable. It is even unsure when some of the emperors were exactly born as it is in the case of Alexios III<sup>72</sup>. Birth dates are a minor issue. If they are

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p. 164–187; A. ΓΚΟΥΤΖΙΟΥΚΟΣΤΑΣ, A.-K. WASSILOU-SEIBT, *The Origin and the Members of the Kamyrtzes Family. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, DOP 72, 2018, p. 169–179; J. NESBITT, *Some Observations about the Roger Family*, NRh 1, 2004, p. 209–217.

<sup>67</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 134–174.

<sup>68</sup> See note 37.

<sup>69</sup> A good examples are a series of four poems dedicated to the family of *sebastokrator* Andronikos Komnenos, brother of Manuel I or Michael Italikos monody on the death of Andronikos brother of Ioannes II, cf. PRODROMOS, XLIV–XLVII, p. 406–434; MICHAEL ITALIKOS, *Μονωδία εις τὸν σεβαστοκράτορα κῦρ Ἀνδρόνικον*, [in:] MICHEL ITALIKOS, *Lettres et discours*, ed. P. GAUTIER, Paris 1972 [= AOC, 14], p. 84–88.

<sup>70</sup> The Angelos family comprise almost 30% of eighth generation described by Konstantinos Varzos, starting from nr. 166 to 190a, cf. K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 882.

<sup>71</sup> Aside from Michael Gabras, second husband of Eudokia Komnene, only their son – Manuel is known. We don't know if the pair had any other children, cf. K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 170. Children of Ioannes Rogerios Dalassenos are scarcely described and their lineages are mostly unknown, cf. *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 135–142.

<sup>72</sup> Alexios III Angelos birth date can only be estimated with accordance to Isaakios II, cf. CHONIATES, p. 452; K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 716.

not specifically stated, they can usually be approximated, with the margin of error rarely exceeding 10 years, which is not a problem for this study and won't radically alter the results. The dates of death are definitely more problematic. Unfortunately, their absence is quite frequent phenomenon in the case of side family lines, which as stated, are less of a focus for historical narrative. The only way out of the situation is to use a risky approximate life expectancy. In order to define it, the sample of 87 aristocrats from the period between 1080 and 1200 was used as a base<sup>73</sup>. These 87 persons included only those with either precisely known life span or those who have no more than 5 years margin in that regard. Since the focus of this study are potential pretenders, those who had not reached puberty were rejected because they would understate the result. This sample gives an average life expectancy of 42.6 years. The median is equal to 42 years and the dominant is 50 years. The results corresponds surprisingly well with previous studies on Byzantine demographics made by Angeliki Laiou who concluded that for 14<sup>th</sup> century peasant society, more than 70% of people would have died before reaching 50 years<sup>74</sup>. For this article, the life expectancy was fixed at 50 years, although the issue certainly requires further research.

Since the purpose of this study is to show the impact of changes in the structure of the "clan" on the imperial authority only those who reached mature age are considered. That is 15 years for boys and 12 for girls<sup>75</sup>. Additionally those who have been blinded or otherwise mutilated, are not counted after their loss of full physical ability. Permanent disability prevented from exercising the power in the empire. Thus, the brothers of Isaakios II Angelos, except for the oldest Alexios, are not counted between 1185 and 1200. Their further activity in the army and court matters remains a fact, but they themselves did not pose a threat to the authorities<sup>76</sup>. Hence, Alexios III Angelos encountered no opposition among his siblings. However it doesn't mean they did not have any influence at the court, on the contrary they willingly took part in discussions regarding the possible heir to the throne, readily putting forward their sons as a candidates, as was the case with Konstantinos Angelos Komnenos<sup>77</sup>.

The examined period covers the years 1080–1200. The division into twenty-year intervals seems reasonable in order to visualize the changes taking place in the structure of the "clan". Denser control points make no sense with the limited

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<sup>73</sup> The sample was constructed using the aristocrats that are listed in the appendix to this article, from whom those with more certain dates of birth and death were chosen.

<sup>74</sup> A. LAIOU, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire. A Social and Demographic Study*, Princeton 1977, p. 296.

<sup>75</sup> C. HENNESSY, *Representations and Roles of Adolescence with a Focus on Apocryphal Imagery*, [in:] *Coming of Age in Byzantium. Adolescence and Society*, ed. D. ARIANTZI, Berlin 2018 [= *Mil.S.* 69], p. 177.

<sup>76</sup> C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts...*, p. 79.

<sup>77</sup> CHONIATES, p. 498.

accuracy of the available data. The exception to this rule is the addition of the year 1185 in order to show the impact of Andronikos' reign over the aristocracy.

The results are presented in the table containing the raw numbers and two graphs. The first graph shows the overall number of aristocrats from the "core" and affine families of the Komnenos "clan". The second one shows only men capable of exercising power at given period.

Table 1

The number of known adult members of the Komnenos "clan", in given periods

	"Core" male	"Core" female	"Core" total	Affine male	Affine female	Affine total
1080	4	4	8	1	1	2
1100	7	7	14	4	1	5
1120	14	16	30	9	6	15
1140	12	19	31	18	12	30
1160	10	18	28	39	19	58
1180	14	16	30	63	25	88
1185	5	11	16	52	23	75
1200	4	8	12	48	20	68

In the early period of the Komnenos dynasty, from 1081 to 1100, the descendants of Alexios I had not yet entered the political scene. This period was a time of consolidation of the power in the hands of the new dynasty and successive removal of threats from other families claimants (among others Nikephoros Diogenes)<sup>78</sup>. Already at that time, the Komnenos family was connected with the Taronitai and Melissenoi<sup>79</sup>. Initially small number of the "clan" members, was doubled during the first twenty years of 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is mostly *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos' family that contributed to this increase<sup>80</sup>. The affine aristocrats remain below the "core".

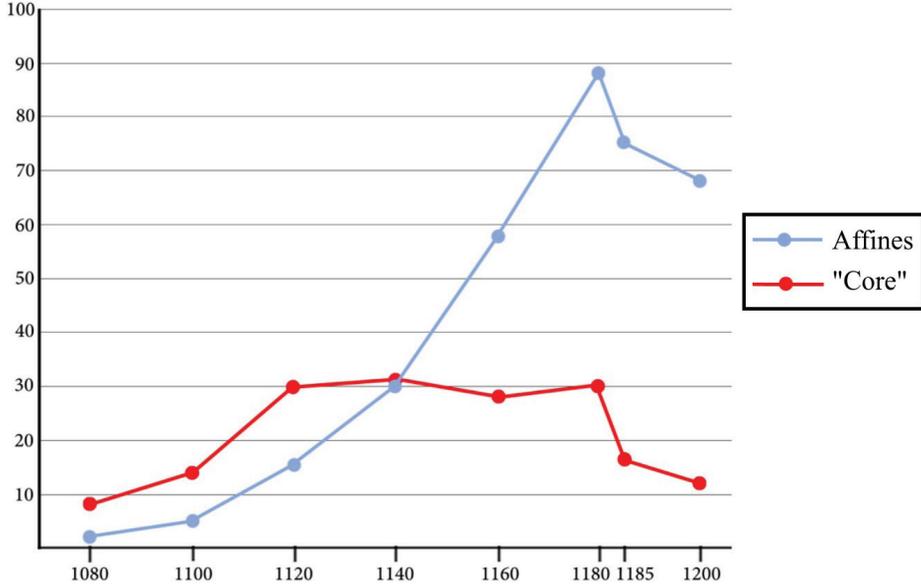
<sup>78</sup> P. FRANKOPAN, *Challenges to Imperial Authority in the Reign of Alexios I Komnenos: the Conspiracy of Nikephoros Diogenes*, Bsl 64, 2006, p. 259.

<sup>79</sup> BRYENNIOS, I, 6, p. 85–86.

<sup>80</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 79.

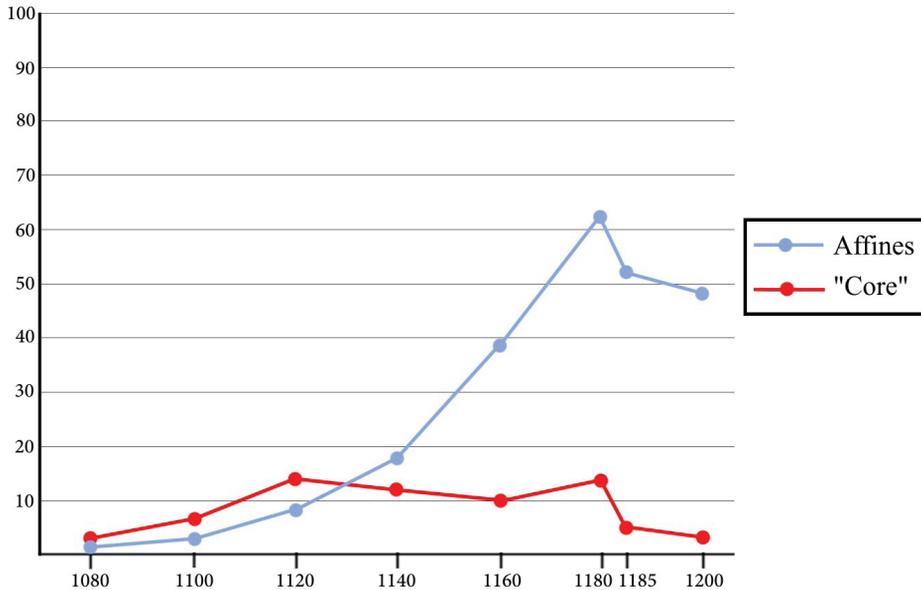
Graph 1

Total number of the "core" and affine aristocrats in the Komnenos "clan"



Graph 2

Number of male "core" and affine aristocrats in the Komnenos "clan"



The period more or less overlapping with the reign of Ioannes II Komnenos, is a time of steady growth and domination of the Komnenos family, whose number oscillates around 30, including 12 to 14 men potentially able to hold the highest military and court offices. Both Alexios I and Ioannes II had quite numerous families, which significantly influenced the growth of the “core”. The first of them had nine children, from which seven survived to adulthood<sup>81</sup>. Alexios’ daughters were married to aristocrats. The emperor’s strategy was to include in the “clan” those aristocrats whose families had military traditions such as the Bryennioi and Katakalonoi-Euphrobanoi<sup>82</sup>. There was also an attempt to integrate Iasites and Kourtikios families. But the marriage of Eudokia Komnene and Michael Iasites quickly ended up with a scandal and divorce<sup>83</sup>. Konstantinos Kourtikios on the other hand died just after marrying Theodora Komnene<sup>84</sup>. Ioannes II continued his father’s policy with more luck. Kontostephanoi, Vatatzoi, Rogerioi-Dalassenoi and Anemai families were integrated into the “clan”<sup>85</sup>. It is noticeable, however, that almost none of the imperial sons married a local aristocrat<sup>86</sup>. It was most likely a deliberate decision, in order to prevent the uncontrolled transfer of property, including primarily land estate, belonging to the Komnenos family to other aristocratic families. It could also be a way of preventing the formation of strong aristocratic parties, which could support such scion of the dynasty as a pretender to the throne<sup>87</sup>. All spouses of *porphyrogennets* from the Komnenos family were princesses from abroad. The consistent dynastic policy of the emperors Alexios and Ioannes II had its effect clearly visible on the charts. By 1140, the distance between the number of affine aristocrats and the “core” has been levelled out and if we count only men the proportions were even slightly inverted. Between 1120 and 1140 the “core” entered the time of stagnation. At that time, however, when the dynasty was at its peak, that was not a concern.

During this period, however, two alarming facts are already visible. The first is the contraction of some collateral lines of the Komnenoi, especially those coming from the brothers of Alexios I. From the numerous family of *sebastokrator* Isaakios,

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 112–113.

<sup>82</sup> J. DUDEK, *Pęknięte Zwierciadło. Kryzys i odbudowa wizerunku władcy bizantyńskiego od 1056 roku do ok. 1095 roku*, Zielona Góra 2009, p. 217.

<sup>83</sup> ZONARAS, XVIII, 22, 29–31, p. 739.

<sup>84</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 259–260.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 349, 380, 399.

<sup>86</sup> This stands in contrast to the marriage policy for the imperial daughters, who were almost exclusively married to local aristocratic families.

<sup>87</sup> Usually land was only given to sons. Theoretically daughters and sons had equal rights of inheritance and could divide their patrimony evenly. However, there was an unwritten rule: imperial daughters were never given any land as a dowry. The state even under the rule of the aristocracy was still treated more as a common wealth rather than emperor’s patrimony. The Komnenoi gifted their daughters only movables and never violated the integrity of the state through the marriage contract, cf. A. LAIOU, *Family Structure and the Transmission of Property*, [in:] *The Social History...*, p. 67.

the only documented male line that survived the entire 12<sup>th</sup> century, are the sons and grandchildren of Konstantinos Komnenos<sup>88</sup>. The lines of Adrianos Komnenos and Nikephoros Komnenos, younger brothers of Alexios I, fade away. It is impossible to say whether they still existed at a later time. Their absence in the sources can imply that they lost relevance, although it cannot be proved. The second factor that negatively affected the position of the family was the tragic death of the two sons of Ioannes II: the original successor Alexios and his brother Andronikos. They both managed to have offspring, but the loss of these significant *porphyrogenets* was a blow to the dynasty<sup>89</sup>.

It is indeed interesting that Manuel’s reign marks the moment when the disproportion between the affine families and the central dynastic line becomes so significant. Many historians agree following Niketas Choniates’ account, that Manuel’s reign foreshadowed future misfortunes<sup>90</sup>. The sudden inversion in proportions within the Komnenos “clan” visible on the table is not entirely Manuel’s fault, but a process that was the result of other factors independent to emperor’s policy. It is partially connected with the premature death of some members of the dynasty that hindered the growth of the family in the middle of 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>91</sup>. In the meantime, the increase in the number of affine aristocrats is progressing exponentially. By 1160, most of the members of the seventh generation (peers of Alexios II) entered adulthood. These were children from marriages with the daughters of Ioannes II and grandchildren of the daughters of Alexios I. 68 of them are known, which is a striking difference in comparison with 19 of the sixth generation and shows how quick was the demographic growth in this group.

The inversion between the “core” of the “clan” and the other families could indeed have been one of the reasons for the growing difficulties in maintaining control over the aristocrats<sup>92</sup>. Manuel I Komnenos is known for his strict policy, which was criticized by the Byzantines<sup>93</sup>. He actively took part in solving issues regarding the seventh degree of consanguinity in marriages, he also tried to exercise control over marriages within the “clan”. That way he could play the role of the undisputed head of the family<sup>94</sup>. Such a policy towards elites could serve as

<sup>88</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 286–291; *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 44–46.

<sup>89</sup> CHONIATES, p. 38.

<sup>90</sup> CHONIATES, p. 203–204; Paul Magdalino gives a thorough review and analysis on why Manuel I was negatively evaluated following Niketas Choniates narrative, cf. P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire...*, p. 4–26.

<sup>91</sup> From the brothers of Manuel I only Andronikos had two legitimate sons that reached adulthood: Ioannes Komnenos who died at the battle of Myriokephalon and infamous *protosebastos* Alexios Komnenos, cf. K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 378–379.

<sup>92</sup> Vlada Stanković suggests that the emperor’s position was contested well into 1150s, due to his lack of heir, cf. V. STANKOVIĆ, *A Generation Gap or Political Enmity Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, Byzantine Intellectuals and the Struggle for Domination in Twelfth Century Byzantium*, ЗРВИ 44, 2007, p. 221.

<sup>93</sup> CHONIATES, p. 60.

<sup>94</sup> M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261*, Cambridge 1995, p. 105–108; P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire...*, p. 205.

the only remedy for the potential threat it posed to the ruling dynastic line. It is clearly visible during the first years of the new emperor's rule, when he wasn't really supported by his family. It is also worth noting that Manuel largely gave up the policy of entering alliances with various aristocratic families through marriages. He was much more interested in building relations with Western dynasties in that way<sup>95</sup>. The engagement of his daughter Maria Komnene with Bela (Alexios), and then the marriage with Renier of Montferrat is a departure from the rules of dynastic policy that characterized his predecessors. Manuel managed to reign in relative internal peace. Apart from the uncertain first years and subversive actions of Andronikos Komnenos, during his long rule, there weren't any significant open revolts. Although the situation at the court was fragile and there was a tension between some family lines.

The upward trend among the affine families continued until the end of Manuel's reign. Looking at the disproportion in 1180, it is clear that the privileged position of the main Komnenos line was maintained only by the authority of the old emperor and the special supreme position of the family. A slight increase that is visible in the period between 1160 and 1180 in the "core" line, results from the advent of the eighth generation, but at the same time it should be noted that it was about three times smaller than the seventh generation. Manuel I had only two legal children. This certainly was a factor that diminished his position as a leader among his relatives. Although the Komnenoi of the eighth generation were not a large family anymore, at 1180 they were still one of the largest families within the "clan", with about 28 members, including 14 men. At the same time, the Angelos family, counted about 17 adult known members<sup>96</sup>.

The short period between 1180 and 1185 constitute a very important turning point in the history of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine Empire. This is the beginning of the total decomposition of the Komnenos "clan"<sup>97</sup>. During that process, the central family lost its position and fell into obscurity. With their decline disappeared the sole element, that held the "clan" as more or less one faction. Individual families started to lose the sense of solidarity towards each other, which until the death of Manuel I was either natural or forced by the emperor's policy. It is immediately apparent just after the succession. The tensions usually suppressed by the ruler, now were brought into light. The process of decomposition can be structured into three steps. The first phase, during which there was an ongoing internal conflict

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<sup>95</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire...*, p. 209; C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts...*, p. 20–21. Not everyone in the court was fond of such policy. The extraordinary marriage between Maria Komnene and Bela (Alexios) was criticized by Andronikos Komnenos and some aristocrats, cf. CHONIATES, p. 137.

<sup>96</sup> Children and grandchildren of Konstantinos Angelos and Theodora Komnene of whom 17 adults are known in 1180.

<sup>97</sup> Alexander Kazhdan proved through his analysis that after Manuel's reign, the Komnenos "clan" began to recede from the highest offices in the state, giving way for other families, cf. А.П. КАЖДАН, *Социальный...*, p. 263.

regarding the regency over the young Alexios II, was concentrated around the closest family of deceased Manuel. The second phase that started with the rebellion of Andronikos widened the internal dispute. Now the struggle for power was including also other Komnenos family lines. But the conflict was still mostly confined to the “core”. Other families were only supporting one or the other side, and weren’t introducing their own candidates yet<sup>98</sup>. With the usurpation of Andronikos, the third phase began as a result of the loss of trust and loyalty towards the current dynasty. This marks the end of the supreme position of the “core”. The Angeloi did not replaced the former dynasty as a new supreme group of rulers. Isaakios II certainly tried to achieve that, but he did not succeed<sup>99</sup>. The question: “which of the noble families should take over the baton after the Komnenoi?” remained open up to the Fourth Crusade.

Each of these conflicts caused further divisions in the internal structure of the “clan” and contributed to its disruption. Eventually it led to the division of the empire between three related family lines after the Latin conquest<sup>100</sup>. The period of regency and reign of Andronikos I Komnenos as it seems is crucial. His self-destructive actions and the bloody end of rule caused the death of many members of the “core” Komnenoi aristocrats, and what’s also important, completely discredited this family and removed it from power. Some member of the family went beyond the Byzantine borders and completely vanished from the political scene of Constantinople<sup>101</sup>. Those who were lucky enough to survive, lost their importance and fell into obscurity, with the only exception to the grandsons of Andronikos – Alexios and David who were the progenitors of the Trebizondian Megas Komnenos dynasty<sup>102</sup>.

The actions of Andronikos I Komnenos had also a great impact on the affine aristocracy as it is visible in the results. The graphs shows a significant decrease at that time. Most of the victims of the tyrant were men, which is understandable. The purge was targeted mostly at potential pretenders. Eustathios of Thessalonika

<sup>98</sup> The rebellions between 1180 and 1183 were generally supporting the rights of Alexios II either against *protosebastos* Alexios (Maria Komnene) or Andronikos Komnenos (Ioannes Vatatzes Komnenos). No alternative candidate to the throne from outside of the Komnenoi appeared during that time, cf. J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 110–116.

<sup>99</sup> The Angeloi were rather unpopular outside of the aristocratic elites. It is clearly visible during the Alexios Branas rebellion when virtually all provinces pledged their loyalty towards the general. Later provincial secessionism proves that even after the victory over Branas, neither Isaakios nor Alexios were commonly accepted as a rulers outside of the capital, cf. CHONIATES, p. 383; C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts...*, p. 82.

<sup>100</sup> Theodoros I Laskaris was connected with the Angeloi through marriage, Michael Komnenos Doukas of Epiros was the illegitimate son of *sebastokrator* Ioannes Doukas paternal uncle of Isaakios II Angelos and Alexios I Megas Komnenos was a grandson of Andronikos I Komnenos, cf. K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 669, 743, 526.

<sup>101</sup> EUSTATHIOS, p. 56–58.

<sup>102</sup> K. JACKSON WILLIAMS, *A Genealogy of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond*, Fou 2.3, 2006, p. 172–173.

and Niketas Choniates after him testify that among the victims were also many noble families, but they provide no specific information on this issue<sup>103</sup>. The lack of detailed source data regarding the composition of the aristocracy at that time is a problem that limits the examination of the exact scope of Andronikos destructive actions. With the exception of specifically described cases of blinded and sentenced to death aristocrats, the information is limited to general statements about the large number of victims. Nevertheless, even available data show that this short and bloody reign affected the “clan”. From its families it is known that the Angeloi suffered much during that time. As a result of their rebellious actions in Anatolia, four sons of Andronikos Angelos Doukas were blinded, leaving only Alexios and Isaakios – the future emperors – in full health<sup>104</sup>. As a result of this turn of events, Isaakios II Angelos while seeking support for his power among his family, had no choice but to rely on his mutilated brothers<sup>105</sup>.

The last 15 years of the 12<sup>th</sup> century is a time of progressive decomposition of the Komnenos “clan”, and further shrinking of its “core” line. After their removal from power, they clearly lost their importance. The only paterilinear descendants of the emperors fully confirmed in the sources are Alexios and David. It is unknown what was their situation before 1200. It is possible that they found asylum at the court of the Georgian monarchs, given their later support from queen Tamar<sup>106</sup>. The Komnenoi from that point on never played an important role at the Constantinopolitan court, but their fame still remained in the memory of people, especially in the provinces. The Angelos dynasty found little to no support outside of the capital. In the constantly endangered valleys of Anatolia, the sentiment towards the former rulers was apparently very strong. Rebellions of “miraculously saved” pseudo Alexios II that originated there are proof of that<sup>107</sup>.

The period of the Angelos dynasty among the affine families of already decomposing “clan”, is a time when many branches break off and disappear from the pages of history. Such is the case with the Axouchoi, who appear for the last time during the rebellion of Ioannes “the fat” Axouch Komnenos<sup>108</sup>. Similarly with Dalassenoi, who suffered during Andronikos rule<sup>109</sup>. All this means that the number of aristocrats from affine families in 1200 is most likely very underestimated. There are no reasons for such a slowdown in demographic growth among the aristocracy of that time. Two explanations seem plausible. First, with the assumption of power by the Angelos dynasty, the centre of the “clan” shifted from the former dynastic line to the new one. As a result of that, some families might have lost its current

<sup>103</sup> EUSTATHIOS, p. 56; CHONIATES, p. 345.

<sup>104</sup> CHONIATES, p. 498.

<sup>105</sup> C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts...*, p. 79.

<sup>106</sup> A. VASILIEV, *The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)*, S 11.1, 1936, p. 9–12.

<sup>107</sup> CHONIATES, p. 421, 462.

<sup>108</sup> CHONIATES, p. 526.

<sup>109</sup> EUSTATHIOS, p. 56.

position while others, favoured by the new emperors, gained power. The text of *Partitio Romaniae* which included the description of lands owned by the largest families during the Fourth Crusade and the corresponding passage of Niketas Choniates, who lists the families that supported Alexios III, could be a hint that the composition of the aristocratic elites changed in comparison with the previous period<sup>110</sup>. Second, the reign of the Angelos dynasty and the period preceding the Latin conquest, has fewer sources that would allow the reconstruction of the genealogy of aristocratic families of that period. The eighth generation that dominates at this time is definitely more sparsely documented. There is no equivalent of Theodoros Prodromos, with his lengthy praises of one’s noble ancestors. There are also no synodal precedence lists, similar to those of the days of Alexios I and Manuel I. As a result, when Niketas Choniates introduces, for example, Alexios Kontostephanos or Alexios V Doukas, their origin is impossible to identify<sup>111</sup>. They certainly belonged to the aristocratic elite having their roots in the Komnenos “clan” as evidenced by their names, but no details about their position in the genealogy of the descendants of Alexios I can be determined. Yet the disproportion between 12 and 68 persons in year 1200 is too big to be a coincidence. It is the evidence of the unforeseen consequences caused by earlier dynastic policy.

To conclude, it should be stressed out that combining genealogy, prosopography and statistics can, at least to some extent, provide some insight into the internal composition of the Komnenos “clan”. This approach is certainly risky and has to be used very cautiously. It cannot provide precise results regarding the composition of individual family branches within the consanguineous group of the Komnenoi. Too far reaching inquiries are likely to fail, because of the lack of complete data. But through using available information as a representative sample in a specific context, it is possible to outline general trends inside the group in question. It is evident from the data that the results can shed some new light on the crisis of the last twenty years of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Alexios I could not predict obviously how will his policy eventually end. The exponential growth of affine aristocratic families along with the marginalization the “core” Komnenos line, that are visible in the results, contributed to the decline of imperial authority. When the dynasty was discredited and nearly destroyed by Andronikos I Komnenos, one of its lesser branches – the Angeloi – came to power. Unlike the previous rulers they never managed to dominate aristocratic elites. Isaakios II Angelos believed that the title of emperor was given to him by the grace of God. But his weak reign, as Choniates points out, encouraged many to follow the same path that he paved, riding to Hagia Sophia after he killed Stephanos Hagiochristophorites and being spontaneously

<sup>110</sup> Some new families of Norman origin like Petraliphas or Raoul appear as supporters of Alexios III, while some older like Melissenoi, Euphrobenoi or Dalassenoi apparently disappear from the narratives. CHONIATES, p. 451; A. CARILE, *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae*, SV 7, 1965, p. 218–219.

<sup>111</sup> CHONIATES, p. 455–456; D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai...*, p. 145–146.

chosen as the new ruler<sup>112</sup>. The adoption by Alexios III of the surname Komnenos did not change the situation. This surname, to which every aristocrat from the former unified “clan” had the right for, did not significantly raise his authority as evidenced from rebellions during his reign. In the end it was the Fourth Crusade that coincidentally, disintegrated the empire, between three related family lines, derived from the same root. Unpredictable processes, like the diminishing of the Komnenos family together with catastrophic events after the death of Manuel I, that both have their imprint in the presented results, are major internal factors of the political crisis of the Byzantine Empire at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Lists of all counted aristocrats**

Two lists annexed below contain all persons that were counted in this study. Since almost all of them are described in Konstantinos Varzos work, they follow the same generational and personal numeration for easier identification. Dates of birth preceded by dash or dates of death followed by it indicate estimation.

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<sup>112</sup> CHONIATES, p. 423.

**"Core" Komnenos descendants of Ioannes Komnenos and Anna Dalassene (1080–1200)**

**Generation 4 (7 persons)**

Maria Komnene 11 (-1047–1136-)  
 Isaakios Komnenos 12 (-1050–1102/4)  
 Eudokia Komnene 13 (-1052–1136-)  
 Teodora Komnene 14 (-1054–1136-)  
 Alexios I Komnenos 15 (-1057–1118)  
 Adrianos Komnenos 16 (-1060–1105)  
 Nikephoros Komnenos 17 (-1062–1136-)

**Generation 5 (23 persons)**

Anna Komnene 19 (-1069–1119-)  
 Ioannes Komnenos 23 (1073–1123-)  
 Anna Komnene 24 (-1075–1125-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 25 (-1077–1127-)  
 Maria Komnene 26 (-1080–1130-)  
 Konstantinos Komnenos 27 (-1085–1147-)  
 Adrianos Komnenos 28 (-1088–1157/64)  
 Sophia Komnene 29 (-1094–1130-)  
 Eudokia Komnene 30 (-1096–1150-)  
 Anna Komnene 32 (1083–1148/55)  
 Maria Komnene 33 (1085–1136-)  
 Ioannes II Komnenos 34 (1087–1143)  
 Andronikos Komnenos 35 (1091–1130/31)  
 Isaakios Komnenos 36 (1093–1152-)  
 Eudokia Komnene 37 (1094–1129-)  
 Teodora Komnene 38 (1096–1136-)  
 Manuel Komnenos 39 (1097–1097)  
 Zoe Komnene 40 (1098–1098)  
 Alexios Komnenos 41 (-1085–1135-)  
 Anna Komnene 42 (-1087–1137-)  
 Anonyma Komnene 43 (-1089–1105-)  
 Anna Komnene 44 (-1085–1135-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 45 (-1087–1137-)

**Generation 6 (27 persons)**

Isaakios Komnenos 49 (-1095–1136-)  
 Andronikos Komnenos 50 (-1100–1136-)  
 Anonym Komnenos 51 (-1105–1136-)  
 Anonym Komnenos 52 (-1110–1136-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 53 (-1115–1136-)

Ioannes Komnenos 55 (-1096–1120/22)  
 Maria Komnene (-1100–1150-)<sup>113</sup>  
 Isaakios Komnenos 56 (-1117–1167-)  
 Stephanos Komnenos 57 (1127/31–1181-)  
 Teodora Komnene 58 (-1110–1160-)  
 Anonyma Komnene 59 (-1115–1165-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 74 (1106/7–1142)  
 Maria Komnene 75 (1106/7–1144/5)  
 Andronikos Komnenos 76 (1108/9–1142)  
 Anna Komnene 77 (-1110–1160-)  
 Isaakios Komnenos 78 (-1113–1154-)  
 Teodora Komnene 79 (-1115–1157-)  
 Eudokia Komnene 80 (-1116–1166-)  
 Manuel I Komnenos 81 (1118–1180)  
 Alexios Komnenos 82 (-1117–1123/4)  
 Ioannes Doukas 83 (-1119–1166-)  
 Maria Komnene (1091–1100-)<sup>114</sup>  
 Ioannes Komnenos 84 (-1112–1162-)<sup>115</sup>  
 Maria Komnene 85 (-1114–1164-)  
 Anna Komnene 86 (-1116–1166-)  
 Andronikos I Komnenos 87 (-1118–1185)  
 Anonyma Komnene Doukas 97 (-1108–1158-)

**Generation 7 (30 persons)**

Irene Komnene (-1125–1175-)<sup>116</sup>  
 Anonyma Komnene 100 (-1118/20–1170-)  
 Konstantinos Komnenos 101 (-1155–1205-)  
 Anonym Komnenos 102 (-1157–1207-)  
 Anonyma Komnenos 103 (-1160–1210-)<sup>117</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Mother of Alexios Branas, cf. K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 396.

<sup>114</sup> Daughter of Andronikos Komnenos 35, probably died at infancy, cf. M. ΚΟΥΡΟΥΠΟΥ, J.-F. VANNIER, *Commémoraisons des Commènes dans le typikon liturgique du monastère du Christ Philanthrope (ms. Panaghia Kamariotissa 29)*, REB 63, 2005, p. 55.

<sup>115</sup> Ioannes Komnenos 84 and his son Suleiman Komnenos are not counted as they were Muslims and lived in the Sultanate of Rum.

<sup>116</sup> Great-granddaughter of *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos 12, cf. K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 436.

<sup>117</sup> Both anonymous 102 and 103 are of unknown gender. I assumed that one was male and other was female.

Maria Komnene 123 (-1125–1167)  
 Ioannes Komnenos 128 (1126–1176)  
 Maria Komnene 129 (1127–1177-)  
 Eudokia Komnene 130 (-1129–1179-)  
 Teodora Komnene 131 (-1132–1183)  
 Alexios Komnenos 132 (-1135–1182-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 137 (-1132–1136)  
 Irene Komnene 138 (-1133–1183-)  
 Ioannes Komnenos 139 (-1134–1136-)  
 Anna Komnene 140 (-1137–1187-)  
 Maria Komnene 141 (-1140–1190-)  
 Teodora Komnene 142 (1145–1185-)  
 Eudokia Komnene 143 (1160/4–1202/4)  
 Maria Komnene 153 (1152–1182)  
 Anna Komnene 154 (1156–1160)  
 Alexios II Komnenos 155 (1168–1183)  
 Alexios Komnenos 156 (-1160–1200-)<sup>118</sup>  
 Alexios Komnenos (-1160–1185-)<sup>119</sup>  
 Anonyma Komnene 157 (-1150–1200-)  
 Anonyma Komnene 157a (-1155–1205-)  
 Manuel Komnenos 161 (1145–1185-)  
 Ioannes Komnenos 162 (1159–1185)  
 Maria Komnene 163 (-1166–1216-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 164 (1170–1199-)  
 Irene Komnene 165 (1171–1221-)

#### Generation 8 (9 persons)

Maria Komnene 211 (-1150–1200-)  
 Teodora Komnene 212 (-1150–1200-)  
 Manuel Komnenos 213 (-1150–1200-)  
 Andronikos Komnenos 219 (-1150–1200-)  
 Irene Komnene 220 (-1150–1200-)  
 Anonym Komnenos 221 (-1150–1200-)  
 Anonyma Komnene 222 (-1150–1200-)  
 Alexios I Megas Komnenos 243 (-1182–1222)  
 David Megas Komnenos 244 (-1184–1212)

#### Materlinear descendants of Ioannes Komnenos and Anna Dalassene (1080–1200)

##### Generation 5 (11 persons)

Anna Taronitissa Komnene 20 (1063/4–1114-)  
 Ioannes Taronites 21 (-1060–1110-)  
 Gregorios Taronites 22 (1075/80–1130-)  
 Ioannes Komnenos 31 (-1070–1120-)  
 Manuel Botaniates 48 (-1090–1140-)  
 Zoe Doukaina Komnene 54 (-1095–1145-)  
 Isaakios Dokeianos 60 (-1109–1127)  
 Irene Dokeianissa Komnene 61 (-1110–1143)  
 Isaakios Komnenos 62 (-1115–1144)  
 Nikephoros Melissenos Komnenos 63 (-1095–1145-)  
 Alexios Melissenos Komnenos 64 (-1100–1150-)

##### Generation 6 (21 persons)

Alexios Komnenos 65 (-1102–1161/7)  
 Ioannes Doukas 66 (-1103–1173-)  
 Irene Doukaina 67 (-1105–1155-)  
 Maria Bryennissa Komnene 68 (1106/8–1158-)  
 Andronikos Komnenos (-1108–1133-)<sup>120</sup>  
 Konstantinos Komnenos (-1108–1133-)<sup>121</sup>  
 Alexios Komnenos 69 (-1102/5–1155-)  
 Andronikos Komnenos 70 (1105/8–1158-)  
 Irene Eufrobene Doukaina Komnene 71 (1101/9–1159-)  
 Anna Eufrobene Komnene 72 (1103/10–1160-)  
 Eudokia Eufrobene Komnene 73 (1104/12–1162-)  
 Anonym Komnenos 88 (-1111–1161-)  
 Anonyma Komnene 89 (-1113–1163-)<sup>122</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Illegitimate son of Manuel I Komnenos, recognized as the emperor's son, blinded by Andronikos I.

<sup>119</sup> Illegitimate son of Manuel I Komnenos known as Alexios "the cupbearer". Not counted after 1185.

<sup>120</sup> Son of Anna Komnene 32, cf. M. KOUROPOU, J.-F. VANNIER, *Commémoraisons...*, p. 49.

<sup>121</sup> Son of Anna Komnene 32, cf. M. KOUROPOU, J.-F. VANNIER, *Commémoraisons...*, p. 50–51.

<sup>122</sup> Both anonymous 88 and 89 are of unknown gender. I assumed that one was a male and the

Ioannes Doukas 90 (1125/7–1200-)  
 Maria Angelina Komnene 91 (1128/30–1180-)  
 Alexios Angelos Komnenos 92 (-1131–1181-)  
 Andronikos Angelos Doukas 93 (-1133–1180-)  
 Eudokia Angelina Komnene 94 (-1134–1184-)  
 Zoe Angelina Komnene 95 (-1135–1185-)  
 Isaakios Angelos Doukas 96 (-1137–1187-)  
 Nikephoros Pakourianos 98 (-1102–1152-)

### Generation 7 (68 persons)

Ioannes Kontostephanos Komnenos 104  
 (-1128–1178-)  
 Anonym Kontostephanos Komnenos 105  
 (-1131–1180-)  
 Alexios Kontostephanos Komnenos 106  
 (-1131–1156)  
 Anonym/-a Kontostephanos Komnenos  
 107 (1132/35–1156)  
 Anonym/-a Dokeianos 108 (-1125–1125-)  
 Theophilaktos Melissenos 109 (-1140–1200-)  
 Michael Melissenos 110 (-1130–1180-)  
 Nikolaos Melissenos 111 (-1130–1180-)  
 David Komnenos 112 (-1135–1201-)  
 Andronikos Komnenos 113 (-1137–1201-)  
 Nikephoros Komnenos 114 (-1125–1144-)  
 Nikephoros Komnenos 115 (-1144–1173)  
 Andronikos Komnenos Doukas 116  
 (-1148–1198-)  
 Alexios Komnenos Doukas 117 (-1150–  
 1200-)  
 Manuel Komnenos 118 (-1160–1210-)  
 Alexios Doukas 119 (-1120–1170-)  
 Nikephoros Eufrobenos Komnenos 120  
 (-1125–1175-)  
 Maria Eufrobene Komnene 121 (-1128–  
 1178-)  
 Anonyma Komnene 122 (1116/25–1153-)  
 Ioannes Bryennios Komnenos Katakalon  
 122a (-1127–1147)  
 Anonym Komnenos 122b (1119/30–1180-)

Andronikos Komnenos 124 (-1124–1174-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 125 (1127/30–1180-)  
 Anna Komnene 126 (-1132–1182-)  
 Teodora Komnene 127 (-1136–1186-)  
 Ioannes Kontostephanos Komnenos 133  
 (-1128–1176/82)  
 Alexios Kontostephanos Komnenos 134  
 (-1130–1176)  
 Andronikos Kontostephanos Komnenos  
 135 (-1132–1195-)  
 Irene Kontostephanina Komnene 136  
 (-1135–1185-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 144 (-1131–1155/7)  
 Irene Komnene 145 (-1132–1182-)  
 Maria Komnene 146 (-1133–1183-)  
 Eudokia Komnene 146a (-1142–1192-)  
 Ioannes Vatatzes Komnenos 147  
 (-1132–1182)  
 Andronikos Vatatzes Komnenos 148  
 (-1133–1176)  
 Anna Vatatzaina Komnene 149  
 (-1136–1186-)  
 Teodora Vatatzaina Komnene 150  
 (-1137–1185-)  
 Isaakios Vatatzes Komnenos 151  
 (-1139–1189-)  
 Alexios Vatatzes Komnenos 152  
 (-1140–1190-)  
 Manuel Bryennios Komnenos 159  
 (-1145–1195-)  
 Isaakios Komnenos 160 (-1140–1190-)  
 Isaakios Angelos 166 (-1155–1203)  
 Alexios Angelos Doukas 167 (-1160–1210-)  
 Theodoros Angelos Komnenos Doukas  
 168 (1180/5–1253-)  
 Manuel Angelos Komnenos Doukas 169  
 (1186/8–1241)  
 Konstantinos Komnenos Doukas 170  
 (-1172–1242-)  
 Anonyma Angelina Komnene Doukaina  
 171 (-1178–1228-)  
 Anonyma Angelina Komnene Doukaina  
 172 (1180/8–1238-)

other female. It is possible that one of them was named Alexios, cf. M. KOUROPOU, J.-F. VAN NIER, *Commémoraisons...*, p. 59.

- Anonyma Angelina Komnene Doukaina 173 (-1190–1240-)  
 Michael I (Angelos) Komnenos Doukas 174 (-1170–1215-)  
 Manuel Kamytzes Komnenos Doukas Angelos 175 (-1150–1202-)  
 Anonym/a Kamytzes 176 (1152/5–1205-)  
 Michael Angelos 177 (1150/5–1205-)  
 Konstantinos Angelos Komnenos 178 (-1151–1199-)  
 Ioannes Angelos 179 (-1152–1222-)  
 Alexios III Angelos Komnenos 180 (-1153–1211)  
 Michael Angelos 181 (-1154–1204-)  
 Theodoros Angelos 182 (-1155–1199-)  
 Isaakios II Angelos 183 (1156–1204)  
 Irene Angelina 184 (-1154–1204-)  
 Teodora Angelina 185 (-1160–1210-)  
 Anonym Synadenos Komnenos 186 (-1170–1220-)  
 Anonym/a Synadenos Komnenos 187 (1151/69–1180-)  
 Anonym/a Synadenos Komnenos 188 (1152/68–1218-)  
 Konstantinos Angelos Doukas 189 (-1170–1220-)  
 Manuel Angelos 189a (-1166–1216-)  
 Anonyma Angelina Doukaina 190 (-1168–1218-)  
 Anonyma Angelina Doukaina 190a (-1164–1214-)
- Generation 8 (64 persons)**
- Georgios Paleologos Doukas Komnenos 191 (-1125–1168-)  
 Konstantinos Paleologos Doukas Komnenos 192 (-1128–1178-)  
 Anonyma Paleologina Doukaina Komnene 193 (-1130–1180-)  
 Gregorios Pakourianos 194 (-1125–1175-)  
 Georgios Pakourianos 195 (-1128–1178-)  
 Konstantinos Botaniates Kalamanos Doukas Komnenos 196 (-1130–1180-)
- Anonym Kontostephanos Komnenos 197 (-1150–1200-)  
 Anonym/-a Kontostephanos Komnenos 198 (-1150–1200-)  
 Anonym/-a Kontostephanos Komnenos 199 (-1150–1200-)  
 Andronikos Kontostephanos Komnenos 200 (-1150–1200-)  
 Anonym/-a Kontostephanos Komnenos 201 (-1150–1200-)  
 Anonym Melissenos Komnenos 202 (-1160–1210-)  
 Alexios Komnenos 203 (-1160–1210-)  
 Ioannes Doukas 204 (-1160–1210-)  
 Anonym Komnenos 205 (-1162–1212-)  
 Anonym Komnenos 206 (-1164–1214-)  
 Anonyma Paleologina Bryennissa Komnene Doukaina 206a (-1135–1185-)  
 Anonyma Paleologina Bryennissa Komnene Doukaina 206b (-1135–1185-)  
 Anonym Axouch Komnenos 207 (-1152–1202-)  
 Ioannes Axouch Komnenos 208 (-1150–1201)  
 Anonym Axouch Komnenos 209 (1154–1204-)  
 Nikephoros Petralifas Komnenos 210 (-1150–1200-)  
 Irene Kantakouzene Komnene 214 (-1150–1200-)  
 Manuel Kantakouzenos Komnenos 215 (-1150–1200-)  
 Manuel Gabras Komnenos 216 (-1165–1215-)  
 Stephanos Kontostephanos Komnenos 223 (-1150–1200-)  
 Ioannes Kontostephanos Komnenos 224 (-1152–1202-)  
 Stephanos Kontostephanos Komnenos 225 (-1150–1200-)  
 Manuel Kontostephanos Komnenos 226 (-1152–1202-)  
 Isaakios Kontostephanos Komnenos 227 (-1152–1202-)

- Alexios Kontostephanos Komnenos 228 (-1152–1202-)<sup>123</sup>
- Isaakios Komnenos Doukas 229 (-1155–1195/6)
- Isaakios Doukas 230 (-1155–1205-)
- Anonym Doukas Komnenos 231 (-1155–1205-)
- Anonym/a Anemas Komnenos Doukas 233 (-1150–1200-)
- Teodora Komnene 234 (-1150–1200-)
- Manuel Stypeiotes Komnenos 234a (-1160–1210-)
- Manuel Komnenos 235 (-1150–1200-)
- Alexios Komnenos 236 (-1150–1200-)
- Alexios Komnenos 237 (-1150–1200-)
- Eudokia Branissa Komnene 238 (-1168–1218-)
- Theodoros Branias Komnenos 239 (-1170–1230-)
- Isaakios Vatatzes Komnenos 240 (-1160–1210-)
- Ioannes Kantakouzenos Angelos Komnenos 250 (-1198–1248-)
- Anonyma Kamytzeina Angelina Komnene Doukas 256 (-1170–1220-)
- Ioannes Kamytzes Angelos Komnenos Doukas 257 (-1170–1220-)
- Andronikos Angelos Komnenos 258 (-1170–1220-)
- Andronikos Angelos Komnenos 259 (-1170–1220-)
- Irene Angelina Komnene 260 (-1173–1223-)
- Anna Angelina Komnene 261 (-1176–1212-)
- Eudokia Angelina Komnene 262 (-1173–1211-)
- Anonym Angelos Komnenos 263 (-1175–1225-)
- Euphrosine Angelina 264 (-1190–1253-)
- Irene Angelina 265 (-1181–1208)
- Alexios IV Angelos 266 (-1182–1204)
- Manuel Angelos 267 (-1195–1212)
- Ioannes Angelos 268 (-1193–1259)
- Anonym Kantakouzenos Angelos 269 (-1185–1235-)
- Anonym Synadenos Tarchaneiotos Komnenos 270 (-1190–1240-)
- Anonyma Synadeina Tarchaneiotissa Komnene 271 (-1190–1240-)
- Isaakios Vatatzes Doukas 272 (-1190–1240-)
- Anonym Vatatzes Doukas 273 (-1190–1240-)
- Ioannes III Doukas Vatatzes 274 (-1191–1252)
- Alexios Paleologos Komnenos 290 (-1170–1220-)

<sup>123</sup> It is unknown whom of the four sons of Andronikos Kontostephanos (numbers 224–228) were blinded by Andronikos I. Only one is counted after 1180.

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**Abstract.** The fall of imperial authority and the decline of the Byzantine state at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century has its cause not only in foreign policy but also, to a large extent, in the family policy of the Komnenoi emperors. The "clan" system introduced during Alexios I' reign and continued by his successors, connected the aristocratic elites with the imperial family by blood ties. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the composition of this group, linked by a complicated marriage network, underwent a significant transformation, which could be one of the most important factors of the later crisis. The purpose of this paper is twofold. First: distinguishing two groups of aristocrats within the Komnenos "clan" i.e. "core" Komnenos family and affine families. Second: determining their approximate number during the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Relatively large amount of data about aristocratic elites of that period allows for statistical approach. Written sources and sigillography of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Byzantium is rich in information about high ranking persons. In addition, the Komnenos era has been thoroughly described in prosopographical works. This allows for counting the number of aristocrats and thus obtaining reliable results. Such an approach is not free from estimation and probability. However, the amount of information is sufficient enough to show the overall trends visible in the composition of the elites associated with the Komnenoi.

The result of this study is a table that shows the tendency of the weakening of the Komnenos family in face of a constantly growing group of affine aristocratic families. This sheds a new light on the progressive collapse of the imperial authority after the death of Manuel I Komnenos, the key role of destructive actions of Andronikos I, and the weakness of the Angelos dynasty.

**Keywords:** Byzantine aristocracy, Komnenos, genealogy, statistics, prosopography, imperial authority, twelfth century

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## SCRIBAL HABITS IN THE SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS WITH ATHANASIUS' *SECOND ORATION AGAINST THE ARIANS*\*

Textual scholars have long recognized that their manuscripts contain residues of scribal practices and attitudes, and therefore *knowledge of documents should precede final judgment upon readings*<sup>1</sup>. With this idea in mind, this article will examine the scribal habits in ten manuscripts that contain the Slavonic version of Athanasius' *Orations against the Arians*. Naturally, the aim of this study is to bring more precision concerning the textual transmission of this writing in the Slavonic manuscripts and thus shed light on the way the *Orations* were copied and read in medieval times. The questions it will ask are whether we can discern any patterns in the way the scribes changed the text, whether any such changes could be theologically motivated and in what way may they be related to the local contexts in which the *Orations* were copied.

I will begin with a few general remarks on the Slavonic text of the *Orations* and then examine the statistical data for each of the ten manuscripts according to eleven scribal categories. I will conclude with a more detailed discussion of scribal habits in two specific manuscripts that represent the most important cases of textual transmission for my purposes. The study as a whole will be based on my critical edition of the *Second Oration*<sup>2</sup> and accompanied with several statistical tables throughout the article and in the Appendix. The new material presented in this article is designed to supplement my previous work and also encourage similar studies for the entire corpus of Slavonic *Orations*.

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<sup>1</sup> B.F. WESTCOTT, F.J.A. HORT, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, vol. II, <sup>2</sup>London 1896, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Oratio II contra Arianos. Old Slavonic Version and English Translation*, ed. et trans. V.V. LYTVYENKO, Turnhout 2019 [= PO, 248 (56.3)] (cetera: *Oratio II contra Arianos*). On the issue of Slavonic translation and the manuscripts, see p. 354–395.

Three *Orations against the Arians* (CPG 2093; henceforth CA I, II, III) is the largest and most significant theological work of Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 296/298–373)<sup>3</sup>. Written during his exile in Rome between A.D. 339 and 345, it was directed against Arius (ca. A.D. 256–336) and his sympathizers who denied Christ's divinity and the doctrine of the Trinity. In A.D. 907, Athanasius' *Orations* along with his *Epistle to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya* CPG 2092<sup>4</sup> (written ca. A.D. 356 and called the *Fourth Oration* in the Slavonic corpus; henceforth CA IV) were translated into Slavonic by Constantine of Preslav in Eastern Bulgaria. Today we have 10 Slavonic MSS ranging from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries that preserve this work, and they include the following:

Sigla	Manuscripts	Time
A	RNB, St. Petersburg, Pog. 968	1489
B	RGB, Moscow, Ovč. F.209, 791	15 <sup>th</sup> c.
C	RGB, Moscow, Nik. F.199, 59	Late 15 <sup>th</sup> – early 16 <sup>th</sup> c.
D	RGB, Moscow, Vol. F.113, 437	1489
E	GIM, Moscow, Sin. 20	Late 1480s – early 1490s
F	RNB, St. Petersburg, Sol. 63	16 <sup>th</sup> c.
G	RNB, St. Petersburg, Sof. VMČ 1321	No later than 1541
H	GIM, Moscow, Sin. Tsa. VMČ 180	No later than 1554
K	GIM, Moscow, Sin. Usp. VMČ 994	No later than 1552
L	RGB, Moscow, Ovč. F.209, 99	Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> c.

My study of the *Second Oration*<sup>5</sup> allowed me to establish that four of the ten MSS in our possession (ABCD) were copied independently from the same Bulgarian protograph, while the other six (EFGHKL) descend from D and form

<sup>3</sup> *Athanasius Werke*, vol. I.1, *Die dogmatischen Schriften*, Lfg. 2, *Orationes I et II contra Arianos*, ed. K. METZLER, K. SAVVIDIS, Berlin–New York 1998; *Athanasius Werke*, vol. I.1, *Die dogmatischen Schriften*, Lfg. 3, *Oratio III contra Arianos*, ed. K. METZLER, K. SAVVIDIS, Berlin–New York 2000.

<sup>4</sup> *Athanasius Werke*, vol. I.1, *Die dogmatischen Schriften*, Lfg. 1, *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, ed. K. METZLER, K. SAVVIDIS, Berlin–New York 1996.

<sup>5</sup> *Oratio II contra Arianos*, p. 371–395 (*stemma codicum* is on p. 395).

a separate group of MSS. Within this group, E is copied directly from D, and G is copied directly from E. Furthermore, F is copied partly from C (CA chs. 1–38), and partly from E (CA chs. 39–82), while HK are copied from G, and L is copied from K. In my analysis of the scribal habits, I will first consider the primary group of MSS (ABCD), and then the secondary one (EFGHKL).

## 1. Statistical analysis

In this section, I would like to explore each of the ten MSS according to the following eleven categories or scribal features in the *Second Oration*: (1) omissions, (2) additions, (3) substitutions, (4) transpositions, (5) non-sense readings, (6) marginal corrections, (7) marginal notes, (8) deletions, (9) erasures, (10) inter-linear corrections, and (11) corrections within the text. For each MS, I will first provide a summary table of the scribal habits according to these eleven categories and then make a few comments that will try to make sense of the statistical data at hand. Before I do that, however, I owe an explanation of how the tables should be read.

For each of the eleven categories, the tables include one or more numbers in the right. The first number gives the total sum of occurrences for a particular scribal feature, and any other numbers that follow are separated by a slash and mean one of two things. First, in the section with omissions and additions, the second number after the slash means the total estimate of omitted and added letters. For example, if the table for the scribe of MS A shows 51/96 of omissions and 23/166 of additions, it means that he made 51 cases of omission resulting in 96 omitted letters, and 23 cases of addition resulting in 166 added letters. To have this kind of statistics allows us to see how many elements the scribe omits and adds, as well as how often he does that. Second, there are three more types of numbers that need to be understood according to the following indicators next to them: <sup>R</sup>, <sup>L</sup>, underlining. Here, letter <sup>R</sup> means a case of redundancy, letter <sup>L</sup> means a marginal note that is two or more letters long, and any underlined number means a deliberate/significant change in the text. Thus, again, if the table for the scribe of MS A shows 23/166/6<sup>R</sup>/1 of additions, it means that he had 23 cases of addition resulting in 166 added letters, and out of 23 cases of addition there are 6<sup>R</sup> cases where he added a redundant letter or syllable, and there is 1 case where he made a deliberate/significant addition in the text. Similarly, if the table for the scribe of MS K shows 16/12<sup>L</sup> cases of marginal notes, it means that he made 16 marginal notes, of which 12<sup>L</sup> cases are notes two or more letters long.

The ten summary tables offered in this section are also part of the longer table in the Appendix. The longer table further indicates all individual cases for each of the eleven scribal categories in the MSS.

### 1.1. Primary group of MSS

#### Scribe of MS A

Omissions	51/96
Additions	23/166/6 <sup>R</sup> /1
Substitutions	23/1
Transpositions	2
Non-sense readings	2
Marginal corrections	23
Marginal notes	5
Deletions	20/16 <sup>R</sup>
Erasures	3/1 <sup>R</sup>
Interlinear corrections	30
Corrections within the text	0

Based on the above figures, the most prominent feature that distinguishes this scribe is his making additions (166), and to a much lesser extent omissions (96). Next in number is his habit of using interlinear corrections (30) that appear more frequently than his corrections in the margins (23). When compared with the other three scribes from the primary group of MSS, he omits the least number of letters (96 vs 211, 273, 455), and has the lowest number of substitutions (23 vs 91, 116, 142) and transpositions (2 vs 3, 5, 20). He shares about the same number of added letters as the scribe of MS C (166 vs 164), which is higher than in the scribe of MS D (128) but significantly lower than in the scribe of MS B (509). These figures generally make him the best MS out of four that were copied directly from the Bulgarian protograph.

#### Scribe of MS B

Omissions	138/455
Additions	102/509/7 <sup>R</sup> /3
Substitutions	142/4
Transpositions	3
Non-sense readings	15

Marginal corrections	12
Marginal notes	3/2 <sup>L</sup>
Deletions	3/1 <sup>R</sup>
Erasures	1
Interlinear corrections	10
Corrections within the text	0

This scribe tends to add and omit very often. In fact, the number of omitted and added elements is enormous when compared with the other three MSS (455 vs 96, 211, 273 for omissions, and 509 vs 128, 166, 164 for additions). Besides the high frequency of omissions (138 vs 51, 99, 119), he omits larger portions of text than the other scribes do, and sometimes fails to copy the middle part of words, and not just their first or last letters. Oftentimes, this leads him to create more non-sense readings than the other scribes (15 vs 1, 2, 4). The number of substitutions is also very high (142 vs 21, 91, 116), though he rarely introduces deliberate textual changes (4 vs 1, 13, 36). For corrections, he uses the margins (12) almost as often as he writes the corrections on top of words (10). He rarely makes transpositions (3), and his deletions and erasures are very few (3 and 1). These low figures with respect to corrections, make this MS appear visibly as the cleanest one of the four.

#### Scribe of MS C

Omissions	99/211/1
Additions	39/164/2 <sup>R</sup>
Substitutions	91/ <u>13</u>
Transpositions	5
Non-sense readings	1
Marginal corrections	42
Marginal notes	2
Deletions	11/5 <sup>R</sup>
Erasures	5
Interlinear corrections	23
Corrections within the text	0

This scribe makes more omissions (211) than he does additions (164) and substitutions (91), and when compared with the other scribes, he is second among them with respect to all three of these categories. There are 13 cases of what might be deliberate substitutions and one deliberate omission, which makes him third among the others. He makes 5 transpositions vs 2, 3, 20 in other MSS, and when he corrects himself, he makes the marginal corrections (42) almost twice as often as he does the interlinear corrections (23). The same is true of the deletions that approximate twice as many (11) as the erasures (5).

#### Scribe of MS D

Omissions	119/273/ <u>3</u>
Additions	63/128/3 <sup>R</sup> / <u>12</u>
Substitutions	116/ <u>36</u>
Transpositions	20
Non-sense readings	4
Marginal corrections	115
Marginal notes	0
Deletions	11/7 <sup>R</sup>
Erasures	24
Interlinear corrections	62
Corrections within the text	4

This scribe makes a lot of omissions (273 vs 96, 211, 455) and tends to have about the same number of added elements (128 vs 164, 166, 509) as he has substitutions (116 vs 23, 91, 142). When compared with the other scribes, he makes the largest number of what might be deliberate changes (51 vs 2, 7, 14), as well as transpositions (20 vs 2, 3, 5), marginal corrections (115 vs 12, 23, 42), erasures (24 vs 1, 3, 5), and interlinear corrections (62 vs 10, 23, 30). From the visual standpoint, there is rarely a folio that has nothing written in the margins or has no interlinear corrections on it. This MS will be discussed in much more detail later.

## 1.2. Secondary group of MSS

### Scribe of MS E

Omissions	35/61/ <u>1</u>
Additions	18/52
Substitutions	21
Transpositions	2
Non-sense readings	1
Marginal corrections	58
Marginal notes	0
Deletions	63/23 <sup>R</sup>
Erasures	14
Interlinear corrections	120
Corrections within the text	8

This scribe copied directly from the scribe of MS D, who then checked both MSS and often made identical corrections in each of them. For that reason, it is not always easy to say which correction belongs to which scribe, but oftentimes, the same correction that is made in the margin (115) in MS D is then made in the form of an interlinear correction (120) in MS E. One significant feature in the scribe of MS E is his exercise of deletions: 63 vs 11 in the scribe of MS D, and vs 1, 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 20 in the other MSS. His use of erasures is less common than in the scribe of MS D (14 vs 24), but more common than in all the other MSS (14 vs 0, 0, 0, 1, 1, 3, 5, 8), and he makes more corrections within the text than the other scribes do (8 vs 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 1, 1, 4, 7). He omits about the same number of elements (61) as he adds them (52), and introduces 21 substitutions of which only 1 seems to be deliberate. The number of transpositions (2) and non-sense reading (1) is very small.

### Scribe of MS F

Omissions	61/154/ <u>1</u>
Additions	48/77/1 <sup>R</sup>
Substitutions	51/ <u>3</u>
Transpositions	13

Non-sense readings	0
Marginal corrections	22
Marginal notes	0
Deletions	8/2 <sup>R</sup>
Erasures	8
Interlinear corrections	11
Corrections within the text	1

Despite the fact that the same hand copied both (and about equal) parts of this MS – chs. 1–38 from MS C, and chs. 39–82 from MS E – its first part contains considerably more cases of omissions (41 vs 21), additions (37 vs 11), substitutions (41 vs 10), and transpositions (11 vs 2) than the second part. There are also more erasures (7 vs 1) and marginal corrections (16 vs 6) in the first part than in the second, and only deletions (2 vs 6) and interlinear corrections (4 vs 7) figure more prominently in the second part than in the first. One explanation for these unequal statistics might be related to the possibility that the scribe took a significant break to rest before switching to the second part of the MS, while being more tired (and therefore sloppier) during his work on the first part that followed on twice as much work of copying the first *Oration*. When compared with the other MSS that ascend to MS E, the scribe of MS F is second in the number of additions (77 vs 0, 12, 12, 82), third in the number of omissions (154 vs 2, 36, 154, 321), fourth in the number of substitutions (51 vs 6, 18, 26 54), and fifth in the number of transpositions (13 vs 0, 0, 0, 7).

#### Scribe of MS G

Omissions	21/36
Additions	7/12/2 <sup>R</sup>
Substitutions	18
Transpositions	0
Non-sense readings	3
Marginal corrections	6
Marginal notes	1
Deletions	6/3 <sup>R</sup>

Erasures	0
Interlinear corrections	14
Corrections within the text	1

This scribe copied directly from MS E, and his copy is the second best one within the secondary group of MSS when it comes to omissions (36 vs 2, 61, 154, 154, 321), additions (12 vs 0, 12, 52, 77, 82), and substitutions (18 vs 6, 21, 26, 51, 54). He makes omissions (36) about two times as often as he does additions (12) and substitutions (18), and there are no transpositions and deliberate changes in the text. For corrections, he uses superscriptions more frequently (14) than he does marginal corrections (6), and half of his deletions (6/3<sup>R</sup>) take place when he needs to get rid of the syllables that he copied twice by mistake.

#### Scribe of MS H

Omissions	1/2
Additions	0
Substitutions	6
Transpositions	0
Non-sense readings	0
Marginal corrections	3
Marginal notes	0
Deletions	1
Erasures	0
Interlinear corrections	4
Corrections within the text	1

On all counts, this scribe has the most accurate hand within the secondary group of MSS. Throughout the entire copying, he made 6 substitutions, 2 omissions, and no additions, transpositions, and non-sense readings. There are only 4 interlinear corrections, 3 marginal corrections, 1 deletion, and 1 correction within the text. At the same time, this MS has limited value for the reconstruction of the initial form of text due to being a direct copy from MS G, and therefore having a tertiary position.

**Scribe of MS K**

Omissions	103/321
Additions	47/82/2 <sup>R</sup> /6
Substitutions	54/10
Transpositions	7
Non-sense readings	6
Marginal corrections	19
Marginal notes	16/12 <sup>L</sup>
Deletions	5/3 <sup>R</sup>
Erasures	0
Interlinear corrections	16
Corrections within the text	7

This scribe produced the most corrupted MS of the ten, and it has the last position within the secondary group of MSS on almost all counts. His most common scribal habit has to do with omissions (321 vs 2, 36, 61, 154, 154), which sometimes involves his failure to copy the middle part of words, and not just their first or last letters. Compared with the number of omissions, he makes far fewer additions (82 vs 0, 12, 12, 52, 77) and substitutions (54 vs 6, 18, 21, 26, 51). The number of transpositions (7) is second to MS F (13), but higher than in other MSS within the secondary group (0, 0, 0, 2). He introduces the highest number of deliberate changes in the text (16 vs 0, 0, 1, 4, 12), and writes 16 marginal glosses of which 12 are more than two words long, and several have a clearly theological-polemical purpose (to be discussed in just a little while).

**Scribe of MS L**

Omissions	16/154
Additions	3/12/1 <sup>R</sup> /1
Substitutions	26/11
Transpositions	0
Non-sense readings	1
Marginal corrections	8

Marginal notes	16/12 <sup>L</sup>
Deletions	1
Erasures	1
Interlinear corrections	3
Corrections within the text	0

This scribe copied directly from MS K, and his most common feature is introducing substitutions (26), of which the most frequent one is changing БЫШЬНАА to БЫВШАА for γενητά. He has a high number of omitted elements (154), but the estimation of actual cases where he makes omissions is only 16. The high number of omitted elements has to do with the fact that he makes three rather long omissions (19, 26, and 39 omitted elements). His third major feature has to do with additions, while the total number of added elements is second in this group (12 vs 0, 12, 52, 77, 82). He makes no transpositions and uses marginal corrections (8) more frequently than he does interlinear corrections (3). He reproduces the same 16 marginal glosses that are found in MS K, though sometimes arranging them a little bit differently.

## 2. Analysis of deliberate/significant changes in the text

By far the most significant cases of scribal interaction with the text belong to two scribes: one of MS D and another of MS K. In this section, I would like to discuss their scribal habits in a little more detail by looking at those cases where they make deliberate textual changes and add significant marginal comments that illustrate their perceptions of what they copy. I will begin with a few remarks about the MS tradition for each of the two codices and then spend the rest of time examining their scribal habits with special attention to the *Second Oration*.

### 2.1. Scribe of MS D

The scribe that copied MS D made two colophons with important information for our purposes<sup>6</sup>. In the longer colophon (f. 237<sup>r</sup> – 237<sup>v</sup>) he calls himself Timofej Veniaminov (послѣжиста рѣцѣ мон. амарталос; Тимофея вѣніамінова) and says that he produced his MS in Great Novgorod (в то лѣто здесе въ преимѣнитѣмъ гдѣ нѣдолеуе<ε>). The second (shorter) colophon (f. 217<sup>v</sup>) adds that he finished copying the *Orations* on October 16<sup>th</sup> in the year 6997 (= 1489) (писѧ послѣнего стѧ зє ѧ; ѡз го октѡмврио. іѡ.).

<sup>6</sup> For the full text of both colophons, see *Oratio II contra Arianos*, p. 373–374.

According to the longer colophon, the work of copying was occasioned by the rise of a heresy known in church terminology as the heresy of the Judaizers<sup>7</sup>. Promoted by both clergy and laypeople, this heresy attacked the most fundamental Orthodox beliefs, and more specifically the doctrine of the Trinity: в то лѣто здесе въ преимѣнитѣ тѣ недѣловс<е> мнози сѣщенники и дѣакони; и ѿ простѣ людѣи дѣаки явилиса сквернителѣи на вѣрѣ непорочнѣю велика вѣда постигла грѣ сѣи и колика тма и тѣга постиже мѣсто се стѣю вѣрѣ православіа что запечатлѣша стѣи ѿци седмѣ съвор; проповѣдѣю ѿца и сѣна и стѣго дѣха въ трѣци едѣно бѣжтво нераздѣлимо. (f. 237<sup>v</sup>)<sup>8</sup>. This heresy was successfully countered by the Novgorodian Archbishop Gennadij (Нѣ въскорѣ исплѣниса о бѣзѣ блѣти; дѣха стѣааго. пресѣнны архіеписко генадѣе; ѿбнажилѣ ѣ еретичества злодѣиство) (f. 237<sup>v</sup>)<sup>9</sup>, and Athanasius' *Orations* (representing the classical trinitarian doctrine) were clearly designed to support Gennadij's task.

Throughout the MS, we have several marginal notes where Timofej says that he copied from the Old Bulgarian codex: *copied from the Bulgarian [book]* (<въ>лгарскѣи <спи>санѣ, f. 9<sup>v</sup>), *in the old Athanasius it is written like this* (в старѣ афанасіи писано так, f. 219<sup>r</sup>), *this is the way it is in the old [codex]* (въ старѣ тѣ, f. 233<sup>v</sup>). While the scribe is clearly of Russian origin (Novgorod), his handwriting imitates the style of the South-Slavic orthography, in particular the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Serbian *polu-ustav* with forms of cursive (most likely being influenced by Timofej's teacher – Dominican monk, Veniamin)<sup>10</sup>. Based on the description of the hieromonk Iosif, this MS used to belong to the Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery before it was given to the Russian State Library (RGB) where it is kept today<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> For a thorough treatment of the Judaizers, see А.И. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *Религиозные движения на Руси последней трети XIV – начала XVI в.: стригольники и жидовствующие*, Москва 2012, esp. p. 385–492.

<sup>8</sup> *In that year here in famous Novgorod, many priests and deacons (including those from the simple folks) appeared to profane the pure faith. The town was overtaken by great trouble, and so much darkness and suffering befell this place [and] the holy Orthodox faith, which the holy fathers set down at the seven Councils by preaching the Father and Son and Holy Spirit in the one divine inseparable Trinity* (trans. mine).

<sup>9</sup> *However, it did not take long for the holy Archbishop Gennadij to expose the wickedness of their heretical teaching after he was filled with God's grace of the Holy Spirit* (trans. mine).

<sup>10</sup> On Timofej Veniaminov's handwriting and the influence of his teacher on this scribe, see Л.Д. СЕДЕЛЬНИКОВ, *К изучению 'Слова кратка' и деятельности доминиканца Вениамина*, ИОРЯС 30, 1925, p. 223; М.Г. ГАЛЬЧЕНКО, *Второе южнославянское влияние в древнерусской книжности. (Графико-орфографические признаки второго южнославянского влияния и хронология их появления в древнерусских рукописях конца XIV – первой половины XV вв.)*, [in:] *Книжная культура. Книгописание. Надписи на иконах древней Руси*, ed. ИДЕМ, Москва–Санкт-Петербург 2001, p. 325–382, 384–420.

<sup>11</sup> Иосиф (ИЕРОМОНК), *Опись рукописей, перенесенных из библиотеки Иосифова монастыря в библиотеку Московской духовной академии*, Москва 1882, p. 73–74.

The most typical way Timofej changes the text of the *Orations* is by “Hellenizing” the Slavonic. He does that in two ways. First, he changes the Slavonic words to Greek words or word forms, which he consistently writes in Cyrillic script. The most frequent example is ПАВЛОС for “Paul” (e.g. 45.23, 62.30, 62.31). Other cases throughout the MS include ΛΟΓΟС for “Word”, ΒΙΒΛΟС for “Scriptures”, ΑΡΙΕВЫ ГРАФИТЕ for “Arius’ writings”, ΔΕΚΕΒΡΙΟС for “December”, ΤΗΦЛОС for the “blind”, ΑΜΑΡΤΑΛΟС for “sinner”, ΤΕΛΟС for the “end”, and some others. The second way Timofej Hellenizes the *Orations* is by adding a number of Greek New Testament quotes written in Cyrillic script (with a few ligatures and Greek letter forms) and placed in the margins alongside the same quotes in the Slavonic text. The longest of such quotes appear on ff. 161 and 165 in the third *Oration*, and their presence suggests that Timofej made use of a Greek New Testament<sup>12</sup> and checked Athanasius’ citations against it:

CA III.26, f. 161 <sup>r</sup>	καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ μερὶ καίσαριῶс τῆс φιλίππου, ἠρώτα τὸс μα <sup>ω</sup> τὰс ἀπ’ [Quoted from Mt 16.17]
CA III.26, f. 161 <sup>r</sup>	Θε εἰμὸс Θε εἰμὸс • ἴνα τῷ μακ ἐγκατελίπης [quoted from Mc 15.34]
CA III.32, f. 165 <sup>v</sup>	τὸν πῖλον written next to the Slavonic word врьнїемъ [Quoted from Io 9.6]
CA III.32, f. 165 <sup>v</sup>	<Π>ο грεσκολι • καὶ ἐπεχρῖсе τὸν πῖλον • ἐπι τὸс ὀφθαλμοс τῷ τифлав [Quoted from Io 9.6]

This exotic scribal feature led some scholars<sup>13</sup> to believe that Timofej had a certain knowledge of Greek, which he probably learned from his teacher Veniamin. In yet another MS (RNB, St. Petersburg, Kirillo-Belozersk 36/41, the 1480s–1490s, ff. 3–246), which appears to be Timofej’s Greek workbook, he copied much larger portions of Greek, and based on the numerous mistakes of itacism, declension, and orthography in that workbook, it is generally thought that his knowledge of Greek was fairly elementary<sup>14</sup>. Even then, as Romanchuk notes, *Timofei’s concrete knowledge of Greek, while crude by our standards, probably impressed his compatriots*<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> See Б.Л. Фонкич, *Греческо-русские культурные связи в XV–XVII вв. (Греческие рукописи в России)*, Москва 1977, p. 41. ФОНКИЧ suggests that Timofej used a Greek Gospel lectionary, also known as *Aprakos*.

<sup>13</sup> See esp. Б.Л. Фонкич, *Греческо-русские культурные связи...*, p. 36–37.

<sup>14</sup> Б.Л. Фонкич, *Греческо-русские культурные связи...*, p. 40–41.

<sup>15</sup> R. РОМАНЧУК, *Once Again on the Greek Workbook of Timofei Veniaminov, Fifteenth-Century Novgorod Monk*, [in:] *Monastic Traditions. Selected Proceedings of the Fourth International Hilandar Conference. The Ohio State University 1998*, ed. С.Е. GRIBBLE, Р. МАТЕЈИЧ, Columbus 2003, p. 286.

Besides the Greek quotes in MS D, Timofej also adds a few Slavonic marginalia and macaronic notes. Some of them are longer (as in the first three examples), while others are shorter (as in the fifth example). All of them suggest that Timofej considered his task of copying the *Orations* not only in transmitting the text correctly but also in making sure that his readers make the most out of it:

CA III.44, f. 175 <sup>r</sup>	зри вънимаѣтелнѣ • что про изволеніе • на страницѣ писано   Trans.: <i>See carefully what this page writes about the election</i>
CA III.58, f. 186 <sup>r</sup>	въ ѣ ѣ не по мнѡзѣ тѣ послѡвица ѡдра written next to the Slavonic word удра   Trans.: The same proverb about the hydra is also found slightly earlier in the <i>Second Oration</i>
CA IV.1–19, f. 212 <sup>v</sup>	ο αριεβε τον θανατων   Trans.: <i>On Arius' death</i>
CA IV.1–19, f. 213	зде τέλος τον θανατον   Trans.: <i>Here is the end [of Arius'] death</i>
CA III.61, f. 188 <sup>r</sup>	зрѣ   Trans.: <i>See</i>

Timofej's desire to play the role of a communicator in addition to being a scribe eventually leads him to make deliberate changes in the text of the *Orations*. This is clearly seen in his habit of consistently modernizing certain words and phrases in the 10<sup>th</sup>-century Bulgarian text of the *Orations* in order to make them more comprehensible for his readers in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Russia. The following examples from the second *Oration* illustrate this feature very well:

CA II.52.1	плесканъ бываеѣтъ] πλάττεται   създанъ в. D & EFGHKL ( <i>sine ABC</i> )
CA II.52.2	плесканїѡ] πλασθη̅ναι   зданїа D & EFGHKL ( <i>sine ABC</i> )
CA II.52.3	съплескалъ еѣтъ] ἔπλασε   създамъ в. D & EFGHKL ( <i>sine ABC</i> )
CA II.63.14	реклѡ] εἶπεν   глали D & EFGHKL ( <i>sine ABC</i> )
CA II.76.10	Грѡдѣте] δεϋτε   прндѣте D & EFGHKL ( <i>sine ABC</i> )
CA II.46.27	домъ. и подѣпъре] οἶκον καὶ ὑπήρεισε   χρѡ и ѡтверди D & EFGHKL ( <i>sine ABC</i> )

Moreover, Timofej modifies several biblical passages in the *Orations* to what he believed was a more accurate form of the text. His corrections correspond to the textual forms in the *Gennadian Bible* (the first complete Slavonic version finished in 1499), and since Timofej belonged to the circle of scribes who compiled

that Bible during the 1490s, it is very likely that he made use of the biblical MSS in their possession when he copied the *Orations* in 1489. Furthermore, since the entire project of the *Gennadian Bible* was a major part of battling the heresy of the Judaizers by making available the complete and most accurate biblical text<sup>16</sup>, it is reasonable to think that Timofej corrected the biblical quotes in the *Orations* with precisely this agenda in mind. If this is right, then his effort to harmonize the biblical quotes in the *Orations* with the *Gennadian Bible* was a way of ensuring that both say the same things, and, therefore, both are equally authoritative. In the second *Oration*, I have identified four cases where Timofej changed the biblical passages according to the text in the *Gennadian Bible*. In the following examples, Timofej adds three words (твоею, нѧ and савле) and changes one word for another (на for въ):

CA II.50.25–26	ДАЖДЪ ДРЪЖАВЖ ОТРОКЖ ТВОЕИЖ   δὸς τὸ κράτος σου τῷ παιδί σου   ДАЖЕ ДЕРЖАВЖ ТВОЮ О. Т. D (твоею > ABC & EFGHKL)   ДАЖѢ ДРЪЖАВѸ ТВОЮ ОТРОКѸ ТВОЕИѸ Ps 85.16 <i>Gennadian Bible</i> , p. 219
CA II.72.9	КЪ НЕИЖ ЖЕ СЛОВО ЕСТЬ   πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος   К Н. Ж. Нѧ С. Є. D (нѧ > ABC & EFGHKL)   К НЕИѸ ЖЕ Нѧ СЛОВО Heb 4.13 <i>Gennadian Bible</i> , p. 355
CA II.64.27	БЛЖНИ НЕПОРОЧЕНИ НА ПЖТЬ   μακάριοι οἱ ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδοῦ   Б. Н. ВЪ П. D (въ > ABC & EFGHKL)   БЛЖЕНИ НЕПОРОЧНИИ В ПЖТЬ Ps 118.1 <i>Gennadian Bible</i> , p. 282
CA II.80.5	САУЛЕ ЧТО МА ГОНИШИ   Σαῦλε, τί με διώκεις   САВЛЕ САВЛЕ Ч. М. Г. D (sec. савле > ABC & EFGHKL)   САВЛЕ САВЛЕ ЧТО МА ГОНИШИ Act 9.4 <i>Gennadian Bible</i> , p. 43–44

## 2.2. Scribe of MS K

In contrast to what we know about Timofej Veniaminov, there is absolutely no information about the scribe of MS K<sup>17</sup>. It is possible that he did his work of copying either in Great Novgorod or Moscow, and his MS was part of the larger collection consisting of twelve volumes and known as the *Great Menaion Reader* (*Velikie Minei Četii*). The work on this project was commissioned and assisted by

<sup>16</sup> On this, see E. СМОГУНОВА, *Составители и писцы Геннадиевской Библии*, [in:] *Библия в духовной жизни, истории и культуре России и православного славянского мира. Сборник материалов международной конференции к 500-летию Геннадиевской Библии, Москва, 21–26 сентября 1999 г.*, Москва 2001, p. 92–118.

<sup>17</sup> For the description of this MS, see *Die Grossen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij. Uspenskij spisok*, vol. I, 1–8 Mai, ed. E. WEINER et al., Freiburg 2007 [= *MLSDV*, 51], p. XL–CX.

the Metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia Makarij. The main purpose of creating the *Great Menaion Reader* was to centralize the cult of the Russian saints and compile all major writings available at the time into twelve volumes according to the twelve months of the church calendar. In 1552 Makarij placed these *Menaion* in the Cathedral of the Dormition at the Moscow Kremlin, and the text of Athanasius' *Orations* is contained in the May volume under May 2.

As was mentioned earlier, this scribe produced the most corrupted MS of the ten, introducing the largest number of deliberate/significant changes in the text and adding some glosses that have a clearly theological-polemical purpose. I will discuss both of these features, starting with the second one. The marginal glosses written by this scribe range from several words to a full sentence and can be divided into five groups, each addressing a specific theological issue: (1) Icons; (2) *Filioque*; (3) Christology; (4) Deification; and (5) Church<sup>18</sup>. Arranged in this way, the theological glosses include the following:

### (1) Icons

CA II.23, f. 106 <sup>r</sup>	лютори ѿ сюдѣ прѣтса. ꙗже чѣти сѣа книги, то зри. въ, ꙗ, ѿ, посланіи сицевѣѡ знамени   Trans.: <i>Here is the point disputed by the Luther's</i> <sup>19</sup> , and everyone who is reading these books must see the indicated [passages] regarding this in the third Oration
CA III.4, f. 125 <sup>v</sup>	о поклоненіи ко иконѣ хрѣтоу ꙗко и ко всѣмъ стѣмъ иконамъ въ нѣже хрѣс вообрѣзисѣ во обраѣа свои   Trans.: <i>On worshipping Christ's icon and the icons of all the saints in whom Christ was formed in his own image</i>
CA III.7, ff. 126 <sup>r</sup> –126 <sup>v</sup>	на иконоборцы   Trans.: <i>Against the iconoclasts</i>

### (2) *Filioque*

CA III.14, f. 128 <sup>v</sup>	о подданіи от сына   Trans.: <i>On the giving from the Son</i>
CA III.24, f. 131 <sup>v</sup>	о подданіи >и <от сына>   Trans.: <i>On the giving from the Son</i>

<sup>18</sup> The same glosses appear in MS L that was directly copied from K: (1) Icons (ff. 337<sup>r</sup>–338<sup>r</sup>; 460<sup>r</sup>–462<sup>v</sup>; 465<sup>r</sup>–467<sup>r</sup>); (2) *Filioque* (ff. 478<sup>r</sup>; 496<sup>r</sup>); (3) Christology (ff. 459<sup>r</sup>; 463<sup>r</sup>; 505<sup>v</sup>); (4) Deification (ff. 487<sup>r</sup>–487<sup>v</sup>; 495<sup>r</sup>); (5) Church (ff. 250<sup>r</sup>–251<sup>r</sup>; 119<sup>r</sup>; 424<sup>r</sup>–424<sup>v</sup>). For a detailed discussion of these glosses, see V.V. LITVYNENKO, *Athanasius' Orations against the Arians: Theological Glosses in Two Slavonic Manuscripts*, ПКСШ, 19, p. 77–101.

<sup>19</sup> The plural of “Luther” here was used to refer to the Lutheran Christians. Since the word “Luther” was often used as a synonym for “lutyj” (“лютый”), meaning “ferocious”, “fierce”, or “cruel”, it functioned as a derogatory name for describing the Protestants. On this, see Д.И. ЦВЕТАЕВ, *Протестанство и протестанты в России до эпохи преобразований*, Москва 1890, p. 587.

## (3) Christology

CA III.4, f. 125 <sup>r</sup>	о слидѣнїи   Trans.: <i>On unification</i>
CA III.6, f. 126 <sup>r</sup>	се   Trans.: <i>This</i>
CA III.29, f. 133 <sup>r</sup>	не оумалѣи но смири   Trans.: <i>Not 'became less' but 'humbled'</i>

## (4) Deification

CA III.19, f. 130 <sup>r</sup>	о обоженїи   Trans.: <i>On deification</i>
CA III.23, f. 131 <sup>r</sup>	Cross-sign (+) next to the word <b>ѡБОЖЕНІ</b> (deification)

## (5) Church

CA I.43, f. 93 <sup>v</sup>	о всѣхъ свѣтыхъ зри   Trans.: <i>See on all the saints</i>
CA II.67, f. 119 <sup>v</sup>	о церкви і о ѡзыцѣхъ   Trans.: <i>On the Church and nations</i>

Based on what the scribe writes in these glosses, it is clear that he considers the *Orations* as a major proof-text concerning the fundamental points of the Orthodox doctrine. His reference to Luther and iconoclasts suggests that his primary opponent was Protestantism, which fits well with what we know about the religious situation in Russia during the 16–17 centuries. The emerging Protestants in that context were coming primarily from the south-western parts of Russia (known as Little Russia that covered most of the territory of modern-day Ukraine), as well as from Poland<sup>20</sup>. Most of them denied a number of distinctively Orthodox doctrines, and the more radical groups of Protestants (the so-called Socinians)<sup>21</sup> went as far as to reject Christ's divine nature and the Trinity. Copying the *Orations* with this polemical agenda in mind allows the scribe to make Athanasius relevant to his own context, and the fact that his glosses were copied again by another scribe around 100 years later (RGB, Moscow, Ovč. F.209, 99, mid-17<sup>th</sup> century) shows that his appropriation of Athanasius was taken seriously.

<sup>20</sup> The issue of Protestantism in Russia and the Orthodox-Protestant polemic is discussed in many works. See esp. a collection of articles on this topic in *Православие Украины и Московской Руси в XVI–XVII веках: Общее и различное*, ed. М.В. ДМИТРИЕВ, Москва 2012.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. *Socinianism and its Role in the Culture of XVI<sup>th</sup> to XVIII<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. L. SZCZUCKI, Warsaw–Lodz 1983.

This situation, however, raises the question as to whether the scribe could have felt it necessary to change the original text of the *Orations* in order to fit Athanasius to his theological needs. Based on my analysis of the second *Oration*, the most significant changes that he makes can be divided into those that seem to function as deliberate corrections of the initial text and others that are intended to modernize or re-state certain things a little bit differently. The following examples illustrate the first type of changes:

CA II.13.2	чловѣкъ] ABCDEFGH, β̄ς KL, ἄνθρωπος
CA II.57.3	родиста] ABCDEFGH, с̄тътвориста KL, ἐγέννησαν
CA II.74.26	бестѣдны] ABCDEFGH, δωστονны KL, ἀναίσχυτον
CA II.24.32	сжтѣство] ABCDEFGH, чювство KL, φύσιν

It is hard to say what exactly motivated the scribe to make these changes, but the substituted words are clearly the opposite of what the original text actually states: “man” is changed for “God”, “born” for “created”, “shameless” for “worthy”, and “nature” for “feeling”. Moreover, given the importance of the words “born” and “created” in the fourth-century context, to change one word with another implies that instead of being “born” of God the Father, Christ was merely “created” alongside other creatures, which (as a heresy called “Arian”) contradicts both Athanasius and the scribe’s intention to affirm Christ’s divinity in his glosses. The number of such changes is not large, and I suggest that these changes may have to do with the scribe’s failure to understand the original meaning of the text or perhaps miscopying it in some places.

The other type of changes can be subdivided into those that substitute entire words with synonyms and those that change only parts of words in order to re-state them differently. The former can be illustrated with the following examples:

CA II.7.6	сочтѣство] ABCDEFGH, п̄в̄ство KL, τὴν ἀλογίαν
CA II.14.19	г̄а] ABCDEFGH, β̄α KL, κύριον
CA II.44.21	глаголетъ] ABCDEFGH, мол̄и KL, λέγει

Some examples of the latter include the following:

CA II.2.21	ПОЗНАВАЖЪ] ABCDEFGH, знаѣ KL, ἐπιγινώσκουσι
CA II.8.14	ОБЛЪКЪСА] ABCDEFGH, ОБЛЪКСА ВО KL, ἐνδυσάμενος
CA II.52.20	БЫТИА] ABCDEFGH, житиА KL, τῆς γενέσεως
CA II.60.24	О ЗЪДАНИИ] ABCDEFGH, О СЪЗЪДАНИИ KL, ἐπι ... τοῦ ἔκτισε
CA II.61.22	ЦЪСАРЬСТВЕ] ABCDEFGH, цѣсарѣство KL, τὴν βασιλείαν
CA II.68.31	ПРЪКВОАЛИ] ABCDEFGH, ППРЪКВОАЛИ KL, ἐδέοντο

## Conclusion

To summarize my discussion of the scribal habits in the *Second Oration*, several points can be made in conclusion. First, my classification of the scribal habits according to specific categories has proved to be a helpful instrument for understanding the quality of individual MSS. Thus, for example, the data I have collected has revealed that in many ways the scribes of MSS A & H produced the most faithful copies of their protographs, while the scribes of MSS D & K have corrupted theirs the most.

Second, the study of the scribal habits enables us to visualize the strengths and weaknesses in how the scribes went about reproducing the initial text of the *Orations*. Thus, for example, one's tendency to make frequent omissions does not mean that one tends to introduce additions as often, and *vice versa*. Our knowledge of these strengths and weaknesses allows us to make better use of the MSS for reconstructing the history of the text and appreciate their individual values.

Third, a clear picture of the scribal practices and attitudes helps to discern the possible patterns in the way some scribes changed the text of the *Orations*, and perhaps uncover the reasons why they did what they did. Thus, the high number of deliberate/significant changes in MSS D and K connects in some way to the fact that both of them have a clear theological agenda: either to fight the heresy of the Judaizers (scribe of MS D), or to polemicize with growing Protestantism (scribe of MS K). Consequently, their theological concerns and local contexts significantly affected the way they read and copied the *Orations*.

## Appendix

The table in this Appendix is designed to complement the ten shorter tables by indicating all individual cases for each of the eleven scribal categories in our MSS. Before presenting this table, however, I need to provide some explanation on how

to use it. First of all, the data contained here is based on my analysis of Athanasius's *Second Oration against the Arians*<sup>22</sup>. Second, the scribal habits in this table are classified according to eleven categories: (1) omissions, (2) additions, (3) substitutions, (4) transpositions, (5) non-sense readings, (6) marginal corrections, (7) marginal notes, (8) deletions, (9) erasures, (10) interlinear corrections, and (11) corrections within the text. Third, for each of these categories or scribal features the table offers two types of statistics that describe each of the ten MSS: the total estimates placed on the top of the table and highlighted in bold, and the singular estimates that take up most of the space in the table under the bold numbers. The numbers in both of these sections need some further explanation.

To begin with the top section, the data here consists of one or more numbers. The first number gives the total sum of occurrences for a particular scribal feature, and any other numbers that follow are separated by a slash and mean one of two things. First, in the section with omissions and additions, the second number after the slash means the total estimate of omitted and added letters. Thus, for example, if the table shows 51/96 of omissions and 23/166 of additions, it means that the scribe made 51 cases of omission resulting in 96 omitted letters, and 23 cases of addition resulting in 166 added letters. To have this kind of statistics allows us to see how many elements the scribe omits and adds, as well as how often he does it. Second, there are three more types of numbers that need to be understood according to the following indicators next to them: <sup>R</sup>, <sup>L</sup>, underlining. Here, letter <sup>R</sup> means a case of redundancy, letter <sup>L</sup> means a marginal note that is two or more letters long, and any underlined number means a deliberate/significant change in the text. Thus, again, if the table shows 23/166/6<sup>R</sup>/1 of additions, it means that the scribe made 23 cases of addition resulting in 166 added letters, and out of 23 cases of addition there are 6<sup>R</sup> cases where he added a redundant letter or syllable, and there is 1 case where he made a deliberate or significant addition in the text. Similarly, if the table shows 16/12<sup>L</sup> cases of marginal notes, it means that the scribe made 16 marginal notes, of which 12<sup>L</sup> cases are notes two or more letters long.

Finally, in the section with singular estimates, I indicate the chapter and line from my edition of the *Second Oration* for every single occurrence. For omissions and additions, I also add an indexed number to show how many letters are omitted or added in each case. For instance, if the table shows 5.2<sup>3</sup> for omissions, it means that the scribe omitted 3 letters in the *Second Oration*, chapter 5, line 2. Or to give another example, if the number shows 51.24<sup>83R</sup> for additions, it means that the scribe mistakenly copied 83 letters twice in the *Second Oration*, chapter 51, line 24. If there is more than one omission, addition or some other scribal feature in the same place, I indicate it in the brackets as follows: 5.2<sup>3</sup>(2).

<sup>22</sup> *Oratio II contra Arianos*.

## OMISSIONS

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
51/96	138/455	99/211/1	119/273/3	35/61/1	61/154/1	21/36	1/2	103/321	16/154
1.39 <sup>1</sup>	1.18 <sup>2</sup>	1.30 <sup>1</sup>	1.3 <sup>1</sup>	7.32 <sup>1</sup>	3.31 <sup>1</sup>	4.19 <sup>2</sup>	1.3 <sup>2</sup>	1.4 <sup>1</sup>	2.21 <sup>2</sup>
2.24 <sup>1</sup>	1.26 <sup>2</sup>	2.7 <sup>3</sup>	4.42 <sup>2</sup>	8.3 <sup>1</sup>	3.33 <sup>2</sup>	4.37 <sup>2</sup>		1.15 <sup>2</sup>	5.19 <sup>1</sup>
3.8 <sup>1</sup>	2.11 <sup>1</sup>	2.16 <sup>2</sup>	5.14 <sup>2</sup>	11.6 <sup>1</sup>	5.2 <sup>3</sup>	5.4 <sup>1</sup>		1.31 <sup>2</sup>	13.18 <sup>39</sup>
5.1 <sup>2</sup>	2.25 <sup>1</sup>	2.21 <sup>2</sup>	7.17 <sup>2</sup>	12.14 <sup>2</sup>	6.3 <sup>2</sup>	9.10 <sup>2</sup>		2.20 <sup>4</sup>	14.6 <sup>2</sup>
7.20 <sup>2</sup>	2.34 <sup>1</sup>	3.16 <sup>1</sup>	7.25 <sup>2</sup>	12.17 <sup>2</sup>	6.8 <sup>2</sup>	19.3 <sup>2</sup>		3.8 <sup>3</sup>	16.28 <sup>2</sup>
7.36 <sup>2</sup>	2.39 <sup>1</sup>	4.19 <sup>1</sup>	8.18 <sup>1</sup>	12.28 <sup>2</sup> (2)	6.14 <sup>2</sup>	19.4 <sup>2</sup>		3.13 <sup>2</sup>	16.31 <sup>10</sup>
8.7 <sup>2</sup>	3.13 <sup>1</sup>	4.43 <sup>1</sup>	10.33 <sup>2</sup>	14.19 <sup>2</sup>	7.18 <sup>3</sup>	23.7 <sup>2</sup>		3.19 <sup>3</sup>	16.32 <sup>1</sup>
8.15 <sup>1</sup>	4.5 <sup>3</sup>	4.45 <sup>2</sup>	12.21 <sup>4</sup>	15.2 <sup>1</sup>	8.5 <sup>5</sup>	23.15 <sup>2</sup>		4.9 <sup>2</sup>	16.47 <sup>12</sup>
9.4 <sup>2</sup>	4.10 <sup>1</sup>	5.4 <sup>1</sup>	13.11 <sup>11</sup>	16.20 <sup>2</sup>	9.16 <sup>2</sup>	24.8 <sup>3</sup>		6.13 <sup>4</sup>	20.25 <sup>2</sup>
10.15 <sup>5</sup>	4.30 <sup>1</sup>	6.19 <sup>1</sup>	13.26 <sup>1</sup>	22.6 <sup>1</sup>	11.32 <sup>4</sup>	37.17 <sup>2</sup>		8.11 <sup>2</sup>	22.30 <sup>19</sup>
11.32 <sup>4</sup>	6.2 <sup>35</sup>	7.5 <sup>2</sup>	13.28 <sup>1</sup>	24.1 <sup>1</sup>	12.3 <sup>2</sup>	38.22 <sup>2</sup>		9.5 <sup>2</sup>	24.10 <sup>6</sup>
16.3 <sup>2</sup>	6.6 <sup>2</sup>	7.21 <sup>1</sup>	14.4 <sup>8</sup>	25.24 <sup>1</sup>	12.11 <sup>1</sup>	40.8 <sup>1</sup>		9.9 <sup>1</sup>	25.1 <sup>2</sup>
16.18 <sup>2</sup>	6.7 <sup>1</sup>	7.28 <sup>1</sup>	14.15 <sup>6</sup>	25.25 <sup>2</sup>	14.19 <sup>10</sup>	43.1 <sup>1</sup>		10.7 <sup>1</sup>	37.13 <sup>7</sup>
17.8 <sup>2</sup>	6.15 <sup>18</sup>	8.3 <sup>1</sup>	14.18 <sup>3</sup>	27.2 <sup>1</sup>	16.39 <sup>2</sup>	51.29 <sup>2</sup>		10.17 <sup>1</sup>	47.21 <sup>26</sup>
19.11 <sup>1</sup>	7.15 <sup>2</sup>	8.25 <sup>2</sup>	15.2 <sup>6</sup>	28.14 <sup>3</sup>	19.22 <sup>1</sup>	53.9 <sup>1</sup>		16.17 <sup>2</sup>	47.23 <sup>2</sup>
19.28 <sup>3</sup>	7.21 <sup>1</sup>	10.19 <sup>2</sup>	16.41 <sup>2</sup>	29.15 <sup>2</sup>	19.37 <sup>3</sup>	53.27 <sup>1</sup>		16.30 <sup>1</sup>	56.11 <sup>21</sup>
19.29 <sup>2</sup>	7.27 <sup>2</sup>	10.33 <sup>2</sup>	17.6 <sup>3</sup>	30.22 <sup>2</sup>	20.21 <sup>1</sup>	54.20 <sup>1</sup>		17.4 <sup>2</sup>	
23.37 <sup>1</sup>	7.35 <sup>2</sup>	12.21 <sup>2</sup>	17.10 <sup>1</sup>	30.35 <sup>1</sup>	23.17 <sup>2</sup>	57.10 <sup>1</sup>		17.8 <sup>2</sup>	
24.32 <sup>2</sup>	10.25 <sup>1</sup>	12.28 <sup>2</sup>	19.28 <sup>1</sup>	32.17 <sup>1</sup>	24.1 <sup>2</sup>	58.27 <sup>2</sup>		19.3 <sup>2</sup>	
25.31 <sup>2</sup>	10.28 <sup>2</sup>	13.26 <sup>1</sup>	21.17 <sup>2</sup>	36.17 <sup>2</sup>	24.7 <sup>8</sup>	63.17 <sup>2</sup>		20.29 <sup>3</sup>	
27.5 <sup>2</sup>	11.14 <sup>1</sup>	16.1 <sup>2</sup>	22.11 <sup>1</sup>	40.23 <sup>1</sup>	25.10 <sup>2</sup>	71.14 <sup>2</sup>		21.3 <sup>1</sup>	
28.22 <sup>2</sup>	11.34 <sup>3</sup>	16.26 <sup>1</sup>	22.18 <sup>2</sup>	46.2 <sup>2</sup>	25.25 <sup>2</sup>			22.2 <sup>3</sup>	
33.7 <sup>2</sup>	12.2 <sup>1</sup>	16.45 <sup>2</sup>	22.24 <sup>2</sup>	49.27 <sup>2</sup>	25.26 <sup>2</sup>			22.25 <sup>2</sup>	
33.13 <sup>1</sup>	12.4 <sup>2</sup>	17.24 <sup>3</sup>	22.36 <sup>1</sup>	56.3 <sup>1</sup>	26.12 <sup>2</sup>			24.29 <sup>2</sup>	
36.18 <sup>1</sup>	12.6 <sup>1</sup>	18.17 <sup>1</sup>	23.12 <sup>2</sup>	56.5 <sup>1</sup>	26.21 <sup>4</sup>			25.29 <sup>1</sup>	
37.29 <sup>1</sup>	12.20 <sup>4</sup>	19.7 <sup>1</sup>	23.37 <sup>1</sup>	58.20 <sup>6</sup>	27.14 <sup>2</sup>			26.1 <sup>1</sup>	
38.8 <sup>2</sup>	13.16 <sup>1</sup>	19.17 <sup>2</sup>	25.4 <sup>1</sup>	58.27 <sup>1</sup>	27.22 <sup>1</sup>			27.6 <sup>1</sup>	
42.5 <sup>4</sup>	13.26 <sup>1</sup>	19.33 <sup>2</sup>	27.19 <sup>4</sup>	60.33 <sup>4</sup>	27.26 <sup>1</sup>			28.1 <sup>1</sup>	
42.27 <sup>2</sup>	14.3 <sup>1</sup>	19.35 <sup>1</sup>	27.37 <sup>2</sup>	62.26 <sup>4</sup>	27.38 <sup>1</sup>			28.6 <sup>2</sup>	
43.9 <sup>1</sup>	14.11 <sup>1</sup>	20.4 <sup>1</sup>	28.11 <sup>2</sup>	65.3 <sup>2</sup>	30.18 <sup>5</sup>			28.29 <sup>21</sup>	
43.16 <sup>2</sup>	14.11 <sup>2</sup>	20.26 <sup>1</sup>	29.1 <sup>2</sup>	67.22 <sup>1</sup>	31.26 <sup>1</sup>			29.2 <sup>4</sup>	
45.4 <sup>1</sup>	14.12 <sup>4</sup>	21.6 <sup>1</sup>	29.9 <sup>2</sup>	71.3 <sup>2</sup>	31.29 <sup>2</sup>			29.9 <sup>2</sup>	
48.19 <sup>2</sup>	14.20 <sup>3</sup>	21.10 <sup>2</sup>	30.4 <sup>2</sup>	76.22 <sup>1</sup>	32.22 <sup>2</sup>			29.22 <sup>1</sup>	
49.10 <sup>1</sup>	14.22 <sup>1</sup>	21.14 <sup>1</sup>	31.9 <sup>2</sup>	80.13 <sup>1</sup>	32.35 <sup>1</sup>			30.1 <sup>2</sup>	
50.8 <sup>1</sup>	15.12 <sup>3</sup>	21.24 <sup>2</sup>	31.10 <sup>2</sup>	82.2 <sup>1</sup>	33.13 <sup>1</sup>			30.5 <sup>16</sup>	
53.23 <sup>1</sup>	16.28 <sup>2</sup>	22.4 <sup>1</sup>	31.14 <sup>2</sup>		33.29 <sup>1</sup>			30.23 <sup>2</sup>	
59.33 <sup>1</sup>	16.30 <sup>2</sup>	22.6 <sup>1</sup>	31.25 <sup>1</sup>		35.1 <sup>2</sup>			30.29 <sup>2</sup>	
62.7 <sup>1</sup>	16.36 <sup>2</sup>	22.30 <sup>19</sup>	32.10 <sup>2</sup>		36.11 <sup>2</sup>			31.1 <sup>2</sup>	
62.23 <sup>9</sup>	16.45 <sup>2</sup>	23.23 <sup>1</sup>	35.7 <sup>2</sup>		36.19 <sup>2</sup>			31.29 <sup>33</sup>	
63.14 <sup>1</sup>	17.3 <sup>2</sup>	23.39 <sup>3</sup>	35.8 <sup>3</sup>		38.13 <sup>2</sup>			32.14 <sup>2</sup>	
63.32 <sup>2</sup>	17.8 <sup>17</sup>	24.29 <sup>2</sup>	36.7 <sup>1</sup>		38.27 <sup>2</sup>			35.17 <sup>1</sup>	
68.33 <sup>1</sup>	18.21 <sup>2</sup>	25.1 <sup>2</sup>	36.18 <sup>2</sup>		42.28 <sup>2</sup>			36.19 <sup>4</sup>	
70.11 <sup>2</sup>	18.28 <sup>4</sup>	27.3 <sup>11</sup>	41.20 <sup>12</sup>		44.30 <sup>2</sup>			37.7 <sup>2</sup>	

OMISSIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
51/96	138/455	99/211/1	119/273/3	35/61/1	61/154/1	21/36	1/2	103/321	16/154
70.20 <sup>3</sup>	18.29 <sup>3</sup>	27.12 <sup>3</sup>	41.22 <sup>2</sup>		45.2 <sup>4</sup>			37.20 <sup>4</sup>	
70.25 <sup>1</sup>	19.34 <sup>2</sup>	29.5 <sup>5</sup>	42.7 <sup>2</sup>		50.2 <sup>1</sup>			39.3 <sup>3</sup>	
71.35 <sup>2</sup>	22.27 <sup>2</sup>	30.5 <sup>2</sup>	42.15 <sup>1</sup>		50.32 <sup>1</sup>			39.21 <sup>2</sup>	
75.14 <sup>1</sup>	22.35 <sup>34</sup>	32.18 <sup>2</sup>	43.9 <sup>2</sup>		52.11 <sup>13</sup>			39.30 <sup>3</sup>	
75.19 <sup>2</sup>	23.11 <sup>2</sup>	32.25 <sup>2</sup>	43.43 <sup>1</sup>		54.6 <sup>1</sup>			41.15 <sup>6</sup>	
76.3 <sup>1</sup>	23.30 <sup>4</sup>	33.6 <sup>1</sup>	44.14 <sup>1</sup>		54.15 <sup>2</sup>			41.35 <sup>1</sup>	
76.12 <sup>1</sup>	23.32 <sup>6</sup>	35.24 <sup>2</sup>	45.11 <sup>1</sup>		55.6 <sup>4</sup>			42.3 <sup>2</sup>	
81.34 <sup>2</sup>	23.36 <sup>3</sup>	37.35 <sup>1</sup>	45.21 <sup>1</sup>		55.20 <sup>6</sup>			43.12 <sup>2</sup>	
	27.3 <sup>11</sup>	40.7 <sup>4</sup>	46.14 <sup>1</sup>		55.35 <sup>2</sup>			43.26 <sup>1</sup>	
	27.35 <sup>2</sup>	40.26 <sup>2</sup>	46.36 <sup>1</sup>		56.13 <sup>2</sup>			43.31 <sup>2</sup>	
	30.24 <sup>2</sup>	41.23 <sup>2</sup>	47.18 <sup>2</sup>		56.15 <sup>2</sup>			44.8 <sup>3</sup>	
	30.26 <sup>2</sup>	43.35 <sup>1</sup>	48.20 <sup>2</sup>		58.17 <sup>2</sup>			44.16 <sup>2</sup>	
	30.29 <sup>2</sup>	44.16 <sup>2</sup>	48.27 <sup>2</sup>		58.32 <sup>2</sup>			45.3 <sup>2</sup>	
	30.30 <sup>2</sup>	44.30 <sup>2</sup>	48.28 <sup>1</sup>		63.16 <sup>2</sup>			45.13 <sup>1</sup>	
	31.2 <sup>2</sup>	44.30 <sup>1</sup>	49.7 <sup>2</sup>		65.6 <sup>2</sup>			45.15 <sup>4</sup>	
	31.5 <sup>1</sup>	46.7 <sup>2</sup>	<u>50.13<sup>2</sup></u>		66.30 <sup>2</sup>			49.9 <sup>6</sup>	
	31.13 <sup>1</sup>	46.21 <sup>1</sup>	<u>50.14<sup>2</sup></u>		<u>67.13<sup>2</sup></u>			49.14 <sup>4</sup>	
	31.21 <sup>2</sup>	47.17 <sup>2</sup>	52.16 <sup>2</sup>		77.8 <sup>1</sup>			51.13 <sup>21</sup>	
	32.27 <sup>1</sup>	47.23 <sup>2</sup>	52.34 <sup>2</sup>		80.17 <sup>1</sup>			51.35 <sup>4</sup>	
	34.3 <sup>2</sup>	48.2 <sup>2</sup>	53.33 <sup>2</sup>					52.21 <sup>3</sup>	
	34.14 <sup>1</sup>	48.4 <sup>2</sup>	54.9 <sup>1</sup>					52.28 <sup>3</sup>	
	35.8 <sup>2</sup>	48.19 <sup>2</sup>	54.9 <sup>2</sup>					54.22 <sup>2</sup>	
	35.15 <sup>2</sup>	48.30 <sup>2</sup>	54.16 <sup>2</sup>					55.22 <sup>1</sup>	
	37.6 <sup>1</sup>	50.13 <sup>1</sup>	54.23 <sup>1</sup>					55.31 <sup>1</sup>	
	37.9 <sup>2</sup>	51.3 <sup>2</sup>	55.11 <sup>1</sup>					55.37 <sup>1</sup>	
	37.12 <sup>1</sup>	51.22 <sup>2</sup>	55.36 <sup>2</sup>					56.6 <sup>4</sup>	
	37.28 <sup>3</sup>	53.3 <sup>1</sup>	56.10 <sup>2</sup>					56.16 <sup>1</sup>	
	38.15 <sup>19</sup>	53.27 <sup>1</sup>	56.19 <sup>4</sup>					57.16 <sup>1</sup>	
	38.28 <sup>2</sup>	54.5 <sup>2</sup>	56.31 <sup>1</sup>					58.19 <sup>2</sup>	
	39.9 <sup>2</sup>	54.6 <sup>1</sup>	57.4 <sup>4</sup>					59.13 <sup>4</sup>	
	41.27 <sup>2</sup>	54.14 <sup>1</sup>	57.22 <sup>4</sup>					59.20 <sup>2</sup>	
	43.18 <sup>6</sup>	55.18 <sup>1</sup>	58.3 <sup>1</sup>					59.30 <sup>2</sup>	
	43.18 <sup>1</sup>	55.39 <sup>2</sup>	59.12 <sup>4</sup>					59.35 <sup>4</sup>	
	44.2 <sup>2</sup>	56.13 <sup>1</sup>	59.22 <sup>2</sup>					59.39 <sup>3</sup>	
	45.2 <sup>1</sup>	56.24 <sup>2</sup>	59.40 <sup>2</sup>					60.4 <sup>1</sup>	
	45.18 <sup>3</sup>	57.7 <sup>2</sup>	60.27 <sup>5</sup>					60.5 <sup>2</sup>	
	46.36 <sup>2</sup>	57.15 <sup>2</sup>	62.4 <sup>2</sup>					60.27 <sup>5</sup>	
	47.9 <sup>2</sup>	57.15 <sup>2</sup>	62.6 <sup>2</sup>					63.33 <sup>1</sup>	
	47.11 <sup>2</sup>	58.21 <sup>2</sup>	62.20 <sup>1</sup>					66.7 <sup>2</sup>	
	49.6 <sup>2</sup>	62.6 <sup>1</sup>	62.30 <sup>4</sup>					67.17 <sup>6</sup>	
	49.26 <sup>1</sup>	64.11 <sup>1</sup>	62.30 <sup>3</sup>					68.28 <sup>2</sup>	
	50.18 <sup>1</sup>	<u>66.6<sup>2</sup></u>	63.10 <sup>5</sup>					69.7 <sup>2</sup>	
	50.21 <sup>14</sup>	67.34 <sup>2</sup>	63.20 <sup>4</sup>					70.26 <sup>2</sup>	
	50.31 <sup>2</sup>	68.6 <sup>2</sup>	64.14 <sup>2</sup>					70.26 <sup>6</sup>	



OMISSIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
51/96	138/455	99/211/1	119/273/3	35/61/1	61/154/1	21/36	1/2	103/321	16/154
	76.19 <sup>1</sup>								
	76.32 <sup>1</sup>								
	76.33 <sup>1</sup>								
	78.24 <sup>1</sup>								
	78.29 <sup>1</sup>								
	81.4 <sup>14</sup>								
	82.12 <sup>2</sup>								

## ADDITIONS

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
23/166/6 <sup>R</sup> /1	102/509/7 <sup>R</sup> /3	39/164/2 <sup>R</sup>	63/128/3 <sup>R</sup> /12	18/52	48/77/1 <sup>R</sup>	7/12/2 <sup>R</sup>	0	47/82/2 <sup>R</sup> /6	3/12/1 <sup>R</sup> /1
1.12 <sup>2</sup>	1.1 <sup>1</sup>	1.9 <sup>1</sup>	1.2 <sup>1</sup>	5.4 <sup>4R</sup>	1.6 <sup>2</sup>	3.9 <sup>1</sup>		1.30 <sup>2</sup>	3.10 <sup>7R</sup>
8.34 <sup>1</sup>	1.25 <sup>1</sup>	4.8 <sup>4</sup>	<u>1.30</u> <sup>1</sup>	12.6 <sup>2</sup>	1.44 <sup>2</sup>	11.21 <sup>2</sup>		2.35 <sup>2</sup>	51.20 <sup>1</sup>
<u>8.38</u> <sup>3</sup>	1.44 <sup>2</sup>	6.1 <sup>1</sup>	3.16 <sup>2</sup>	14.29 <sup>3</sup>	3.9 <sup>1</sup>	12.1 <sup>2</sup>		3.6 <sup>2</sup>	<u>58.20</u> <sup>4</sup>
9.31 <sup>1</sup>	2.13 <sup>1</sup>	6.25 <sup>1</sup>	5.20 <sup>2</sup>	16.18 <sup>2</sup>	4.27 <sup>1</sup>	34.7 <sup>2</sup>		7.34 <sup>2</sup>	
16.27 <sup>2R</sup>	3.3 <sup>2</sup>	6.26 <sup>5</sup>	5.28 <sup>2</sup>	17.21 <sup>1</sup>	5.27 <sup>2</sup>	36.31 <sup>1</sup>		<u>8.14</u> <sup>2</sup>	
26.11 <sup>2</sup>	3.9 <sup>1</sup>	6.29 <sup>1</sup>	6.2 <sup>2</sup>	18.6 <sup>2</sup>	7.9 <sup>2</sup> (2)	79.9 <sup>2R</sup>		9.4 <sup>1</sup>	
29.15 <sup>49R</sup>	3.22 <sup>2</sup>	8.24 <sup>1</sup>	7.1 <sup>3</sup>	24.10 <sup>1</sup>	7.23 <sup>2</sup>	80.36 <sup>2R</sup>		11.9 <sup>2</sup>	
31.16 <sup>2</sup>	6.11 <sup>2</sup>	8.34 <sup>1</sup>	<u>8.29</u> <sup>3</sup>	27.21 <sup>1</sup>	8.5 <sup>2</sup>			<u>11.26</u> <sup>1</sup>	
31.29 <sup>2</sup>	7.3 <sup>1</sup>	10.10 <sup>1</sup>	8.37 <sup>2</sup>	36.15 <sup>2</sup>	8.10 <sup>1</sup>			13.2 <sup>1</sup>	
40.26 <sup>2</sup>	7.7 <sup>2R</sup>	11.25 <sup>4</sup>	9.14 <sup>1</sup>	38.24 <sup>1</sup>	8.29 <sup>1</sup>			14.3 <sup>1</sup>	
44.32 <sup>1</sup>	8.29 <sup>3</sup>	14.11 <sup>4</sup>	9.20 <sup>1</sup>	39.18 <sup>2R</sup>	9.7 <sup>2R</sup>			14.40 <sup>1</sup>	
48.4 <sup>1</sup>	9.8 <sup>1</sup>	14.17 <sup>2</sup>	10.12 <sup>2</sup>	52.26 <sup>2</sup>	10.34 <sup>1</sup>			17.15 <sup>1</sup>	
49.25 <sup>1</sup>	9.13 <sup>2</sup>	16.57 <sup>1</sup>	10.14 <sup>2</sup>	55.12 <sup>1</sup>	11.6 <sup>1</sup>			22.14 <sup>2</sup>	
51.24 <sup>83R</sup>	10.12 <sup>2</sup>	17.25 <sup>2</sup>	11.25 <sup>2</sup>	55.26 <sup>1</sup>	12.6 <sup>1</sup>			25.12 <sup>2</sup>	
54.26 <sup>1</sup>	10.34 <sup>1</sup>	18.34 <sup>1</sup>	11.29 <sup>2</sup>	57.3 <sup>13R</sup>	14.4 <sup>2</sup>			25.22 <sup>1</sup>	
59.25 <sup>2R</sup>	12.7 <sup>1</sup>	24.18 <sup>1</sup>	<u>15.3</u> <sup>2</sup>	59.31 <sup>1</sup>	14.41 <sup>1</sup>			27.9 <sup>2</sup>	
60.1 <sup>1R</sup>	12.13 <sup>2</sup>	28.24 <sup>1</sup>	<u>16.2</u> <sup>2</sup>	78.29 <sup>6R</sup>	16.17 <sup>2</sup>			31.37 <sup>1</sup>	
67.22 <sup>2R</sup>	12.13 <sup>1</sup>	32.27 <sup>2</sup>	16.10 <sup>1</sup>	80.10 <sup>7R</sup>	17.5 <sup>2</sup>			32.39 <sup>2</sup>	
72.23 <sup>2R</sup>	12.26 <sup>2</sup>	37.24 <sup>1</sup>	16.27 <sup>1</sup>		18.6 <sup>3</sup>			33.27 <sup>1</sup>	
75.28 <sup>1</sup>	14.14 <sup>1</sup>	39.3 <sup>9R</sup>	18.6 <sup>1</sup>		19.27 <sup>2</sup>			35.8 <sup>1</sup>	
79.15 <sup>2</sup>	14.28 <sup>1</sup>	39.4 <sup>91R</sup>	<u>19.26</u> <sup>3</sup>		21.1 <sup>2</sup>			35.19 <sup>3</sup>	
79.33 <sup>2</sup>	16.24 <sup>1</sup>	41.43 <sup>1</sup>	19.27 <sup>3</sup>		21.16 <sup>1</sup>			38.22 <sup>2</sup>	
81.26 <sup>1</sup>	16.27 <sup>2</sup>	43.26 <sup>1</sup>	24.14 <sup>2</sup>		22.6 <sup>2</sup>			39.10 <sup>2</sup>	
	16.34 <sup>5</sup>	46.37 <sup>1</sup>	24.15 <sup>2</sup>		23.19 <sup>1</sup>			42.7 <sup>5R</sup>	
	17.3 <sup>2</sup>	50.29 <sup>1</sup>	24.29 <sup>2</sup>		25.26 <sup>1</sup>			42.27 <sup>2</sup>	
	17.5 <sup>2</sup>	54.9 <sup>1</sup>	27.19 <sup>1</sup>		25.30 <sup>2</sup>			44.22 <sup>1</sup>	
	17.13 <sup>1</sup>	54.19 <sup>2</sup>	27.30 <sup>2</sup>		26.18 <sup>1</sup>			46.26 <sup>1</sup>	
	17.21 <sup>1</sup>	57.26 <sup>2</sup>	28.27 <sup>1</sup>		27.1 <sup>2</sup>			51.3	
	18.25 <sup>2</sup>	58.4 <sup>4</sup>	28.31 <sup>2</sup>		27.15 <sup>5</sup>			52.6 <sup>2</sup>	
	19.31 <sup>2R</sup>	60.5 <sup>4</sup>	31.13 <sup>1</sup>		30.5 <sup>1</sup>			53.15 <sup>1</sup>	
	22.9 <sup>R</sup>	67.34 <sup>2</sup>	37.23 <sup>2</sup>		31.1 <sup>1</sup>			53.29 <sup>1</sup>	
	26.13 <sup>171R</sup>	68.22 <sup>2</sup>	38.19 <sup>2</sup>		34.17 <sup>2</sup>			54.25 <sup>1</sup>	



## ADDITIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
<u>23/166/6<sup>R</sup>/1</u>	<u>102/509/7<sup>R</sup>/3</u>	<u>39/164/2<sup>R</sup></u>	<u>63/128/3<sup>R</sup>/12</u>	18/52	48/77/1 <sup>R</sup>	7/12/2 <sup>R</sup>	0	<u>47/82/2<sup>R</sup>/6</u>	<u>3/12/1<sup>R</sup>/1</u>
	64.22 <sup>1</sup>								
	66.24 <sup>2</sup>								
	66.27 <sup>2R</sup>								
	67.35 <sup>2</sup>								
	68.12 <sup>2R</sup>								
	68.30 <sup>3</sup>								
	69.10 <sup>2</sup>								
	69.11 <sup>2</sup>								
	69.30 <sup>1</sup>								
	71.36 <sup>1</sup>								
	72.22 <sup>1</sup>								
	73.7 <sup>1</sup>								
	74.36 <sup>2</sup>								
	75.9 <sup>2</sup>								
	75.15 <sup>1</sup>								
	76.4 <sup>1</sup>								
	77.5 <sup>1</sup>								
	77.27 <sup>2</sup>								
	78.25 <sup>1</sup>								
	79.12 <sup>1</sup>								
	<u>79.26<sup>2</sup></u>								
	79.32 <sup>2</sup>								
	80.10 <sup>2</sup>								
	80.28 <sup>1</sup>								
	81.5 <sup>1</sup>								
	81.26 <sup>1</sup>								

## SUBSTITUTIONS

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
<u>23/1</u>	<u>142/4</u>	<u>91/13</u>	<u>116/36</u>	21	<u>51/3</u>	18	6	<u>54/10</u>	<u>26/11</u>
<u>1.22</u>	1.25	1.5	1.8	1.6	2.10	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.14
1.25	1.36	1.25	2.18	6.30	<u>2.39</u>	10.31	8.10	<u>2.21</u>	2.30
10.31	2.23	2.7	3.6	8.5	7.3	16.27	10.22	4.39	3.27
16.21	3.8	2.20	3.27	10.5	7.5	19.25	27.10	6.19	11.5
12.29	3.13	<u>2.38</u>	4.16	16.11	7.9	23.21	56.21	<u>7.6</u>	16.32
14.14	3.22	3.3	5.1	23.28	7.30	25.21	58.11	8.32	25.7
25.2	3.28	<u>3.16</u>	5.2	27.1	8.27	33.29		9.12	25.21
31.35	4.17	3.19	6.19	27.35	8.32	35.20		10.31	31.38
37.16	4.22	3.20	<u>7.4</u>	28.1	11.18	36.27		12.26	<u>31.39</u>
37.26	5.30	3.27	8.1	28.29	14.5(2)	36.30		<u>13.2</u>	38.27
40.5	6.15	5.27	8.10	29.12	14.22	37.18		<u>14.19</u>	<u>44.18</u>
41.31	6.16	6.24	9.9	29.17	16.1	38.21		14.26	<u>46.4</u>
50.4	6.34	<u>6.28</u>	9.16	36.25	16.54	47.10(2)		17.8	<u>46.32</u>

## SUBSTITUTIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
<u>23/1</u>	<u>142/4</u>	<u>91/13</u>	<u>116/36</u>	21	<u>51/3</u>	18	6	<u>54/10</u>	<u>26/11</u>
53.4	6.36	<u>6.29</u>	9.29	38.27	17.5	47.22		19.4	46.37
55.10	7.25	7.24	10.33	39.16	17.13	48.6		19.16	<u>47.3</u>
70.5	7.28	<u>8.14</u>	11.16	39.26	19.26	64.24		22.13	47.15
71.35	7.35	8.20	11.22	54.3	21.8	82.10		23.3	50.24
72.3	8.28	8.23	11.33	56.21	<u>21.29</u>			23.39	<u>50.32</u>
72.19	9.2	<u>9.4</u>	12.15	57.23	22.26			24.29	52.14
75.27	9.8	9.8	12.27	72.12	23.15			24.32	<u>57.29</u>
77.8	9.11	9.25	<u>12.29</u>	80.30	23.20			25.19	<u>64.14</u>
78.30	10.15	<u>9.31</u>	13.30		24.1			25.27	<u>70.6</u>
81.15	11.28	10.22	14.38		24.7			26.2	<u>72.12</u>
	13.29	13.22	14.39		24.13			27.2	<u>72.17</u>
	14.3	14.10	15.4		25.1			27.10	76.1
	14.22	<u>14.18</u>	16.53		25.7			27.24	76.19
	15.7	16.5	<u>16.56</u>		<u>25.12</u>			28.3	
	16.4	16.26	17.4		25.31			28.4	
	16.7	17.24	21.23		27.7			28.29	
	16.25	17.28	23.20		28.7			30.21	
	17.7	17.24	23.26		28.20			32.27	
	18.2	18.40	25.18		32.36			37.32	
	18.6	20.15	25.20		33.3			38.16	
	18.7	20.21	27.3		33.8			43.39	
	19.11	20.28	<u>27.8</u>		34.2			<u>44.21</u>	
	19.25	21.4	<u>27.22</u>		36.5			45.20	
	19.33	21.22	<u>27.23</u>		36.6			48.15	
	20.15	21.29	27.29		37.10			50.32	
	21.3	23.15	27.40		37.31			<u>52.20</u>	
	22.15	24.18	28.6		38.23			<u>57.3</u>	
	22.16	<u>25.20</u>	<u>30.8</u>		40.9			58.21	
	22.21	27.4	30.24		40.28			58.33	
	23.26	<u>31.11</u>	30.29		52.16			<u>58.22</u>	
	24.10	31.19	31.15		57.3			62.32	
	25.3	33.27	<u>31.39</u>		57.19			63.36	
	25.18	34.2	32.32		60.25			<u>64.26</u>	
	25.19	34.18	34.3		65.2			69.16	
	25.25	34.21	34.17		69.17			70.15	
	26.3	34.22	34.18		76.19			70.18	
	27.4	35.20	36.26		82.15			<u>74.26</u>	
	27.36	35.30	37.28					77.26	
	27.37	37.22	40.7					78.12	
	28.4	37.29	41.14					81.14	
	28.5	37.33	<u>42.5</u>					81.25	
	28.9	38.15	42.12						
	28.16	39.25	43.7						
	28.29	40.3	44.10						

## SUBSTITUTIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
<u>23/1</u>	<u>142/4</u>	<u>91/13</u>	<u>116/36</u>	21	<u>51/3</u>	18	6	<u>54/10</u>	<u>26/11</u>
	29.18	43.7	44.23						
	30.15	43.11	<u>45.8</u>						
	30.17	43.26	<u>45.25</u>						
	30.30	45.15	<u>45.25</u>						
	30.33	46.21	<u>46.34</u>						
	31.17	46.25	<u>46.35</u>						
	32.13	46.36	48.14						
	32.24(2)	48.14	48.26						
	33.27	51.37	<u>48.31</u>						
	34.18	<u>55.6</u>	49.5						
	34.22(2)	<u>55.33</u>	50.5						
	35.3	56.24	50.30						
	35.26(2)	57.34	51.1						
	35.30	58.2	51.20						
	36.34	60.2	<u>52.2</u>						
	37.8	64.3	<u>52.3</u>						
	39.7	68.15	52.17						
	39.20	69.15	<u>52.18</u>						
	39.30(2)	70.10	<u>52.25</u>						
	40.1	70.11	52.28						
	40.13	70.14	53.3						
	41.28	70.24	53.21						
	41.37	71.2	54.17						
	43.2	71.32	<u>55.6</u>						
	44.12	73.21	<u>55.7</u>						
	<u>44.21</u>	73.22	55.22						
	45.5	74.24	57.32						
	45.17	76.6	<u>57.34</u>						
	47.19	76.21	<u>58.18</u>						
	47.21	<u>80.31</u>	<u>58.32</u>						
	48.22	81.24	59.20						
	50.22	81.25	<u>62.18</u>						
	51.27	81.26	<u>62.30</u>						
	51.34	81.30	<u>63.17</u>						
	53.12		<u>64.33</u>						
	53.26		66.16(2)						
	53.31		66.36						
	<u>54.10</u>		67.9						
	54.19		<u>67.18</u>						
	55.31		68.13						
	56.9(1)		<u>68.30</u>						





## MARGINAL CORRECTIONS

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
23	12	42	115	58	22	6	3	19	8
1.33	5.7	4.40	1.20	1.33	4.36	24.24	27.29	8.26	23.28
1.42	7.7	5.9(2)	1.32	2.12	4.40	65.11	32.4	9.31	57.23
5.5	12.1	12.14	3.25	3.4	5.3	66.18	50.5	11.2	65.11
7.30	18.18	13.11	3.33	3.9	18.17	72.12		18.37	66.6
8.22	26.14	17.26	4.36	3.33	19.19	82.7		23.28	66.18
10.6	33.25	18.16	4.39	5.19	22.30	82.24		24.24	72.12
13.12	41.31	19.37	4.43	5.24	25.10			30.24	82.7
22.14	45.21	22.18	5.1	6.19	26.5			42.16	82.24
25.15	47.21	22.27	6.23	7.30	27.13			55.3	
30.2	52.29	27.31	7.8	10.18	28.18			57.25(2)	
30.13	57.27	28.29	7.29	10.28	29.5			65.11	
31.21	60.24	30.15	7.30	13.12	31.24			66.18	
31.29		31.7	8.5	15.1	31.27			69.22	
32.9		37.15	8.31	16.1	35.9			72.12	
38.28		37.23	8.33	16.22	37.15			76.20	
39.17		37.33	9.6	16.49	37.23			78.24	
43.20		41.31	9.21	16.50	49.3			82.7	
45.26		42.5	10.33	20.29	53.26			82.24	
54.22		45.23	12.14	21.6	55.5				
54.26		46.11	13.20	22.16	64.17				
60.6		49.1	14.6	22.30	69.10				
64.28		49.10	14.8	25.24	72.12				
78.1		50.2	14.30	26.9					
		55.19	16.39	26.16					
		56.14	17.5	27.12					
		58.21	17.11	28.33					
		59.16	17.14	30.18					
		59.39	18.5	32.9					
		61.27	18.25	34.9					
		64.9	19.17	34.23					
		65.3	20.25	36.8					
		66.25	20.29	41.13					
		71.8	22.27	45.4					
		71.20	22.30	46.2					
		72.23	23.24	46.28					
		74.7	23.40	47.22					
		74.19	24.1	48.25					
		75.14	24.34	53.9					
		81.10	24.35	55.11					
		81.18	25.24	55.28					
		82.17	27.24	55.34					
			27.31	56.9					

## MARGINAL CORRECTIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
23	12	42	115	58	22	6	3	19	8
			28.33	57.3					
			29.22	57.10					
			31.27	58.22					
			32.9	59.32					
			33.5	61.1					
			33.11	63.8					
			34.9	64.17					
			37.31	64.31					
			37.33	65.11					
			38.23	66.18					
			38.28	70.26					
			39.15	70.27					
			41.13	72.12					
			41.20	72.22					
			41.28	80.27					
			42.5	82.7					
			43.10	82.24					
			43.29						
			43.41						
			44.30						
			45.18						
			46.11						
			46.12						
			46.25						
			46.27						
			46.34						
			47.2						
			47.23						
			49.19						
			50.13						
			50.22						
			50.23						
			51.20						
			51.29						
			52.1						
			55.11						
			55.34						
			56.9						
			57.7						
			57.13						
			57.14						
			59.31						
			60.14						
			61.1						

## MARGINAL CORRECTIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
23	12	42	115	58	22	6	3	19	8
			61.12						
			62.8						
			63.13						
			63.24						
			64.16						
			64.17						
			65.11						
			66.1						
			66.22						
			66.25						
			67.18						
			67.20						
			67.24						
			70.28						
			71.36						
			72.12						
			73.4						
			73.23						
			76.16						
			77.7						
			78.24						
			80.27						
			81.8						
			81.11						
			81.22						
			81.35						
			82.1						
			82.7						
			82.24						

## MARGINAL NOTES

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
5	3/2 <sup>L</sup>	2	0	0	0	1	0	16/12 <sup>L</sup>	16/12 <sup>L</sup>
8.39	57.3	44.5				23.36		8.27	8.25
9.18	65.11 <sup>L</sup>	44.6						23.22 <sup>L</sup>	23.22 <sup>L</sup>
18.4	78.2 <sup>L</sup>							23.36	23.36
18.24								24.34 <sup>L</sup>	24.34 <sup>L</sup>
46.39								27.28 <sup>L</sup>	27.28 <sup>L</sup>
								27.38 <sup>L</sup>	27.38 <sup>L</sup>
								28.12 <sup>L</sup>	28.12 <sup>L</sup>
								36.7 <sup>L</sup>	35.12 <sup>L</sup>
								37.22 <sup>L</sup>	37.22 <sup>L</sup>
								43.7	43.7

## MARGINAL NOTES (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
5	3/2 <sup>L</sup>	2	0	0	0	1	0	16/12 <sup>L</sup>	16/12 <sup>L</sup>
								43.12	43.12
								43.13 <sup>L</sup>	43.13 <sup>L</sup>
								43.18 <sup>L</sup>	43.18 <sup>L</sup>
								44.7 <sup>L</sup>	44.7 <sup>L</sup>
								67.15 <sup>L</sup>	67.15 <sup>L</sup>
								81.31 <sup>L</sup>	81.31 <sup>L</sup>

## DELETIONS

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
20/16 <sup>R</sup>	3/1 <sup>R</sup>	11/5 <sup>R</sup>	11/7 <sup>R</sup>	63/23 <sup>R</sup>	8/2 <sup>R</sup>	6/3 <sup>R</sup>	1	5/3 <sup>R</sup>	1
1.32	2.8 <sup>R</sup>	8.14	3.27 <sup>R</sup>	1.25 <sup>R</sup>	2.10	3.10	8.33	4.32 <sup>R</sup>	78.8
7.36 <sup>R</sup>	52.29	9.10 <sup>R</sup>	15.12 <sup>R</sup>	1.39	30.8 <sup>R</sup>	5.4		19.35 <sup>R</sup>	
19.19 <sup>R</sup>	58.20	12.3	19.36	2.36	45.4	18.17		37.3 <sup>R</sup>	
19.34 <sup>R</sup>		18.32 <sup>R</sup>	27.1 <sup>R</sup>	3.4	45.24	34.11 <sup>R</sup>		50.1(2)	
20.5		22.17	32.30	3.5	54.22	39.18 <sup>R</sup>		79.4	
21.16 <sup>R</sup>		42.21	38.8 <sup>R</sup>	3.27 <sup>R</sup>	79.17 <sup>R</sup>	70.5 <sup>R</sup>			
24.19 <sup>R</sup>		46.25 <sup>R</sup>	42.5 <sup>R</sup>	4.16 <sup>R</sup>	81.18				
32.26 <sup>R</sup>		50.2	46.12	5.13	81.24				
36.20 <sup>R</sup>		55.28 <sup>R</sup>	46.35	10.26 <sup>R</sup>					
40.2 <sup>R</sup>		56.22	65.26 <sup>R</sup>	12.15 <sup>R</sup>					
43.25 <sup>R</sup>		76.2 <sup>R</sup>	71.9 <sup>R</sup>	13.7					
50.22				16.15 <sup>R</sup>					
57.20				17.15 <sup>R</sup>					
61.21 <sup>R</sup>				19.10					
67.35 <sup>R</sup>				19.34 <sup>R</sup>					
69.23 <sup>R</sup>				19.36					
74.22 <sup>R</sup>				20.10 <sup>R</sup>					
76.6 <sup>R</sup>				21.14					
76.21 <sup>R</sup>				21.19					
76.26 <sup>R</sup>				22.17 <sup>R</sup>					
				23.11					
				23.17					
				24.2 <sup>R</sup>					
				25.9 <sup>R</sup>					
				28.10					
				31.25 <sup>R</sup>					
				31.28					
				31.32 <sup>R</sup>					
				31.34					
				31.36					
				33.9 <sup>R</sup>					
				33.12 <sup>R</sup>					
				35.12					

## DELETIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
20/16 <sup>R</sup>	3/1 <sup>R</sup>	11/5 <sup>R</sup>	11/7 <sup>R</sup>	63/23 <sup>R</sup>	8/2 <sup>R</sup>	6/3 <sup>R</sup>	1	5/3 <sup>R</sup>	1
				35.32 <sup>R</sup>					
				36.7					
				38.8 <sup>R</sup>					
				38.14					
				39.11					
				45.24					
				46.1					
				48.25					
				49.17					
				49.19 <sup>R</sup>					
				51.21					
				52.1					
				52.21					
				54.4					
				55.21					
				56.4					
				56.16 <sup>R</sup>					
				57.10					
				57.29					
				58.1					
				58.19					
				59.29					
				63.32					
				65.26 <sup>R</sup>					
				70.23					
				71.9 <sup>R</sup>					
				71.36					
				71.40					
				74.18					
				78.33 <sup>R</sup>					

## ERASURES

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
3/1 <sup>R</sup>	1	5	24	14	8	0	0	0	1
19.21	3.28	3.31	7.31	3.13	3.31				25.5
23.1 <sup>R</sup>		9.4	8.33	4.39	4.42				
51.15		12.9	9.20	7.31	16.4				
		40.4	14.15	8.3	16.49				
		71.22	17.14	10.14	17.21				
			17.21	11.17	26.23				
			18.27	13.4	35.21				
			19.10	21.4	81.23				
			36.15	25.21					

ERASURES (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
3/1 <sup>R</sup>	1	5	24	14	8	0	0	0	1
			39.18	45.3					
			39.26	54.6					
			42.27	55.12					
			44.16	67.11					
			45.13	74.30					
			46.1						
			51.21						
			54.6						
			55.12						
			55.21						
			57.10						
			57.29						
			59.25						
			67.11						
			71.26						

## INTERLINEAR CORRECTIONS

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
30	10	23	62	120	11	14	4	16	3
9.10	20.13	6.15	3.26	3.18	10.28	1.34	13.27	7.34	68.22
13.5	20.28	8.18	6.22	3.26	20.4	1.39	17.4	12.29	68.27
16.10	43.10	22.17	7.26	7.21	27.9	6.17	35.10	13.11	70.22
18.25	43.22	23.5	7.37	7.26	37.35	7.15	46.10	13.12	
18.29	43.41	24.15	9.4	7.28	47.18	16.20		14.41	
27.26	44.14	28.32	9.19	8.28	65.23	18.6		32.21	
29.15	47.10	39.4	10.14	8.33	67.40	23.31		33.14	
30.35	50.24	41.5	10.18	9.4	69.3	37.16		43.19	
32.24	75.23	46.16	10.25	9.6	76.26	37.26		44.23	
35.8	81.24	47.18	10.34	9.8	77.11	44.10		44.24	
35.9		50.18	13.12	10.1	78.14	48.24		44.25	
37.2		50.22	16.33	10.18		62.1		55.12	
42.4		51.18	18.33	10.25		62.29		63.30	
48.13		57.2	19.21	10.34		70.1		71.35	
52.29		57.32	19.22	11.7				78.8	
54.15		58.11	22.6	11.25				79.4	
57.18(2)		68.31	23.39	12.3					
58.17		70.1	24.16	12.21					
64.19		72.1	27.35	13.7					
65.17		75.7	31.34	13.11					
70.14(2)		80.19	34.3	14.6					
71.37		80.21	37.16	14.6					

## INTERLINEAR CORRECTIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
30	10	23	62	120	11	14	4	16	3
76.22		81.12	40.11	14.31					
76.38			41.4	15.7					
76.39			42.11	16.12					
77.10			43.7	16.40					
77.32			43.19	18.10					
82.11			44.32	18.17					
			45.13	18.33					
			46.7	19.22					
			46.22	19.32					
			47.10	20.25					
			47.22	20.27					
			49.7(2)	22.6					
			52.15	22.9					
			52.35	22.15(2)					
			53.19	23.11					
			54.8	23.19					
			54.17	23.24					
			55.34	23.26					
			56.15	23.39					
			56.36	23.40					
			57.5	24.1					
			57.27	27.14					
			58.28	27.35					
			58.29(2)	28.3					
			59.41	30.15					
			62.17	31.9					
			62.20	31.12					
			62.25	31.22					
			62.27	31.23					
			64.27	31.28					
			64.28	32.6					
			68.20	32.10					
			70.26	34.3					
			71.3	36.15					
			72.33	37.16					
			73.15	37.26					
			75.14	38.28					
			81.10	39.31					
				40.11					
				40.15					
				40.24					
				45.13					

## INTERLINEAR CORRECTIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
30	10	23	62	120	11	14	4	16	3
				46.7					
				47.10					
				48.16					
				49.7(2)					
				50.13					
				50.25					
				51.20					
				51.29					
				52.4					
				52.35					
				53.9					
				54.8					
				54.13					
				56.13					
				56.15					
				56.16					
				56.36					
				57.5(2)					
				58.11					
				58.16					
				58.29(2)					
				58.32					
				59.29					
				59.31					
				62.11					
				63.7					
				63.34					
				64.28					
				64.32					
				65.14					
				66.22					
				67.29					
				68.2					
				68.20					
				68.28					
				71.27					
				71.29					
				71.40					
				72.22					
				72.33					

## INTERLINEAR CORRECTIONS (cont.)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
30	10	23	62	120	11	14	4	16	3
				73.7					
				73.15					
				74.27					
				75.14					
				76.20					
				76.22					
				78.24					
				78.29					
				79.33					
				81.9					
				81.10					
				81.15					

## CORRECTIONS WITHIN THE TEXT

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	K	L
0	0	0	4	8	1	1	1	7	0
			6.25	6.19	49.25	23.28	17.26	35.21	
			51.18	18.21(2)				44.8	
			74.18	22.21				46.15	
			74.30	33.14				49.5	
				33.16				49.13	
				34.9				58.3	
				81.28				82.10	

## Abbreviations

## Abbreviations in the Manuscripts

## 1. Libraries and Archives

GIM	State Historical Museum, Moscow (Государственный исторический музей)
RGB	Russian State Library, Moscow (Российская государственная библиотека)
RNB	Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg (Российская национальная библиотека)

## 2. Manuscript Collections

Nik.	Collection of P.N. Nikiforov (RGB, Moscow)
Ovč.	Collection of P.A. Ovčinnikov (RGB, Moscow)
Pog.	Collection of N.P. Pogodin (RNB, Saint-Petersburg)
Sin.	Collection of Sinodal Library (GIM, Moscow)
Sof.	Collection of Sophia Library (RNB, Saint-Petersburg)
Sol.	Collection of Solovetsk Monastery (RNB, Saint-Petersburg)
Tsa.	Collection of Tsar manuscripts (GIM, Moscow)
Vol.	Collection of Iosifo-Volokolamsk Monastery (RGB, Moscow)

## 3. Other Abbreviations

f., ff.	Leaf, leaves
MS, MSS	Manuscript(s)
<i>r</i> = <i>recto</i>	Right hand side
<i>sec.</i> = <i>secundus</i>	Second
<i>sine</i>	Without, except
<i>v</i> = <i>verso</i>	Left hand side
VMĀ (BMЧ)	<i>Great Menaion Reader (Velikie Minei Četii)</i>
>	Omitted

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**Abstract.** This article introduces the readers to the scribal habits/practices in ten Slavonic manuscripts that contain Athanasius' *Second Oration against the Arians*. These scribal habits are classified and analyzed according to eleven categories: (1) omissions, (2) additions, (3) substitutions, (4) transpositions, (5) non-sense readings, (6) marginal corrections, (7) marginal notes, (8) deletions, (9) erasures, (10) interlinear corrections, and (11) corrections within the text. The analysis of each manuscript is accompanied with the statistical tables that summarize the collected data according to these eleven categories, and there is a longer summary table in the Appendix. Of the ten manuscripts, two are analyzed in more detail as a way of illustrating how the *Orations* were copied and read in medieval times, and how theological concerns and local contexts affected the scribe's interaction with the text.

**Keywords:** Scribal habits, Athanasius of Alexandria, *Orations against the Arians*

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## CRYPTO-CHRISTIANITY AND RELIGIOUS HYBRIDISATION IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS: A CASE STUDY (1599–1622)

Catholic confessionalisation in particular and religious identities in general developed some unusual characteristics in the early modern Balkans, at that time the European frontier of the Ottoman empire<sup>1</sup>. In such a context, Catholic missionaries carrying out their pastoral duties, acted as “passeurs culturels” – as Serge Gruzinski and Louise Bénat Tachot would say<sup>2</sup> – seeking to communicate and mediate between people from different religious and ethnic groups.

At the same time, however, they still were proper guardians of the Roman Catholicism and thus had a twofold task: *fideles catholici in catholica fide confirmarentur et schismatici haeresibusque infecti christiani ad fidei catholicae Romanae [...] ad rectam semitam revocarentur atque erudirentur*<sup>3</sup>. For that reason, missionaries and apostolic visitors devoted plenty of attention to displays of religious syncretism which they came across. In their reports, for instance, Catholic missionaries describe several cases of hidden Catholicism. What do they mean by using this peculiar definition?

The Albanian scholar Stavro Skendi, in his essay *Crypto-Christianity in the Balkans under the Ottomans*<sup>4</sup> defines crypto-Christianity – or hidden Christianity – as *the appearance of individuals or groups who, while publicly professing Islam, satisfied their consciences by practising Christianity-Orthodox or Catholic – in private*<sup>5</sup>. According to Skendi, this peculiar religious phenomenon is *a complicated subject [about which] available information is scarce. If we exclude the reports of Catholic clergymen we are left mainly with fragmentary information from various travellers and researchers*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. MOLNÁR, *Confessionalization on the Frontier. The Balkan Catholics between Roman Reform and Ottoman Reality*, Roma 2019; IDEM, *Le Saint-Siège, Raguse et les missions catholiques de la Hongrie ottomane 1572–1647*, Roma–Budapest 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. L. BÉNAT TACHOT, S. GRUZINSKI, *Passeurs culturels. Mécanismes de métissage*, Paris 2001.

<sup>3</sup> M. VANINO, *Autobiografija Bartola Kašića [Autobiography of Bartol Kašić]*, Zagreb 1940 [= GPKH, 15], p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> S. SKENDI, *Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans*, SRev 26.2, 1967, p. 227–246.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

As a matter of fact, Catholic missionaries used to take notes and record the most significant events involving various religious groups living in the Balkans. As it has been demonstrated<sup>7</sup>, those detailed and precious sources of information could help us shed light on the peculiar social and religious system present under Ottoman rule. Skendi himself commented on a variety of examples from missionaries' reports to clarify crypto-Christianity. In this regard, I would like to mention an interesting episode witnessed by Marino Bizzi, appointed as the Archbishop of Antivari in 1608. The Catholic missionary took a trip to Albania and visited the city of Kalevaç. Skendi wrote: *he was approached by a Moslem who told him that, although he professed Islam in his heart he held the Christian faith, in which he wanted to live and die*<sup>8</sup>.

More recently, Noel Malcolm has discussed and analysed that complicated situation. In his essay *Crypto-Christianity and Religious Amphibianism in the Ottoman Balkans. The Case of Kosovo*<sup>9</sup>, the author defines this phenomenon as a family tradition, a cultural endowment "transferred from generation to generation" and particularly prevalent in the area covering present day Albania and Kosovo. In this regard it is important to clarify that examples of crypto-Christianity – as proved by missionaries' reports – were not homogeneously widespread throughout the Balkan peninsula, as this vast area was characterised by a serious lack of uniformity in terms of religious communities and ethnic groups, resulting in a kaleidoscopic and entangled environment<sup>10</sup>.

As Malcolm has correctly pointed out, in fact crypto-Christianity is not a genuine example of religious syncretism. He added: *in indirect ways the common or borrowed practices of syncretism may have helped to sustain an environment in which it was easier for crypto-Christianity to exist*<sup>11</sup>. This is unquestionably true. In fact, we should not forget that, in the Ottoman Balkans, we can also discover examples of crypto-Judaism, as shown, for instance, by Ivan Biliarsky

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance A. NDRECA, *L'Albania nell'Archivio di Propaganda Fide*, Città del Vaticano 2017; G. PIZZORUSSO, *Governare le missioni, conoscere il mondo nel XVII secolo. La Congregazione pontificia De Propaganda Fide*, Viterbo 2018; I.G. TÓTH, *Missionaries as Cultural Intermediaries in Religious Borderland: Habsburg Hungary and Ottoman Hungary in the Seventeenth Century*, [in:] *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. I, *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. H. SCHILLING, I.G. TÓTH, Cambridge 2007, p. 25–46. See also N. MALCOLM, *Kosovo. A Short History*, New York 1998.

<sup>8</sup> S. SKENDI, *Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area...*, p. 236.

<sup>9</sup> N. MALCOLM, *Crypto-Christianity and Religious Amphibianism in the Ottoman Balkans. The Case of Kosovo*, [in:] *Religious Quest and National Identity in the Balkans*, ed. H. NORRIS, M. HEPPELL, C. HAWKESWORTH, London 2001, p. 91–110. See also S. ZEFI, *Islamizacija Albanaca i fenomen ljarmanstva tijekom stoljeća (XV.–XX.)*. *Razlozi i stav Katoličke crkve [The islamisation of the Albanians and the phenomenon of ljarmanstvo (biconfessionality) down the centuries (15<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup>). Causes and position of the Catholic Church]*, Zagreb 2003. This work was first published in Albanian in 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Here we will be dealing specifically with manifestations of hidden Christianity from Western and Central Balkans.

<sup>11</sup> N. MALCOLM, *Crypto-Christianity...*, p. 96.

in his studies<sup>12</sup>. Rossitsa Gradeva in her essay *Apostasy in Rumeli in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century*<sup>13</sup> mentions another example of crypto-Christianity from Bulgaria: an Orthodox neo-martyr, Nikolay, who had been converted to Islam (he was forced, according to his *Vita*) and thus *spent nearly twelve months between the two faiths, secretly professing Christianity*<sup>14</sup>. Eventually Nikolay rejected Islam and firmly declared himself to be a Christian. Subsequently, he was taken to court, charged with apostasy and put to death.

Such disguised religiosity in early modern Europe did not exist exclusively in the Balkan environment. Let me give another example. In 1970 the Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg published a notable book *Il nicodemismo. Simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del '500*<sup>15</sup>, addressing a similar phenomenon in 16<sup>th</sup> century Christian Europe, *nicodemism*. Incidentally, the term 'nicodemite' was introduced by John Calvin in 1543 to define Protestant people living in Catholic lands who observed the Catholic ways to avoid persecution. Episodes of crypto-Judaism and crypto-Islamism also took place in the multi-confessional late medieval and early modern Spain where the Marranos (Jews converted to Catholicism) and Moriscos (Muslim people converted to the Catholic faith) were widely present<sup>16</sup>.

Accounts from Catholic missionaries serving in the Balkans offer plenty of examples of hidden Christianity. In his publication, Malcolm remarked that – based on missionaries' documents – the first evidence of crypto-Christianity dates back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. And he refers to an earlier "potential" evidence of hidden Christianity in an Ottoman report of 1568. According to this document, Muslims living in the Debar area used to take their new-born children to priests to give them a Christian name, and then, at another time, they went to the Islamic religious leaders. But, Malcom notes, *we cannot tell whether this was proper crypto-Christianity or merely a quasi-magical syncretist practice*<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> I. BILIARSKY, *Two Documents Concerning the Matrimonial Relations amongst the Balkan Jews in the Late Middle Ages*, [in:] *To Be or Not to Be a Jew. On Conversion to or Renouncing Judaism*, ed. A. CORNEA, M. STANCIU, Bucarest 2014, p. 141–147.

<sup>13</sup> R. GRADEVA, *Apostasy in Rumeli in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century*, [in:] *Rumeli Under the Ottomans: 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Institutions and Communities*, Istanbul 2004, p. 287–368.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 296.

<sup>15</sup> C. GINZBURG, *Il nicodemismo. Simulazione e dissimulazione religiosa nell'Europa del '500*, Torino 1970.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. S. SKENDI, *Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area...*, p. 227; about religious coexistence in Spain, where the new *conversos* were often suspected or accused of apostasy, see, for instance, G. FIUME, *La cacciata dei moriscos e la beatificazione di Juan de Ribera*, Brescia 2014; *Identidades cuestionadas. Coexistencia y conflictos interreligiosos en el mediterráneo (ss. XIV–XVIII)*, ed. B. FRANCO, B. POMARA, M. LOMA, B. RUIZ, Valencia 2016; F. ALFIERI, *Espellere i «moriscos»*, [in:] *Introduzione alla storia moderna*, ed. V. LAVENIA, M. BELLABARBA, Bologna 2018, p. 335–344.

<sup>17</sup> N. MALCOLM, *Crypto-Christianity...*, p. 97–98.

In fact, we must admit that similar practices were widespread in the Ottoman Balkans, since religious identities and boundaries were often blurred. For instance, Muslims, Orthodoxies and Catholics used to take part in common celebrations or prayers before the same sacred images, as was the case in Olovo (present day Bosnia), where an icon of the Virgin, considered to be miracle-working, was commonly worshipped as people sought remedies against diseases<sup>18</sup>.

But interestingly enough we do have an earlier document proving the proper existence of crypto-Christianity. In 1599, Vincenzo di Augustino, a chaplain from Dubrovnik serving as a missionary in the Ottoman Buda, sent a report to the Holy Office which turns out to be extremely relevant to our analysis. It was discovered and published by the Hungarian historian Antal Molnar in 2013<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> M. BALÁZS, A. FRICSY, L. LUKÁCS, I. MONOK, *Erdélyi és hodołtsági jezuita missiok*, vol. I.1, 1609–1616, Szeged 1990.

<sup>19</sup> A. MOLNÁR, *A Chaplain from Dubrovnik in Ottoman Buda: Vincenzo di Augustino and his Report to the Roman Inquisition about the Situation of the Balkan Catholicism*, *DAN* 18, 2014, p. 95–121.

I recently focused on earlier examples of crypto-Christianity. In the unpublished autobiography of Giulio Mancinelli SJ, a missionary in the Balkans from 1575–1576 (he spent about two years in the Ragusa area – in present day Dubrovnik, Croatia) and again in 1583 on his way to Constantinople, where he was supposed to establish a Jesuit mission, he sheds more light on the matter.

Father Mancinelli began his life story in 1602, and provided a detailed account of his pastoral activities, travels and religious experiences. In Chapter 8, *Delle missioni et viaggi che fece nelle parti della Turchia* [*Missions and travels in the Ottoman Empire*], he carefully describes a very interesting practice: *Trovò che turchi, cioè i rinegati di quei paesi alli turchi soggetti, facevano occultamente battezzare i loro figliuoli, celebrare le nozze dal curato et benedire le sepolture di loro morti al modo christiano, essendo la maggior parte di loro restati d'animo christiano, solamente per certi loro interessi della robba, preso quella setta nello esteriore* (M. KORADE, *Julije Mancinelli o dubrovačkoj okolici (1575/76)*, “Vrela i Prinosi” 16, 1986, p. 148. To the best of my knowledge, only the few pages about Mancinelli’s first stay in Ragusa have been published in the aforementioned article). Christian people who converted to Islam, he wrote, commonly used to celebrate marriage, administer baptism and bury their dead according to Christian religious and ritual traditions, since they publicly acted as Muslims but secretly still identified themselves otherwise: according to Father Mancinelli, they merely pursued their economic interest by converting to Islam. Mancinelli thus verifies that crypto-Christianity was becoming commonplace in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

But there is a second, yet unpublished evidence of crypto-Christianity which involves the Balkan peninsula and deserves a special attention. During his stay in Constantinople (1583–1585), Mancinelli bumped into a “Turk”, who came out as a former captain of Italian origin, Urbano from Ferrara. This man described his life, military and religious experience very carefully. He used to serve as a Captain, but eventually he became the head of a gang of bandits. Being a criminal, he was seriously unpopular among the Italian princes and nobles and subsequently forced to flee abroad, seeking refuge in Kotor (Catarro) and then in Hercegnovi (Castel nuovo del Turco) to avoid arrest. Unfortunately, the Republic of Venice kept looking for him. So Urbano converted to Islam and the local voivode helped him reach Constantinople, where he settled being identified as a proper muslim. *Queste cose dicendo amaramente piangeva sospirando, et per segnale ch'èi era interiormente christiano, si cavò dalla tasca la corona, quale soleva dire ogni giorno* (ARSI, *Vita* 19, f. 104v.). So he publicly decided to embrace Islam, but secretly kept professing Christianity. He was desperate and

The Ragusan chaplain, in his letter to Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro, attempted to summarise the problems that missionaries and priests had to face in the Ottoman Balkans. As the chaplain explains, he had often met Muslim people (*qualche Turco*) claiming they had been forced to embrace the Islamic religion, being captured by the Ottomans. But secretly, those people – who used to be Christian (*fui Cristiano*) – kept worshipping the Christian God and preaching about the Virgin. Those crypto-Christians asked for the missionary's absolution and forgiveness, but di Augustino did not know how to handle the matter and wrote to the Holy Office in Rome asking for instructions.

As far as I am concerned, this proves that in 1599 the practice was already consolidated and more than likely used as a concrete strategy and a custom. In another similar but later case we could look at the report written by Marino Bizzi in 1622<sup>20</sup>. As the archbishop of Antivari, he undertook a visitation and subsequently sent a letter to the newly formed Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome. He had noticed that so-called “secret” or “hidden” Christianity was quite common among Albanians: they only converted to Islam to avoid persecution and tax burdens, he claimed.

As Leften Stavrianos pointed out in his book *The Balkans since 1453*, generally speaking Christians *suffered from various disabilities and discrimination but despite this, they enjoyed more freedom than did the various minorities in contemporary Christendom*<sup>21</sup>. As a result, the Ottoman conquest did not achieve a mass conversion throughout the Balkan peninsula. That occurred only in a few specific regions such as Bosnia and Albania.

Jews and Christians (both Orthodoxies and Catholics), as non-Muslims, enjoyed the legal status of *dhimmitude*, which was, in fact, *a tool able to combine both tolerance and intolerance in a flexible, coherent and relatively efficient policy*<sup>22</sup>.

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keen on seeking redemption: to prove his sincerity, he showed the little crown he used for his prayer. Hopefully, I will be able to devote more attention to this evidence in the near future as I recently started working on Mancinelli's autobiography. However, we can say that even in this peculiar case, crypto-Christianity is described by Mancinelli as a strategy and a useful ploy used to avoid an unpleasant consequence.

<sup>20</sup> This report was previously unknown since Antal Molnar found it and published it in 2013. Cf. A. MOLNÁR, *A Dél-Balkán Képe Rómában. Marino Bizzi antivari érsek két kiadatlan beszámolója Szerbiáról és Albániáról (1622)* [The Roman View of the Southern Balkans. Two unpublished reports by Archbishop Marino Bizzi of Antivari on Serbia and Albania (1622)], [in:] IDEM, *Kalmárok és Káplánok az oszmán birodalomban. Források és tanulmányok a balkáni és hodoltági katolicizmus 16–17. Századi történetéhez*, Budapest 2013, p. 131–135. Marino Bizzi identifies himself as the *Arciverscovo di Antivari humilissimo servitore delle vostre signorie illustrissime e reverendissime [...] capo spirituale d'una numerosa christianità fra i Turchi nei Regni di Macedonia, Albania, Servia e Bulgaria* (p. 131).

<sup>21</sup> L.S. STAVRIANOS, *The Balkans since 1453*, New York 2000, p. 105.

<sup>22</sup> R.-D. CHELARU, *Between Coexistence and Assimilation: Catholic Identity and Islam in the Western Balkans (Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries)*, RI 23.3/4, 2012, p. 291–324.

This odd legal position allowed Christian people to preserve their religious faith. As I said earlier, people were not forced to embrace the Islamic religion, as the Jesuit missionary Marino de Bonis also stated in a letter written in 1617: *in Turchia è libertà di coscienza ed ad ogn'uno è lecito professar la fede che vole*<sup>23</sup> [*in the Ottoman land people experienced a certain freedom when it came to freedom of religions*].

But to do so Christians and Jews had to pay an additional tax, known as *cizye*. By paying this specific poll-tax, those people could rely on a guarantee of protection but in fact they were also relegated to a subordinate legal and social status, being subjected to a set of discriminatory rules which regulated their duties and boundaries and governed interreligious relations. As the scholar Eleni Gara aptly states, those who failed to follow these rules could experience serious reprisals and consequences, including enslavement and death<sup>24</sup>.

This Ottoman custom could pave the way for conversions to Islam – being considered as a part of the Muslim community was undoubtedly useful in terms of economic and political advantages, especially for men<sup>25</sup>. For this reason, the need to be publicly and socially identified as Muslim is not surprising at all. It did not matter whether conversions to Islam were simulated or authentic<sup>26</sup>. In di Augustino's aforementioned paper, for instance, the chaplain mentioned the existence of another custom which was widespread among the Balkan Catholics: Christian people travelling with "Turks" during Lent often stopped fasting and consumed meat and dairy products since they preferred not to be identified as Christians.

I would like to broaden our discussion to look at another example. The Jesuit missionary Marino de Bonis claimed in a report written in 1617 from Belgrade that Catholics in "Servia, Slavonia et Ungheria" used to live surrounded by "enemies" (namely Turks, 'Schismatics', Lutherans, Calvinists)<sup>27</sup>. Moreover, as proven by accounts of some missionaries, Balkan Catholic communities often suffered from

<sup>23</sup> M. BALÁZS, A. FRICSY, L. LUKÁCS, I. MONOK, *Erdélyi és hódoltsági jezsuita missiok...*, p. 299.

<sup>24</sup> E. GARA, *Conceptualizing Interreligious Relations in the Ottoman Empire: the Early Modern Centuries*, APH 116, 2017, p. 59. In her essay Eleni Gara effectively summarises the variety of interpretations and theories about the alleged Ottoman tolerance towards non-Muslims living within the empire. As a matter of fact, this is a concept which has been extensively discussed by scholars and researchers. In this regard, she puts the accent on *the shift from an emphasis on the oppression of the non-Muslims to that on toleration* (p. 87).

<sup>25</sup> R.-D. CHELARU, *Between Coexistence and Assimilation...*, p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> About conversions see T. KRSTIĆ, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford Cal. 2011.

<sup>27</sup> *Tra li fiumi Savo, Dravo, Drino e Danubio si trova infinito numero di christiani miserabilissimi che stanno nelle province di Servia, Slavonia et Ungheria [...]. Questi popoli sono di natione ungara e slavons, e stanno sotto l'acerbissimo a tirannico dominio de' turchi, e sono atoratiati da ogni banda di heretici, luterani, ariani, calvinisti, anabatisti, ed altri scismatici; i quali come tanti lupi arrabiati non cessano di scannare quelle povere pecorelle con acutissimi denti dei loro falsi e perversi dogmi; onde molte migliaia di persone hanno lasciato la vera cattolica religione et abbracciato la loro maledette setta* (M. BALÁZS, A. FRICSY, L. LUKÁCS, I. MONOK, *Erdélyi és hódoltsági jezsuita missiok...*, p. 298).

a severe lack of financial support and they were in need of educated priests. This situation – De Bonis stated – could trigger conversions from one religious confession (in this case Catholic) to another (i.e. Orthodox Christianity)<sup>28</sup>. Furthermore, the buildings used for religious services were frequently shared – thus, Balkan Catholics could often end up carrying out unusual rituals and “schismatic” celebrations, some of which were described by the missionaries in terms of superstition and magic<sup>29</sup>. This particular kind of coexistence necessarily determined an overlap among religious customs. In other words, the 17<sup>th</sup>-century multi-confessional Balkans represented an ideal breeding ground for ritual hybridisation as clear-cut religious boundaries and identities could hardly exist in that peculiar context. As Antal Molnár has pointed out,

in contrast with the Tridentine church model, Balkan Catholicism was characterised by transconfessional links, deficiencies in indoctrination, severe and irremediable problems of church discipline, and uncertain jurisdictional boundaries<sup>30</sup>.

Of course, when thinking about hidden Christianity, one should not forget this complex religious and cultural jigsaw, where so many confessional groups lived together. From this perspective, crypto-Christianity could be seen as a significant part of a strongly enmeshed system.

In this regard, one more issue should be mentioned here. The 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries have been defined as the “age of confessionalisation” in Western Europe: Christian confessions (Lutheranism, Catholicism, and Calvinism) penetrated all layers of spiritual, social, public and private life, functioning as a regulatory agent and shaping the society itself. Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, who are considered to be the fathers of this paradigm, define confessionalisation as the first phase of early modern absolutism or “social disciplining”<sup>31</sup>.

Can this be applied to Balkan Catholicism? Undoubtedly the papacy attempted to standardise and regulate Balkan Catholicism and the lives of the people, and

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 299.

<sup>30</sup> A. MOLNÁR, *Confessionalization on the Frontier...*, p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. H. SCHILLING, *From Empires to Family Circles: Religious and Cultural Borderlines in the age of Confessionalisation* (with I. G. Tóth), [in:] *Cultural Exchange in...*, p. 25–46; IDEM, *La confessionalisation et le système international*, [in:] *L'Europe des traités de Westphalie. Esprit de la diplomatie et diplomatie de l'esprit*, ed. L. BELY, Paris 2000, p. 411–428; IDEM, *Confessione e identità politica in Europa agli inizi dell'età moderna (XV–XVIII secolo)*, C.RIT 6, 1995, p. 970–983; IDEM, *Konfessionalisierung und Formierung eines internationalen Systems während der frühen Neuzeit*, [in:] *Die Reformation in Deutschland und Europa. Interpretationen und Debatten*, ed. H. GUGGISBERG, G. KRODEL, Gütersloh 1993, p. 597–613; W. REINHARD, *Stato e modernità*, [in:] *Le radici storiche dell'Europa. L'età moderna*, ed. M.A. VISCEGLIA, Roma 2007, p. 25–37; IDEM, *Il pensiero politico moderno*, Bologna 2000; IDEM, *Confessionalizzazione forzata? Prolegomeni ad una teoria dell'età confessionale*, AISIT 8, 1982, p. 13–38.

intended to do so through its missionaries, genuine agents of Catholic confession-alisation on the last frontier of European Christianity. But as we already noted, the Balkan framework was completely different, being characterised by an endemic lack of homogeneity. Moreover, that territory was part of the Ottoman Empire, a powerful state in the Islamic world.

Therefore, the documents we referred to are extremely relevant since they very neatly show the reality that missionaries used to face while carrying out their pas-toral duties: sometimes they had to mediate between the endemic features of the mission territory and Catholic orthodoxy and orthopraxy. For this reason, on several occasions they ended up tolerating ambiguous practices, such as hid-den Christianity<sup>32</sup>. From this perspective, crypto-Catholicism could certainly be considered as one of the many faces of the unsuccessful attempt at confessionali-sation in the Ottoman Balkans.

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, seu decreta, instructiones, rescripta pro Apostolicis Missionibus I (1622–1866)*, Romae 1907.

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**Abstract.** In this paper I intend to address the issue of crypto-Catholicism in the early Ottoman Balkans, a complex phenomenon which has drawn historians' attention over the decades. More specifically, I will attempt to define and clarify the difficult and unresolved issue, taking into account the characteristics of the Balkans where many religious and social groups co-existed. That produced interaction and enmeshment between the various religions and, as a result, identities developed specific distinctive traits and often overlapped.

Within that unique Balkan environment – a real confessional melting pot – crypto-Christianity naturally arose. Crypto-Catholics or Orthodoxies, living under Ottoman rule, publicly decided to embrace the Islamic religion but secretly identified themselves as Christians. I have set out to investigate this phenomenon by considering letters and reports produced by Catholic missions involved in the Balkan peninsula.

**Keywords:** Ottoman Balkans, Catholic missionaries, crypto-Christianity, Catholic confessionalisation

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## GENEALOGY AS A METHOD TO LEGITIMISE RULERSHIP IN SOME BALKAN AND SCANDINAVIAN SOURCES

Written genealogies, family trees, kings' lists, and family crests – all of these show the need of remembrance of one's individual and collective story. Many fields of study have devoted different amounts of their attention as to why and when this need occurred, and a special field in Western sciences has devoted its full attention – memory studies. Memory studies will be the starting point of this research, since in all the sources that will be examined later it would be noted that they are oral traditions put in writing much later. The main argument that we will try to make is that the sources give light to traditions and organisational structures much older than the period of their writing, but which were relevant to the time of writing. One of the biggest problems this research faced was the scarcity of this type of historical source in one of the examined regions – namely the Balkan Peninsula. Moreover, memory studies and cultural memory is on first glance something very obvious. In actuality it deals with concepts taken from psychology and psychoanalysis and it proved difficult to apply to a linear field of study such as history, which bases its arguments on fixed points and events in time more often than on abstract concepts. This research, apart from using the comparative method of examining the sources, will implement the techniques of memory studies, and history to reveal some similarities in the formation of an identity and specifically how the image of the ruler stands in this identification. A good part of it will be dedicated to the lists of rulers and their genealogy and why they were important not only to the ruler himself but as a whole to the people he governed.

To begin, we must turn our focus on some terminology and definitions of orality, cultural memory and identity. The main ideas which are used and implemented stem from the field of memory studies, some of which representatives are Jan Assmann, Amos Funkenstein, Maurice Halbwachs, Patrick Hutton, Pierre Nora, Ann Rigney, and others. Oral tradition much preceded the written word; myths, legends, songs and other external media related tales of the past and origin stories that formed the foundation of a collective memory. Maurice Halbwachs called this media “lived memory”, he also stated that:

So long as a remembrance continues to exist, it is useless to set it down in writing or otherwise fix it in memory. Likewise, the need to write a history of a period, a society or even a person is only aroused when the subject is already too distant in the past to allow for the testimony of those who preserve some remembrance of it<sup>1</sup>.

Meaning that either the participants in the event that formed the memory are alive to tell it, thus no need to put it in writing exists, or all of the participants are gone and the memory starts to become distorted, thus a need to write it down occurs. Oral cultures depended on memory (evidence for this are the many mnemonic techniques that have survived from Antiquity) keeping it in high regard,

such valorization has come to be seen as a hallmark of orality, as opposed to literacy. This has led to a further assumption that literacy and memory are per se incompatible, and that a “rise of literacy” will therefore bring with it a consequent devalorizing and disuse of memory<sup>2</sup>.

However, literacy had not been available and other types of remembrance and oral traditions emerged – legends, songs, paintings, and other external demarcations. Of course, a simpler and linear take on the matter dictates that memories can be forgotten and if the people who participated in an original experience are no longer able to relate the event then the memory is gone. Ann Rigney describes memory as a leaky bucket<sup>3</sup>. Memory is frail, people get old and forgetful and

the communicative memory offers no fixed point which would bind it to the ever expanding past in the passing of time. Such fixity can only be achieved through a cultural formation and therefore lies outside of informal everyday memory<sup>4</sup>.

In other words, the only way for an event to remain factual and correct, and committed to memory is to be put down on paper (or another external media), thus becoming a fixed point – becoming history.

However, before it becomes history, as oral tradition they still serve a similar purpose as history, even if it is problematic for present day scholars. It is important that the meaning of cultural identity be clear from the beginning, because on it will be based the analysis of the following materials. The repetition and retelling of memories becomes part of the identity of a group. For example, children are taught in school the term ‘nation’ and the common factors that distinguish any given group of people from a nation. These are: common language, religion, territory, and history. On the basis of who falls in these categories and who does not a specific group is laid out. Through the opposition of sameness and otherness the

<sup>1</sup> M. HALBWACHS, *The Collective Memory*, New York 1980, p. 78–79.

<sup>2</sup> M. CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1990, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A. RIGNEY, *Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory*, JEST 35.1, 2005, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> J. ASSMANN, *Collective Memory and Cultural Identity*, NGC 65, 1995, p. 127.

dimensions of a nation are outlined. Much of the same factors that define a 'nation' are also applicable to the cultural identity, but through more abstract factors. The rites, monuments, orally transmitted history, or as Assmann calls them 'figures of memory', objectivise and organise the culture. For the cultural identity this means that a certain group of people now has a structure to follow. Moreover, he states that

a close connection to groups and their identity exists which is similar to that found in the case of everyday memory. ...a group bases its consciousness of unity and specificity upon this knowledge and derives formative and normative impulses from it, which allows the group to reproduce its identity<sup>5</sup>.

The term 'cultural identity' here will be considered as Hans Mol had defined it: *It connotes "sameness," "wholeness," "boundary," and "structure"*<sup>6</sup>. So, how does one group or individual define and distinguish themselves from another? Assmann suggests that memory in its purest form constitutes self-consciousness, because self-identity presumes memory<sup>7</sup>. There is a vast amount of studies in the field of psychoanalysis that has delved into this topic of defining oneself by opposing it to something else. To list only a few of the biggest names who have studied this – Sigmund Freud, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and Carl Jung. The sameness is always in opposition to the otherness in self-identification. Halbwachs defined cultural memory as a memory of a group. One person can be a part of many groups, depending on the aspects of his life – work/school, family, hobbies, etc. These can be defined as micro groups; and on the scale of peoples and countries a cultural identity is the summative collection of the cultural memory of a much larger group, consistent of many micro groups. A simple example of this may be this: Other 1 is tall, the Self is not, thus the Self is short. An otherness is established. Other 2 is not tall, therefore he is short, like the Self. A likeness is established, and a group is formed. If the Self and many Others live in the same area this outlines one group. Some of the Others speak the same language as the Self – another group is formed. Applying the other factors that define a 'nation' and we have a macro group. The collection of the collective memories of the micro groups supported by the individual memories of each member make the cultural memory. In summary, the figures of memory help structure and define the identity of the group and the individual. For this specific research the figures of memory which will be examined will be the royal list of the Bulgarian khans and Ynglingatal, Heims-kringla and the Younger Edda. They are picked with the purpose of looking into the similarities of the formation of the identity of two very different groups of peoples

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 128.

<sup>6</sup> H. MOL, *The Identity Model of Religion: How It Compares with Nine Other Theories of Religion and How It Might Apply to Japan*, JJRS 6.1/2, 1979, p. 11–38.

<sup>7</sup> A. FUNKENSTEIN, *Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness*, HME 1.1, 1989, p. 5–26.

and the representation of the ruling elite and the image of the rulers themselves in the cultural memory. Because the Balkan source is only one we shall begin with it, afterwards we shall continue with the Scandinavian ones.

The list of the Bulgarian khans, known as the Nominalia of Bulgarian khans was found by the Russian scholar Alexander Popov in 1861. Three Russian copies have been found. The earliest of them, the *Uvarov transcript*, dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the other two, the *Pogodin* and *Moscow* transcripts, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The edition used for this research is that of Mikhail Tihomirov from 1946<sup>8</sup>. Tihomirov critically assessed all the copies and previous research done on the text and provided an analytically reconstructed version of it. All three are presumed to be copies of a lost original text from the ninth or tenth century. This speaks of its importance in the minds of the compilers and writers of the copies that survived and the cultural heritage the text carried through the generations. The Nominalia has been the topic of many scholarly disputes, despite its brevity. It has been a source of debates concerning the pre-Christian Bulgarian calendar, but more importantly it is the oldest known royal Bulgarian list and genealogy. It enumerates the Bulgarian rulers from the legendary king Avitohol to Oumor. After each ruler's name information is given about 1) how long he has ruled, 2) his family/genus and 3) the year of his ascendance to the throne. One of the major scholarly interests concerning the Nominalia is the first part of the text. It is concerned with the distant past, with legendary, mythologised and euhemerised heroes – Avitohol and Irnik<sup>9</sup>. V. Tamoshek was one of the first scholars who posed the question whether the Irnik from the Nominalia is the same as the Ernakh – son of Attila the Hun, with which the majority of scholars now agree<sup>10</sup>. This suggestion stems from the last sentence of the quoted text. After some scholarly investigations the sum of years of rule from Avitohol to Bezmer is 515, which seems to point at the years of Attila and more specifically – the year of his death. However, since the first two rulers have legendary lifespans (one 300, the other 150), the only certain thing that

<sup>8</sup> М.Н. ТИХОМИРОВ, *Именник болгарских князей*, ВДИ 3, 1946, p. 81–90.

<sup>9</sup> М.Н. ТИХОМИРОВ, *Именник...*, p. 87:

Авитохолъ жытъ лѣтъ 300, родъ емоу Дуло, а лѣтъ еи(у) диломъ твиремъ. Ирникъ житъ лѣтъ 100 и 8 лѣтъ, родъ еиу Дуло, а лѣтъ еиу диломъ твиремъ. Гостунъ налѣстникъ сынъ 2 лѣт(а), родъ еиу Ерми, а лѣтъ еиу дохъ твиремъ. Курт 60 лѣтъ, дръжа, родъ еиу Дуло, а лѣтъ еиу шегоръ вечемъ. Безмеръ 3 лѣт(а), а родъ еиу Дуло, а лѣтъ еиу шегоръ вѣчемъ. Они 5 кънязь дръжаше княжене овуоу страну Дуная лѣтъ 500 и 15 остриженани главами.

Trans.: Avitohol lived 300 years. His clan was Dulo and his year dilom tvirem (the snake, month nine). Irnik lived 150 years. His clan Dulo and his year dilom tverim. Gostun, the regent, 2 years. His clan Ermi and his year dokhs tvirem (boar month nine). Kurt ruled 60 years. His clan Dulo and his year shegor vechem (ox month three). Bezmer 3 years and his clan Dulo and his year shegor vechem. These five princes ruled the kingdom over the other side of the Danube for 515 years with shaven heads and after that came to this side of the Danube.

<sup>10</sup> А. БУРМОВ, *Въпроси из историята на прабългарите*, ГСУИФФ 2, 1948, p. 36–37.

could be discerned is that the Bulgars were well aware of the life and death of Attila and his son Ernakh. J. Markwart later suggested that both Avitohol and Irnik are the same as Attila and his son Ernakh<sup>11</sup>. V. Zlatarski firmly denied this theory<sup>12</sup>. Although it is still debated, because there are no other concrete historiographical parallels with the name Avitohol, there is a very real possibility that the first two names in the Nominalia are the same as the legendary hero and his son. In any case the moment the word legendary appears in an explanation of any kind of subject, we need to refer to cultural identity and collective memory. Myths and legends serve a very complex purpose. Assmann explained that these narratives transcend the common dichotomy between fiction and history. They are both invented and real, and serve a “higher order”<sup>13</sup>. Myths, legends and the characters in them are figures of memory; they are used as mnemonic techniques for remembering a historical past. They underline the image that a group or a society had of itself when it internalized its *devenir historique*<sup>14</sup> or historical ‘becoming’. The same could be said of most of the theories concerning this specific part of the Nominalia. For example, Moskov’s explanation that

...through the names of the rulers Avitohol and Irnik legendary periods are outlined with vague tales from the tribal memory or real historical periods have been outlined from the history of the Huns and through them of the proto Bulgarians<sup>15</sup>

could also be one possibility of a founding narrative, of a society internalizing its beginnings, attempting to answer for itself the question “where did we come from?” – much like we are trying to do now. Again, the suggestion that the names are a euhemerization of the actual people Avitohol/Attila and Irnik/Ernah, is also an attempt to analyse a myth. Many other hypotheses exist and the discourse is still open. Even if the first ruler in the Nominalia is not the famous Attila, Irnik is enough of an evidence of the continuity that existed in the mind of contemporaries of the author. Moreover, the person who commissioned the text – the ruler himself – had the confidence of a successor of Attila’s steppe empire. Throughout the early history of Bulgaria the country has led multiple wars with the Khazars, Avars and Huns. Apart from other political reasons, mayhaps another ideological reason existed for these military conflicts – because they were not the chosen and rightful successors to Attila’s empire.

<sup>11</sup> J. MARQUART, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, p. 72–78.

<sup>12</sup> В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I.1, София 1970, p. 80.

<sup>13</sup> J. ASSMANN, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization. Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, Cambridge 2011, p. 59–60.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> М. МОСКОВ, *Именник на българските ханове. Ново тълкуване*, София 1988, p. 153.

Some other interesting suggestions are made for the first part of the text, which will, in brevity, be examined. Several of them try to link the first ruler with the Holy Scripture. This gives the genealogy a biblical beginning tracing it back to Noah. In support of this theory is the length of the rule of the two khans – 300 years and 150 years, suggesting that these are biblical years. A quick point to be made here is that despite being produced in an already Christian society, the *Nominalia* is void of any clearly dogmatic or Christian references. According to J. Mikkola, however, the first part of the name ‘Avit’ is a Bulgarian transliteration of the name Japheth from the book of Genesis<sup>16</sup>. Another reference made to the Holy Scriptures is of B. von Arnim<sup>17</sup>, who suggested that the name Avitohol is actually an anagram of the name Ahitofel from the books of kings in the Old Testament. Indeed, it is possible that the author of the *Nominalia* was intentionally trying to make a connection to the Christian writings. However, why would the scribe retain the structure of the text, and not follow the scripture’s literary style? Why keep the very brief and systematic style of the text, which is common and frequently found on stone inscriptions? If this is true and the name Avitohol is an anagram of Ahitofel, then the text’s purpose changes drastically – from a retelling of the past of an empire and a continuity to Christianising the narrative and total invention of the text. The latter statement could be supported by the fact that the copies are from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries – the Ottoman rule. This, however, has little to none support; even if it were true it still points to a cultural tradition, older than the Attilian one.

It is difficult for historians to point to the specific origin myth if any existed, because medieval chroniclers in general were not in agreement concerning the origin of Bulgars. Looking at other local and foreign sources concerned with origin stories of peoples such as Bulgarian apocryphal chronicle; Constantine of Preslav’s ‘Histories’, Jordanes, Theophanes the Confessor, Herodotus, Ibn Fadlan, and the Russian chronicle *Повесть временных лет*, etc; propositions of the Bulgar origin myth vary from Turkish, Hunish/Scythian, and even Gothic and Nordic origin. St. Chureshki<sup>18</sup> has recently done extensive research concerned with the different possibilities of origin, which is cross referenced with domestic and foreign sources concerning Bulgaria. The strongest evidence suggests a Hunish origin which is supported by the *Nominalia* with the explicit remark of the “shaved heads” of the first five rulers. The shaving of the heads of the steppe tribes is a symbol of nobility. Liutprand had observed this tradition during one of the councils, where the Bulgarian representative was “with shaved head as the Hungarians”<sup>19</sup>. The shaving expressed a continuity in a tradition from Antiquity into the Middle Ages. Much

<sup>16</sup> J. MIKKOLA, *Die chronologie der türkischen Donaublicaren*, SUSA 30, 1914, p. 23–24.

<sup>17</sup> B. VON ARNIM, “*Wer war Avitoholz? (Zur Fürstenliste)*”, [in:] *Сборникъ въ честь на проф. Л. Милетичъ за седемдесетгодишнината отъ рождението му (1863–1933)*, София 1933, p. 573–575.

<sup>18</sup> С. ЧУРЕШКИ, *Именник на българските князе*, София 2012.

<sup>19</sup> *FLHB*, vol. II, София 1960, p. 326.

like where in Christian society the insignia consists of clothes in porphyria, a sceptre, a crown, etc. for the Scythian society this was the shaved head and the horse whip. In any case, it could be suggested concerning the first part of the Nominalia that there existed a legend or a myth that the progenitor of the Bulgars was of noble Hun descent and Attilan to that matter.

Another interesting hypothesis is that of Markwart, who suggests that the years given in the Nominalia are actually slogans of the different rulers<sup>20</sup>. Despite giving the wrong date on the rule of Avitohol, researchers like Markwart make interesting hypotheses about the ‘*dilom tvirem*’ of the Nominalia of the Bulgarian khans and tsars. According to him, ‘*dilom tvirem*’ is the ruler’s motto (because it is repeated in Irnik). In any case, it can be said with certainty that the Nominalia, in addition to giving information about the calendar, chronology and language of the proto-Bulgarians, also shows (and probably the purpose of its creation was to establish) continuity with the legendary Hun military leader and ruler. The very fact that the Bulgarian people had felt the need to create such a “document” reveals a lot about their thinking. The legitimization of power is carried out in two ways – a kinship with a legendary/semi-deified ruler and a kind of dynastic connection, by emphasizing the clans.

Before I continue it is important to introduce the Norse genealogy in this juncture of the examination. The oldest Norse genealogy is Ynglingatal<sup>21</sup>. It is written in verse and is supposed to have been composed by Thjodolfr of Hvinir at the end of the ninth century. The text is conserved partially in Snorri Sturluson’s Ynglinga saga – the first part of Heimskringla<sup>22</sup>. The verses trace the genealogy of the kings of Norway and Sweden from the pagan gods Odin and especially Frey in a very convoluted and foggy way. The poem starts with Fjölfnir and continues with Frey, and his son Sveigðir, through Yngve and Alf, and ends with Ragnvald Heidumhære, who was a cousin of Harald Fair Hair. It is interesting why Yngvi, who is Frey, here, is a grandson of Fjölfnir, whereas in all the other sources Frey is the father of Fjölfnir<sup>23</sup>. It should be noted here that the name of the Ynglings comes from the god Yngvi-Frey<sup>24</sup> – it has different spellings – Yngi, Yngve, and Yngvi. Moreover, this

<sup>20</sup> Й. МАРКВАРТ, *Старобългарските изрази в надписа от Чаталар (Крумово) и в старобългарския списък на князете*, Мин 7, 1912, p. 227–258.

<sup>21</sup> F. JONSSON, *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning*, vol. I–II, København 1912–1915; SNORRI STURLUSON, *Heimskringla*, vol. I–III, ed. B. AÐALBJARNARSON, Reykjavík 2002 [= Ifo, 26–28] (cetera: SNORRI STURLUSON).

<sup>22</sup> SNORRI STURLUSON, vol. I. Trans.: SNORRI STURLUSON, *Heimskringla*, trans. A. FINLAY, A. FAULKES, London 2011.

<sup>23</sup> SNORRI STURLUSON, vol. I, p. 23–24: *Freyr tók þá ríki eptir Njörð [...]. Gerðr Gýmis dóttir hét kona hans; sonr þeirra hét Fjölfnir*. Trans.: *Then Freyr took power after Njörðr; His wife was called Gerðr Gýmisdóttir. Their son was called Fjölfnir*.

<sup>24</sup> SNORRI STURLUSON, vol. I, p. 16. *Hann gaf bústaði hofgoðunum: Njörðr bjó í Nóatúnum, en Freyr at Uppsölum, Heimdallr at Himinbjörgum, Þórr á Þrúðvangi, Baldr á Breiðabliki; öllum fékk hann þeim góða bólstaði*. Trans.: *He gave dwelling places to the temple priests. Njörðr lived at Nóatún, Freyr*

Yngvi is connected to Tacitus' Ingvaiones<sup>25</sup>. The connection to the famous dynasty of the Ynglings is through metaphors, which in skaldic poetry are called kennings<sup>26</sup>.

However, Snorri as the first Icelandic historiographer clears the confusions by giving us in the first chapter of Ynglinga saga a description of the world and an origin to Óðinn. This text portrays the origin of the Aesir – the high gods – and the Nordic peoples from Asia, or somewhere around the North-East side of the Black Sea. It presents them as mythologised heroes, not gods. However, the Younger Edda<sup>27</sup>, whose author is considered to be Snorri Sturluson, portrays them as gods. This is why a scholarly debate is still going on about the authorship of the Younger Edda. These regnal lists have the sequence Odin, Njord, Yngvi-Frey, Fjólnir. Both Ynglinga saga and the Younger Edda end with the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish royal families. The author of the prologue to Younger Edda has gone back even further and has traced the origins of the Norse kings to Troy, through Troan the daughter of Priam of Troy<sup>28</sup>.

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*at Uppsalar, Heimdalr at Himinbjörg, Þórr at Þrúðvangr, Baldr at Breiðablik. Another name for Freyr was Yngvi. The name Yngvi was used in his family long after as an honorific title, and his descendants were called Ynglingar.*

<sup>25</sup> TACITUS, *Agricola; Germania*, trans. et praef. H.B. MATTINGLY, J.B. RIVES, London 2009 [= Pcl], p. 2, n. 6.

<sup>26</sup> F. JONSSON, *Den Norsk-islandske...*, stanzas 11, 17, 18, 21, 22, 27:

11. *Fell Alrekr, þars Eiríki bróður vopn at bana urðu, ok hnakkmars með höfuðfetlum Dags friendr of drepask kvóðu; fráat maðr áðr eykja greiði Freys afspring í folk hafa.* 17. *Ok lofsæll ór landi fló Týs óttungur Tunna ríki, en flæming farra trjónu jótuns eykr á Agli rauð.* 18. *Sás of austmörk áðan hafði brúna horg of borinn lengi. En skíðlaus Skilfinga nið hæfis hjórr til hjarta stóð.* 21. *Þat frákn enn, at Aðils fjörvi vitta vétt of víða skyldi ok dáðgjarn af drasils bógum Freys óttungur falla skyldi.* 22. *Ok við aur ægir hjarna bragning burs of blandinn varð. Ok dáðsæll deyja skyldi Ála dolgr at Uppsolum.* 27. *Ok Ingjald ifjörvan trað reyks rósuðr á Ræningi, þás húspjófr hyrjar leistum goðkynning í gognum sté.*

Trans.: 11. *Alrekr fell where the weapons of his brother became the slayer of Eiríkr. And [people] said that the kinsmen of Dagr [kenning for Swedish kings] killed one another with the bridle of the saddle-horse. No one has heard before of an offspring of Freyr [kenning for Swedish king] using riding gear in battle; 17–18. And the famous descendant of Týr [Swedish king] fled the country before the power of Tunni. And the roamer, the draught-animal of the giant [BULL], which before had long borne the cairn of the brows [HEAD] about the eastern forest, reddened its weapon of the bull [HORN] upon Egill. And the sheathless sword of the bull [HORN] stuck in the heart of the descendant of the Skilfingar [Swedish king]. 21–22. I have learned, further, that the creature of charms [SORCERESS] had to destroy the life of Aðils. And the deed-eager descendant of Freyr [Swedish king] had to fall off the back of the steed. And the sea [fluid] of the brains of the son of the ruler [RULER] was blended with mud. And the deed-fortunate enemy of Áli had to die at Uppsala. 27. And the gusher of smoke [FIRE] overcame Ingjaldr alive in Ræningr when the house-thief [FIRE] strode with soles of fire through the descendant of gods.*

<sup>27</sup> A. FAULKES, *Edda, Prologue and Gylfaginning*, 2005 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), <http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Edda-1.pdf>.

<sup>28</sup> A. FAULKES, *Edda...*, p. 6:

*Þar þótti Óðni fagrir vellir ok landskostir góðir ok kaus sér þar borgstað, er nú heita Sigtún. Skipaði hann þar höfðingjum ok í þá líking, sem verit hafði í Trója, setti tólf höfuðmenn í staðinum at dæma*

The oldest prose genealogy is found in *Íslendingabok* from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which begins with Yngvi, Njord, Frey, and Fjölfnir<sup>29</sup>. There is no accompanying narrative but evidently the author – Ari, had in mind some idea of a migration of euhemerised gods from the Black Sea to Scandinavia. This idea might have come from the scattered references in classical and later authors to the origins of the Germanic nations particularly the Goths. In the version of the Younger Edda in the Codex Wormianus the line extends even further back to Saturn. By the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century an unknown genealogist added some more apocryphal pseudo-classical names from an unknown source that was also

*landslög, ok svá skipaði hann réttum öllum sem fyrr hafði verit í Trója ok Tyrkir váru vanir. Eftir þat fór hann norðr, þar til er sjár tók við honum, sá er þeir hugðu, at lægi um öll lönd, ok setti þar son sinn til þess ríkis, er nú heitir Nóregr. Sá er Sæmingr kallaðr, ok telja þar Nóregskonungar sínar ættir til hans ok svá jarlar ok aðrir rikismenn, svá sem segir í Háleygjatali. En Óðinn hafði með sér þann son sinn, er Yngvi er nefndr, er konungr var í Svíþjóðu eftir hann, ok eru frá honum komnar þær ættir, er Ynglingar eru kallaðir.*

Trans.: *The fields and the choice lands in that place seemed fair to Odin, and he chose for himself the site of a city which is now called Sigtún. There he established chieftains in the fashion which had prevailed in Troy; he set up also twelve head-men to be doomsmen over the people and to judge the laws of the land; and he ordained also all laws as, there had been before, in Troy, and according to the customs of the Turks. After that he went into the north, until he was stopped by the sea, which men thought lay around all the lands of the earth; and there he set his son over this kingdom, which is now called Norway. This king was Sæmingr; the kings of Norway trace their lineage from him, and so do also the jarls and the other mighty men, as is said in the Háleygjatal. Odin had with him one of his sons called Yngvi, who was king in Sweden after him; and those houses come from him that are named Ynglings.*

<sup>29</sup> *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. J. BENEDIKTSSON, Reykjavík 1968 [= Ifo, 1], p. 1:

Tillæg II. 1. Þesi ero nofn lanfjéga Yngliða oc Breiþfirþiða. 2. [Y]ngvi Tyrkia conuþr. ii. Niþrþr Svía conuþr. iii. Freyr. iiiii. Fiþlner 3. sá er dó at Friþfróþa. v. Svegþer. vi. Vanlandi. vii. Visbur. viii. Dómaldr. 4. IX. Dómar. x. Dygve. xi. Dagr. xii. Alrekr. xiii. Agne. xiiii. Yngvi. xv. 5. Iorundr. xvi. Aun enn gamli. xvii. Egill vendilcráca. xviii. Óttarr. xix. Aþísl 6. at Uppsólom. xx. Eysteinn. xxi. Yngvar. xxii. Brautönundr. xxiii. Ingialldr 7. enn illráþi. xxiiii. Óláfr tretelgia. xxv. Hálfðan hvitbein Upplendinga conuþr. 8. xxvi. Gopþrþr. xxvii. Ólafr. xxviii. Helgi. xxix. Injialldr dóttorsonr Sigurþar 9. Ragnars sonar loþbrócar. xxx. Óleifr en hviti. xxxi. Þorstein enn rauþi. 10. xxxii. Óleifr feilan es fyrstr bygþi þeira á Íslandi. xxxiii. Þórþr geller. 11. xxxiiii. Eyioþfr es skírþr vas i eni sinu þá es cristni com á Ísland. xxxv. 12. Þorkell. xxxvi. Geller faþer þeira Þorkels foþor Branz oc þorgils foþor 13. mins. en ec heitec Are.

Trans.: *These are the names of the male ancestors of the Ynglings and the People of Breiðarfjörðr I. Yngvi king of the Turks. II. Njörðr king of the Swedes. III Freyr. IIII. Fjölfnir, who died at Frið-Fróðf's. V. Svegðir. VI. Vanlandi. VII. Visbur. VIII. Dómaldr. IX. Dómarr. X. Dyggvi. XI. Dagr. XII. Alrekr. XIII. Agni. XIII. Yngvi. XV. Jörundr. XVI. Aun the Old. XVII. Egill Crow of Vendill. XVIII. Óttarr. XIX. Aðils at Uppsala. XX. Eysteinn. XXI. Yngvarr. XXII. Braut-Önundr. XXIII. Ingjaldr the Evil. XXIII. Óláfr Treefeller. XXV. Hálfðan Whiteleg, king of the Upplanders. XXVI. Goðröðr. XXVII. Óláfr. XXVIII Helgi. XXIX. Ingjaldr, son of the daughter of Sigurðr, son of Ragnarr loðbrók. XXX. Óleifr the White. XXXI. Þorsteinn the Red. XXXII. Óleifr feilan, who was the first of them to settle in Iceland. XXXIII. Þórðr gellir. XXXIII Eyjólf, who was baptised in his old age, when Christianity came to Iceland. XXXV. Þorkell. XXXVI. Gellir, father of Þorkell – father of Brandr – and of Þorgils, my father; and I am called Ari.*

known to Welsh writers, linking Saturn's father Celus/Celius to the descendants of Japheth in Genesis, thus taking the line right back to Adam.

There are several very curious points that arose just through this brief overview of the sources. First – both the Bulgarian Nominalia and the Icelandic texts were constructed after the introduction of Christianity in their respective countries. Second – the texts tried linking the origin of the rulers to a territory on the North-Eastern shores of the Black Sea, although with the Icelandic genealogies it is more of a fiction than fact. Third – with the exception of the Younger Edda, the texts trace back the origin of the peoples from a legendary hero who was later euhemerised. Through the name of Avitohol, there is a linking to the old biblical traditions. The same goes for the Norse texts – through Japheth, the son of Noah. Moreover, some scholars have proposed that Noah's three sons represent the three classes of medieval society – the priests, the warriors, and the slaves. Interestingly, the texts make reference to Japheth the originator of the warrior class. Fourth – they were used as political propaganda because of who their commissioners were, and the times they were ordered. Some scholars have called this literature “crisis literature”<sup>30</sup>. And the most important similarity – all of them are texts used for identity formation; they served as points of reference to confirm a sense of belonging. They were storehouses, it was not relevant if they were correct or not, but rather that they were correct for the cultural time. Moreover, we can see the evolution of memory from “presence of the past” to a “present representation of the past”<sup>31</sup>. The purpose of this representation and of the texts was of founding narratives – narratives about the past that offer orientation in people's lives and have normative and formative power. According to Jan Assmann *the binding character of the knowledge preserved in cultural memory has two aspects: the formative one in its educative, civilizing, and humanizing functions and the normative one in its function of providing rules of conduct*<sup>32</sup>. Pernille Hermann says that *the dichotomy of history (fact) and fiction (invention) does not do full justice to the sagas, being both a complex and ambiguous kind of literature, shaped from the interplay of orally transmitted memories of the Viking age and the written culture of the Middle Ages*<sup>33</sup>. Well, the same could and should be said of the Nominalia – it represents an oral tradition put into writing, intertwining in itself the cultural memory and historical fact, making it as much an invention as historiography.

<sup>30</sup> T. FECHNER-SMARSLY, *Krisenliteratur. Zur Rhetorizität und Ambivalenz in der isländischen Sagaliteratur*, Frankfurt am Main 1996.

<sup>31</sup> P.H. HUTTON, *The Art of Memory Reconceived: From Rhetoric to Psychoanalysis*, JHI 48.3, 1987, p. 371–392.

<sup>32</sup> J. ASSMANN, *Collective Memory...*, p. 132.

<sup>33</sup> P. HERMANN, *Founding Narratives and the Representation of Memory in the Saga Literature*, Arv 66, 2010, p. 69–87.

Taking into consideration all that had been said until now, we still have to dive into the image of the ruler. The question of the importance of providing a lineage still remains. Personal qualities, physique, intelligence, military knowledge and other capabilities may make a great leader, but apparently for the common folk connection to a higher, important person was more important, or at least needed. We considered these texts as founding narratives, as narratives that constructed the cultural memory and identity, thus these texts, and the stories they retold were directed toward the subordinates, not only and exclusively toward the ruling class. Moreover, while verbalizing the stories and putting them down on paper, they become devices for an organizational structure, in a micro and macro scale, thus becoming a sort of cultural heritage. Assmann said that *through its cultural heritage a society becomes visible to itself and to others*<sup>34</sup>. The stories no longer want to internalize the identity of a group, but also to externalize it on an even larger scale. This connects to the defending of rights for a ruler and his legitimisation not only to domestic contenders but to foreign desires. All the texts are products of their time and of the cultural memory – that is to say the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts; the engagement with the past in the present (the present of the authors of the texts), and not as the past as such. The writers and their patrons kept looking back towards a great pagan past, as well as Christian, where the twilight figure of the progenitor gained growing heroic dimensions.

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**Abstract.** This paper will focus on several sources from Scandinavia and the Balkans, and compare the types of genealogies portrayed in them – descent from gods, descent from another kind of supernatural being, descent from a legendary hero. The paper will examine the types of genealogies and the purpose they serve; how and why they were commissioned? Is there a difference in the establishment of the image of the ruler if the latter has descended from gods, legendary heroes, or a specific clan or dynasty? Does Christianity change the tradition of writing genealogies and the stories they retell? Are personal qualities enough to provide legitimate claims?

**Keywords:** Icelandic sagas, the Nominalia, kings lists, genealogies, origin stories, legitimization, cultural memory, cultural identity, founding narratives, crisis literature

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# ARTICLES





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## THE LABARUM – FROM CRUX DISSIMULATA AND CHI-RHO TO THE OPEN IMAGE CROSS

Initially, the battle banner called the labarum was presented in the form of *crux dissimulata* crowned with the Chi-Rho symbol. This practice dates all the way back to Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 264–ca. 340). In the next century, the continuers of his *Church History*, Socrates of Constantinople and Sozomen, kept only the cross-shape of the banner, excluding the christogram. In this article, I will try to explain why this happened.

The creation of the labarum was associated with the so-called Constantine breakthrough and the conversion of Constantine the Great to Christianity. The reformation of the emperor was said to have taken place suddenly<sup>1</sup>, as a result of a vision<sup>2</sup> which the ruler supposedly experienced before defeating his rival, Maxentius. It has aroused serious controversy and, in the literature of the subject, there is an ongoing discussion about its historicity and the form of the sign revealed to the emperor. Information about it comes basically from two sources: the accounts

<sup>1</sup> Hence, A. ALFÖLDI (*The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, trans. H. MATTINGLY, Oxford 1969, p. 7) pointed out that Constantine's conversion happened *without any warning*, and as Ramsay MACMULLEN put it (*Constantine and the Miraculous*, GRBS 9, 1968, p. 81): *One day saw Constantine a pagan, the next a Christian*. H. SINGOR (*The Labarum, Shield Blazons and Constantine's Caeleste Signum*, [in:] *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, ed. L. BLOIS, Amsterdam 2003, p. 500) noted that the aforementioned vision from 312, which resulted in the emperor's sudden conversion, played the symbolic role of the ruler's baptism.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on the subject is very rich. See, among others: W. SESTON, *La vision païenne de 310 et les origines du chrisme constantinien*, AIPHOS, Mélanges F. Cumont 4, 1936, p. 373–395; A. ZIÓŁKOWSKI, *Wizja Konstantyna. Reinterpretacja*, VP 4, 1983, p. 200–215; A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *A propos du symbolisme impérial romain au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Quelques remarques sur le christogramme*, Hi 39.4, 1990, p. 504–506; O. NICHOLSON, *Constantine's Vision of the Cross*, VC 54, 2000, p. 309–323; P. WEISS, *The Vision of Constantine*, JRA 16, 2003, p. 237–259; J.W. DRIJVERS, *The Power of the Cross – Celestial Cross Appearances in the Fourth Century*, [in:] *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. A. CAIN, N. LENSKI, Farnham 2009, p. 239–241; J. LONG, *How to Read a Halo. Three (or More) Versions of Constantine's Vision*, [in:] *The Power of Religion...*, p. 227–235; J. BARDILL, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*, Cambridge 2011, p. 159–183.

of Lactantius<sup>3</sup> and Eusebius of Caesarea<sup>4</sup>, which differ in detail<sup>5</sup>. In a fairly common opinion of researchers they both were trusted imperial advisers. When writing about the vision, Eusebius referred to the testimony of the ruler himself<sup>6</sup>. However, there are also supporters of a thesis that this vision was preceded by a pagan one. A pagan panegyric from 310 informs that it happened near the Temple of Apollo Grannus, identified with *Sol Invictus*, located in the city of Grand<sup>7</sup>. Some historians think that in reality, only the latter took place, but over time, it was interpreted in the Christian spirit<sup>8</sup>. Others, on the other hand, considered Constantine's vision

<sup>3</sup> LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XLIV, 5, ed. J. MOREAU, Paris 1954 [= SC, 39] (cetera: LACTANTIUS). Cf. T.D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge Mass.–London 1981, p. 13; IDEM, *Lactantius and Constantine*, JRS 63, 1973, p. 31–32.

<sup>4</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Vita Constantini*, I, 28, 1–2, ed. F. WINKELMANN, Berlin–New York 2008 (cetera: EUSEBIUS). Lactantius' *On the death of persecutors* and Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* were written approximately a quarter of a century apart; the former was created in 314–315, and the latter in 337–340.

<sup>5</sup> According to Adam ZIÓŁKOWSKI (*Wizja Konstancy... , p. 200–215*), despite the differences in details, the contents of the vision in both Lactantius' and Eusebius' accounts were similar and centered on the *vexillum* with the chrismon on top and the words *hoc signo victor eris*. H.A. DRAKE (*Constantine and the Bishops. The Politics of Intolerance*, Baltimore 2000 [= ASH], p. 180) also believes that Eusebius and Lactantius told the same story, although different in details. Raymond VAN DAM (*The Many Conversions of the Emperor Constantine*, [in:] *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Seeing and Believing*, ed. K. MILLS, A. GRAFTON, Rochester 2003, p. 135–137), thought that there had been several visions and several conversions in the life of Constantine.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius himself tried to suggest that he became the trusted confidant of the emperor. However, according to Timothy BARNES (*Constantine and Eusebius... , p. 266*), Eusebius had the opportunity to talk to Constantine but four times and may not have heard about the vision in a private conversation. T. TOOM (*Constantine's Summus Deus and the Nicene Unus Deus: Imperial Agenda and Ecclesiastical Conviction*, VP 34, 2014, p. 105, n. 15) noted that while Constantine swore to Eusebius about his vision, he did not confirm that Eusebius' interpretation was correct and accurate.

<sup>7</sup> *Panegyric*, VI (VII), 21, 4–5, [in:] *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini*, ed. et trans. R.A.B. MYNORS, C.E.V. NIXON, B.S. RODGERS, Berkeley–Los Angeles–Oxford 1994. This vision was interpreted as an announcement on the part of Apollo, identified with *Sol Invictus*, of Constantine's long years of prosperity. According to Timothy BARNES (*Constantine and Eusebius... , p. 36*), the aforementioned panegyric does not prove that Constantine indeed had such a vision. It only expresses the views of its author. Adam ZIÓŁKOWSKI (*Wizja Konstancy... , p. 214*) had a similar opinion on this subject. Furthermore, he thinks that Constantine's pagan panegyrics do not contradict the Christian tradition of his vision, but even confirm it. Cf. also B. MÜLLER-RETTIG, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310 auf Konstantin den Großen. Übersetzung und historisch-philologischer Kommentar*, Stuttgart 1990.

<sup>8</sup> Henri GRÉGOIRE (*La „conversion” de Constantin*, RUB 36, 1930/1931, p. 256) referred to Constantine's vision as a legend, which *dans sa forme primitive, est non pas chrétienne, mais païenne*. Cf. also IDEM, *La vision de Constantin «liquidée»*, B 14, 1939, p. 341–351; A. PIGANIOL, *L'Empereur Constantin*, Paris 1932, p. 50. A similar view was expressed by P. WEISS (*The Vision of Constantine... , p. 258*), who believed that Constantine's vision occurred in 310, and two years later, it was only interpreted in the Christian spirit. Cf. also K.M. GIRARDET, *Konstantin und das Christentum: die Jahre des Entscheidung, 310 bis 314*, [in:] *Konstantin der Grosse. Geschichte – Archäologie – Rezeption. Internationales Kolloquium vom 10.–15. Oktober 2005 an der Universität Trier zur Landesausstellung Rheinland-Pfalz „Konstantin der Grosse”*, ed. A. DEMANDT, J. ENGEMANN, Trier 2006, p. 69–80; B.M. LIFTIN, *Eusebius*

to be literary fiction<sup>9</sup>. Some see it as a supernatural phenomenon<sup>10</sup>, whereas others as a natural phenomenon associated with the conjunction of several planets<sup>11</sup>, or with an optical phenomenon (the so-called halo)<sup>12</sup>. Discussion about it is extremely difficult because neither party is able to prove their case<sup>13</sup>.

According to Lactantius and Eusebius, be it in a dream<sup>14</sup> or in reality, the ruler allegedly saw a sign that was an announcement of victory in the war against Maxentius<sup>15</sup>. Lactantius wrote about “the heavenly sign of God” (*caeleste signum dei*)<sup>16</sup>, while Eusebius described a triumphal sign in the form of a luminous cross

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on Constantine: *Truth and Hagiography at the Milvian Bridge*, JETS 55.4, 2012, p. 773–792. Henry CHADWICK (*The Early Church*, London 1967, p. 126) also did not preclude this option.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. BIDEZ, *A propos d'une biographie nouvelle de l'empereur Constantin*, AC 1, 1932, p. 6; A. ALFÖLDI, *The Conversion of Constantine...*, p. 18. For a number of historians, such as Arnaldo MARCONE (*Pagano e cristiano. Vita e mito di Costantino*, Roma–Bari 2002, p. 73), Eusebius' account of the vision is not credible, because he mentions the chrismon only in the *Life of Constantine*, and in his *Church History*, he makes no mention of it whatsoever. According to Noel LENSKI (*Constantine and the Cities. Imperial Authority and Civic Politics*, Philadelphia 2016 [= EAF], p. 71), this proves that Constantine had not yet fully developed the story he would tell in 324 in his own mind, or that he was yet reluctant to broadcast it in the period immediately following the battle.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. N.H. BAYNES, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, London 1934, p. 9; P. KERESZTES, *The Phenomenon of Constantine the Great's Conversion*, Aug 27, 1987, p. 97.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. HEILAND, *Die astronomische Deutung der Vision Konstantins*, Jena 1948; J. GAGÉ, *Le signum astrologique de Constantin et le millenarisme de Roma aeterna*, RHPR 31, 1951, p. 181–223; M. DIMAIO, J. ZEUGE, N. ZOTOV, *Ambiguitas Constantiniana: The Caeleste Signum Dei of Constantine the Great*, B 58, 1988, p. 333–360.

<sup>12</sup> Quite early, A.H.M. JONES (*Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*, Harmondsworth 1972, p. 96) interpreted the phenomenon which was the subject of the vision as a halo, also referring to it as a meteorological phenomenon elsewhere (p. 102). Cf. also T.D. BARNES, *The Conversion of Constantine*, EMC 29, 1985, p. 385–387; P. WEISS, *The Vision of Constantine...*, p. 237–259; C.M. ODAHL, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, London–New York 2004, p. 287, n. 15; N. LENSKI, *The Reign of Constantine*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion to Age of Constantine*, ed. IDEM, Cambridge 2006, p. 67, 71; B.M. LIFTIN, *Eusebius on Constantine...*, p. 773–792.

<sup>13</sup> The more so because Constantine himself, as Pierre MARAVAL (*La religion de Constantin*, AHI 22, 2013, p. 24–25) recently pointed out, makes no mention of his vision or prophetic dream neither in his letters nor in any of his speeches that we have today. And since dreams and visions were a typical element of ancient historiography, in Maraval's opinion, it is pointless to inquire about their realness, especially since they were a way of expressing the meaning of specific events *a posteriori*. In the case of Constantine, they proved that the ruler himself and his contemporary Christians were convinced that God had given him the victory, which the emperor himself supposedly claimed on multiple occasions.

<sup>14</sup> According to Adam ZIÓŁKOWSKI (*Wizja Konstantyna...*, p. 214), the emperor experienced this vision in a dream, and its content was the *vexillum* with the chrismon on top and the words *hoc signo victor eris*.

<sup>15</sup> According to EUSEBIUS (I, 28, 2), he was supposedly assured of it by a celestial inscription along with a bright sign of the cross. It read: τούτῳ νικά, and according to the testimony of numismatic sources *Hoc signo victor eris*; cf. A. ALFÖLDI, *The Conversion of Constantine...*, p. 7; C.M. ODAHL, *Christian Symbols in Military Motifs on Constantine's Coinage*, SAN 13.4, 1983, p. 71.

<sup>16</sup> LACTANTIUS, XLIV, 5.

(σταυροῦ τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς)<sup>17</sup>, or the symbol of the trophy of salvation (σωτηρίου τροπαιίου σύμβολον)<sup>18</sup>. According to Eusebius, it took the shape of a military banner (*vexillum*) crowned with the chrismon, and called *labarum*<sup>19</sup>. When describing its appearance, Eusebius claimed that Constantine used to wear the monogram of Christ on his helmet, which was the quintessence of the revealed sign<sup>20</sup>. In the account of Lactantius, on the other hand, the celestial sign of God was placed on the shields of Constantine's soldiers<sup>21</sup>. In his description of Constantine's vision, Eusebius only mentioned the creation of the sign revealed to the emperor in the material form of a banner. However, a little further in his work, he also mentioned that Constantine ordered the placement of the sign-trophy of salvation (σωτηρίου τροπαιίου σύμβολον) on the *hoplon*<sup>22</sup>. The term used can mean both the general armament of soldiers, but also large shields – *scutum*<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> EUSEBIUS, I, 28, 1–2.

<sup>18</sup> EUSEBIUS, IV, 21.

<sup>19</sup> Probably the name *labarum* was of Celtic origin; cf. J.-J. HATT, *La vision de Constantin au sanctuaire de Grand et l'origine celtique du labarum*, CRAIBL 1, 1950, p. 83–86; W. SESTON, *La vision païenne...*, p. 373–395. The *labarum* must have resembled a Roman cavalry banner made of fabric hung on a horizontal bar (*vexillum*). Cf. M. DESROCHES, *Le Labarum*, Paris 1894; R. EGGER, *Das Labarum, die Kaiserstandarte der Spätantike*, Wien 1960. C.M. ODAHL, *The Celestial Sign on Constantine's Shields at the Battle of the Mulvian Bridge*, JRMMRA 2, 1981, p. 15–28. Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ (*A propos du symbolisme impérial...*, p. 506) emphasized that the crown, which was on top of the *labarum*, but also surrounded the christogram, was a symbol of victory and an imperial attribute at the same time. In this way, Christ, who was symbolized by the sign, received imperial attributes. According to Henry CHADWICK (*The Early Church...*, p. 126) the fact that the *labarum* was abolished during the reign of Julian the Apostate indicates that it was commonly attributed with a Christian meaning.

<sup>20</sup> EUSEBIUS, IV, 21. Cf. C.M. ODAHL, *Christian Symbols on Constantine's Siscia Helmet Coins*, SAN 8.4, 1977, p. 56–58.

<sup>21</sup> LACTANTIUS, XLIV, 5.

<sup>22</sup> EUSEBIUS, IV, 21.

<sup>23</sup> In the late Roman Empire or early Byzantium's iconography, the tradition of decorating shields with the chrismon must have been present in the public consciousness if imperial propaganda referred to it. Aside from coins, there is evidence of it, e.g. on a gilded silver *missorium* with the portrait of Constantius II, probably on horseback (see S.G. MACCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1981, p. 43); reliefs from the column of Theodosius I (see the preserved fragment of the Theodosius column in the Beyazit Hamam Museum); the base of the Arcadius column in Constantinople (see J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Barbarians and Bishops. Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom*, Oxford 1992, p. 275), and a mosaic from the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna depicting the emperor Justinian and his entourage (see S.G. MACCORMACK, *Art and Ceremony...*, p. 259–266). As for the coins, in particular, we can point to the *solidi* of Constantius II, on which he was depicted with a shield decorated with the chrismon *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. VIII, *The Family of Constantine I*, ed. J.P.C. KENT, London 1981 (cetera: RIC 8), Rome, 225, 232. Cf. D.M. CHICO, F.L. SÁNCHEZ, *Une nouvelle variété de solidus au nom de Constance II avec le chrisme à l'intérieur du bouclier*, BSFN 71, 2016, p. 138–141; U. WESTERMARK, *A New Silver Medallion of Constantius II*, NNA, 1968, p. 5–10), followed by similar coins minted by emperors Honorius (the *solidus* minted in 422, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. X,

Therefore, it seems that the aforementioned discrepancy is only apparent. Firstly, we have iconographic evidence of both the military banner called the labarum, crowned with the monogram of Christ: the Chi-Rho, and shields decorated with that monogram. Secondly, the sign placed on the shields was intended not only to defend the soldiers, but also to lead them to victory, because according to Lactantius: *quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum*<sup>24</sup>. Eusebius, however, emphasized that the emperor used the labarum as a means of defense against all enemies<sup>25</sup>. Therefore, this banner was meant to lead them not only to the victorious attack but also to provide an effective defense against enemy assaults. Thirdly, when Eusebius and Lactantius described the difficult situation in which Constantine found himself on the eve of the battle at the Milvian Bridge, their accounts show that each of them saw the danger that threatened his army elsewhere. According to Lactantius, the emperor's worries were caused by the military superiority of Maxentius, who had capable commanders in his ranks. Moreover, aside from his army which he had brought from Africa and Italy, he also had his father's former army transferred from Severus<sup>26</sup>. Eusebius, on the other hand, thought that the emperor was troubled mainly by the wicked and deceptive magical practices employed zealously by Maxentius (I, 27)<sup>27</sup>. It is therefore not surprising that Lactantius paid attention to the sign placed on the shields, which was put there primarily to protect individual soldiers and ultimately, bring victory to Constantine, while Eusebius focused on the *tropaion*-banner, which was to be followed by the entire army, and by protecting Constantine's forces against magic, lead to victory.

It should be emphasized, however, that both in the account of Eusebius of Caesarea and Lactantius, the chrismon played a very important role in the vision of Constantine. The thread of the cross also appears in both texts – in the account of Eusebius directly and Lactantius indirectly. Eusebius claimed that in the afternoon, Constantine saw a triumphal sign in the sky above the sun. The sign had the form of a cross and was made of light. Later, according to the bishop of Caesarea, when the ruler commissioned a visual reproduction of the sign revealed to him (per Christ's direct command), its long shafts formed the shape of a cross

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*The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts AD 395–491*, ed. J.P.C. KENT, London 1994 (cetera: RIC 10), Ravenna, 1332) and Majorian (RIC 10, 2605–2608; 2612–2614; 3748). According to D. WOODS (*Eusebius, VC 4.21, and the Notitia Dignitatum*, [in:] SP 29, 1997, p. 196), the shield with the Chi-Rho was a special imperial shield. There are also a number of coins with the image of empresses: Aelia Flaccilla, Galla Placidia, Eudoxia and Pulcheria, on whose reverse an angel or Victoria is painting the chrismon on the shield.

<sup>24</sup> LACTANTIUS, XLIV, 6.

<sup>25</sup> EUSEBIUS, I, 31, 3.

<sup>26</sup> LACTANTIUS, XLIV, 3: *Maxentiani milites praeualebant*.

<sup>27</sup> The description of Lactantius, chronologically closer to the described events, seems to better reflect the difficult situation in which Constantine's armies found themselves on the eve of the battle at the Milvian Bridge.

whose transverse rod was arched. Eusebius called this rod, to which a square piece of fabric was attached, the transverse cross beam. Below the sign of the cross, as described by the bishop of Caesarea, were the portraits of the emperor and his children. Eusebius described the banner as a sign of salvation<sup>28</sup>. In his *Church History*, he indirectly confirmed his account from *Vita Constantini* on the subject of the labarum. Mainly, he wrote about the statue of Constantine exhibited in Rome “with the sign of the Savior in his right hand”, on which the emperor himself supposedly ordered the inscription: “in this sign of salvation, a real mark of bravery, I saved your city...” In fact, he quoted the inscription again in *Vita Constantini*, mentioning the statue in whose hand the tall, cross-shaped shafts were placed<sup>29</sup>. Hence, at that point already, Eusebius saw the cross in the labarum. However, his detailed description suggests that he meant the *crux dissimulata*. In a way, the very shape of the christogram also referred to the idea of the cross, since it was formed of the intersected Greek letters chi and rho. This can be seen even more clearly in Lactantius’ text, where these intersected letters take the form of a monogrammatic cross<sup>30</sup>.

He points out that the cross was clearly interpreted as a sign of victory, where Eusebius wrote about the cross as a symbol of immortality, a triumphant sign of Christ overcoming death<sup>31</sup>. Since the beginning of Christianity, the cross has been seen as a glorious sign of Christ’s victory. Judeo-Christian theology was also a theology of glory. There, the cross was almost a living being, accompanying Christ in the works of His power, in the abyss or during the Parousia. Sometimes it was identified with Christ himself, usually with His victory<sup>32</sup>. In the *First Apology*, Christian Justin the Martyr calls the cross the greatest sign of power, Christ’s might and His victory<sup>33</sup>. Justin explained to the pagans:

You also have the symbols that signify the power of the cross, that is, banners and trophies that go everywhere at the forefront of your army, showing a sign of might and power the way you cannot even surmise<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> EUSEBIUS, I, 31.

<sup>29</sup> EUSEBIUS, I, 40.

<sup>30</sup> According to J.N. BREMMER, *The Vision of Constantine*, [in:] *Land of Dreams. Greek and Latin Studies in Honour of A.H.M. Kessels*, ed. A.P.M.H. LARDINOIS, M.G.M. VAN DER POEL, V.J.C. HUNINK, Leiden 2006, p. 62, the expression used by Lactantius *caeleste signum dei* actually means the cross.

<sup>31</sup> EUSEBIUS, I, 32, 2.

<sup>32</sup> J. DANIELOU, *Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée. Théologie du judéo-christianisme*, Paris 1991, p. 327–353.

<sup>33</sup> Justin (IUSTINUS, *I Apologia*, 55, 1–5, [in:] JUSTIN, PHILOSOPHER AND MARTYR, *Apologies*, ed. D. MINNS, P. PARVIS, Oxford 2009 [= OECT], cetera: IUSTINUS) indicated that he is symbolically present everywhere as a hidden cross. According to him, nothing in the world can exist or make a whole without this sign. Its shape can be found in the masting of a ship, in hand and agricultural tools, and even in the human body.

<sup>34</sup> IUSTINUS, 55, 6.

For Eusebius of Caesarea, the true sign of victory-triumph was therefore the cross of Christ, and although the labarum was a military flag, he saw it as the *crux dissimulata*.

Historians from the 5<sup>th</sup> century emphasized the unique role of the sign of the cross in the religiousness of Christians in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and in particular, Constantine's, starting with his vision. When writing about it, they drew from the accounts of Lactantius and Eusebius, but they did not mention the chrism, which supposedly revealed itself to the emperor. According to Rufinus<sup>35</sup>, Philostorgius<sup>36</sup>, Socrates<sup>37</sup> and Sozomen<sup>38</sup>, the ruler saw a sign in the shape of a cross, whether he was awake or dreaming, and was instructed in the form of an inscription or an oral instruction of angels to triumph under this sign (τούτω νικά)<sup>39</sup>. It is curious that these historians only saw the cross in the labarum<sup>40</sup>. According to Socrates, Christ commanded that a legionary battle sign with the image of the cross be made by the ruler (σταυροειδὲς τρόπαιον)<sup>41</sup>. Sozomen, on the other hand, emphasized that from that point forward, the war banner preceding the emperor, made of precious materials, had the form of a cross (σταυροῦ σύμβολον)<sup>42</sup>, or that it was converted into a sign of the Holy Cross<sup>43</sup>. On the one hand, the banner was a symbol of certain triumph<sup>44</sup>, on the other, defense and assistance (ἀλέξιμα, ἐπίκουρος), and a provider of victory (νίκης ποριστικόν)<sup>45</sup>. In the account of Sozomen, who followed the testimony of Eusebius of Caesarea<sup>46</sup>, the priests who explained the meaning of the vision to the emperor indicated that the sign, *which was revealed to him was a symbol of victory over hell*<sup>47</sup>. In the

<sup>35</sup> RUFINUS AQUILEIENSIS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IX, 1–3, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, T. MOMMSEN, F. WINKELMANN, Berlin 1999.

<sup>36</sup> PHILOSTORGIUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, I, 6, ed. I. BIDEZ, F. WINKELMANN, Berlin 1981 [= GCS].

<sup>37</sup> SOCRATES, *Kirchengeschichte*, I, 2, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 1] (cetera: SOCRATES).

<sup>38</sup> SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, I, 3, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 4] (cetera: SOZOMENUS).

<sup>39</sup> P. JANISZEWSKI conducted a detailed analysis of four accounts (*Żywioły w służbie propagandy, czyli po czyjej stronie stoi Bóg. Studium klęsk i rzadkich fenomenów przyrodniczych u historyków Kościoła w IV i V wieku*, [in:] *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności. Studia źródłoznawcze*, vol. III, ed. T. DERDA, E. WIPSYZKA, Kraków 2000, p. 40–44, 71sq, 102–104).

<sup>40</sup> There is no mention of the labarum in the preserved fragments of Philostorgius' *Church History*.

<sup>41</sup> SOCRATES, I, 2, 6–7.

<sup>42</sup> SOZOMENUS, I, 4, 1.

<sup>43</sup> SOZOMENUS, V, 17.

<sup>44</sup> SOCRATES, I, 2, 6: νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὄρα τὸν Χριστὸν λέγοντα αὐτῷ, κατασκευάσαι ἀντίτυπον τοῦ ὀφθέντος σημείου καὶ τούτω κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἐτοίμω κεχρηῆσθαι τροπαίῳ.

<sup>45</sup> SOZOMENUS, I, 3, 2: ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔχειν ἐπίκουρον καὶ νίκης ποριστικόν; I, 3, 3: ἀλεξίματι κεχρηῆσθαι ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μάχαις. EUSEBIUS (II, 7) called it ἀλεξίφαρμακος.

<sup>46</sup> EUSEBIUS, I, 32.

<sup>47</sup> SOZOMENUS, I, 3, 4: τὸ δὲ φανὲν αὐτῷ σημεῖον σύμβολον εἶναι ἔλεγον τῆς κατὰ τοῦ ἄδου νίκης, ἦν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐλθὼν κατάρθωσε τῷ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τριταῖος ἀναβῖναι.

consciousness of Christians, it must have meant Christ's cross. This seems to be the main reason why the 5<sup>th</sup>-century church historians only saw the cross in the labarum.

An excellent example of the connection between the cross and the chi-rho is an ornament from the porphyry imperial sarcophagus, nowadays located in the courtyard of the Hagia Eirene Church in Istanbul (fig. 1). Numismatic evidence also cannot be ignored. The coins, as early as during the reign of Constantine the Great, included the Chi-Rho symbol both on the shields and on the labarum. The oldest example of a coin with a shield decorated with a christogram (fig. 2) is a bronze coin from 322–323 with a bust of Caesar Crispus<sup>48</sup>. Its counterpart with the labarum is a coin dated to 327, minted on the occasion of the founding of Constantinople, on the reverse of which is the banner decorated with three medallions showing the portraits of Constantine and his two sons, Constantius II and Constantine II, with a shaft stuck into a winding snake (fig. 3)<sup>49</sup>. After Constantine's death, starting with the reign of his sons, it happened that the coins minted then had a cross, instead of the Chi-Rho, on the labarum (fig. 4–6)<sup>50</sup>. The cross also began to be placed on the shields, in their central part, where the christomon used to be, an example of which is the follis of Emperor Arcadius from 401–403, minted in Antioch (fig. 7)<sup>51</sup>. Over time, the cross replaced the entire labarum, as it happened during the reign of Valentinian III on the solidi of Gallia Placidia minted in Ravenna in the years 430–445 (fig. 8)<sup>52</sup>. The iconography present on the coins may prove that the phenomenon of identifying the labarum or Chi-Rho with the cross was not limited to church historiography and was more widespread, although it should be remembered that coins continued to also be decorated with the letters Chi-Rho. Therefore, the representation of the cross did not replace this symbol. However, it cannot be ruled out that the increasingly common image of the cross on coins also contributed to the aforementioned perception of the labarum by church historians.

*Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi*

<sup>48</sup> *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. VII, *Constantine and Licinius A.D. 313–337*, ed. P.M. BRUUN, London 1966, Trier 372.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. F. KOLB, *Ideal późnoantycznego władcy. Ideologia i autoprezentacja*, trans. A. GIERLIŃSKA, *Poznań* 2008, p. 89; J. WILLIAMS, *Religion and Roman Coins*, [in:] *A Companion to Roman Religion*, ed. J. RÜPKE, London 2007, p. 159.

<sup>50</sup> Constans, struck 337–340, *RIC* 8, Siscia 100; Constantius II, struck 337–340, *RIC* Trier 39; Constantius II, struck 347–355, *RIC* 8, Cyzicus 84.

<sup>51</sup> *RIC* 10, Antiochia 97.

<sup>52</sup> *RIC* 10, Valentinian III 2020.

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**Abstract.** Based on the testimony of emperor Constantine the Great himself, Eusebius of Caesarea presented a labarum in the form of *crux dissimulata* crowned with the Chi-Rho. The continuers of his *Church History* in the next century, Rufinus of Aquileia, Philostorgius, Socrates of Constantinople, and Sozomen, only kept the cross-shape of the banner, excluding the christogram. This might have happened because in two main sources informing about the vision of Constantine – the accounts of Eusebius of Caesarea and Lactantius – it was not only the monogram of Christ that played a significant role. The motif of the cross also appears in them, in the account of Eusebius directly, and Lactantius indirectly. Furthermore, Christians interpreted the cross explicitly as a sign of victory. Eusebius wrote about the cross as a symbol of immortality, a triumphant sign of Christ overcoming death. In the account of the bishop of Caesarea, on the other hand, Constantine's supposed vision included a triumphal sign in the form of a luminous cross, or the symbol of the trophy of salvation. Numismatic evidence also cannot be ignored. Already during the reign of Constantine the Great, the Chi-Rho appeared on the coins both on the shields and on the labarum. However, starting from the reign of Constantius II, coins that were minted included the cross instead of the Chi-Rho on the labarum. It also began to be placed on the shields, in their central part, where the monogram of Christ used to be. Over time, the cross replaced the entire labarum. The iconography present on the coins may prove that the phenomenon of identifying the labarum or Chi-Rho with the cross was not limited to church historiography and was more widespread, although it should be remembered that coins continued to also be decorated with the letters Chi-Rho. Therefore, the representation of the cross did not replace this symbol. However, it cannot be ruled out that the increasingly common image of the cross on coins also contributed to the aforementioned perception of the labarum by church historians.

**Keywords:** labarum, Christ's cross, Constantine's vision, church historiography

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## ILLUSTRATIONS



**Fig. 1.** The chi-rho is an ornament from the porphyry imperial sarcophagus, nowadays located in the courtyard of the Hagia Eirene church in Istanbul. All drawings in this article by ELŻBIETA MYŚLIŃSKA-BRZOZOWSKA.



**Fig. 2.** The bronze from 322–323 with a bust of caesar Crispus (*RIC* 7, Trier 372).



Fig. 3. The coin minted in 327 on the occasion of the founding of Constantinople, on the reverse of which is the banner decorated with three medallions showing the portraits of emperor Constantine and his two sons, Constantius II and Constantine II, with a shaft stuck into a winding snake (*RIC* 7, Constantinople 19).

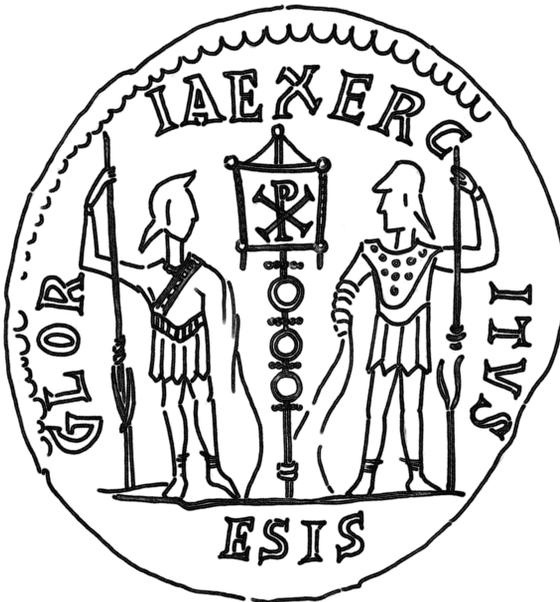


Fig. 4. The bronze of emperor Constans from 337–340, struck in Siscia (*RIC* 8, Siscia 100).

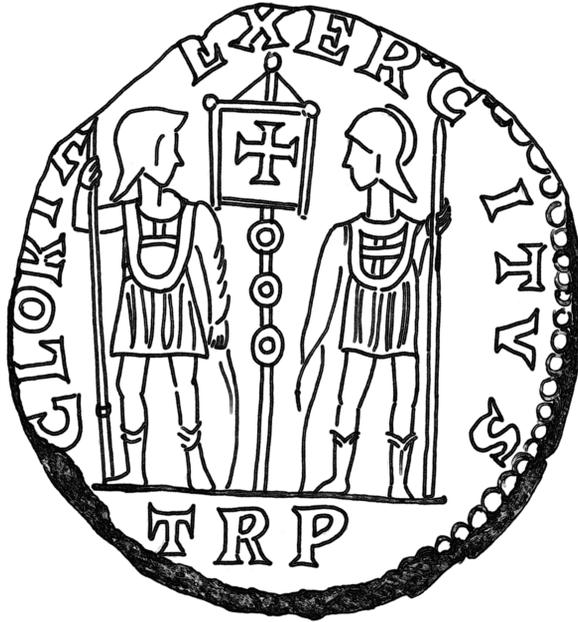


Fig. 5. The bronze of emperor Constantius II from 337–340, minted in Trier (RIC 8, Trier 39).



Fig. 6. The coin of emperor Constantius II from 347–355, struck in Cyzicus (RIC 8, Cyzicus 84).



Fig. 7. The follis of Emperor Arcadius from 401–403, minted in Antioch (*RIC* 10, Antioch 97).



Fig. 8. The solidi of Gallia Placidia minted in Ravenna in the years 430–445 (*RIC* 10, Valentinian III 2020).



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## HISTORICAL MASTER NARRATIVES AND THE MASTER NARRATIVE OF THE BULGARIAN MIDDLE AGES\*

### Historical master narratives

Scholars and journalists began talking about grand narratives (or master narratives or metanarratives) after Jean-François Lyotard's well-known work *The Postmodern Condition. A Report on Knowledge*<sup>1</sup>. Lyotard spoke about grand narratives (*grands récits*) in connection with the legitimation (or justification) of scientific knowledge. More specifically, he considered the emancipatory narrative of the French Revolution about liberating mankind from the shackles of priests and tyrants. He also considered the speculative narrative of German idealism (Fichte and Hegel) about the dialectics of the Spirit (or the realization of the Idea) as a meta-principle, as well as the narrative on relations between science, nation, and state (made more explicit by Humboldt). According to Lyotard, these narratives have lost their persuasiveness and credibility in the postmodern conditions. After Lyotard, the idea of grand narratives became popularized and entered various fields, one of which is historical scholarship.

Allan Megill differentiates several types of narratives in historical scholarship: narrative proper; master narrative, which claims to offer an authoritative account of a given segment of history; grand narrative, which claims authoritatively to explain history in general (for example, the development of history towards a "civic union" of the human race, as with Kant, or as a progressive realization of freedom, as with Hegel); and metanarrative, which serves as a justification of the grand narratives, most often belief in God or in an immanent rationality of the world<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> J.-F. LYOTARD, *The Postmodern Condition. A Report on Knowledge*, Manchester 1984 (French edition, 1979), p. XXIV–XXV, 31–34, 37–38, 51, 60, 65.

<sup>2</sup> A. MEGILL, "Grand Narrative" and the Discipline of History, [in:] *A New Philosophy of History*, ed. F. ANKERSMIT, H. KELLNER, Chicago 1995, p. 152–153.

Yet the use of the terms is not codified, and the various authors use them interchangeably or fuse two categories. To quote one definition, the representations of the past attain the status of a metanarrative “when their validity is not contested or at least they are socially dominant and form a magnetic field that is capable of integrating and orienting in a unified way the various particles of the historical representations”<sup>3</sup>. Or a shorter one: “metanarrative, that is, a narrative that arranges a number of other histories”<sup>4</sup>.

Konrad Jarausch and Martin Sabrow describe the various components and functions of the master narratives. These include a substantive aspect consisting of events, personalities, and structural interrelations. There is a theoretical-methodological dimension, in other words, claims of veridical argumentation and positing of criteria of rationality. There is a semantic component consisting of the use of a specific vocabulary and the following of narratological rules. There is a discursive deep structure, that is, a meaningful arrangement of the past, creation of coherence, and organization of the historical discourse. And there is the relation to social practices of generating a tradition (and identity) and a politics of history. The master narratives attain social hegemony through institutionalization, dissemination through the media, and political scenarios. The same authors point to the critical potential of the very notion of master narratives, which respects the effort to achieve directedness and synthesis but at the same time points to the constructed character of every writing of history and indicates that the past is not “in itself” but “for us” and depends on present interests. The concept thus contains a critique of any attempt to dictate the viewing of the past and of the arrogance of asserting “how it really was”. In other words, it is directed against historical monism in favor of the historical pluralism characteristic of the twenty-first century (and of postmodernism)<sup>5</sup>.

The master narratives satisfy the society’s identificatory and other important needs and help in achieving social integration, as they react to changes in the society with a change in the dominant interpretations. They also offer orientation in the future. With the rise of the nation-states and nationalism in the nineteenth century, the master narratives became a product and a factor of this new type of social integration. The history of one’s own nation became the major interpretative framework for ordering and fusion of historical knowledge in a meaningful master narrative – the nation is legitimized by constructing a continuity from

<sup>3</sup> M. MIDDELL, M. GIBAS, F. HADLER, *Sinnstiftung durch historisches Erzählen. Überlegungen zu Funktionsmechanismen von Representationen des Vergangenen*, [in:] *Comparativ, Zugänge zu historischen Meistererzählungen*, ed. IDEM, Leipzig 2000, p. 24. Another definition appears in K. JARAUSCH, M. SABROW, “Meistererzählungen”: *Zur Karriere eines Begriffs*, [in:] *Die historische Meistererzählung. Deutungslinien der deutschen Nationalgeschichte nach 1945*, ed. IDEM, Göttingen 2002, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> L. HUNT, *Geschichte jenseits der Gesellschaftstheorie*, [in:] *Geschichte schreiben in der Postmoderne*, ed. C. CONRAD, M. KESSEL, Stuttgart 1994, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> K. JARAUSCH, M. SABROW, “Meistererzählungen”..., p. 11–12, 17–18.

its mythical origins up to the present. The master narratives feature a deep structure that relates to fundamentals of the cultural community, and, along with that, the ordering of time according to periodizations that reflect respective judgments of the course of history, such as myths of origins, stories of rises and peaks, and phases of decay or stagnation – all marked by events. They are organized around important actors and events, refer to a certain space, and introduce differentiations, namely, the divide between “us” and the “others” (“them”). The master narratives were problematized in many European states after 1945 through alternative attempts, e.g., the transnational study of the common foundations of the “West”, and the universal-historical dimension of Marxism, but these alternative interpretations often remain attached to the national-historical model<sup>6</sup>.

The master narratives I am concerned with here are exactly of the national type, national master narratives, because they are deployed in the national framework and have the nation (or people) and its state as their major (collective) agent. The Marxist counter-narrative, which attempted to replace the nation with classes but remained (in the Bulgarian and other cases) within the national framework, will also be analyzed.

The close relation between historiography and justification of the nation, as well as the “nationalization” of history in the sense of presenting the nations as the major historical actors and privileging the national point of view, are universal or at least European phenomena. They appeared with the assertion of the national principle and the creation of modern nations and nation-states in the second half of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, and they coincided with the scientification and the professionalization of the historical discipline<sup>7</sup>. The national principle of organization of the historical narrative made its appearance with Romanticism in the early nineteenth century, with its ideas of the unique character of the nation, its legitimation of the nation by stressing continuity in history, its affirmation of the superiority of one’s nation over other nations, and its strongly gendered approaches to describing nationhood. Then the national principle of organization became the hallmark of positivist historiography of the second half of the nineteenth century, with its orientation, if not toward “laws” in the human affairs, then at least toward empiricism and a critique of the sources. The same principle passes through some varieties of Marxism<sup>8</sup>.

“Scientific” history was accorded a major role in the formation of nations and the building of national identities and national “historical consciousness”, hence of a national loyalty and attachment, and thus the legitimation of the nation-states.

<sup>6</sup> M. MIDDELL, M. GIBAS, F. HADLER, *Sinnstiftung...*, p. 25–28, 30.

<sup>7</sup> On the professionalization and institutionalization of historical scholarship, which first took place in Germany, see P. LAMBERT, *The Professionalization and Institutionalization of History*, [in:] *Writing History. Theory and Practice*, ed. S. BERGER, H. FELDNER, K. PASSMORE, London 2003, p. 42–60.

<sup>8</sup> S. BERGER, *Introduction: Towards a Global History of National Historiographies*, [in:] *Writing the Nation. A Global Perspective*, ed. IDEM, Basingstoke 2007, p. 4, 9–13.

Accordingly, the historians assumed the role of nation-builders and “spokespeople” for the nation, upholders of the national honor and glory, and national pedagogues in general. In more extreme cases, they became apologists of the nation and developed a cult of the state<sup>9</sup>.

The national narratives typically operate with models of rises and falls, golden ages, lost lands, national renaissances, national heroes, ideas of national missions, ideal borders and territories, and the continuous existence of states, the longer the better. In the absence of state continuity, ethnic continuity and the heroic struggle of the people against a foreign domination take center stage<sup>10</sup>. In a general sense, the national narratives can be optimistic, such as the American and the French “histories of success”. In the American case this involves concealing historical crimes such as the extermination of the Native Americans, the enslaving of other races, and imperialist exploitation. Other national master narratives have a pessimistic overtone: the Polish and the Serbian histories are histories of suffering with martyrological self-pity and victimization that risk inflaming a desire for revenge. In some cases, as in the Balkans, the national narrative presents a secularized history of salvation – after a demonstration of a glorious past, the spread of the national-liberation movements brings salvation from Ottoman rule and the establishment of independent nation-states<sup>11</sup>.

Some national and nationalist historians insist that historical scholarship should be scientific, “objective”, and “value-free” (in the Weberian sense), i.e., without biases and value judgments. Others advocate taking sides and favoring a (national) “party” stand (*Parteilichkeit*, not very different from the communist tenet on the issue of classes). It is exactly in criticizing the national paradigm in historical scholarship since the early nineteenth century, which reached the extreme of national apotheosis, that the notions of “objectivity” and “freedom of values”, as well as the strict separation between scientificity and politics (and ideology), have been challenged. They have been accused of being a “new metaphysics” actually concealing national biases or, at best, a rhetorical weapon in institutional power competition between historians for careers and promotions and a way to exclude “amateurs”<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> S. BERGER, M. DONOVAN, K. PASSMORE, *Apologias for the Nation-State in Western Europe since 1800*, [in:] *Writing National Histories. Western Europe since 1800*, ed. IDEM, London–New York 1999, p. 3–14. On the German national tradition of historiography, see S. BERGER, *The Search for Normality. National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Germany since 1800*, Providence–Oxford 1997. Berger extends his observations to other European national historiographies and (in a work resulting from collective research) to the way of writing national history in Europe. See S. BERGER, *The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe*, [in:] *Writing the Nation...*, p. 30–62. See also *Historians as Nation-Builders. Central and South-East Europe*, ed. D. DELETANT, H. HANAK, Basingstoke–London 1988. This is a more traditional treatment of some national Central European and Balkan historians.

<sup>10</sup> S. BERGER, *Introduction...*, p. 5, 9, 23–24.

<sup>11</sup> K. JARAUSCH, M. SABROW, “*Meistererzählungen*”..., p. 29–30.

<sup>12</sup> S. BERGER, M. DONOVAN, K. PASSMORE, *Apologias...*, p. 4–5.

Let us return to the national master narratives with some examples. In Germany the national narrative was initially elaborated by the historians of the “Prussian school” Johann Gustav von Droysen, Henrich Siebel, Henrich von Treitschke, and others. It pared down the variety and heterogeneity of individual confessional and territorial (regional) histories and oriented the narrative mainly toward the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia as the nucleus of the future unified state. After the national goals were realized, the national history turned into legitimation and a veritable cult of the statehood and power of the German Empire<sup>13</sup>. After 1945 (but not immediately after), with the rise of social history starting at the end of the 1960s, a new “grand narrative” of the Federal Republic developed. This was the thesis that there was a particular negative German path of development (*Sonderweg*) that led to Nazism within the metanarrative of modernization<sup>14</sup>.

Joep Leerssen underlines the significance of the beginning, middle, and end of the stories. Yet in his opinion, the beginning and the end of historical narratives are somewhat anomalous; although the histories start and end somewhere, these are not proper narrative beginnings and ends. The beginning is in many cases a review of the setting – either the geographical setting or the circumstances in which the historical events will take place – while the end is often something like a moral balance of the significance of the events described. Leerssen considers the beginning of some national histories, in which the coincidence between ethnicity and territory, that is, an early settlement of a certain people on a certain territory, represents the ideal case. Such a fortuitous continuity between ethnicity and place of settlement is present in the case of Germany. When such continuity is lacking, as in the case of Belgium, the unity of social life (commerce and traffic) is stressed instead. Ireland has to be satisfied with a legendary beginning, followed by an invasion by the Celtic Galli as a real historical beginning (and an ideal of future independence)<sup>15</sup>.

The Middle Ages in particular also generate master narratives and become “nationalized” in a variety of ways, even when stating that nations did not exist at the time. As Patrick Geary has pointed out, medieval history is always in a subordinate position and serves as a negative otherness and the opposite image of the grand narratives of the modern age. If the modern age is known for “progress,” “reason” or “rationality,” “science,” “the liberation of the individual,” and “liberal democracy” (initiated during the Renaissance and achieved during the Enlightenment), the Middle Ages stand for the opposite notions and values: the traditional irrational world, lack of a developed personality and of interest for the material world.

<sup>13</sup> K. JARAUSCH, M. SABROW, “*Meistererzählungen*”..., p. 25–26. In more detail, see S. BERGER, *The Search for Normality*..., p. 21–55.

<sup>14</sup> T. WELSKOPP, *Identität ex negativo*, [in:] *Die historische Meistererzählung*..., p. 109–139.

<sup>15</sup> J. LEERSSEN, *Setting the Scene for National History*, [in:] *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, ed. S. BERGER, C. LORENZ, Basingstoke–New York 2010, p. 71–85.

With such a negative image of the Middle Ages, the medievalist has several options for constructing a meta-narrative about them. The first is to reject the autonomy of the Middle Ages by denying them their own era in periodizations (by prolonging antiquity until very late and starting immediately with “Old Europe”). The second is to assert the otherness of the era between 500 and 1500 with a positive or negative attitude toward medieval religion, culture, and society, and sometimes even with fascination with morbid things (death, blood, violence, pain, pus). The third is to attempt to show that the Middle Ages, like modern times, are part of the narrative of rationalization and emancipation (the beginnings of a modern economy and capitalism, navigation, various cultural renaissances, and so on). The fourth is to problematize the modern age itself as a history of progress and to show the medieval roots of modern intolerance, repression, and violence.

Geary recognizes the usefulness of the narrative paradigm but rejects the radical epistemological theses of postmodernism (such as closure within language and lack of referentiality to reality, or that the narratives are just formulae of power and desire). He opts for multiple Middle Ages by decentering vis-à-vis Europe and its “provincialization” (as Dipesh Chakrabarty has it) on the example of the post-colonial (subaltern) studies and of Eurasian and global history, as well as the history of women and of minorities with their alternative narratives of the modern age (not just criticism and deconstructionism)<sup>16</sup>.

Some authors view the master narratives of the Middle Ages in a positive light, pointing to their important orienting and directing functions. These include the determination of the basic structure of the historical narrative, the ordering of historical knowledge in coherent frameworks and the ascription of meaning, and the reduction of complex historical interrelations to simple schemes and dichotomies (e.g., unity versus freedom, community based on equality [*Genossenschaft*] versus community based on domination [*Herrschaft*]), and thus the rendering of coherence and meaningfulness and the possibility to narrate the historical process in general<sup>17</sup>. One should also mention the important insight that the Enlightenment, the modern age, and postmodernism (as well as the Renaissance and the Reformation) and every present all have their “own” Middle Ages. Conversely, the Middle Ages are a precondition for thinking about the modern age<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> P. GEARY, “Multiple Middle Ages” – konkurrierende Meistererzählungen und der Wettstreit um die Deutung der Vergangenheit, [in:] *Meistererzählungen vom Mittelalter*, ed. F. REXROTH, Munich 2007, p. 107–120.

<sup>17</sup> F. REXROTH, *Meistererzählungen und die Praxis der Geschichtsschreibung. Eine Skizze zur Einführung*, [in:] *Meistererzählungen...*, p. 4–6, 8. Also W. POHL, *Ursprungserzählungen und Gegenbilder. Das archaische Frühmittelalter*, [in:] *Meistererzählungen...*, p. 29–35. See also P. RAEDTS, *The Once and Future Reich: German Medieval History between Retrospection and Resentment*, [in:] *Gebrauch und Missbrauch des Mittelalters, 19.–21. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. BAK, J. JARNUT, P. MONNET, B. SCHNEIDMÜLLER, Munich 2009, p. 193–204.

<sup>18</sup> O. OEXLE, “Das Mittelalter”: *Bilder gedeuteter Geschichte*, [in:] *Gebrauch und Missbrauch...*, p. 27–28.

Special attention is paid to the narratives of the Early Middle Ages, because the origins of the modern nations are sought there, and it is from there that the comprehensive national master narratives take their start. Walter Pohl gives examples of master narratives about the ancient beginnings of the West. These include the monasteries as islands of written culture and gradual spread of literacy; the process of social disciplining and of taming and civilizing of behavior and mores as a precondition of the industrial society (Norbert Elias); and the evolution of statehood. Yet according to Pohl, all master narratives about the Early Middle Ages go beyond them and transcend them, treating them as a time of decay, transition, or origins, while the real interest is directed to another era, so he argues that the Early Middle Ages should be understood in and of themselves in their multiplicity and contradictions. As for the master narratives, he thinks that they are not necessarily mistaken and can be a productive challenge<sup>19</sup>.

Pohl considers in another work the modern uses of early medieval ethnic descent on the examples of Germany, France, England, Spain, Greece, Italy, and (more briefly) Central and Southeastern Europe<sup>20</sup>. Here I will only touch upon the treatment of the German, French, and British examples, which are of some relevance for the Bulgarian case. As Pohl points out, early medieval history is always entangled with issues of national identity, and national histories everywhere have contributed to the creation of national myths of origins. Although the national ideologies reached their peak in the first half of the twentieth century (the most aggressive until 1945 was German nationalism, with the racist belief in biological Aryan German superiority), in some countries the controversies over medieval descent still have nationalist overtones today.

According to the national myth of origins, present-day Germans are considered heirs to the Germanic rulers' conquests of much of Europe by Germanic tribes during the Great Migration of Peoples (*Völkerwanderung*). More problematic are the Early Middle Ages, because some German kingdoms lasted only a short time and because Clovis and Charlemagne (or Charles the Great) ruled the successful Frankish Kingdom, which, however, has a more direct link with the present-day French state (and the Franks gave their name to the French). For that reason, German nationalist historians turned mostly to the Otons, under whom the Holy Roman Empire turned into a kingdom of the Eastern Franks (together

<sup>19</sup> W. POHL, *Ursprungserzählungen...*, p. 23–41.

<sup>20</sup> IDEM, *Modern Uses of Early Medieval Ethnic Origins*, [in:] *Gebrauch und Missbrauch...*, p. 55–70. As Pohl points out, most conflicts during the early Middle Ages were not national, but this is the period when ethnic states (kingdoms named after peoples) started to expand in Europe. On the French case, for more detail, see B. EFFROS, *The Germanic Invasions and the Academic Politics of National Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century France*, [in:] *Gebrauch und Missbrauch...*, p. 81–94; A. BURGUIÈRE, *L'historiographie des origines de la France: Genèse d'un imaginaire national*, A.H 58.1, 2003, p. 41–62. On the mythologizing and politicizing of the origins, see also P. GEARY, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton–Oxford 2002, p. 15–40.

with other Germanic tribes, such as Saxons, Bavarians, and Alamani), who would eventually evolve into Germans. In fact, the German state evolved in a protracted and punctuated process from the Frankish Kingdom (still called the Holy Roman Empire), where most of the inhabitants were more attached to regional identities. Only in the course of the nineteenth century did the idea of a common German identity succeed in a protracted competition with other particularistic identities (connected with the names and areas of other Germanic tribes).

The history of the French is also connected with the early medieval Franks; the paradox is that a Germanic-speaking people gave its name to a Romanic-speaking nation. Traditionally, the French aristocracy claimed descent from the Franks, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the theory of the two races was elaborated (by the aristocrat Boulainvilliers), namely, the Franks, who were freedom-loving and capable of governing, and the subjugated Galli. However, this was countered with the argument that the French monarchy was a legitimate heir to the Roman Empire, which legally transferred the government of Gaul to the Franks, whom the Roman emperor called upon for the defense of the borders. Hence they came by invitation as workers and soldiers and not as conquerors, and they were later assimilated by the Gallo-Roman population without leaving significant traces. The influence of the Roman tradition was thus underscored (by Foustel de Coulange) rather than ethnic descent. One traditionally contested point has been Charlemagne: was he French or German? The French Revolution accepted the (ethnic and social) division into Franks and Galli but reversed the assessments. It declared that the real French (the third estate, or *tiers état*) were heirs of the Galli, who suffered under foreign domination and who formed the nation. The debate about the origins of the French became strongly aggravated after Prussia defeated France in 1871, but it later subsided. Since 1945, French history has been defined territorially (the “hexagon”) and institutionally, while Charlemagne has been symbolically appropriated as the “father” of united Europe.

No less complicated is the issue of British origins and identity. The Germanic tribes the Angles and Saxons, the future Englishmen, came to Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. Here they encountered and attacked or repulsed not only the Brits (i.e., Romanized Celts) but also other Celtic tribes who were among the fore-runners of the present-day Welsh, Scots, and Irish. In the eleventh century the Normans (French) invaded the British Isles and centralized the political system. They were subsequently Anglicized (also in a linguistic sense).

Some medieval myths, once they are deeply imprinted in the consciousness, can be instrumentalized and manipulated for political purposes. One such case can be seen in Serbia with the myth of the Battle of Kosovo against the Turks (1389), which served to foster a dangerous and bloody nationalism<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, M. ŠUICA, *The Image of the Battle of Kosovo (1389) Today: A Historic Event, a Moral Pattern, or the Tool of Political Manipulation*, [in:] *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European*

The question can be asked: what is the attitude toward the master narratives today, and toward national ones in particular? The author of the notion, Lyotard, believes that the grand narratives, which exercise a totalizing, and in some cases even totalitarian influence and control, have lost credibility. As an alternative, he offers what he calls “small narratives” (*petit récits*) or micro-narratives – local, contingent, and popular, expressing a variety of circumstances and unresolved conflict, and for that reason not subject to totalization. According to him, such narratives derive from customary knowledge, and they have a pragmatic and performative function and local authority and heterodox socio-political power – they produce social and political resistance and subvert the institutionalized narratives with their power props<sup>22</sup>.

The master national narratives seem to have lost credibility in the great national historiographies, or at least they are meeting resistance, and alternatives are sought. Such alternatives include (in an early timeframe) the history of the working classes, and later on women’s history, though both are often narrated in national frameworks, and might, for that reason, be called (as Stefan Berger calls them) national counter-narratives<sup>23</sup>. Berger notes a certain loosening of the homogeneous national paradigms in general. This happens especially through the categories of “remembrance” and “memory”, through the “history of everyday life” and “microhistory”, as well as in postmodern strategies of narrating history, which insist upon the multiplicity of subjective “memories” and upon taking various perspectives and experiences into account. These also reflect why and by whom particular pasts are constructed, and, along with that, certain representations of the future, while others are barred from the public discourse. Berger takes a stand against homogeneous identitary national discourses in the writing of history in favor of a historiography that would validate different identities in their conflictual relations and would insist upon the simultaneous existence of multiple constructs of identity. Even more radically, he states that the representation of the past should not recreate mythical roots of the national identity but, on the contrary, should dissolve the ideas of imagined identities and identify the myths underneath them. (He cites Foucault’s dictum that it is not the goal of history to offer “substitute identities” to people who do not know who they are)<sup>24</sup>.

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*States*, ed. R.J.W. EVANS, G.P. MARCHAL, Basingstoke 2011, p. 152–174; D. DJOKIĆ, *Whose Myth? Which Nation? The Serbian Kosovo Myth Revisited*, [in:] *Gebrauch und Missbrauch...*, p. 215–233.

<sup>22</sup> J.-F. LYOTARD, *The Postmodern Condition...*, p. 60, 66; M. KREISWIRTH, *Tell Me a Story: The Narrativist Turn in the Human Sciences*, [in:] *Constructive Criticism. The Human Sciences in the Age of Theory*, Toronto–Buffalo–London 1995, p. 71–72.

<sup>23</sup> S. BERGER, *Introduction...*, p. 19.

<sup>24</sup> IDEM, *Geschichten von der Nation. Einigen vergleichende Thesen zur deutschen, englischen, französischen und italienischen Nationalgeschichte seit 1800*, [in:] *Die Nation schreiben. Geschichtswissenschaft im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. C. CONRAD, S. CONRAD, Göttingen 2002, p. 77; IDEM, *The Search for Normality...*, p. 6–7.

Konrad Jarausch also makes it clear that nation, class, and the modern age are losing their meta-status and that the master narratives have been eroded, including the narrative of the German *Sonderweg* to modernization, not to speak of the Marxist alternative in the former East Germany. Especially in Germany, this erosion took place under the impact of the political upheavals in 1945, 1968, and 1989, as well as under the impact of the postmodern critique (which leads to methodological relativization) and the competition of individual remembrances and medial images. He lists the alternative metanarratives and grand interpretations on offer, such as an updated theory of totalitarianism to explain the two German dictatorships (the Nazi regime and the GDR's communist regime), the Holocaust, the counter-narratives of minorities, territorial alternatives (subnational, regional, or the geographical perspective of the whole of Europe, as well as a globalized "history of the world"). Other alternative grand narratives, with less relevance for Germany, are the postcolonial discourses in the United States, Britain, and France and the "subaltern stories" of black or colonial peoples, counterposed to master narratives taken literally.

Jarausch, however, remains skeptical that these or other new grand or master narratives can take root, given the competition of historical images transmitted through the media and their inability to inspire the intellectuals. He even notes the rehabilitation of a democratized national history as the ironic consequence of offering all the aforementioned alternatives. He argues for a pluralization of the historical narratives within a tolerant democracy (e.g., many histories of the Germans and the German past – local, confessional, social, and ethnic) and a multi-voice or "polyphony" of cross-cutting historical narratives – without, however, fusing them into a new, if decentered, metanarrative. In this way the complexity of the past will be seen and a multi-perspectival understanding of it will be achieved, in which historical research will also enter into a dialogue with popular remembrances and memories about it<sup>25</sup>.

On the other hand, influential historians like Jörn Rüsen think that a cultural identity simply cannot exist without grand or master narratives, and that even if the critique of such narratives is justified, we need new such grand narratives in order to define our identity in a new way<sup>26</sup>. Even a thinker of the rank of Michel Foucault, who departed from a critique of one grand narrative, of liberalism and progress, ended up creating another grand narrative, of increasing social control and disciplining in the modern "carceral society". The irony, as some have pointed out, is that historians are faced with a public demand for comprehensive narratives,

<sup>25</sup> K. JARAUSCH, *Die Krise der nationalen Meistererzählungen*, [in:] *Die historische Meistererzählung...*, p. 140–162.

<sup>26</sup> J. RÜSEN, *Für eine interkulturelle Kommunikation in der Geschichte*, [in:] *Die Vielfalt der Kulturen (Erinnerung, Geschichte, Identität 4)*, ed. J. RÜSEN, M. GOTTLÖB, A. MITTAG, Frankfurt am Main 1998, p. 23.

whose status they themselves consider more and more problematic, yet to which they owe their social significance<sup>27</sup>.

Until this point, I introduced the notion of historical master narratives and national master narratives in particular, their general models (or plots) and contribution to national identities and justification of the nation and its state. I then addressed the issue of master narratives of the Middle Ages with their typical themes (such as origins, ethnogenesis, continuity, etc.) and their orientation and identity-building function. I now come to the national narrative and counter-narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages and I will consider their general mode of operation and some specific themes.

### Master narratives of the Bulgarian Middle Ages

Here I will briefly and schematically present the master narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages, which is the subject a detailed book of mine in Bulgarian<sup>28</sup>. This master narrative was constructed starting with what is known as “Romantic” historiography (from Monk Paisij’s “Istorija Slavjanoblgarskaja” [Slavonic-Bulgarian History] in 1762 to Vasil Aprilov’s writings in the first half of the nineteenth century) but it was elaborated especially with the development of “scientific” (or critical) historiography first by Marin Drinov (1838–1906) and mainly by the most significant Bulgarian historians from the “bourgeois” era: Vasil Zlatarski (1866–1935)<sup>29</sup>, Petăr Mutafčiev (1883–1943)<sup>30</sup>, and (to a point) Petăr Nikov (1884–1938)<sup>31</sup>. Then it was interrupted by the (crude) Marxist counter-narrative of the late 1940s through the beginning of the 1960s. Starting in the mid- or late 1960s there was a gradual return to the nationalism of the master national narrative, which reached a peak with the celebration of the 1,300<sup>th</sup> anniversary

<sup>27</sup> M. MIDDELL, M. GIBAS, F. HADLER, *Sinnstiftung...*, p. 18–20, 22.

<sup>28</sup> P. ДАСКАЛОВ, *Големите разкази за Българското средновековие*, София 2018.

<sup>29</sup> В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I, *Първо българско царство*, р. 1, *Епоха на хунно-българското надмощие*, 679–852, София 1918; ИДЕМ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I, (*Първо българско царство*), р. 2, (*От славянизацията на държавата до падането на Първото българско царство, 852–1018*), София 1927; ИДЕМ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. II, *България под византийско владичество, 1018–1187*, София 1934; ИДЕМ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. III, *Второ българско царство. България при Асеновци, 1187–1280*, София 1940.

<sup>30</sup> П. МУТАФЧИЕВ, *Изток и Запад в европейското средновековие*, София 1999 (first published in 1931); ИДЕМ, *История на българския народ*, vol. I–II, София 1943; ИДЕМ, *Книга за българите*, София 1999 (first edition in 1987, written in 1928–1936).

<sup>31</sup> П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения от 1277 година*, СББАН 11, 1920, р. 1–220; ИДЕМ, *Татаро-български отношения през Средните векове с оглед към царуването на Смилеца*, София 1921; ИДЕМ, *Българи и татари в Средните векове*, София 1929; ИДЕМ, *Съдбата на северозападните български земи през средните векове*, БИБ 3.1, 1930, р. 96–153.

of the founding of the Bulgarian state in 1981. The same line continued after 1989 (stripped of the Marxist *vulgata*), yet some new tendencies appeared.

Master national narratives despite all their variations, have certain thematic nodes. These typically include origins and migrations, the founding of a state and its evolution, rise and decline, foreign dominations, yet with the assertion of continuity (at least of the “people”). Important substantive themes (and plots) in the course of this narrative in the Bulgarian case, apart from those already mentioned, are Christianization, adoption of an alphabet, formation of the nationality (ethnogenesis), and the Byzantine influence (called “Byzantinism”). The communist counter-narrative added to these the themes of feudalism and class struggle. One can also note some dichotomies that structure the material, form the plot or intrigue, and serve to make sense of the events, such as the dichotomy “domination” versus “equal union” (between Bulgars and Slavs), ethnic dualism versus unity or fusion, paganism versus Christianity, original model versus Byzantine influence, and centralism versus (feudal) decentralization.

Origins and ethnogenesis are especially important for collective identity. The Bulgarian case involves two basic and quite different ethnic components, and it is still more interesting because the way relations between them were perceived depended upon the changes in the sociopolitical circumstances and context. It is notable that other ethnic elements are stubbornly excluded from the Bulgarian ethnogenesis (except for the Thracians as a third and minor element) and that the master narrative insists that the process is completed early and the ethnic community or nationality is stabilized precisely to exclude later ethnic additions (or to belittle them as “assimilated”) but also to lay claim to Macedonia in this early epoch under Bulgarian rule. In this way, the master national narrative ensures the continuity of the ethnic group or nation and its identity: we are the same now as they (or even “we”) were then.

The main protagonist of the master national narrative is the state, represented by its rulers; “the people” are in the background. The rulers are typically divided into “strong” or “weak”, “wise” or “short-sighted”, “military leaders” or “diplomats”, and, in the final analysis, “successful” or “unsuccessful”. The master national narrative shows particular interest in statehood in the sense of institutions and state traditions, as well as in the church. The national narrative is particularly insistent in asserting the continuity of state tradition – between the two Bulgarian medieval states; between the eastern part of the first Bulgaria, which fell under Byzantine domination earlier (in 971), and the western part (Macedonia) of King Samuil, which fell later (in 1018); and between the Bulgaria of Khan Asparuh on the Danube (founded in 681) and the preceding Bulgaria of Khan Kubrat to the north of the Caucasus (in the 630s through the 660s). The continuity of the state and Church tradition is added to ethnic continuity as a main thread in the master national narrative and a guarantee of identity.

The master narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages has two peaks or culminations – the periods of greatest military and political might and territorial expansion under Tsar Simeon the Great (reign: 893–927) during the First Bulgarian Kingdom and under Tsar Ioan (in Bulgarian, Ivan) Asen II (reign: 1218–1241) during the Second Bulgarian Kingdom. In fact, there is a third peak, which is situated outside the Middle Ages but is implicitly a comparative point of reference for them as well. This is the map of Bulgaria of the (abortive) San Stefano preliminary peace treaty of March 1878 after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, which became the Bulgarian national “Great Idea” but could not be realized during the Third Bulgarian Kingdom then established (except temporarily). All three “Great Bulgarias” included Moesia (today’s Northern Bulgaria), Thrace, and Macedonia, so that Bulgaria bordered “three seas” (as the nationalist slogan goes). The Middle Ages and Bulgarian history in general are conceived of through this maximalist territorial expanse, which stands as the “Bulgarian lands” or, more strongly, as “original Bulgarian lands”, even though the outer parts were under Bulgarian rule for only a short period of time. Moreover, the actual map of the Bulgarian medieval kingdoms usually looked very different, and in some periods it had little in common with this national ideal. It is against this mental map (or map in the minds) of a Greater Bulgaria that the past and every present were measured. For a long time, the “regaining”, “liberation”, and “unification” of the remaining lands that constituted “all-encompassing” (*tselokupna*) Bulgaria was the political goal to be pursued. In this way the Middle Ages were also included in the modern Bulgarian national project as its antecedent and analog, so that the periods of the three kingdoms appear to be new beginnings, expansions, and efforts toward the same political goals and, ultimately, unsuccessful repetitions. The territorial continuity (or, put more strongly, identity) is added to ethnic and state continuity to complete the modern national identity.

In Bulgarian medieval history, there were two periods of foreign domination resulting in the disappearance of the state – under the Byzantines and under the Ottomans. There was also a period in which the state became extremely weak and dependent on the Tartars during the Second Kingdom. Apart from that, there were periods of “feudal disintegration”, mostly during the Second Kingdom. How does one narrate the periods under foreign rule, without Bulgarian statehood? The Bulgarian people remain as a collective hero. Yet the master national narrative is not interested in their everyday life but mostly in the dramatic moments of suffering and struggle, in which the heroic aspect is emphasized over victimization and its negative consequences (like assimilation). In any case, the narrative of the period under Ottoman rule (emotionally called “slavery”) remains a “small narrative” (also in terms of the number of pages) because of the absence of “high” official national culture (state, church, and rulers of the same nationality), which stand at the center of interest of the master national narrative.

Apart from the state with its rulers (and patriarchs of the Church), the master national narrative also has “the people” as its protagonist. “The people” are not an invention of communist historiography, though there they feature as an active participant (waging “class struggles”) rather than only passively suffering from oppression and exploitation. The national/nationalist “bourgeois” historical discourse, however, also paid attention to the “people”, although it regarded the people more as a passive “object” and not a “subject” of history, except in special cases of popular movements (such as the Bogomil heresy in the tenth century or the peasant uprising of Ivaylo in 1277–1280). In the Bulgarian case, the fact that the historians branded as “bourgeois” came from commoner or, at best, middle-class milieus accounts for their sympathizing with the common people rather than with the elites.

Along with their empirical (mostly passive) existence, “the people” in the master national narrative also have a purely transcendental and normative function: they serve as a distinctive moral measuring rod to judge the rule of the rulers. Good rulers should not exhaust the people in major wars (hence the negative judgment of Simeon the Great by some historians). Nor should they allow “feudal” arbitrary rule over the people. Furthermore, there is the idea that the state’s strength is maintained by the “unity” between the people and the ruler, who must keep the predatory and egotistic feudal lords in check. Conversely, heavy oppression of the people drives it to indifference and despair, which triggers heresies and weakens the state. This is not so with communist historiography, which celebrates precisely class struggles and the weakening of the always-unjust social order and (in a more muted way) the weakening of the state. But when communist historiography turned to nationalism, it began extolling statehood, which then created a contradiction with the positive evaluation of class struggles (which a truly Marxist historiography cannot give up).

The master narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages is national in several respects. To begin with, the framework of the narrative is national – that is, it narrates almost exclusively what took place within the confines of the Bulgarian state, while what took place outside is narrated only cursorily and insofar as it relates to domestic developments. Secondly, the narrative takes a national perspective or point of view, from which the past is retrospectively configured and colored and, in the process, is “nationalized”. It is conducted from the perspective of the collective “we” (with full identification), opposed to the others or “them”, who appear most often in the role of enemies or even “hereditary enemies”. In the Bulgarian case, the archenemy is the Rhomios or Romaioi (initially identified in national terms as “Greeks”) of the Byzantine Empire. Enmity with the Rhomios was fed by the attitudes and the struggles against Greek influence during the Bulgarian National Revival (i.e. national formation) in the late Ottoman Empire and by the struggle over Macedonia subsequently.

However, the problem is that most of what is known about the Bulgarians (their rulers, wars, and borders) comes from “others” that they have come in contact with. What is largely lacking is the domestic Bulgarian view on things, with its priorities, its group consciousness, and its own interpretation of the world (only small fragments of which can be recovered, through domestic, mostly “apocryphal” or “legendary” sources). To make things worse, most of the foreign sources are Byzantine<sup>32</sup>. In other words, they come from the Bulgarians’ archenemies. This makes necessary to “reverse” the optic of the sources in order to extract an internal position from the external narration; in the process the observed is identified as “we” and even becomes an observer (of the Byzantine observer). When it is about wars, the enemy from the sources has to become “us”, and the “we” from the sources has to become the enemy. The medieval Bulgarians, as “ours”, then become the “good ones” and should always be in the right and their actions justified. This leads to strong criticism (and sometimes hyper-criticism) of the foreign sources: selective reading (which neglects or suppresses bad and reprehensible things about Bulgarians), finding the desired interpretation “between the lines”, and other similar approaches. For example, when descriptions of Bulgarian atrocities appear in the sources (of the kings Simeon, Asen I, reign: 1190–1196, or Kaloyan-Ioanica, reign: 1197–1207), the national narrative’s solution is either to ignore the uncomfortable aspects or to attempt to justify them as a well-deserved revenge on the Byzantines for a previous offense. Of course, critical reading of the sources is a major method of scientific historiography, but what I mean here is selective and self-serving hyper-criticism. This is criticism of the sources designed to discredit facts inconvenient to the national narrative, such as the question of participation of Vlachs in the uprising of Asen and Petăr in 1185–1187, which led to the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, and to support those that are nationally advantageous.

In addition to framework and perspective, the master national narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages nationalizes and thus modernizes the past in a third, more substantive way. It presents the medieval Bulgarian states on the model of modern nation-states, where nation and territory coincide, even if the author denies it and does not speak of a nation but of ethnic community or nationality: *narodnost*. This is expressed (as already noted) by projecting onto the past the modern territorial national ideal of a Greater Bulgaria (as defined in the Treaty of San Stefano) consisting of Moesia, Thrace, and Macedonia and affirming an ideal and primordial “all-encompassing” Bulgaria. It is true that this “mental map” almost coincides with the periods of greatest Bulgarian expansion during the Middle Ages themselves. But the issue is that the “liberation” and “unification” of these lands is described as an ideal and a goal of the medieval rulers themselves. Hence the outermost parts

<sup>32</sup> On sources, see М. КАЙМАКАМОВА, *Българската средновековна историопис*, София 1990, p. 7–65; В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Средновековна България в светлината на нови извори*, София 1981, p. 17–41.

of this “mental Bulgaria” (or Bulgaria “in the mind” – the mind of the nationalists), which in fact usually lay outside the actual Bulgarian state, are named and treated as the “Bulgarian Northwest”, “Bulgarian Northeast”, and “Bulgarian Southwest” (though a “Bulgarian Southeast” is lacking perhaps because of the Byzantine predominance there). Furthermore, the Hungarians, Serbs, and even the Byzantines who ruled over them at various times are called invaders. Hence the Bulgarian rulers are also ranked in terms of “greatness” according to their success in expanding the borders to match the desired ones. Connected with that, most of the Balkan Slavs – not only those within the Bulgarian state’s borders but also in other territories claimed by modern Bulgaria – are designated “Bulgarian Slavs”, and the way they joined the state is depicted as “liberation” or “rescue” (from Byzantine assimilation). Interestingly, there is no place in the Bulgarian national narrative for “Byzantine Slavs”, though many lived on Byzantine territory and were subjects of the Empire.

In a similar sense of nationalization of history is the projection of the modern national unity and homogeneity backwards onto the past. This refers to the idea of an ethnically and culturally unitary Bulgarian (Slavic) nationality, formed as early as the tenth century and preserved later on with roughly the same homogeneity, despite numerous ethnic admixtures. Also connected with this is the exaggeration of the ethnic or “national” consciousness and of its potency and efficiency in the Middle Ages. This is the case despite the fact that the socialist authors in particular negate the existence of nations at that time and speak of *narodnost* (a kind of pre-national ethnic community), yet endow it with the characteristics of a consolidated modern nation, including national consciousness and patriotism.

Some historians present medieval Bulgaria in a paradoxical way. They treat it simultaneously as a “nation-state”, in the above meanings of ethnic homogeneity and ethnic boundaries coinciding with state boundaries (at least ideally), and a medieval “empire”, which is by definition multiethnic and indifferent to ethnicity (and based on the imperial institutions and on a universal religion). The assertion of the imperial ideal comes mostly from the historian’s identification with the dreams of Simeon the Great of conquering Constantinople and replacing the Byzantine Empire with a Bulgarian or Slavic-Byzantine Empire. Historians such as Ivan Bozhilov deploy their own variant of the master national narrative, which rotates around the imperial idea and looks at the course of history in this light<sup>33</sup>. As is well known, this did not happen, and Bulgaria remained (figuratively speaking) a “nation-state”, ethnically heterogeneous though it was. Yet the paradox remains on a conceptual and logical level. What this demonstrates is that national/nationalist sentiments do not preclude pride in an even more glorious empire.

<sup>33</sup> И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Цар Симеон Велики (893–927). Златният век на средновековна България*, София 1983; ИДЕМ, *Седем етюда по средновековна история*, София 1995, p. 94–129, 131–215.

An attempt at a very different narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages was undertaken only by the crude Marxist (more accurately, Stalinist) historiography in the second half of the 1940s through the 1950s, in sharp opposition to the “bourgeois” (branded as “chauvinist”) historiography<sup>34</sup>. What is meant here is the attempt of the communist regime to elaborate and impose its own, supposedly Marxist version of the Bulgarian medieval history, but very simplified according to contemporary Stalinist tenets, a kind of Marxist *vulgata*. This Stalinist counter-narrative had its own conceptual and theoretical schemes (preconceived and *a priori*), its own explanations (of driving forces and personal motivations), and its own logics and interpretative strategies, which were applied to the historical actors, events, institutions, phenomena, and developments or processes. At the center of this vision of history stands the teaching of the socioeconomic formations (in this case, feudalism), the teaching of basis and superstructure within each formation (which prioritizes the economy and social-class relations that emerge from it), and the teaching of class struggles as a driving force of social development and progress. The crude Marxist narrative emphasizes structures and processes rather than individuals and events.

This counter-narrative did not merely supply other interpretations and explanations of medieval historical figures, events, institutions, phenomena, and processes of the master national narrative. It also brought into focus and elaborated on its own topics and plots, especially feudalism as a socioeconomic formation, classes, and class struggles. Furthermore, it spotlighted heroes of its own, such as Pop (priest) Bogomil in the tenth century, the heretic; Ivaylo, the leader of a peasant uprising in 1277–1280; and Momchil, the adventurous fighter against the Turks in the first half of the fourteenth century. In a certain sense, the crude Marxist (Stalinist) narrative cannibalizes the master national narrative by replacing its plot lines and more general explanatory concepts and schemes (such as ethnic dualism, the Byzantine influence, personal qualities of the rulers, etc.) with its own – mostly feudalization processes and class relations. It also gives other causal explanations for some events and phenomena (especially with class motivations and struggles). Because it used preconceived schemes and ideas, this narrative interpreted the sources arbitrarily and departed drastically from the historical realities yet remained an interconnected narrative that made sense of things and possessed primarily rhetorical means of persuasion.

The Stalinist narrative on the Bulgarian Middle Ages also did not transcend the national framework of historical writing, and in this sense it was also a national (counter)-narrative. It was consistently implemented only for a short time in Bulgarian historiography and, even then, only in various blends with the national one.

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<sup>34</sup> *История на България*, vol. I, София 1954. This is the textbook version of the Marxist national narrative of the Middle Ages.

The communist regime itself, after consolidating power, turned toward nationalism and started encouraging the national narrative. This narrative had a much stronger potential for legitimation than sympathies with the anti-state and anti-establishment class struggles (which were useful for communists while in opposition but not while in power).

What goals are served by the master national narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages? They are the same served by master national narratives elsewhere. The most fundamental of these is the building of national identity by placing the national community within the framework of history: a story of origins, identification with a certain territory, and assertion of ethnic continuity from the forefathers to the present day. Connected with this, but more emotionally, is the fostering of national awareness and pride as well as a certain solidarity within the national community. In this respect (as Ernst Renan noted long ago), the narrative about sufferings and victimization (in the Bulgarian case, about the “Turkish yoke”) works even stronger toward solidarity.

The master national narrative also has contemporary political objectives. It can suggest and inspire national political projects and goals, especially irredentist ones such as “unification” and “liberation”, which in the Bulgarian case were especially relevant in the prewar and interwar period. The medieval past served to justify Bulgarian “historical rights” over certain territories as “originally Bulgarian” (especially Macedonia). But even if irredentism was not on the agenda, the master national narrative served to legitimize the ruling elites at a given time simply through historical continuity, in which they are supposedly the last link. They can even see themselves as fulfillers of “historical” objectives and ideals, creators of a new “golden age” (as Communist Party leaders saw themselves in late socialism). On the other hand, the historical narrative can also be implicitly critical of the rulers at a given moment, as not worthy of a glorious past and the “national legacies”.

Authors of the master national narrative are historians in the role of “nation-builders”, in other words, creators of national identity and national pride through history – a typical role of nineteenth-century historians all over Europe<sup>35</sup>. The master national narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages was formed through the joint efforts of hundreds of historians, but during the “bourgeois era”, Zlatarski and Mutafčiev were especially significant and comprehensive in their scope. Later historians usually made “contributions” to individual problems, though among them as well, a few stand out for the breadth of their work, such as Ivan Dujchev

<sup>35</sup> On Western Europe, see *Writing National Histories...* On Central Europe and the Balkans, see *Historians as Nation-Builders...* On the Greek case of writing national history, see E. GAZI, *Scientific National History. The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850–1920)*, Frankfurt am Main–New York 2000; EADEM, *Theorizing and Practising ‘Scientific’ History in South-Eastern Europe (Nineteenth–Twentieth Century): Spyridon Lambros and Nicolae Jorga*, [in:] *Nationalizing the Past...*, p. 192–208.

(1907–1986)<sup>36</sup>, Dimităr Angelov (1917–1996)<sup>37</sup>, and a few from the following generations, especially the above-mentioned Ivan Božilov (1940–2016) and Vasil Gjuzelev (b. 1936)<sup>38</sup>.

The first “critical” Bulgarian historians (notably Spiridon Palauzov and Marin Drinov) lived in Russia and were mostly under Russian scholarly influence. The few medievalists from the independent “bourgeois” era specialized in Germany and were mostly under German scholarly influence. Under socialism, the influence of Russian and Soviet historiography predominated, while – notably – there was virtually no influence from the French *Annales* school, which was especially innovative with regard to the Middle Ages. On the whole, it seems that even now, mainstream Bulgarian historiography (despite some new tendencies) still considers its major task to be the defense and justification of the (Bulgarian) nation. And indeed, mainstream Bulgarian historiography has remained outside the new historiographical tendencies after World War II of writing history in other ways and for other purposes.

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<sup>37</sup> D. Angelov is known especially for his work on the Bulgarian ethnogenesis: Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Образование на българската народност*, София 1971, and on the heretic sect of the Bogomils: ИДЕМ, *Богомилството в България*, <sup>3</sup>София 1980 as well as for numerous works on economic and social issues of the Bulgarian Middle Ages.

<sup>38</sup> Vasil Gjuzelev first became known for his book on the Bulgarian baptizer prince Boris I, which marked the turn to nationalism. See В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Княз Борис I*, София 1969. He also authored numerous specialized monographs and more popular books.

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**Abstract.** The article is a brief and schematic presentation of the notion of a “master narrative” and of the master narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages, which is the subject a detailed book of mine in Bulgarian. This master narrative was constructed starting with what is known as “Romantic” historiography (from Monk Paisij’s “Istorija Slavjanobolgarskaja” [Slavonic-Bulgarian History] in 1762 to Vasil Aprilov’s writings in the first half of the nineteenth century) but it was elaborated especially with the development of “scientific” (or critical) historiography first by Marin Drinov (1838–1906) and mainly by the most significant Bulgarian historians from the “bourgeois” era: Vasil Zlatarski (1866–1935), Petār Mutafčiev (1883–1943), and Petār Nikov (1884–1938). Then it was interrupted by the (crude) Marxist counter-narrative of the late 1940s through the 1960s. Starting in the late 1960s there was a gradual return to the nationalism of the master national narrative, which reached a peak with the celebration of the 1,300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state in 1981. The same line continued after 1989 (stripped of the Marxist *vulgata*), yet some new tendencies appeared.

**Keywords:** master narrative, grand narrative, metanarrative, counter-narrative, Bulgarian Middle Ages, King Samuil, Khan Asparuh, Khan Kubrat, Tsar Simeon the Great, Tsar Ioan Asen II, San Stefano Treaty, Ivaylo’s peasant uprising, Bogomil heresy, Tsar Asen I

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## RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CHURCH STEWARD IN THE LIGHT OF *THE CANONS OF PSEUDO-ATHANASIUS*\*

*The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* is a work of moralistic character<sup>1</sup>. In particular, it discusses the responsibilities of the clergy and provides guidelines for the management of ecclesiastical property. According to scholars who deal with the history of the Church in Egypt, this source text provides valuable information from the early period of development of local ecclesiastical institutions there<sup>2</sup>. The current division into one hundred and seven canons was introduced by Bishop Tannis, who wrote about this in his closing note. It seems that it was him who translated *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* from Coptic into Arabic<sup>3</sup>. In any case, the Arabic version is the only one that has been

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<sup>1</sup> *The Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria*, ed. W. RIEDEL, W. CRUM, London 1904 (cetera: *Can. Ps. Athan.*). In 1920, Henri Munier published the Coptic fragments of *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* that belonged to the private collection of Edwyn Hoskyns, cf. H. MUNIER, *Mélanges de littérature copte*, ASAE 19, 1920, p. 238–241. More on the latest findings on surviving Coptic fragments cf. A. SUCIU, *Notes on the Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius*, <https://alinsuciu.com/2011/07/02/notes-on-the-canons-of-pseudo-athanasius/>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. WIPSYCKA, *Le Istituzioni Ecclesiastiche in Egitto*, [in:] *L'Egitto Cristiano aspetti e problemi in eta Tardo-Antica*, ed. A. CAMPLANI, Roma 1997 [= SEA, 56] p. 225–226.

<sup>3</sup> We know very little about Bishop Michael of Tannis. Wilhem RIEDEL (*Introduction*, [in:] *The Canons of Athanasius...*, p. IX) states that Michael was made deacon during the pontificate of Patriarch Zachariah (1004–1032), priest during the ministry of Shenya II (1032–1047), and appointed Bishop of Tannis by Patriarch Christodolos (1047–1077). The problem is that Riedel took his information from a monograph by an 18<sup>th</sup> century researcher, Eusèbe RENAUDOT (*Historia Patriarchum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum ad Marco usque ad finem saeculi XIII*, Paris 1713, p. 414), who, in turn, based his conclusions on Coptic traditions that we cannot verify. It is certain, however, that Michael continued to write a compilation work entitled *The History of Patriarchs of Alexandria*. In his fifth volume he described events up to 1046. Cf. J. DEN HEIJER, *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. IV, ed. A.S. ATIYA, New York 1991, p. 1239–1242. Tannis or Tinnis is a city in the eastern part of the Nile delta, cf. R. STEWART, *Tinnis*, [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia...*, vol. VII, p. 2269.

preserved in its entirety to this day. Researchers are convinced that the original was written in Greek. According to Walter Crum, the oldest fragments, preserved in the Sahidic dialect, date back to the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries<sup>4</sup>. The Arabic translation was made in the 11<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest, if it was indeed done by the aforementioned Bishop of Tannis<sup>5</sup>. It is impossible to establish when the Greek original was written. David Brakke believes that it happened shortly after Athanasius's death<sup>6</sup>. Annick Martin and Ewa Wipszycka agree with his view<sup>7</sup>. A very important indication when dating *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* is the fact that the author does not mention Christmas among Christian holidays. This led scholars to hypothesize that the work must therefore have been written before 432, when the holiday was first celebrated in Egypt<sup>8</sup>.

The question of authorship is yet to be solved. Wilhelm Riedel and Walter Crum were inclined to believe that, according to the notes in the introduction and in the conclusion, the author was indeed Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria<sup>9</sup>. Contemporary scholars, however, consider that assertion highly unlikely. Indeed, it would appear that Ewa Wipszycka is right in stating that there are no indications that *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* were of Alexandrian provenance<sup>10</sup>. I, too, believe there is no evidence of the centralist views of the Bishop of Alexandria in this work. The writer does not require the bishop to participate in synods. When discussing specific aspects of Easter, he does not refer to the guidelines that would be contained in the current Passover letter. Significantly, he does not expect the bishop to be loyal to the patriarch of Alexandria. Moreover, Ewa Wipszycka pointed out one more very important aspect, namely that this work is not mentioned anywhere in the rather well preserved Greek pastoral legacy

<sup>4</sup> W. RIEDEL, *Introduction...*, p. X.

<sup>5</sup> René G. COQUIN (*Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius*, [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia...*, vol. II, p. 458–459) noted that there was no Arabic translation of *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* in *Nomocanon* of Patriarch Gabriel ibn Turayk (1131–1145), the collection of Safi ibn al-Assal (13<sup>th</sup> century) and other collections from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. In my opinion, however, this does not mean necessarily that Arabic translation was produced later. It was probably not so widespread. It did not appear until the 14<sup>th</sup> century on the list of Abu al-Barakat ibn-Kabar. We do not know whether Egyptian Christians were still using *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* at the time or whether the text was completely forgotten by then. After all, the Copts were likely to have continued to use copies in the Sahidic dialect during this time.

<sup>6</sup> D. BRAKKE, *Canon Formation and Social Conflict in Fourth-Century Egypt: Athanasius of Alexandria's Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter*, HTR 87.4, 1994, p. 412.

<sup>7</sup> A. MARTIN, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Église d'Égypte au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle (328–373)*, Rome 1996, p. 657; E. WIPSYCKA, *Études sur le Christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, Roma 1996 [= SEA, 52], p. 205.

<sup>8</sup> R.G. COQUIN, *Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius...*, p. 458; A. MARTIN, *Athanase d'Alexandrie...*, p. 176–177, n. 237; E. WIPSYCKA, *The Alexandrian Church. People and Institutions*, Warsaw 2015 [= JJP. Supplement, 25], p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> W. RIEDEL, *Introduction...*, p. XIV.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. E. WIPSYCKA, *The Alexandrian Church...*, p. 275.

of Athanasius. The researcher has been right to conclude that it is easier for us to explain the attribution of this work to Athanasius than to explain how it might have been forgotten<sup>11</sup>. Also important is the question of the writing style, which the Polish scholar considered to be “not of high standard”. Although the author often refers to specific books of the Bible, especially to the Old Testament, he does not do so in the style of Athanasius, who was known for his extensive theological figures, lengthy moralistic passages and often authoritative and uncompromising tone<sup>12</sup>. Researchers of Egyptian asceticism noticed some similarities between the writings of Athanasius, which he addressed to women and *The Canons*<sup>13</sup>. However, this is insufficient basis to draw any definitive conclusions<sup>14</sup>. We are unable to establish whether the information about Athanasius’s authorship appeared in the Greek original or whether it was included only in the Arabic translation<sup>15</sup>. It can be inferred that its placement as well as the reference to the writings of Athanasius was a deliberate action aimed at lending credibility to his authorship. At present, scholars believe that this work was written by a bishop of one of the provincial Egyptian cities<sup>16</sup>. We do not know how large was the area it covered but I have no doubt that it was one of many Hellenized *mētropoleis*<sup>17</sup>. The distance between them and Alexandria, especially the Patriarch’s seat, must have allowed the author

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> More on Athanasius’s unique writing style cf. D. SCHMIDTZ, *Schimpfwörter in Athanasius’ Rede gegen die Arianer*, [in:] *Roma Renascens. Beiträge zur Spätantike und Rezeptionsgeschichte – Ilona Opelt von Ihren Freunden und Schülern zum 9.7.1988 in Verehrung gewidmet*, ed. M. WISSEMANN, Frankfurt–Paris 1988, p. 308–320; K. ANATOLIOS, *Athanasius. The Coherence of His Thought*, London–New York 2004, p. 190, 191; W. CHROSTOWSKI, [rev.:] *Mowy przeciw arianom I–III, Atanazy Wielki, przeł., red. Przemysław Marek Szewczyk, Kraków 2013 – CT 83.2*, 2013, p. 230.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. D. BRAKKE, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, Oxford 1995, p. 23–30; E. WIPSZYCKA, *L’Ascetisme féminin dans l’Égypte de l’Antiquité Tardive: Topoi littéraires et formes d’ascèse*, [in:] *Le Rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine. Actes du colloque international 27–29 novembre 1997*, ed. H. MELAERTS, L. MOOREN, Paris 2002, p. 355–396.

<sup>14</sup> E. WIPSZYCKA, *Wprowadzenie do studiów nad instytucjami Kościoła w Egipcie późnoantycznym*, [in:] *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności. Studia Źródłoznawcze*, vol. II, ed. T. DERDA, E. WIPSZYCKA, Kraków 1999, p. 209–210.

<sup>15</sup> In the preserved fragments of Sahidian manuscripts of *The Canons of Athanasius*, which are the oldest copy of the work, there is no introduction or ending. Therefore, we do not know whether there was an annotation concerning the authorship of Athanasius there, cf. E. WIPSZYCKA, *The Alexandrian Church*..., p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. A. MARTIN, *Athanasie d’Alexandrie*..., p. 657; E. WIPSZYCKA, *Wprowadzenie do studiów*..., p. 209.

<sup>17</sup> This is supported by the information in individual canons. The author writes about a bathhouse (canon 31, p. 31), a theatre (canon 75, p. 48), and brothels (canon 93, p. 60). In the case of Egypt, any city other than Alexandria could be considered provincial. Cities in Egypt were already large centers of population in the Ptolemy era. Some of them even had from a dozen to several tens of thousands of inhabitants. On the population, organization and infrastructure of Egyptian cities, cf. R.S. BAGNALL, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, p. 45–109; A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Egipt Greków i Rzymian*, Warszawa 2006, p. 382–410; P. VAN MINNEN, *The Rother Cities in Later Roman Egypt*, [in:] *Egypt in the Byzantine World 300–700*, ed. R.S. BAGNALL, Cambridge 2007, p. 207–225.

a great deal of freedom in managing his parishes. Perhaps the expression of his ambition was to create this collection of canons.

*The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* is undoubtedly a very important source on the history of early Christianity. It provides significant amount of information, describing the realities of the world in which Christians lived at the end of the fourth and at the beginning of the fifth century in Egypt. It is a very original collection of guidelines, as the author did not use any earlier sets of church standards to create it. He did not use the model of standards found in the *Apostolic Tradition*, as was often the case with other founders of ecclesiastical laws. It is possible that he wrote from his own experience<sup>18</sup>.

According to him, the bishop played a significant role in the community of the city and his activity was not limited to the spiritual sphere. It also included due care for the finances of the local Church, as they were the means, among other things, to provide for all the disadvantaged. *The Canons of the Pseudo-Athanasius* offers a new perspective on the social order. The author devoted significant attention to the group that until then had been pushed to the margins of every urban community. This group included people without any prospects, that is to say, the poor<sup>19</sup>. Perhaps the strong emphasis on their needs was due to the fact that the community neglected them and did not provide them with the necessary alms. It may be for this reason that the author decided that he should support his guidelines with the authority of the great Bishop Athanasius. Undoubtedly, it is certain that the author had a concrete idea of the daily life of the Christian community. The canons he left shed a lot of light on how he thought it should look.

### **The image of the work of the Church steward**

*The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* devotes a great deal of attention to the work of the administrator of the ecclesiastical estate, namely the steward. His responsibilities were very important from the point of view of the bishop, who supervised charity activities, supported orphans, widows, consecrated virgins and the poor. He also sometimes provided means for local priests and was involved in the renovation or extension of churches<sup>20</sup>. In this source we can find as many

<sup>18</sup> This assumption was made by Ewa WIPSYCZKA (*The Alexandrian Church...*, p. 31) and is not unfounded. The author touches upon many interesting but also specific problems, which reveal his personal observations. For example, he writes about the fact that clerics should not talk and look at the faces of their companions during a meal (canon 67, p. 43). He also prohibits deacons from playing, making jokes or telling vain things when they are at the altar during the service (canon 27, p. 31). Of course, this ban seems bizarre to us today, but given the fact that services then lasted several hours and that deacons were usually young men, it is highly likely that such situations could have occurred.

<sup>19</sup> A. MARTIN, *L'image de l'évêque à travers les Canons d'Athanase: devoirs et réalités*, [in:] *L'évêque dans la cité du IV<sup>e</sup> au V<sup>e</sup> siècle. Image et l'autorité*, ed. E. REBILLARD, C. SOTINEL, Rome 1998, p. 60.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 65, p. 42, 43.

as five extensive fragments that contain guidelines for stewards. In addition, the author discussed the competences of episcopal church stewards (whom I call diocesan for convenience sake) and parish stewards.

First of all, let us look at the criteria that the author set for the candidates for this position. Canon 61 tells us that such a candidate was supposed to be a man of compassion, capable, if necessary, of ignoring the status of the person in need of his assistance and avoiding people of dishonest and greedy character. He was also meant to show fatherly care for widows and orphans. The author also expected that the steward would work closely with the bishop and that they would not make any decision regarding financial matters unless they were both in agreement<sup>21</sup>. It is interesting to note that *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* outlined the criteria to be met by candidates for this post and set a deadline for their appointment, but did not describe the selection procedure itself. Perhaps Pseudo-Athanasius believed that everyone was familiar with it and that there was no need to discuss it. In this respect, it should be noted that other sources also do not discuss in any detail the procedures related to nominating the steward<sup>22</sup>.

In canon 62, the author stated that Easter would be a fixed date for the nomination of all stewards<sup>23</sup>. In the Coptic version, the terms “steward” and “church” were used in plural<sup>24</sup>. Based on this, Oxford scholar Amin Benaissa concluded that this prerogative applied not only to the communities of the city in which the writer resided, but also to all the parishes in the diocese<sup>25</sup>. We must note that

<sup>21</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 61, p. 40, 41.

<sup>22</sup> Canon 10 of Theophilus, Metropolitan Bishop of Alexandria (THEOPHILE D'ALEXANDRIE, [in:] P.-P. JOANNOU, *Discipline générale antique (IV<sup>e</sup>–IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*. *Les canons des Pères Grecs*, vol. II, Roma 1963, p. 270) tells us only in Egypt, the steward could be elected by the local clergy and his candidacy had to be confirmed by the bishop. Most often, it was a clergyman who was appointed a steward. However, papyrus documents shed more light on who assumed this role in rural parishes. It follows that this was not always someone from the clergy. The reason may have been the lack of appropriate competences; cf. A. BENAÏSSA, *A Bishop, a Village, and the Nomination of a Church Steward*, ZPE 171, 2009, p. 175. This function was sometimes performed by representatives of the local aristocracy, which seems understandable given that they were probably among the most generous donors of the Church. With their large assets and good education, they probably wanted to maintain their influence on the management of church funds of the local community; cf. E. WIPSYCYKA, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bruxelles 1972, p. 148, 149. Of course, the appointment was always approved by the bishop. There is also a letter that certifies that the administrator was selected by the community. Amin BENAÏSSA (*A Bishop, a Village, and the Nomination...*, p. 175, 176) suspects that this may have been the result of a lack of consensus among the clergy, which is why the bishop transferred the right to choose the steward to the faithful, thus creating a sense of collective responsibility for the proper supervision of Church finances.

<sup>23</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 62, p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> This understanding is confirmed by the Coptic version of Canon 62, which uses the term NO-IKONOMOC “steward” in plural, cf. *Coptic Text the Canons of Athanasius of Alexandria*, trans. W.E. CRUM, [in:] *The Canons of Athanasius...* (cetera: *Copt. Can. Ps. Athan.*), p. 100, 129.

<sup>25</sup> A. BENAÏSSA, *A Bishop, a Village, and the Nomination...*, p. 176.

the researcher treated the information from canon 62 of Pseudo-Athanasius as fully reliable. Meanwhile, it should be pointed out that we do not know of any other document that would confirm that the appointment of stewards occurred during Easter. I therefore believe that this particular provision of Pseudo-Athanasius must be approached with caution. Presumably, the appointment of stewards could have taken place at that time, but we must not forget that it was our canonist's ambition that the norms he wrote should apply to the whole Church. The question therefore arises as to why he chose Easter to carry out these nominations. It seems that the answer can be found in canon 16, in which Pseudo-Athanasius recommended that the poor and the needy be given special gifts on that occasion<sup>26</sup>. As it was the administrators who were responsible for providing them with the necessary resources, he might have considered that their appointment during the Easter celebrations would highlight the role they played in this charitable activity.

Pseudo-Athanasius precisely defined the scope of supervision over church finances for stewards. Canon 61 offers information that the diocesan steward managed all ecclesiastical property, including the reserves of grain, fruit and seeds. However, he had to be approved by the bishop to carry out major financial operations and, in so doing, he was to keep himself strictly at his disposal. The basic unit of measurement for bulk products, for the distribution of which the steward required a permit from the bishop, was one *artaba*<sup>27</sup>. As long as the expenditure was less than one *artaba*, the steward was able to dispose of funds more freely in order to help the poor<sup>28</sup>. Nevertheless, he still had to account to the bishop for the costs incurred. Parish stewards managed all the church property of the local community. However, canon 81 clearly indicates that if they needed funds for some additional expenses, then they had to go to the bishop and to the diocesan steward<sup>29</sup>. Canon 62 tells us that stewards were also responsible for the storage of liturgical vessels<sup>30</sup>. Once a year, the diocesan steward was to

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 16, p. 26–28.

<sup>27</sup> In Arabic one *ardeb* (Gr. αρταβη). It is a unit of capacity for bulk products, already used in ancient Egypt. According to sources, in Roman times one artab usually amounted to about 40 liters. However, in some cases it ranged from 29 to 46 liters; cf. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. LAMPE, Oxford 1995, p. 231 (s.v. αρταβη, ἡ); E. WIPSYCKA, *Metrologia*, [in:] *Vademecum historyka starozytnej Grecji i Rzymu*, vol. I–II, ed. E. WIPSYCKA, Warszawa 2001, p. 581; A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Egipt Greców...*, p. 553. During the research, scholars would prefer to use relatively precise units of capacity and weight. Therefore, for many years they have been trying to determine, which units and in what proportion constituted one artab, and which other units it corresponded to. This task is all the more difficult as documents from different periods give its different values, cf. D.W. RATHBONE, *Weight and Measurement of Egyptian Grains*, ZPE 53, 1983, p. 265–275; P. MAYERSON, *The Sack* (Σακκος) *Is the Artaba Writ Large*, ZPE 122, 1998, p. 189–194.

<sup>28</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 61, p. 40, 41. Cf. E. WIPSYCKA, *Les ressources...*, p. 138, 139.

<sup>29</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 81, p. 50.

<sup>30</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 62, p. 41.

make an inventory of them in order to make sure that nothing was lost. The date set by Pseudo-Athanasius for the audit was Easter<sup>31</sup>.

According to the author of *The Canons of the Pseudo-Athanasius*, one of the basic duties of stewards was to support the needy. In canon 61, he included orphans, widows and the poor among them<sup>32</sup>. In canons 80 and 81, he referred to the needs of the lonely, the sick and the wanderers<sup>33</sup>. The author emphasized that if sick people appeared in the church *xenodochium*: *who had the necessary means to live, then they could not be a burden for the Church*<sup>34</sup>. It probably meant people whose material status or close relatives ensured them livelihood. However, those who were poor and had no place to go had to be taken care of by the steward. He should then provide them with a place in a dormitory near the church and supply them with the necessary food and medicine. Pseudo-Athanasius encouraged administrators to extend particular care for their guests as well. Most probably, he was concerned about itinerant monks or pilgrims. If the parish steward

<sup>31</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 61, 62, p. 41. Ewa WIPSYZKA (*Church Treasures of Byzantine Egypt*, JJP 34, 2004, p. 130) explains that the so-called “minor” stewards mentioned in the canon are men who administered the property of churches in which there was no regular worship because they were dedicated to selected saints. They were opened on holidays in accordance with the schedule set by the bishop. Therefore, because of the risk of theft, liturgical vessels were not kept in them permanently. The stewards kept the liturgical vessels in special hiding places, from which they took them out if needed. The scholar quoted the following story (p. 128, 129), which shows that only the administrator knew the hiding place and that in the event of his death there was a risk of losing those vessels. Of course, such situations may have occurred, but I do not think they were the rule. We must remember that the entire property of the diocese was administered by the bishop. Canon 89, discussed below, shows how precise the mechanism for securing church treasures in the diocese’s seat was. Besides, it seems unlikely that bishops in an era plagued by persecution, controversy and heresies would allow stewards so much autonomy. I suspect that apart from the so-called “minor” steward, the location of the hiding place must have been known by the bishop or the diocesan steward. According to canon 62, the bishop was to be informed verbally by the stewards of the current stock of liturgical vessels owned by the community, and he was to record it. Cf. *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 62, p. 41. Of course, the bishop did not carry out such inventory in person. This is confirmed by the Coptic version of this provision, which states that the administrators would present the number of liturgical vessels to the diocesan steward, who, after writing it down, was to inform the bishop about everything; cf. *Copt. Can. Ps. Athan.*, 62, p. 129.

<sup>32</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 61, p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 80, 81, p. 50. We must consider both provisions together, as they were originally an integral part of the text.

<sup>34</sup> This is the meaning of the Arabic text of the first sentence of canon 80, which Wilhelm Riedel correctly conveyed in his translation; cf. *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 80, p. 49. In the East, institutions where the sick were cared for, but most of all travellers and pilgrims, were *xenodochia*. Some of them were church dormitories, others were established next to monasteries, and others still were established thanks to private foundations along the pilgrimage routes; cf. J.E. CANAVAN, *Charity in the Early Church*, S.IQR 12, 1923, p. 73, 74; S. LONGOSZ, *Ksenodochium – hospicjum wczesnochrześcijańskie*, VP 16, 1996, p. 275–336; M. VOLTAGGIO, *Xenodochia and Hospitia in Sixth-Century Jerusalem: Indicators for the Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Places*, ZDPV 127, 2011, p. 197–210.

lacked funds for this purpose, he was to turn to the bishop or diocesan steward for help. Most likely he would have to apply for the needed means to the diocesan steward, who in turn asked the bishop for approval<sup>35</sup>. It is worth noting that the author thus recommended practicing Christian hospitality<sup>36</sup>.

Fraudulence on the part of many stewards of that time must have posed a significant problem. The author devoted a lot of attention to this issue. Based on the first line of canon 89 we can deduce that there were diocesan stewards who stole from the church treasury<sup>37</sup>. In canon 90, continuing this theme, Pseudo-Athanasius quoted two negative examples from the Bible, which were meant to serve as a warning to the administrators<sup>38</sup>. One concerned Judas, who stole the common money from the apostles, and the other referred to Prince Balthazar, who ruled in Chaldea on behalf of his father Nabonidus and used dishes stolen from the Temple of Jerusalem during the feast. The author implied that both of them lost their lives because they had taken someone else's property<sup>39</sup>. At the end, he shared a memory of a miracle that was supposed to have happened in his youth. He spoke of a thief who had crept into a church to steal liturgical vessels, but who could not leave because Divine Providence stopped him and thus he fell into the hands of the law<sup>40</sup>. The tone of the whole fragment was unambiguous. If the steward were to steal or cheat, he would be severely punished. It is interesting, however, that the author did not specify on that occasion what consequences such an offender was meant to face in accordance with the ecclesiastical law. Only in canon 61 did

<sup>35</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 80, 81, p. 49, 50. Cf. E. WIPSYCKA, *Les ressources...*, p. 136, 137. According to the guidelines of canon 61 already discussed, the diocesan steward had to ask the bishop for permission to make the payment if its value exceeded 1 *artaba*.

<sup>36</sup> Hospitality in the East was a custom already practiced in Biblical times. It was the host's duty not only to feed the guest, but also to clothe him, provide accommodation for the night and equipment for the rest of the journey. Christians also cultivated this custom, although their preferred hospitality was limited to their faithful relatives and travellers, as well as to pilgrims and itinerant monks. According to the Church's prohibitions, it should not include pagans, schismatics, and heretics, cf. H. WÓJTOWICZ, *Gościnność wczesnochrześcijańska*, VP 16, 1996, p. 229–239. John Chrysostom devoted much attention to the topic of hospitality in his homilies, cf. IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Epistulam ad Romanos*, hom. 21, 4, 5; 30, 4, [in:] PG, vol. LX, col. 606, 607, 666.

<sup>37</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 89, p. 55.

<sup>38</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 90, p. 57.

<sup>39</sup> In order to support his arguments, the author treated both Biblical accounts quite instrumentally. Judas and Balthazar were not killed as a result of their own fraud. Judas committed suicide after having betrayed Jesus, while Balthazar did not steal these temple vessels because Nebuchadnezzar II had done so many years earlier. According to the author of *The Book of Daniel*, Balthazar's death was caused by the sacrilegious use of these vessels. The Chaldean ruler died as a result of the invasion of Babylon by Cyrus II of Persia, which is not mentioned in the cited Biblical story; cf. Mt 27, 3–5; Dn 5, 1–30. On the circumstances of the Persian invasion of Babylon cf. M. VAN DE MIEROOP, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000–323 BC*, <sup>2</sup>Oxford 2007, p. 279–285.

<sup>40</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 90, p. 57, 58.

he mention that such a steward should be stripped of his function<sup>41</sup>. It seems that from his point of view the worst consequence was God's own dissatisfaction in that case<sup>42</sup>.

Despite his trust in God's justice, our author had limited trust in people. That is why he developed procedures to prevent the misuse of funds that belonged to the Church. He presented them in canon 89<sup>43</sup>. The provision states clearly that the diocesan steward received funds from all the parishes. It meant money, valuables, expensive fabrics, but also gifts in kind, including grain, vegetables and fruit and olive oil<sup>44</sup>. For this reason, Pseudo-Athanasius ordered that the gates of treasuries and church warehouses should bear three seals: one of the bishop, one of the archpriest and one of the steward<sup>45</sup>. He stipulated that these rooms could only be opened in the presence of all three of them<sup>46</sup>. He then proposed that a financial reserve be set in the treasury to be used in emergency situations (such as crop

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 61, p. 41.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 9, p. 18.

<sup>43</sup> *Can. Ps. Athan.*, 89, p. 55. Papyrus documents suggest that sometimes stewards had really large sums of money and significant resources in kind at their disposal, as they certify that many types of financial operations were being carried out. Among other things, administrators paid salaries to those hired by the Church to do various jobs, acted as agents in the finalization of lease and sale agreements and paid taxes on the real estate owned by the Church, cf. E. WIPSYCKA, *Les ressources...*, p. 139, 140.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 139.

<sup>45</sup> The custom of securing closed rooms and documents with seals was born and quickly spread throughout the Middle East. In Mesopotamia, the so-called cylindrical seals were known. In Egypt, pharaoh tombs and granaries were sealed.

<sup>46</sup> Ewa WIPSYCKA (*Les ressources...*, p. 138) noted that the mechanisms for mutual control of integrity between the bishop and the steward proved inadequate. According to the author of *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* (89, p. 55), the wealth and expenses of the church treasury were to be supervised additionally by the archpriest. Such a need seems to be confirmed by the story I have mentioned earlier about Presbyter Isidore, who was a steward of the Bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus. Hermias Sozomen (SOZOMÈNE, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, VIII, 12, trans. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, B. GRILLET, Paris 2008 [= SC, 516], p. 286, 287) explains that one of the reasons for the conflict between the two clergymen was that Theophilus intended to appropriate a certain amount from the funds offered for the needs of the poor and the sick. This was explained by the expenses he had incurred on the construction of churches. Isidore did not agree, however, because he believed that the needs of the poor and the sick were more important than building new temples. This account therefore demonstrates that some bishops may have gotten unfairly rich by exerting pressure on stewards to misappropriate the funds entrusted to them. Counteracting dishonesty and corruption in church structures was not, and is not, an easy task. The rules show that the control measures implemented were most likely to fail. If a bishop who had judicial powers and appointed subordinate hierarchs was corrupt, it is hard to imagine that the rest of the clergy could successfully oppose him. In addition, we must note that the mention of the function of the archpriest confirms how complex the hierarchy of the structures of the Egyptian Church was. More on the subject cf. E. WIPSYCKA, *The Alexandrian Church...*, p. 246, 331–333.

failure, major fire, epidemic)<sup>47</sup>. He stressed, however, that such savings should not be made at the cost of reduction of the amount of alms paid to the poor.

The author of *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* was a supporter of centralist management of church funds. He allowed stewards little autonomy in that area and left all more serious decisions to the bishops<sup>48</sup>. He devoted a great deal of attention to the responsibilities of administrators, pointing to their important role in the Church's charitable activities. *The Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* is one of the sources providing the most information on the work of stewards in the late Antiquity era. Although the author described this function from a local perspective, he had the ambition that his guidelines should apply throughout the Egyptian Church. The office of steward had been known in Egypt since the Pharaohs, and the Church there was the first to establish this function within the diocese. In the East, the practice of appointing stewards spread rapidly. This was mentioned by Basil the Great<sup>49</sup>. However, the canon of the 26<sup>th</sup> Council of Chalcedon (451) stated that in some dioceses there was no such office, which, according to the Council fathers, contributed to the waste of property. That is why they called for the appointment of a steward in every diocese. Previously, it had not been mandatory to employ administrators<sup>50</sup>.

*Translated by Katarzyna Gucio*

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<sup>47</sup> In my opinion, this fragment of canon 89 does not contradict the content of canon 82 (*Can. Ps. Athan.*, 82, p. 50), which prohibits clergy from accumulating stocks of tithes and original harvests. I suppose that canon 82 concerns agricultural products that easily deteriorated or fell prey to pests, so it was very risky to store them for a long time. Probably canon 82 was also meant to counteract the unjust enrichment of priests, who, through under-measuring, deceived the needy. Later on, they could easily make extra profits from the sale of agricultural products, which were, after all, bare necessities. Meanwhile, Pseudo-Athanasius in canon 89 mentions the accumulation of money left after paying the alms. Of course, a clergyman's attempt to get rich by stealing from church treasury could quickly be exposed. However, as I have written above, canons 89 and 90 clearly indicate that this procedure must have taken place frequently, too.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources...*, p. 132.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Epistula CL*, [in:] SAINT BASIL, *Letters 59–185*, trans. R.J. DEFERRARI, Cambridge Mass.–London 1928 [= LCL, 215], p. 368, 369.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Concilium Chalcedonense – 451*, can. 26, [in:] COGD, vol. I, ed. G. ALBERIGO, Turnhout 2006, p. 149.

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**Abstract.** The office of a steward was known in Egypt back in the time of the Pharaohs. It appears that in the East, this function first emerged in the structures of the Egyptian Church. The *Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius*, which probably come from the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, show the author's views on how the church stewards fulfilled their duties. Pseudo-Athanasius not only outlined the criteria to be met by these administrators, but also indicated the date by which, in his opinion, they should be solemnly appointed. In addition, this source informs us how these church administrators were supposed to fulfill their obligation to collect and secure church property for the Church's charitable activities. The author emphasized that the steward played a key role in how efficiently actions in support of the poor were implemented, however, he also observed that these tasks were fully dependent on the will of the local bishop. Pseudo-Athanasius also devoted considerable attention to the important problem of the dishonesty of some administrators. Therefore, he postulated that the vaults and granaries should be secured with seals by a commission and that they be opened in the same way. The author had an interesting idea to create a reserve in the treasury, which, in the event of a cataclysm or other calamity, would provide food for the community. Undoubtedly, the *Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius* are an extremely valuable source that deepens our knowledge about the work of church stewards at that time. There are numerous indications that the author included his own observations in them. However, it should be remembered that the description of the steward's duties presented here is a model proposition, therefore, in order to obtain a more complete picture, it should be confronted with other sources from the era.

**Keywords:** *Canons of Pseudo-Athanasius*, Egyptian Christianity, Church steward, management of ecclesiastical property, charity activities, *artaba*, *xenodochium*, Church treasure

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## THE SPOILS OF WAR “DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS”: A COMPARISON BETWEEN TWO ACCOUNTS IN SKYLITZES’ *SYNOPSIS HISTORIARUM* AND KRITOBOULOS’ *HISTORY* OF MEHMED THE CONQUEROR

### Introduction

For those who lived in the medieval epoch as well as for modern day people, there is no serious doubt of the statement that every historical moment is unique with its own characteristics. Nevertheless, when we focus on the medieval Balkans and Asia Minor, it appears as if there are a significant number of instances that reveal remarkable similarities. A series of identical moments and processes have appeared several times in the history of Byzantium as well as in the history of Balkan societies as whole. The present short remarks are focused on two descriptions of the well-known historical events. The first one – the seize of Longos fortress and the pillage of the Pelagonian plain by the army of Emperor Basil II in 1017 – described by John Skylitzes in *Synopsis historiarum*; while the record of the second one – the Ottoman conquest of Mytilene (island of Lesbos) in 1462 – is excerpted from Kritoboulos’ *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*. At first glance, it seems that both accounts concern the division of the spoils of war into three parts<sup>1</sup>. Without diminishing the similarity in the descriptions of distant events, such a feature is reminiscent of the use of *topoi* and the overuse of expressions and motifs inherent to Byzantine historians and chroniclers, which later authors, without amendments or with some additions, borrow from earlier works and include

<sup>1</sup> *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. THURN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5] (cetera: SKYLITZES), p. 355.22–23; *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. D.R. REINSCH, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1983 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 22] (cetera: *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*), p. 172.10–11. Cf. the accessible English translations: JOHN SKYLITZES, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, trans. J. WORTLEY, Cambridge 2010, p. 337; KRITOVOULOS, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. C.T. RIGGS, Westport Conn. 1970 (cetera: KRITOVOULOS), p. 183.

in their own texts. As explicitly stated, this feature in the construction of the text should not be considered a flaw, nor is it a definite proof of the unreliability of the descriptions<sup>2</sup>. All the more, those borrowings are usually not accidental and are prompted by various reasons. The demonstrations of education, the entry into tradition, the search for emphasis or the alignment with the built attitudes of the audience are only part of them<sup>3</sup>. With the clear idea that without literary and stylistic analysis, it is difficult (if not impossible) to achieve a complete and detailed study, the following lines are nevertheless the result of the temptation to examine briefly whether there really is a more significant degree of similarity or the resemblance is only in the phrase used.

### According to the Emperor's order

The great war between the Byzantine Empire and the early medieval Bulgarian Tsardom, which continued from the 970s until the end of the second decade of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and led to the fall of the Bulgarian lands under Byzantine rule, inevitably poses issues about the division of booty as well as the fate of the prisoners of war before the two fighting sides<sup>4</sup>. Indisputably, one of the most familiar

<sup>2</sup> K.J. SINCLAIR, *War Writing in Middle Byzantine Historiography. Sources, Influences and Trends*, Birmingham 2012 (unpublished PhD dissertation), p. 12–23; I. NILSSON, *To Narrate the Events of the Past: On Byzantine Historians, and Historians on Byzantium*, [in:] *Byzantine Narrative. Papers in Honour of Roger Scot*, ed. J. BURKE et al., Melbourne 2006 [= BAUS, 16], p. 47–58.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. MAGDALINO, *Byzantine Historical Writing, 900–1400*, [in:] *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. II, 400–1400, ed. S. FOOT, C.F. ROBINSON, Oxford 2012, p. 218–237; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Historical Writing in Byzantium*, Heidelberg 2014, p. 11–62; L. NEVILLE, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, Cambridge 2018, p. 155–161, 308–311. See also: W. TREADGOLD, *The Unwritten Rules for Writing Byzantine History*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Belgrade 22–27 August 2016. Plenary Papers. Belgrade 2016*, ed. S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, Belgrade 2016, p. 277–292; A. KALDELLIS, *The Manufacture of History in the Later Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Rhetorical Templates and Narrative Ontologies*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 23<sup>rd</sup> International...*, p. 293–306; J.S. CODOÑER, *Dates or Narrative? Looking for Structures in Middle Byzantine Historiography (9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> Century)*, [in:] *Byzanz und das Abendland IV. Studia Byzantina-Occidentalia*, ed. E. JUHÁSZ, Budapest 2016, p. 227–255.

<sup>4</sup> At the end of the first and the dawn of the second millennium, the challenges associated with enemy fighters captured on the battlefield are far from new to the Bulgarian political elite and even less to the ruling circles in the Empire. Comments with the enclosed bibliography: A.J. TOYNBEE, *Relations with the Eastern Muslims; Appendix: Calendar of Exchanges of Prisoners between the Eastern Muslims and the East Roman Empire*, [in:] IDEM, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World*, Oxford 1973, p. 377–393; Σ. ΠΑΤΟΥΡΑ, *Οι αιχμάλωτοι ως παράγοντες επικοινωνίας και πληροφόρησης (4<sup>ος</sup>–10<sup>ος</sup> αι.)*, Αθήνα 1994; Л. СИМЕОНОВА, *Семиотика на унижението: Високопоставени чужденци в имперската столица през X век*, Род 4, 1996, p. 29–43; L. СИМЕОНОВА, *In the Depths of Tenth-Century Byzantine Ceremonial: the Treatment of Arab Prisoners of War at Imperial Banquets*, BMGS 22, 1998, p. 75–104; A. KOLIA-DERMITZAKI, *Some Remarks on the Fate of Prisoners of War in Byzantium (9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, [in:] *Atti del Congresso interdisciplinare di studi storici*, ed. G. GIPOLLONE, Città del Vaticano 2000 [= CAV, 46], p. 583–620; A. RAMADĀN, *The Treatment of Arab Prisoners of War*

moments concerning the captured fighters is related to the fate of the Bulgarian warriors caught by the Byzantines after the Battle of Kleidion (July 29, 1014)<sup>5</sup>.

Attempts to trace the fate of Bulgarian captives caught by Byzantine hands in the late 10<sup>th</sup> to the early 11<sup>th</sup> century are directly dependent on the data in the written monuments of the epoch. A significant share of the information about what happened in the Byzantine-Bulgarian war of 971–1018 was scattered in texts that were the result of the creative activity of Byzantine authors from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. As a source of information, these narratives are supplemented by Armenian, Latin and Arabic texts, which contain many important details. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the various scattered notices in the historical sources related to the war-events are far from a strict, chronologically consistent, continuous, correct and profoundly compact narrative. Also, it must be put on the record that the available accounts about the prolonged series of clashes in the Byzantine-Bulgarian war of 971–1018 create a feeling that the majority of the military activities were outside of the areas where the main battles between the armies of the Bulgarian rulers and the Byzantine emperors happened earlier from the time of the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This was very much due to the ruin of the original early medieval Bulgarian state center between the ridge of the Eastern Haemus Mountain and the Lower Danube River in 968–971. The capital Preslav, Pliska, Dorostolon and their surrounding settlements suffered quite a lot in the time of Sviatoslav of Kiev's Balkan campaigns

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*in Byzantium, 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, AIs 43, 2009, p. 155–194; Y. HRISTOV, *Prisoners of War in Early Medieval Bulgaria (Preliminary Remarks)*, SCer 5, 2015, p. 73–105; M. ΛΥΚΑΚΗ, *Οι αιχμάλωτοι πολέμου στη Βυζαντινή Αυτοκρατορία (6<sup>ος</sup>–11<sup>ος</sup> αι.). Εκκλησία, Κράτος, διπλωματία και κοινωνική διάσταση*, Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Αθήνα 2016 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

<sup>5</sup> The battle (and what happened after it) provokes considerable research interest. Its review within a single article is virtually impossible. However, there is a certain disparity and disagreements among the scholars about Tsar Samuel's warriors that were made blind, concerning the possible exaggerations of the number of mutilated people, and even about the general essence of the information pertaining to the victims of these atrocities. Cf.: В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I, p. 2, *От славянизацията на държавата до падането на Първото царство (852–1018)*, София 1927, p. 732–742; M. WHITTON, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025*, London 1996, p. 387–388; P. STEPHENSON, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*, Cambridge 2003, p. 2–6, 33–34, 62–81sq; C. HOLMES, *Basil II the Bulgar-slayer and the Blinding of 15,000 Bulgarians in 1014: Mutilation and Prisoners of War in the Middle Ages*, [in:] *How Fighting Ends. A History of Surrender*, ed. H. AFFLERBACH, H. STRACHAN, Oxford 2012, p. 85–95; Т. ТОМОВ, *Битката при Ключ през 1014 г.*, [in:] *Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2015, p. 142–169; P. SCHREINER, *Die vermeintliche Blendung. Zu den Ereignissen von Kleidion im Jahr 1014*, [in:] *Европейският Югоизток...*, p. 170–190; А.М. ФИЛИПЧУК, *Византийские подходы XI века к проблеме пленных: ослепление и убийство*, ДВ 55, 2016, p. 330–333. Also, it should not be omitted that the bitterness of captivity has been repeatedly tested by various imperial warriors of every rank – the immediate participants in the battles. Cf.: Y. HRISTOV, *A Glimpse at the Fate of the Byzantine Prisoners of War in Bulgaria during the Period from 976 to 1018*, Епо 27.2, 2019, p. 406–414.

and were additionally looted, destroyed and eventually occupied by the troops of Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976) in the course of a victorious Byzantine offensive against the Rus'. Despite all the heavy blows, including the deposition of the captured Bulgarian Tsar Boris II (969–971) in Constantinople, the Bulgarian state survived and relatively soon enough was reorganized in the western part of the Tsardom<sup>6</sup>.

At least in theory, the wider geographic scope of the conflict, its dynamics, the shifting of the border area, the notable exchange of victories and defeats on the battlefield as well as the deep raids makes the threat of falling into captivity very tangible and is capable of involving more direct participants in the whirlpool of events – even though (in general) the demographic, economic and military resources of the rivals are incomparable. Eventually, the Byzantine advantages severely changed the geopolitical situation after 1001–1004 and especially after the Battle of Kleidion. Undoubtedly, the Bulgarian resistance against the Imperial armies did not end in the last days of June 1014. It is well known that immediately after that the remnants of the Bulgarian army were reorganized by Tsar Samuel's son Gabriel Radomir. Under his command, the army of the Doux of Thessalonica Theophylact Botaneiates was destroyed. Thus, the strategic initiative of the Byzantines was broken and the breach in the defense of the Tsardom was actually closed. There were separate Bulgarian successes during the short reigns of Tsar Gabriel Radomir (1014–1015) and of Tsar Ivan Vladislav (1015–1018), but they did not change the general course of events, however, and did not prevent the fall of the Bulgarian lands under Byzantine rule<sup>7</sup>.

The seizure of Longos Fortress took place in 1017 – in the final stages of the war, shortly before the falling of the First Bulgarian Tsardom. The Skylitzes' description of this event reads:

<sup>6</sup> *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, ed. et trans. A.-M. TALBOT, D.F. SULLIVAN, Washington D.C. 2005 [= DOS, 41], p. 128–131, 152–161, 177–201; SKYLITZES, p. 276.23–277.37, 286.48–55, 287.91–291.99, 294.98–310.73; *Памятники литературы Древней Руси. Начало русской литературы. XI – начало XII века*, ed. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Л.А. ДМИТРИЕВ, Москва 1978, p. 78–88 (cf.: *Повесть временных лет (по Лаврентьевскому списку 1377 года)*, trans. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, Санкт-Петербург 2012, p. 44–51). See also: S. FRANKLIN, J. SHERARD, *The Emergence of Rus, 750–1200*, London–New York 1996, p. 145–151; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на България в 3 тома*, vol. I, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, София 1999, p. 308–318; П. ПАВЛОВ, *Борис и Роман – трагедията на царския род в края на X век*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Забравени и неразбрани. Събития и личности от Българското средновековие*, София 2012, p. 53–83. For the far more non-centralized character of the Bulgarian state under the rule of Samuel and his successors, especially compared with the previous forms of the provincial and military organization: G.N. НИКОЛОВ, *The Bulgarian Aristocracy in the War against the Byzantine Empire (971–1019)*, BSC 3, 2001, p. 141–158; Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Централизъм и регионализъм в ранносредновековна България (края на VII – началото на XI в.)*, София 2005, p. 123–166.

<sup>7</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 350.59–351.81 (cf.: trans. J. WORTLEY, p. 332–333).

...AM 6524, fourteenth year of the indiction, the emperor left the capital and went to Triaditza where he encamped before the fortress of Pernikos and besieged it, but those within resisted with endurance and determination; many Romans fell. When the siege had dragged on for eighty-eight days, he realized there was no possibility of succeeding so he withdrew, empty-handed, and fell back on Mosynoupolis. There he rested his army then, at the beginning of spring, he marched out of Mosynoupolis and entered Bulgaria. He encamped at the fortress called Longos and took it by siege. He sent David Areianates and Constantine Diogenes to the plains of Pelagonia and took possession of many beasts and numerous prisoners. The Emperor burnt the fortress when it was taken and divided the spoils of war into three parts. One part he assigned to the Russian allies; a second part to the Romans; the third he kept for himself. Then he advanced further and came to Kastoria, but having made an attempt on the city he concluded that it was inexpugnable and turned back...<sup>8</sup>

Paying attention to the specific passage concerning the captured prisoners and the distribution of military prey, it should be explicitly pointed out that such a significant aspect did not remain untouched by the legislative efforts during the Middle Byzantine era. In *Ecloga* XVIII, 1 of the Emperors Leo III (717–741) and Constantine V (741–775), it was stated that the share reserved for the state treasure was one sixth and the rest was shared in equal parts between the participants in the march. The additional material stimulation of those distinguished with bravery and dedication in the military activities is at the discretion of the commander and is at the expense of the part designated for the Treasury. It is not accidental that those provisions of the 8<sup>th</sup> century Isaurian legislation were incorporated in legal compilations at the time of Emperor Basil I (867–886) and his successor Emperor Leo VI (886–912)<sup>9</sup>. A close look at the aforementioned title of the *Ecloga* and at the corresponding passages in the later *Procheiros Nomos*, *Eisagoge* and *Basilika* raises the notion that it is rather about outfits and valuables collected from the fallen enemies on the battlefield. The grounds of such a claim are rooted not only in the vocabulary used by the legislator (σκύλον – military equipment stripped off from a slain enemy; booty; spoil)<sup>10</sup>. They are additionally

<sup>8</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 355.11–26, trans. J. WORTLEY, p. 336–337.

<sup>9</sup> *Эклога, Византийский законодательный свод VIII века*, ed. et trans. Е.Э. Липшиц, Москва 1965, p. 75–76 (*Ecloga* XVIII, 1); *Ὁ Πρόχειρος νόμος, Imperatorum Basilii, Constantini et Leonis Prochiron*, ed. K.E. ZACHARIAE VON LINGENTHAL, Heidelbergae 1837, p. 257–258 (*Пр. νόμος*, XL, 1); *Ecloga Leonis et Constantini, Epanagoge Basilii Leonis et Alexandri*, ed. K.E. ZACHARIAE VON LINGENTHAL, Lipsiae 1852 (cetera: *Ecloga*), p. 217 (*Εισαγωγή*, XL, 93); *Basilikorum libri LX*, Ser. A, vol. VIII, *Lib. LX*, ed. H.J. SCHELTEMA, D. HOLWERDA, N. VAN DER WAL, Groningen 1988, p. 3131 (*Βασ.*, LX, Appendix).

<sup>10</sup> Cf.: σκύλευμα – armours taken from a dead enemy; trophies; σκύλεύω – stripping off weapons, armours and equipment from killed enemies; looting; pillaging; plundering. – *Старогръцко-български речник*, ed. М. Войнов, Д. Дечев, В. Георгиев, А. Милев, Б. Геров, М. Тонев, <sup>2</sup>София 1943, p. 773–774; *Древнегреческо-русский словарь*, vol. II, М–Ω, ed. И.Х. Дворецкий, Москва 1958, p. 1486–1487; *LSJ*, p. 1617. The warriors' temptation as well as their chase for σκύλα (booty) should not be underestimated at all. As it has been pointed out the collected booty, along with the

supplemented by the fact that the provisions in question do not specify principles that should be observed in captives' distribution between the participants in the military activities.

On the other hand, the idea of rewarding the soldiers who participated in the fighting is an essential issue in the military manuals from the 10<sup>th</sup> century and gives an important additional viewpoint. The understandable interest in the loot and the captives was so significant that it could cause problems with the discipline and a failure in the tactical plans of the Army command. Not surprisingly, within the texts of several military manuals there are punishments prescribed for derelictions of duty in order to collect booty<sup>11</sup>. In these texts, the central government's interest in securing the share for the Imperial Treasury can be easily seen. They also leave no place for any serious doubts that enslaved captives – in the broad medieval sense that includes both the regular soldiers and the various higher ranks as well as the civilians of different age, sex, skills and social status – were a particularly desirable share of prey from everyone in the victorious army. Interestingly, it has been pointed out recently that between the well-known *Tactica* of Emperor Leo VI and *Sylloge Tacticorum*, there is a discrepancy in the amount allocated to the Treasury (respectively 1/5 and 1/6), which is a reason to believe that the regulations changed over time. In this regard, it seems that we encounter not so much a fixed standard for sharing the booty (regardless of the possible distribution of captives) but the flexibility and practicality frequently shown by the Byzantine authorities<sup>12</sup>. Here it also must be born in mind that sometimes it is precisely the prisoners' special

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salary (ρόγα) and gratuities (φιλοτιμία), was one of the mainstays of the soldiers' incomes according to *Ecloga* XVI, 2 – E. MCGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth. Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, Washington D.C. 1995 [= DOS 33], p. 321, n. 76.

<sup>11</sup> With the enclosed comments and bibliography: E. MCGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth...*, p. 320–329. See also the article of the Polish scholar Szymon Wierziński: S. WIERZIŃSKI, *Prospective Gain or Actual Cost? Arab Civilian and Military Captives in the Light of Byzantine Narrative Sources and Military Manuals from the 10<sup>th</sup> Century*, *SCer* 8, 2018, p. 253–283 (p. 262–263 in particular).

<sup>12</sup> S. WIERZIŃSKI, *Prospective Gain...*, p. 265, n. 93. Cf. *Leonis VI Tactica*, XVI, 4; XX, 192, ed. et trans. G. DENNIS, Washington D.C. 2010 [= CFHB, 49] (cetera: LEO VI), p. 382–385, 604–605; *A Tenth-century Byzantine Military Manual. The Sylloge Tacticorum*, trans. G. CHATZELIS, J. HARRIS, London 2017 [= BBOS, 22] (cetera: *Sylloge Tacticorum*), L. 4; L. 6, p. 84–85. See also: A. DAIN, *Le Partage du butin de guerre d'après les traités juridiques et militaires*, [in:] *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études byzantines*, vol. I, Paris 1950, p. 347–354; В.В. КУЧМА, *Военная организация Византийской империи*, Санкт-Петербург 2001, p. 323–325. It was emphasized that there is no disagreement in *Sylloge Tacticorum* L. 4. and L. 6. with the principles that laid down in *Ecloga* XVIII, 1, *Пр. νόμος* XL, 1, *Εισαγωγή* XL, 93 and *Βασ.*, LX, Appendix. Moreover, when paying attention to the information coming from one or another Byzantine military manual, it is necessary to take into account not only the impact of the legislation in force in the Empire, but also to pay tribute to other possible influences. For example, the 1/5 share allocated to the Treasury under the Leo VI finds an interesting and precise parallel among the Islamic legal regulations concerning the division of spoils of war. Cf.: M. KHADDURI, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore 1955, p. 121.

value that causes their separation from other booty, and as a result, they are not always included in the general division of the so-called "gifts of victory". In regards the fair distribution of spoils of war, it must be put on the record that the isolation of ordinary warriors from access to the booty is generally perceived as unusual (as well as an unexpected or excessive generosity of the commander to the soldiers).

When we talk about the conflict between Byzantium and Bulgaria from the late 10<sup>th</sup> to the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, it seems necessary to mention at least briefly some aspects of its perception, motivation and ideological justification, especially within the Empire, that mark both the fate of the Bulgarians that fell into Byzantine captivity and the descriptions of the events in the various type of narratives. Of course, the ruling circles in Constantinople in the age of the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty were not reluctant to the idea of avoiding collisions with Orthodox co-religionists. However, even after the Christianization in the 860s, despite the extended periods of lull, Bulgaria continued to be the main adversary of Byzantium in the Balkans until the beginning of 11<sup>th</sup> century. The tensions that caused atrocities, mutilations and kidnappings can be considered at least in part as a continuation of the inertia accumulated by the wars between the two states before the conversion of the Bulgarians<sup>13</sup>.

Despite the relatively short description, Skylitzes' text indicates that the prey was significant and diverse, and that, apart from livestock (and valuables? – YH, VK), many captives fell in Byzantine hands, including both abducted non-combatants from the Pelagonia region and the permanent inhabitants of the fortress – warriors and civilians and their families. In addition, it is not specified that all three partitions are identical in size and variety. However, a certain guideline can be found due to the fact that under conditions of prolonged conflicts at that time, the Emperor Basil II hardly resisted the temptation to acquire additional profits by kidnapping as many residents as possible from the Bulgarian territory as well as integrating captured warriors into his own armies. In his *Synopsis historiarum*, Skylitzes indisputably indicates that the Emperor Basil II did not hesitate to resettle

<sup>13</sup> I. STOURAITIS, *Byzantine War against Christians – an "Emphylios Polemos"?*, ВΣΟΜ 20, 2010, p. 85–110. See also: A. LAIOU, *On Just War in Byzantium*, [in:] *To Hellenikon. Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis Jr.*, vol. I, ed. S. REINERT, J. LANGDON, A. ALLEN, New Rochelle–New York 1993, p. 153–174 (= A. LAIOU, *On Just War in Byzantium*, [in:] *Byzantine Warfare*, p. I.2, ed. J. HALDON, Aldershot 2007, p. 153–174); J. HALDON, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204*, London 1999, p. 13–33; W. TREADGOLD, *Byzantium, the Reluctant Warrior*, [in:] *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities. Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. N. CHRISTIE, M. YAZIGI, Leiden–Boston 2006, p. 209–233; J. KODER, I. STOURAITIS, *Byzantine Approaches to Warfare (6<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries). An Introduction*, [in:] *Byzantine War Ideology between Roman Imperial Concept and Christian Religion*, ed. ИДЕМ, Vienna 2012, p. 9–15; I. STOURAITIS, 'Just War' and 'Holy War' in the Middle Ages. *Rethinking Theory through the Byzantine Case-Study*, ЈОБ 62, 2012, p. 227–264. Also pay attention to: С. ПИРИВАТРИЋ, *Самуилова држава. Обим и карактер*, Београд 1997, p. 120–132; С. HOLMES, *Basil II the Bulgarian-slayer...*, p. 85–95; А.М. ФИЛИПЧУК, *Византийские подходы...*, p. 330–340.

the Bulgarian captives in Byzantine provinces<sup>14</sup>. The example with the population of the fortress of Moglena is highly illustrative. In 1015, a large number of soldiers along with the Kavkhan Dometian and many of other Bulgarian boyars were taken into captivity.

...[The Emperor Basil II – YH, VK] sent the patrician Nikeohoros Xiphias and Constantine Diogenes... into the region of Moglena with an army. The Emperor arrived when they ravaged the whole area and were besieging the city – wrote John Skylitzes – He diverted the river that flows by the city and excavated the foundations of the walls. Wood and other combustible materials were put into excavations and set fire; as the fuel burnt, the walls came down. When those within saw this, they fell to prayers and groans, surrendering themselves together with the fortress. Dometianos Kaukanos, a powerful man and an advisor of Gabriel, was captured; also Elitzes, the governor of Moglena, many important people and a considerable number of fighting men. The Emperor sent those capable of bearing arms to Asprakania (i.e., Vaspurakan, Eastern Asia Minor)...<sup>15</sup>

Of course, it should be acknowledged that there is no mention of deportation and integration in the story of the capture of Longos and the plundering of the surrounding area. Nevertheless, with the necessary caution, it may be assumed that the part retained by the Emperor himself includes at least boyars and soldiers (as in the case of Moglena). Furthermore, given to the well-known distribution among the soldiers of one hundred *kentenaria* of gold coins from the Bulgarian Tsar's treasury in 1018, the remaining two parts of Longos' booty are probably composed of valuable goods and livestock. There seems to be more uncertainty in the attempts to guess the fate of captured non-combatants. Hesitations are not due to the lack of opportunity for their deportation and resettlement in the Byzantine provinces – either as free, or as dependent peasants, with the respective taxation, duties and obligations. Rather it is due to the possibility of their enslavement. Moreover, following the description of the partitioning in question, there can be no denial of any captives' presence in these parts of booty reserved for the Byzantine warriors or for the important Russian auxiliaries<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. for example: ...*Then the Emperor marched into Thessaly and rebuilt the fortresses which Samuel had overturned; the ones they held he besieged and transported the Bulgarians to a place called Boleron...*; also ...*At the beginning of spring [the Emperor] returned to Bulgaria again and headed for the fortress of Vodena, for the people there had broken faith with him and taken up arms against the Romans. By a long-drawn-out siege he forced those within (when they had received assurances to surrender themselves). He deported them again to Boleron...* – SKYLITZES, p. 344.16–19, 352.9–13, trans. J. WORTLEY, p. 327, 333.

<sup>15</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 352.23–37, trans. J. WORTLEY, p. 334. However, the rest of the remaining mass of people were not so lucky and according to the Emperor's order became subject of pillage and rapine.

<sup>16</sup> As a rule, the enslavement of Orthodox co-religionists must be avoided. However, as regards those captured in wartime there are enough cases of exception. Cf.: Y. ROTMAN, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. J.M. TODD, Cambridge Mass.–London 2009; G. PRINZING, *On Slaves and Slavery*, [in:] *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. STEPHENSON, London–New York 2010, p. 92–102; IDEM, *Slavery in Byzantium from 566 until 1453*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Congress*

Taking into consideration the characteristics mentioned, a question arises whether the division into three parts in 1017 carried out by an order of Emperor Basil II was recorded by Skylitzes (decades later in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century) precisely because it seems more special or unusual. The answer cannot stand isolated from the peculiarities of the *Synopsis historiarum* pertaining to warfare. As it has been pointed out ...*Skylitzes was writing with an educative rather than descriptive purpose in mind. In this sense Skylitzes' handling of military matters was not about individual events or people in recorded time or place, but about the articulation of general military principles exemplified in narrative action...* and the great multitude of various military narratives within the frames of his text ...*would make best sense not as stories significant to the history of the times they describe, but instead as rhetorical tools that serve contemporary educative aims*<sup>17</sup>. In this regard, without underestimating the historicism in the story about the capture of Longos, it is helpful to think through the prism of the impressions that the author made through the passage in question of *Synopsis historiarum* – especially because of the presence of distinct and significant pre-organized detachments of foreigners in the Byzantine armies and the problem with their remuneration and satisfaction of their interest in the loot. The importance of such a matter increases from the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, in view of the changes in the Imperial armies and the decisive presence of foreign mercenary units<sup>18</sup>.

### The growing shadow of the crescent

The second historical event, to which some brief touches are dedicated in this paper, is the division of the inhabitants of Mytilene – the main city of the island of Lesbos – during the Ottoman campaign in 1462. More than a century earlier,

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*of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016. Round Tables*, ed. B. KRŠMANOVIĆ, L. MILANOVIĆ, Belgrade 2016, p. 176–181. Actually, this fragment of the *Synopsis historiarum* is used as an evidence for the enslavement of the Bulgarian captives in the late 10<sup>th</sup> – the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. Vide with the commentary and enclosed bibliography – M. ΛΥΚΑΚΗ, *Οι αιχμάλωτοι...*, p. 135–136, 145–147.

<sup>17</sup> C. HOLMES, *The Rhetorical Structures of John Skylitzes' Synopsis Historion*, [in:] *Rhetoric in Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, ed. E. JEFFREYS, Aldershot 2003, p. 196. See also: 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, p. 173–187; C. ROUECHÉ, *Byzantine Writers and Readers: Storytelling in the Eleventh Century*, [in:] *The Greek Novel, A.D. 1–1985*, ed. R. BEATON, London 1987, p. 123–133; B. CROKE, *Uncovering Byzantium's Historiographical Audience*, [in:] *History as Literature in Byzantium. Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*, ed. R. MACRIDES, Farnham 2010 [= SPBSP, 15], p. 25–53 (p. 46–50 in particular); C. HOLMES, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)*, Oxford 2005, p. 118–119, 162–170, 172–239.

<sup>18</sup> For many examples of division and distribution of the loot, including shares for the Treasury, for their own warriors and for the squads of foreign mercenaries see: S. KYRIAKIDIS, *The Division of Booty in Late Byzantium (1204–1453)*, JÖB 59, 2009, p. 163–175.

in 1355, the island of Lesbos passed into the hands of the ambitious Genoese captain Francesco Gattilusio. He gained power over the island as a reward for assisting Emperor John V Palaeologus in the overthrow of John Cantacuzenus. The Genoese adventurer became even closer to the Palaeologos dynasty via his marriage to the sister of Emperor John V. As a brother-in-law of the Emperor and being an Archon of Lesbos, Francesco Gattilusio was inevitably caught up in the conflicts of the region for the coming decades. Despite the turbulent atmosphere, and even in the face of an open conflict between Venice and Genoa, the Gattilusio family not only did not suffer any damage, but managed to maintain their strategic and economically lucrative ownership, even expanding their power in the Aegean<sup>19</sup>. In not very clear circumstances, Francesco took control over Old Phocaea, while New Phocaea continued to be under the rule of Genoa. An even more significant acquisition was achieved in 1382 when control was established over Ainos. Until then, this important town along the Thracian coast at the mouth of the Maritsa River was under Byzantine rule, although its surrounding area was devastated and conquered by the Ottomans. Probably as a result of the tensions between the recent allies and as part of the compromises, the reign in Ainos was taken over by Niccolo, brother of Archon Francesco I Gattilusio in 1384. As noted, from that moment on, the Principality of Gattilusio began to develop as a collection of coastal port enclaves and island possessions in the Aegean, often entrusted to various representatives of the family, under the nominal rule of the Archon of Lesbos. From the early 1430s–1440s, Gattilusio's possessions in Northern Aegean were extended and included the islands of Samothrace and Thasos. Despite a clever policy and that kept the Gattilusio family away from the Crusading activities, the great military endeavors and political transformations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the second decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century did not miss their Aegean principality. The Lesbos' Archon Dorino accepted the obligation to pay an annual tribute to the Ottomans in order to avoid any hostility toward his possessions as well as to avert the devastating attacks of the sultan's navy<sup>20</sup>. Thanks to their political flair and their familiarity with the situation in the region, the members of the Gattilusio family were very quick-witted and relatively successful in the course of the siege of Constantinople and immediately after the conquest of the town. Despite the decades of joint ventures and dynastic relations with Palaeologus, the members of the Gattilusio family did not attempt to participate in the defense of Constantinople.

<sup>19</sup> C. WRIGHT, *Byzantine Authority and Latin Rule in the Gattilusio Lordships*, [in:] *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. J. HARRIS, C. HOLMES, E. RUSSELL, Oxford 2012, p. 247–263; F. KONDYLI, *Lords at the End of the Empire: Negotiating Power in the Late Byzantine Frontiers (Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries)*, *ABSA* 112, 2017, p. 309–339 (p. 327–335 in particular).

<sup>20</sup> C. WRIGHT, *The Gattilusio Lordships and the Aegean World, 1355–1462*, Leiden–Boston 2014 [= *MMe*, 100], p. 29–66; P. EDBURY, *Christians and Muslims in the Eastern Mediterranean*, [in:] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. VI, ed. M. JONES, Cambridge 2000, p. 864–884.

Instead, they sent their representatives to the Court of the triumphant Mehmed II to demonstrate their loyalty and obedience. It was not accidental that the Sultan agreed with Dorino from Lesbos and Palamede from Ainos to obtain power over the islands of Lemnos and Imbros (under the Byzantine authority until May 1453) in exchange for the disbursement of tribute. If we trust Kritoboulos, this was done with the assistance of the local population. As for Lemnos, Dorino had certain positions, as he owned the Kotzinos fortress and took the opportunity to subdue the whole island. At that particular moment, this decision proved acceptable for the Ottomans as well, especially given the danger of Venetian expansion in the Aegean. Such a development was not excluded at all, and the considerations that urged Sultan Mehmed II to show benevolence to the representatives of the eminent Genoese family were confirmed by the Venetian occupation of the islands of Skyros, Skiathos and Skopelos<sup>21</sup>.

The success of Gattilusio was fleeting. In the summer of 1455 Domenico (the eldest son of Dorino) was forced to appear in person in the Ottoman court to be given the hereditary rights over Lesbos. According to the information of Doukas, he was forced to surrender the Thassos to the Ottomans. In addition, in front of Viziers Said Ahmed Pasha and Mahmud Pasha, he desperately negotiated to reduce the sum of the tribute doubled at the request of Sultan Mehmed II<sup>22</sup>. At the end of that year, with the capture of the Old Phocaea, the Ottomans deprived Domenico from another one of his possessions. At the beginning of the next year, 1456, the Genoese family suffered new losses after the surrender of Ainos and the occupation of the islands of Imbros and Samothrace, and several months later Gattilusio lost power over Lemnos as well. In the summer of 1457, the fleet of Sultan Mehmed II attacked the second-most important city on the island of Lesbos – Mithymna. The attackers were repulsed and suffered significant losses before retreating to Gallipoli. Under the circumstances of the continuous bloodshed and Ottoman advance on the Balkans as well as in Aegean Sea, the last Archons of Lesbos made several attempts to seek help. However, neither Genoa itself, nor the Papacy or any other Western partners managed to provide vital reinforcements and support<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, p. 85.4–87.3 (cf.: KRITOVoulos, p. 85–87); DOUKAS, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, trans. H. MAGOULIAS, Detroit 1975, p. 241 (DUKAS, *Historia Turcobyzantina*, ed. V. GRECU, Bucharest 1958 (cetera: DUKAS), p. 395.14–20); LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, *The Histories*, trans. A. KALDELLIS, Cambridge Mass.–London 2014 (cetera: LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES), p. 400–403. See also: К. ИМБЪР, *Османската империя 1300–1481*, София 2000, p. 226–235, 240–242, 256–258.

<sup>22</sup> DUKAS, p. 413.16–415.7 (cf.: *Decline and Fall of Byzantium...*, p. 251).

<sup>23</sup> M. BALARD, *The Genoese in the Aegean (1204–1566)*, MHR 4, 1989, p. 158–174; C. WRIGHT, *The Gattilusio Lordships...*, p. 65–69; K. FLEET, *Ottoman Expansion in the Mediterranean*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. II, *The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603*, ed. S. FARUQHI, K. FLEET, Cambridge 2012, p. 141–143.

The final (well-prepared and severely outnumbered) Ottoman attack against Lesbos took place in September 1462. Following the Sultan's orders, Mahmud Pasha arrived at Lesbos with a large fleet and attempted to persuade the defenders to surrender without resistance. Meanwhile, Sultan Mehmed II already arrived at the Anatolian coast in front of the island. Archon Niccolo Gattilusio refused to surrender and the Ottomans started the siege of Mytilene. In his *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, Kritoboulos left a vivid contemporary description of the fortress' surrender and the following events:

§ 80. ...Those in the city and their commander, when they saw that the Sultan had crossed over and that the army was ready to attack them by land and sea, feared that they would be captured by assault. They saw that the wall was demolished by the cannon and that the army was immense and strong and fully armed, and also that the attack by the Sultan was irresistible and that he would never leave the island until he had completely subdued it. So they sent a messenger to offer their surrender and that of the city to the Sultan, and also to beg for forgiveness because they had not yielded immediately when summoned.

§ 81. The Sultan received these men and gave them pledges. Accordingly, the Mitylenians came out of their city with their commander, made obeisance before the Sultan, and surrendered the city to him...

§ 82. After spending four whole days on the island, inspecting it and everything in it and admiring its size and beauty and the various advantages of the country and its arrangement, the Sultan then embarked in a trireme and crossed over his camp, leaving Mahmud to arrange affairs in the city and throughout the island according to his instructions.

§ 83. Mahmud gathered all the inhabitants of the city, men, women and children, and divided them into three parts. The first part he allowed to stay in the city and inhabit it, retaining and enjoying their own property and playing the customary yearly tribute. The second he deported to Constantinople and settled there. And the third he made slaves and distributed to the soldiers. As many mercenaries of the Italians as he found in the city, he killed every one<sup>24</sup>.

Taking into consideration the Kritoboulos' account, it seems worth remembering the Islamic legal concepts concerning military prey. As it has been pointed out, *the term spoil (ghanīma) is applied specifically to property acquired by force from non-Muslims. It includes, however, not only property (movable and immovable) but also persons, whether in the capacity of asra (male combatants = prisoners of war) or sabī (kidnapped women and children). The element of force (ʿanwatan) and the imām's permission are essential... The imām's permission formalizes fighting as the fulfilment of the jihād duty and invokes the law governing the conduct of fighting as well as the acquisition and the division of the spoil among those who have right to it*<sup>25</sup>. Despite some differences in the interpretations and/or the demonstrated preferences, the view of the Islamic legal regulations regarding the captives notes

<sup>24</sup> KRITOVoulos, p. 183–184.

<sup>25</sup> M. KHADDURI, *War and Peace...*, p. 119.

the presence of four possibilities: execution, slavery, liberation (less often unpaid and more often provided they will pay *jizyah* [poll-tax]) and ransom (including cash and/or valuables, as well as exchange)<sup>26</sup>. On the other hand, it is no less important that by the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Ottomans already gained their own vast experience in deriving dividends from captured enemy soldiers and abducted civilian populations<sup>27</sup>.

Without neglecting or minimizing the historical accounts of what happened with the captured warriors and civilians in Constantinople after its conquest by Sultan Mehmed II, it looks like that the records concerning the Ottoman military actions in the Western Balkans, in the Peloponnese, in the Aegean and Asia Minor and the clashes with Hungary and Venice in the decades after 1453 are more useful. The mid-1450s and the early 1460s are marked by new Ottoman successes. The sources describing the conquest of the Peloponnese from 1458 to 1460 repeatedly recount the fate of those who fell in Ottoman captivity. In the *Memoirs of a Janissary*, it is stated that execution often is the practice applied to the enemy soldiers captured by the Ottomans. Kritoboulos attempted to bind such actions in particular to the forcibly seized fortresses in the Peloponnese, held by the Albanian settlers, although he did not hide that this actions were also linked to the Sultan's

<sup>26</sup> B. BERTOSA, *The Treatment of Prisoners of War and Non-Combatants in Quran*, CMJ 8.1, 2007, p. 19–26 [Web Access: <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo8/no1/bertosa-eng.asp>]; L. SALAYMEH, *Early Islamic Legal-Historical Precedents: Prisoners of War*, LHR 26.3, 2008, p. 521–544; M. MUNIR, *Debates on the Rights of Prisoners of War in Islamic Law*, Ist 49.4, 2010, p. 463–492.

<sup>27</sup> When the Ottoman state was growing from an Anatolian beylik to a prime political power in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Islamic concept of *jihad* was intertwined in favour of the expansion. At a relatively early stage, the impulses of the nomadic Turkmen *akm*, without limiting or redirecting the desire for prey, were used and transformed into *ghazā*. Of course, with the proviso that generalizations can be misleading, it is also good to consider the evolution of Ottoman warfare from the 14<sup>th</sup> through the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and especially the nature, peculiarities and intensity of the military marches of Sultan Mehmed II on land and sea. The information available in the records leaves no room for doubt that there is no way to define the conquest of Lesbos as a consequence of a successful plundering raid. The fall of the important Aegean island under Ottoman rule happens after a large-scale campaign, with the participation of well-prepared and equipped units, which is very different from the devastating raiding for booty, undertaken by much more maneuverable units, but usually more modest in number. Cf.: H. İNALCIK, *Ottoman Methods of Conquest*, [in:] IDEM, *The Ottoman Empire. Conquest, Organization and Economy. Collected Studies*, p. 1, London 1978, p. 104–129; G. KALDY-NAGY, *The Holy War (jihad) in the First Centuries of the Ottoman Empire*, HUS 3–4, 1979–1980, p. 467–473; R. JENNINGS, *Some Thoughts on the Gazi-Thesis*, WZKM 76, 1986, p. 151–161; C. KAFADAR, *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkley 1995; C. HEYWOOD, *The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths*, [in:] *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, ed. D. POWER, N. STANDEN, London 1999, p. 228–249; X. ИНАЛДЖЪК, *Османската империя. Класическият период 1300–1600*, София 2002, p. 19–25; P. FODOR, *Ottoman Warfare, 1300–1453*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. II, *Byzantium to Turkey*, ed. K. FLEET, Cambridge 2009, p. 192–226; D. KASTRITSIS, *Conquest and Political Legitimation in the Early Ottoman Empire*, [in:] *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1150*, ed. J. HARRIS, C. HOLMES, E. RUSSELL, Oxford 2012, p. 221–263.

strategic plans aimed at the imposition of fear, discouragement and denial of resistance<sup>28</sup>. Like the Late Byzantine chronicler from Imbros, his contemporary Tursun Beg wrote that in the Ottoman campaigns from the late 1450s and the early 1460s the men in the fortresses taken by force were killed and the women and children were enslaved<sup>29</sup>. However, one should not underestimate the evidence that the pogroms sometimes went far beyond. The notifications of other contemporaries and witnesses to the events, such as Sphrantzes and Chalkokondyles, leave a clear feeling that the executions affected not only the soldiers who resisted and the men fit to carry weapons, but also defenseless women, children and old men. Chalkokondyles also adds details about the fact that voluntary surrender did not always save people from the unhappy fate of captivity and the horror of the mayhem<sup>30</sup>. The direct link between the merciless attitude towards the captured by the Ottomans on the one hand, and the specific character of some particularly fierce hostilities on the other, stands out distinctly in the information about the campaign of Sultan Mehmed II against the Wallachian prince Vlad the Impaler in 1462<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, ed. et trans. B. STOLZ, S. SOUCEK, Ann Arbor 1975 [= MST, 3] (cetera: KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ), p. 113. The cases of mass executions cannot be underestimated at all. However, along with the information about the subjugation, there are also passages in which a deportation of large groups and their resettlement after 1453 in the conquered by Mehmed II Constantinople (and also about the selection of young men to replenish the Janissary Corps) is mentioned. Cf.: KRITOVoulos, p. 105, 133, 136, 139–140, 148–149, 154–156 (cf.: *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, p. 101.16–2, 126.1–8, 128.2–5, 131.11–18, 139.12–140.5, 144.22–147.15); *Decline and Fall of Byzantium...*, p. 243, 257–258 (cf.: DUKAS, p. 399.1–8, 425.13–427.7). Quite interesting are the descriptions about the capitulation of Novo Bardo in 1455. All the residents of the surrendered city are forced to leave their property and while the other exits are blocked, to go before the Sultan through a single left open gate of the surrounded city and be subjected to selection by gender, age and social status. *All those among the men who were the most important and distinguished he ordered decapitated.* – the text reads – *The remainder he [Sultan Mehmed II] ordered released to the city. As for their possessions, nothing of theirs was harmed. The boys were 320 in number and the females 74. The females he distributed among the heathens, but he took the boys for himself into the Janissaries, and sent them beyond the sea to Anatolia, where their preserve is.* – KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ, p. 99.

<sup>29</sup> TURSUN BEG, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. et trans. H. INALCIK, R. MURPHEY, Minneapolis–Chicago 1978 (cetera: TURSUN BEG), p. 43–44.

<sup>30</sup> *Георгије Сфранцес, Хроника*, ed. et trans. М. СТАНКОВИЋ, Београд 2011 (cetera: *Георгије Сфранцес*), p. 171, 177, 181–187; LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, p. 316–317, 322–339, 342–343, 364–367.

<sup>31</sup> Tursun Beg describes that war as a great success for the Sultan, whose camp is ...*overflowing with booty, young girls and boys, and captives...* Cf.: TURSUN BEG, p. 48–49. However, other authors are far from being so categorical. For example, Doukas writes about the difficulties, the worries, the great losses of the Ottomans and the humiliating return of the Sultan to Edirne. Kritoboulos also notes the material damage suffered and the loss of harnessed animals during the night attack of the troops of Vlad the Impaler. Constantine Mikhailovich (who was a participant in the campaign) writes about an atmosphere of fear in the Sultan's camp, and also points out that during the mentioned Wallachian attack the Ottomans suffered not only great material losses, but also lost many people. In the panic that ensued, various units of the Sultan's army mistakenly fought against each other. In addition, in an attempt to repel the forces of Vlad III, the Janissaries quite deliberately killed other Ottoman soldiers.

Judging by the information that had come to us, the extent of the terror, the deliberate cruelty of mass massacres, enslavements and deportations were even more extensive and outrageous in the 1460s during the suppression of the resistance led by George Kastrioti (Skanderbeg) and the final subjugation of the Albanian lands<sup>32</sup>.

Given the above-mentioned, there can be no doubt in the statement that the subjugation of Lesbos in 1462 was not so violent and less bloody than Ottoman campaigns in Morea, Wallachia and Albanian lands. In this regard, the descriptions of the conquest of Bosnia in 1463 offer a very close parallel to what was happening on the Aegean island in the autumn of the previous year. Bozovac was conquered at the beginning of hostilities after a short siege.

He [Sultan Mehmed II] terrified the townspeople with his cannons, both the horizontal ones and the upturned mortars, and he subjected the city. – One can read in Chalkokondyles' chronicle – He left part of its people there, gave another part to the leading Turks, and sent the third to Byzantium [i.e. – Constantinople – YH, VK]. He then ordered Mahmud [the Grand Vizier] to pick the best men from the army of Europe [Rumeli] and go from Bobovac to wherever he learned the king of the Illyrians [Bosnians] was residing...<sup>33</sup>

Afterwards, in charge of the Rumeli army, Mahmud Pasha marched through the country with a marked haste. The Ottoman Grand Vizier first arrived at Jajce and then turned towards the Sokol in pursuit of King Stjepan Tomašević only to discover that the Bosnian ruler had fled at Ključ already. Taking into consideration the dangerous mountain terrain, the fortress mentioned was definitely not among the easily accessible ones. To make Ključ even more inaccessible and

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– KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ, p. 129–133. See also: *Decline and Fall of Byzantium...*, p. 259–261 (DUKAS, p. 431.22–433.21); *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, p. 167.16–168.14; ÂŞIK PAŞAZADE, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, ed. K. YAVUZ, M.A. YEKTA SARAÇ, İstanbul 2003 (cetera: ÂŞIK PAŞAZADE), p. 512–514; HOCA SADEDDİN EFENDİ, *Tâcü't-tevârih*, vol. III, ed. İ. PARMAKSIZOĞLU, Ankara 1979 (cetera: HOCA SADEDDİN), p. 59–68; MÜNECCİMBAŞI AHMED B. LÜTFULLAH, *Camiü'd-Düvel. Osmanlı Tarihi (1299–1481)*, ed. A. AĞIRAKÇA, İstanbul 1995 (cetera: MÜNECCİMBAŞI), p. 263–265; *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ. Neşri Tarihi*, vol. II, ed. F.R. UNAT, M.A. KOYMEN, Ankara 1957, p. 755–759 (cetera: NEŞRİ). See also the available Bulgarian translation: *Мехмед Неири, Огледало на света. История на османския двор*, ed. et trans. М. КАЛИЦИН, София 1984 (cetera: *Мехмед Неири*), p. 290–291. Chalkokondyles' text is particularly detailed in the descriptions of the causes, developments and consequences of the Wallachian campaign. The chronicle did indeed tell of many abducted slaves and other loot, but according to the information also there is no doubt about the atmosphere of fear, panic and the high number of casualties in the Sultan's camp. Which actually explains the slaughter of all Wallachian warriors who fell into Ottoman captivity. Cf.: LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, p. 366–399.

<sup>32</sup> Without entering into specific details, it is enough only to recall that the Albanian warriors caught in captivity, as well as the men of the age fit to carry arms, were executed by the Ottoman army on the spot at every stop for camping. Cf.: KRITOVoulos, p. 210–215, 218–219, 221–222; TURSUN BEG, p. 55–56; ÂŞIK PAŞAZADE, p. 521–522; HOCA SADEDDİN, p. 91–94; NEŞRİ, p. 777, 779.

<sup>33</sup> LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, p. 431.

difficult to siege, the defenders destroyed the bridge over the river Sana. However, the Ottomans demonstrated persistence and reached the fortress. After the initial clashes, Mahmud Pasha began negotiations with King Stjepan Tomašević and persuaded him to surrender, assuring him that he and his men would not be harmed. Chalkokondyles accounts another division into three parts: one part of the city's inhabitants was left there; the second share was distributed among the Grand Vizier and his leading men; and the third was sent to Sultan Mehmed II<sup>34</sup>.

At first glance, the Ottomans were less brutal compared to their actions during the conquest of Morea or given the atrocities in the Wallachian campaign and in suppressing the Albanian resistance. The seemingly less cruel and ruthless subjugation of Lesbos and Bosnia demonstrates that the Ottoman position towards their captives (soldiers and civilians alike) was not arbitrary or aimless. With regard to the more merciful attitude as in the case of Mytilene, apart from the weak resistance and the rapid surrender, it is likely that other factors played their role. Between 1402 and 1462, the Gattilusio family promoted quite moderate and, – with necessary precaution – at times, even pro-Ottoman politics. They were dodging confrontation, tending to compromise and even cooperate, interested in the economic and political benefits they derived in the first and second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Undoubtedly, the Ottoman court also took into account the benefits that the cooperation with the Genoese in the eastern Mediterranean had to offer. In this connection, it is hardly a coincidence that in the former possession of Gattilusio – Phocaea – after its conquest by Sultan Mehmed II, Genoese with key skills and contacts retained their positions under the new masters<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, p. 430–437. The promises however were not followed, and while Constantine Mikhailovich was attempting to attribute the guilt to the Grand Vizier, recounting the false oath, most of the sources indicate that the initiative for the perfidy comes from the Sultan himself. According to the notifications, Mehmed II was deeply angry at his talented commander and first Vizier and even consulted on the extent to which the rejection of the agreements between Mahmud Pasha and King Stjepan Tomašević and the execution of the latter could be justified according to the Islamic Law. Cf.: KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ, p. 137–141; LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, p. 440–445; TURSUN BEG, p. 50–51; ÂŞIK PAŞAZADE, p. 516–519; MÜNECCIMBAŞI, p. 266–268; HOCA SADEDDIN, p. 70–74; G. GUILLET DE SAINT-GEORGE, *Histoire du regne de Mahomet II. Empereur des Turcs*, vol. II, Paris 1690, p. 19–20; NEŞRÎ, p. 761–767 (cf.: *Mexmed Heupu*, p. 293–295). See also the comments and the enclosed bibliography: T. STAVRIDES, *The Sultan of Vezirs. The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelovic (1453–1474)*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2001 [= OEH, 24], p. 147–149.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. K. FLEET, *Turks, Mamluks, and Latin Merchants. Commerce, Conflict, and Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean*, [in:] *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks...*, p. 327–344; C. WRIGHT, *The Gattilusio Lordships...*, p. 319–344, 407–411.

### Beyond the phrase: Something more about the scope of the similarity

Comparing the two rather distant chronological events, it should be stressed that in spite of the overwhelming similarity of the descriptions, concerning the division of the spoils of war, several significant differences are imposed. While the notice of the capture of the Longos fortress is found only in John Skylitzes, who wrote at a distance of several decades, the conquest of Lesbos is reflected by more than half a dozen authors. Additionally, the information can be found in texts composed by immediate participants and contemporaries as well as in the works of later chroniclers, regardless of their diverse origin, religion and public positions<sup>36</sup>.

In addition to the apparent imbalance in the volume of references and the number of authors in whose works they are found, it should be reported here that the question is about two rather different settlements. Longos' designation as a *φρούριον* gives reasons to assume that it was one of the (probably not very large) fortifications near Kastoria, ensuring the protection of roads to the important provincial center<sup>37</sup>. As for Mytilene, the situation is quite different. The city is the most significant economic, administrative and spiritual center of the great Aegean island of Lesbos. It is located in the southeast part of the island, in a convenient mooring bay Gera. Until the fall of Mytilene under the Ottoman rule, the city had a history of two and a half millennia, intertwined with the fate of many significant personalities from Antiquity and the Middle Ages<sup>38</sup>. A lack of similarity is noticed

<sup>36</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 355.17–26. See the available variety of records left by different Orthodox, Western and Ottoman (Muslim) authors: KRITOVOULOS, p. 180–184 (cf.: *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, p. 168.20–172.30); LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, p. 406–415; DUKAS, p. 433.22–437.11 (cf.: *Decline and Fall of Byzantium...*, p. 261, 322–323, n. 325); ГЕОРГИЈЕ СФРАНЦЕС, p. 193; TURSUN BEG, p. 49–50; NEŞRÎ, p. 759, 761; HOCA SADEDDİN, p. 68–69; MÛNECCİMBAŞI, p. 265–266; ÂŞIK RAŞAZADE, p. 514–516; KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ, p. 133–135 (cf.: КОНСТАНТИН МИХАИЛОВИЋ ИЗ ОСТРОВИЦЕ, *Јаничарове упомене или турска хроника*, ed. et trans. Ђ. ЖИВАИНОВИЋ, Београд 1986, p. 138); *Leonardi Chiensis de Lesbo a Turcis capta epistola Pio papae II missa*, [in:] *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. C. HOFF, Berlin 1873, p. 359–366; G. GUILLET DE SAINT-GEORGE, *Histoire...*, vol. I, Paris 1690, p. 486–496. During the preparation of the article inaccessible remained İBN KEMAL, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, ed. et trans. Ş. TURAN, Ankara 1957; *Rûhi Târîhi*, ed. H.E. CENGİZ, Y. YÜCEL, Ankara 1992, as well as Enveri's *Düstürnâme* and also the work on the history of the Ottoman Empire (*Historia incrementorum atque decrementorum Aulae Othomanicae*) written by Dimitrie Cantemir – УН, VK.

<sup>37</sup> Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Централизъм и регионализъм...*, p. 176, 188.

<sup>38</sup> Among the most famous are the poets Sappho and Alcaeus, the philosophers Aristotle (settled briefly on the island from 337 to 335 BC) and Theophrastus, the notorious Roman commander and statesman Gaius Julius Caesar, Luke the Evangelist and Apostle Paul, the erudite Zacharias Rhetor and three brothers – saints and ascetics from the age of Iconoclasm – George, Simeon Stylites and David the Monk. The island and, in particular, its main town did once serve as a place for exile of political opponents and conspirators. On that list is the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) before his ascension to the throne. (Among the most prominent persons who have been exiled on Lesbos are the Empress Irene (797–802) as well as members of the Phokas family).

not only with regard to the type of settlements, but also in connection with their future fate. It seems that Longos underwent serious damage and never recovered – especially in view of the fact that, at this stage, other information is not known, and even the very location of the fortress is subject to clarification. On the other hand, the economic profile and the significance of Mytilene as the most important city in the island of Lesbos are preserved for the subsequent centuries. Not only Kritoboulos' *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* but also a number of other sources leave no doubt that besides those who were the subject of deportation to the Bosphorus, a large group of islanders left on the spot<sup>39</sup>. Tursun, a participant in the events, writes that those townspeople and peasants who remained *were undisturbed in their places* and became *subject to cizye [jizyah] and state taxation*. Meanwhile... *sancaq beg, kâdîs, garrison commanders, subaşıs and sipâhis were appointed, and churches [most probably not all – YH, VK] were converted into mosques*<sup>40</sup>.

Assuming that in the shares of the loot distributed between the Imperial warriors and the Russian detachment there were captives too, then in this particular regard a similarity between the conquest of Longos and the subjugation of Mytilene can be found. However, for the sake of objectivity, it should be emphasized that, despite the similarity concerning the distribution of the captives, there is one more significant distinction. Kritoboulos (not only he) clearly mentioned another (fourth) group of captives: Western mercenaries (Italians and Catalans), who fought on the side of the last Archon of Lesbos. Judging by the notifications offered, they were executed to the last person. Moreover, this merciless attitude was not an exception in the acts of the Ottomans from the mid-1450s–1460s and could be found even in cases in which Venetians, Catalans, Hungarians, or Genoese had previously shown mercy to captured Ottoman soldiers.

The feeling of difference grows additionally in the recognition of the peculiarities of military hostilities in the conquest of the two fortresses. From a religious point of view, the war between Byzantium and Bulgaria is an internal conflict within the Orthodox world, while the subjugation of Lesbos by the Ottomans in 1462 could be placed in the broader context of the conflict between the Islamic world and Christianity. Concerning the specific military-technical, tactical and strategic features, in general, it can be noted that this is done in terms of the decisive

<sup>39</sup> Cf. above n. 36. The late Byzantine chronicler of Imbros devoted a special place in his work on the description of the efforts made by the Ottoman ruler for reviving and restoring the city. His policy of the displacement of prisoners, not only in Istanbul, is well known and evidenced in other sources as well. For example, by recounting the end of the campaigns against Serbian Despotate in 1454 and 1455, Doukas notes that at the withdrawal of the Ottoman forces in 1454: *Mehmed returned to Adrianople with the booty by way of Sofia. There he awarded one half to his officials and to the troops who had labored with him. After claiming half of the captives for himself, he sent them to populate the villages outside Constantinople. His allotted portion was four thousand men and women.* – *Decline and Fall of Byzantium...*, p. 243.

<sup>40</sup> TURSUN BEG, p. 49–50.

superiority of the besiegers. In this regard, however, it is necessary to note that while Longos was taken at a very final stage in the course of the almost half-century Bulgarian-Byzantine struggles, the subjugation of Mytilene is only an episode of the even more prolonged actions of the Ottomans to conquer the islands of the Aegean and the liquidation of the presence of Western powers in the Eastern Mediterranean<sup>41</sup>.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be noted that the attempt to compare the two distant events is devoid of the ambition to propose a complete and detailed study of the fate of the prisoners, both in the epoch of the Byzantine military might in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century and in the course of the Ottoman expansion in the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In this regard, when attention is being paid to what is happening with the division of spoils of war as well as the fate of captives who have fallen into enemy hands, it seems as if it is most reasonable not to approach this one-sidedly. Many features, including religious and ethnic differences, must inevitably be taken into consideration as well as the duration of the conflict, the general moods among the regular military staff, the strategic and tactical endeavors of the army command, the logistical challenges of the guarding, feeding and transportation of the captives and – last but not least – the various benefits that can be derived from them.

As for the comparison attempt, in fact, despite the similarity of the descriptions pointed out at the beginning, it can be said that apart from the phrase used by John Skylitzes and Kritoboulos from Imbros, there are many very significant differences. In a more general context, the decisions implemented by the Emperor Basil II, and Sultan Mehmed II, regardless of whether fully compliant with statutory or traditional principles (or not), are reasoned by their policy of conquest, increased military costs and their willingness to motivate the participants in the marches with additional incentives and sometimes emphasized generosity at the expense of the spoils of war (in the broadest sense). The latter does not mean that in Byzantium during the last years of the reign of Emperor Basil II and in the Ottoman Empire after the conquest of Constantinople, the central authority passed lightly or deprived itself of the positives, which the deportations and the integration of prisoners provided in economic and demographic terms.

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<sup>41</sup> Even before two full years had elapsed in the summer of 1464, in the face of the war with Venice, the island of Lesbos was not far from being lost by the Ottomans. – К. ИМБЪР, *Османската империя...*, p. 267–268; T. STAVRIDES, *The Sultan of Vezirs...*, p. 155–157. Kritoboulos wrote that the Venetian Navy had seized most of the island but refrained itself from devastation. The fortress of Mytilene resisted. One well-equipped and trained Ottoman unit of 400 janissaries was located there. The resistance proved to be sufficiently successful and continuous, so that the Vizier Mahmud Pasha could arrive on time (*Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, p. 190.16–192.19; КРИТОВОУЛОС, p. 204–206).

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**Abstract.** One can say without hesitation that during the highly dynamic medieval epoch rivalries and military clashes were of paramount importance in the struggles for dominance over the Balkan Peninsula. During the entire period, war-time activities included the capturing of those who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy. Various groups of soldiers and civilians alike have repeatedly tested the bitterness of captivity. Attempts to trace the fate of war-captives are, for understandable reasons, directly dependent on the data in the written records. The comparison of the various historical accounts is rather typical, even if the records deal with events that are different in time, place and participants. The present paper also compares two descriptions. This study encompasses two well-known historical accounts: the first one is from the chronicle (*Synopsis historiarum*) of John Skylitzes, while the second one is excerpted from Kritoboulos’ *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*. Despite all distinctions, there are some particular similarities. Both fragments concern the division of the spoils of war and the fate of the captured population and provide additional knowledge of the practices relating to prisoners of war in the Balkan medieval past.

**Keywords:** Byzantino-Bulgarian conflict, Ottoman conquest, prisoners of war, captivity, enslavement, deportation, execution

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## POPE HONORIUS (625–638) – A PACIFIST OR A DOCTRINAL ARBITER?

### Introduction

The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (610–641), like his predecessors, was forced to search for a compromise with non-Chalcedonians in order to maintain the loyalty of the pro-miaphysite provinces that were still under his influence, such as Egypt, Syria and Armenia. The acceptance of a common theological doctrine was planned as an expected result of the compromise<sup>1</sup>. The imperial promotion of Monenergism as a doctrine which declares that Christ performed both human and divine deeds through one divine-human operation was hence initiated<sup>2</sup>.

Probably the most notable union between Chalcedonians and Miaphysites was promulgated in Alexandria in 633. Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, was the main protagonist of this event. The *Nine Chapters* maintained that the unity of Christ's person manifested itself in the unity of his activity: the one and the same Christ and Son operated divine and human acts by one divine-human (θεανδρικός) operation, according to St. Dionysius<sup>3</sup>. That was an official proclamation of Monenergism. Paradoxically, the most outspoken reaction to Monenergism came not from the Miaphysites but from the theologians of the Chalcedonian circle, represented by the monk Sophronius (c. 560–638)<sup>4</sup>. In 633, Sophronius travelled to Constantinople to protest in person before Patriarch Sergius

<sup>1</sup> A.N. STRATOS, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. I, 602–634, trans. M. OGILVIE-GRANT, Amsterdam 1968, p. 299; W.E. KAEGI, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2003, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> The miaenergist activity of Emperor Heraclius we presented in: O. KASHCHUK, *The Promotion of Miaenergism as a Challenge to Identity of non-Chalcedonian Christianity*, VP 69, 2018, p. 257–283.

<sup>3</sup> *Satisfactio facta inter Cyrum et eos qui erant ex parte Theodosianorum*, [in:] ACO, ser. II, vol. II.2, p. 598.19–22.

<sup>4</sup> The anti-miaenergist reaction of Patriarch Sophronius was presented in: O. KASHCHUK, *Sophronius, a Monk of Palestine, and Miaenergism. The Tension between Exactness and Ambiguity*, VP 70, 2018, p. 259–280. Cf. W.H.C. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, Cambridge 2008, p. 348.

(610–638)<sup>5</sup>. In this way, the union, concluded in Alexandria, initiated the controversy which involved the main hierarchs of the Church. The purpose of this article is to analyze the sources and present the position of Pope Honorius (625–638) at the early stage of the controversy over operation in Christ.

### Disagreement between Patriarch Sophronius and Patriarch Sergius

Patriarch Sergius after Sophronius' protest decided that polemic, which, in his opinion, was a superfluous dispute over the phrases, should be put aside. In June of 633, Sergius issued the *Psephos*, according to which the terms "one operation" and "two operations" were not to be used<sup>6</sup>. Patriarch Sergius communicated his resolution to the figures most concerned with the polemic<sup>7</sup>, such as Cyrus<sup>8</sup> and Sophronius<sup>9</sup>; Sophronius, it seems, had assured Sergius that he agreed to his decision<sup>10</sup>. Finally, the Patriarch reported his resolution in the letter addressed to Emperor Heraclius<sup>11</sup>. The range of addressees in Sergius' letter means that the problem was important and had universal character.

Unexpectedly, Sophronius was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem at the end of 633 or at the beginning of 634<sup>12</sup>. After Sophronius had become a patriarch he expressed his Christology in the *Synodical letter*<sup>13</sup>. On the basis of Christ's unity in diversity of natures, Sophronius developed his teaching concerning Christ's activity: each

<sup>5</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, [in:] ACO, ser. II, vol. II.2 (cetera: SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*), p. 540.4–8; HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, [in:] ACO, ser. II, vol. II.2 (cetera: HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*), p. 548.8–11.

<sup>6</sup> Venance Grumel (1890–1967) states that this document was a synodal dogmatic decree. Cf. *Le Patriarcat Byzantin*, ser. I, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I, *Les Actes des Patriarches*, fasc. I, *Les Regestes de 381 a 715*, № 287, ed. V. GRUMEL, Paris 1972 (cetera: *Regestes*), p. 218. The text of the document is not preserved. It is probably hinted at in Sergius' *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 546.7–17. Cf. also SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.1–7, 544.16–22.

<sup>7</sup> B. MARKESINIS, *Les débuts du monoénergisme. Rectifications concernant ce qui s'est passé entre Cyrus d'Alexandrie, Serge de Constantinople et S. Sophrone de Jérusalem*, AB 133, 2015, p. 12–13.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 540.22–542.1. Most of this letter to Cyrus is preserved in the *Epistola ad Honorium*. Cf. B. MARKESINIS, *Les débuts du monoénergisme...*, p. 12. Cf. SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.1–7.

<sup>9</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 544.16–18.

<sup>10</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 544.19–22. For more information concerning the sources on the disputation between Sophronius and Sergius see *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, № 26a, ed. F. WINKELMANN, Frankfurt am Main 2001 [= BBS, 6] (cetera: *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*), p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> ACO, ser. II, vol. II.2, p. 546.7–17. Cf. B. MARKESINIS, *Les débuts du monoénergisme...*, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> C. Schönborn maintains that Sophronius became the Patriarch of Jerusalem at the beginning of 634. Cf. C. VON SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone de Jérusalem. Vie monastique et confession dogmatique*, Paris 1972 [= TH, 20], p. 91.

<sup>13</sup> *Synodicon Vetus*, № 131, ed. et trans. J. DUFFY, J. PARKER, Washington 1979 [= CFHB, 15], p. 110. Cf. C. VON SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone de Jerusalem...*, p. 91.

nature possesses its operation as an essential and natural element<sup>14</sup>. Sophronius' standpoint evoked anxiety in the Constantinopolitan Church as the recent union concluded in Alexandria was at risk.

At the close of 633, or at the beginning of 634, Sergius wrote a letter to Pope Honorius to inform him of the situation at hand and to explain the doctrinal problems<sup>15</sup>. Sergius mentioned the Alexandrian union<sup>16</sup>. Sergius stated that until now, he had not received Sophronius' *Synodical letter*<sup>17</sup>. This might indicate that Patriarch Sergius presented non-convincing arguments to reach a solid agreement with Sophronius and was not certain concerning his position; Sergius, thus, decided to act ahead and without clear evidence. Therefore, it is necessary to present Sergius' arguments with more details since they might have influenced Honorius.

Patriarch Sergius mentioned that Sophronius, who recently became the Patriarch of Jerusalem, had opposed the statement on “one operation” of Christ and had also maintained the view of “two operations”<sup>18</sup>. Sophronius, as Sergius reports, insisted on removing the phrase “one operation” after the union concluded in Alexandria<sup>19</sup>. Sergius in his letter argued before Pope Honorius that this dispute was only over words, but the union itself was a very significant achievement. The Patriarch asserted that according to Cyrus, as the author of the pact of union, the Fathers for the sake of salvation would have been satisfied to hear of an agreement in analogous situation without undermining the accuracy of the dogma of the Church; moreover, some of the Fathers applied the phrase “one operation”<sup>20</sup>. Sergius stated also that Sophronius had not managed to supply the testimonies of the Fathers on the existence of the two operations in Christ<sup>21</sup>.

Patriarch Sergius explained that, in order to avoid contention and the arising of a new heresy, he made efforts to silence the dispute over the words (λογομαχία). He wrote to Cyrus that after the Union the phrases either “two operations” or “one operation” should not be proposed<sup>22</sup>. The phrase “one operation” (μιᾶς ἐνεργείας φωνή), though was used by some of the Fathers, still is alien to many Christians and confuses their ears<sup>23</sup>. Likewise, the mention of the two operations scandalizes many people on the grounds that such a phrase was not uttered by the Church

<sup>14</sup> Cf. SOPHRONIUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS, *Epistola synodica ad Sergium Constantinopolitanum*, [in:] ACO, ser. II, vol. II.2, p. 444.21–446.1: τῆς ἐκατέρας φύσεως ἐκατέραν ἴσμεν ἐνέργειαν, τὴν οὐσιώδη λέγω καὶ φυσικὴν καὶ κατάλληλον.

<sup>15</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 534.1–546.25. Cf. *Regestes*, № 291, p. 219–220.

<sup>16</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 536.15–538.7.

<sup>17</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 538.9–10.

<sup>18</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 538.8–14.

<sup>19</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 540.6–8.

<sup>20</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 538.15–540.2.

<sup>21</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 540.14–19.

<sup>22</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 540.19–542.3.

<sup>23</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.7–9.

teachers<sup>24</sup>. Sergius asserted that instead of those mentioned should be applied the well-trying phrases of the Fathers and the synodical definitions, which were not occasionally expressed by the Fathers, but exactly in this context, and which were unambiguous<sup>25</sup>. The expression “two operations”, according to the Patriarch, was not uttered by the Fathers, therefore the teaching on two operations cannot be exposed as the dogma of the Church<sup>26</sup>.

Patriarch Sergius maintained that instead of mention of one or two operations, it is necessary to confess, as the holy Synods teach, that one and the same Son operated both divine and human acts. The whole of Christ’s activity is befitting both God and man and proceeds without division from one and the same incarnate Logos; the fullness of activity is to be referred to one and the same Logos<sup>27</sup>. Sergius, thus, emphasized the oneness of subject in Christ and pointed that his understanding of Christ’s activity was Logos-centric. In order to present his teaching as patristic, Sergius refers to the known passage of Pope Leo that *both natures operate what is proper to them in communion with each other*<sup>28</sup>. He seems to stress Leo’s phrase “in communion with each other” as indicating the unity in Christ.

Patriarch Sergius proceeded from the question of operation to the question of volition. For Sergius, talking of two operations leads to the conclusion that there are two wills (δύο [...] θελήματα) in mutual conflict, so that while God the Logos wills (θέλω) to perform salutary passion, his human nature opposes and resists His will<sup>29</sup>. It is impossible that in the one and the same subject and at the same time the two contrary wills subsist<sup>30</sup>. In this way, Sergius clearly conjoins the operation to the will. Such a tactic laid the logical basis for Monothelitism: if the two operations imply that the two wills are contrary to each other, then there must be only one will in Christ. The conviction concerning the single will in Christ is associated with the idea that Christ’s humanity was absolutely controlled by the Logos<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.11–16.

<sup>25</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 544.9–13.

<sup>26</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 544.12–16.

<sup>27</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.4–7; Cf. SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 546.13–15. Cf. also SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola II ad Cyrum*, [in:] ACO, ser. II, vol. I (cetera: SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola II ad Cyrum*), p. 136.36–38.

<sup>28</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola II ad Cyrum*, p. 136.38–138.12; SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 546.15–17. Cf. LEO MAGNUS, *Epistolae*, 28.4, [in:] PL, vol. LIV, col. 767A–B: *Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione, quod proprium est; Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exequente quod carnis est.*

<sup>29</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.11–16.

<sup>30</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.16–17. Cf. SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.5–7, 542.12–13.

<sup>31</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.18–21. Cf. C. HOVRUN, *Will, Action and Freedom. Christological Controversies in the Seventh Century*, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= MME, 77], p. 149.

The human nature of Christ was wholly moved by God (θεοκίνητος)<sup>32</sup>. Christ's humanity, thus, was only a passive element<sup>33</sup>. In this way, Sergius refutes the internal impulse of human nature in Christ since it would lead to the opposition in Christ. Accordingly, the Patriarch could not admit that Christ had a mere human will which belonged to his human nature.

The analysis of texts of Sophronius and Sergius demonstrated that they, *de facto*, expressed the same belief in one activity of Christ: human activity of Christ, defined by Sophronius as human operation was regarded by Sergius as natural human motions<sup>34</sup>. The difference between the teaching of both Patriarchs, thus, seemed to consist in the sphere of terminology<sup>35</sup>. For Sophronius, the exactness in terminology appears to reflect the principle of loyalty to Chalcedon. For Sergius, ambiguity in terminology matched to the ecclesial and imperial politics<sup>36</sup>. The tension between Sergius' ambiguity and Sophronius' exactness in terminology turned out to be a significant crisis<sup>37</sup>.

The standpoint of Sophronius was later decisively supported by Maximus the Confessor. In *Ambigua to Thomas*, written in 634 or 635<sup>38</sup>, Maximus insisted that Christ's hypostasis is composed of natures which have essential operations<sup>39</sup>. The flesh operated according to nature and it was not without natural operation<sup>40</sup>. For the first time Maximus made a clear statement on human operation in Christ: Christ made manifest the human operation<sup>41</sup>. Maximus thus sided with Patriarch Sophronius. He built further argumentations in order to ground the idea of natural operations<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> SERGIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Epistola ad Honorium*, p. 542.21–544.3.

<sup>33</sup> P. PARENTE, *Usò e significato del termine θεοκίνητος nella controversia monotelitica*, REB 11, 1953, p. 243.

<sup>34</sup> The comparison of the Christology of the both Patriarchs was presented in: O. KASHCHUK, *Sophronius...*, p. 259–280.

<sup>35</sup> R. PRICE, *Monothelism: A Heresy or a Form of Words?*, [in:] SP, vol. XLVIII, p. 223; P. BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire. Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2014 [= TCH, 52], p. 218.

<sup>36</sup> O. KASHCHUK, *Sophronius...*, p. 259–280.

<sup>37</sup> GEORGE OF RESH'AINA, *An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor*, № 7–16, ed. et trans. S. BROCK, AB 91, 1973 (cetera: GEORGE OF RESH'AINA), p. 315–317.

<sup>38</sup> M. JANKOWIAK, P. BOOTH, *A New Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Maximus the Confessor*, ed. P. ALLEN, B. NEIL, Oxford 2015, p. 45.

<sup>39</sup> MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem*, 4, ed. B. JANSSENS, Turnhout–Leuven 2002 [= CC.SG, 48] (cetera: MAXIMUS CONFESSOR), p. 16.75–81.

<sup>40</sup> MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, 2, p. 9.32–37.

<sup>41</sup> MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, 5, p. 26.150–152. Cf. also MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, 5, p. 25.128–133 and 4, p. 16.75–81.

<sup>42</sup> O. КАЩУК, *Монотелітство у Візантії VII століття. Доктрина, політика та ідеологія влади*, Львів 2019, p. 101–116. For the information concerning the role of Maximus the Confessor in the promotion of the duality of wills and operations in Christ cf. H. OHME, *Wer hat den Dyothelitismus erfunden? Zur Frage der Authentizität der Apologia Honorii Papst Iohannes' IV. (640–642)*,

## The reaction of Pope Honorius

Honorius, responding to Sergius in 634/635, asserts that he came to know about the confrontation and debate over new phrases from his letter<sup>43</sup>. The Pope praises Sergius' refutation of the new phrases, which may generate temptation for the simple people<sup>44</sup>. The Pope himself keeps the same tactics as Sergius to avoid using the new phrases. He asserts that he does not accept either one operation or two, but maintains that Christ operated in many modes<sup>45</sup>. The new terms, according to him, introduce temptations to the Churches. "Two operations" seem to accord with Nestorius, and "one operation", with Eutyches<sup>46</sup>. At last, Honorius comes to a conclusion that the question of operation is a matter of grammarians<sup>47</sup>. That is a useless and superfluous debate which should be avoided<sup>48</sup>.

Instead, Pope Honorius emphasizes the orthodox teaching on the union of the two natures and *communicatio idiomatum* in Christ<sup>49</sup>. He maintains that one Christ in both natures operated divine and human works<sup>50</sup>. Honorius, thus, strictly united the operation of Christ to His hypostasis. Christ is a single operator of both divine and human nature. Jesus Christ operated divine things through the mediation of His humanity, naturally united to the God-Logos. The same Christ operated also human things in an ineffable way<sup>51</sup>.

From the statement on operation Honorius proceeded to the statement on volition. He professed one will of the Lord Jesus Christ<sup>52</sup>. The Pope grounded it on the assertion that Divinity assumed human nature as created by God, not as vitiated after the fall<sup>53</sup>. He stressed that Christ assumed nature without sin<sup>54</sup>. For Honorius, sin is always bound to human will, therefore he could not accept its presence in Christ. The presence of human will implies opposition to the divine will. Thus, there was not another will in Christ, different from the will of Savior and contrary to

BZ 110.1, 2017, p. 89–139. On the duality of wills and operations see also H.A. WOLFSON, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers. Faith, Trinity, Incarnation*, Cambridge–London 1970, p. 463–493.

<sup>43</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 548.4–8.

<sup>44</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 548.11–15.

<sup>45</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 554.18–19: "multiformiter... operatum"; πολυτρόπως [...] ἐνεργοῦντα.

<sup>46</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 556.6–11.

<sup>47</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 554.11–17.

<sup>48</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 556.15–21.

<sup>49</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 548.18–550.16.

<sup>50</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 554.12, 556.14–15.

<sup>51</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 548.17–19: [...] τὸν κύριον [...] ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεῖα μεσιτευούσης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τῆς ἐνωθείσης αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ καθ' ὑπόστασιν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀφράστως.

<sup>52</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 550.16–19: [...] ὅθεν καὶ ἐν θέλημα ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [...].

<sup>53</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 550.16–19.

<sup>54</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 552.10–12.

it, because He was born above the law of the human condition<sup>55</sup>, that is of the fallen human condition. For Honorius, as for Sergius, a different will is a contrary will<sup>56</sup>.

In this way, on the basis of moral unity between Christ's will and the Father's will Honorius draws a conclusion that Christ did not have a human will. The moral unity of wills resulted in their ontological unity. Accordingly, the principle of activity was Christ's divinity. Honorius, thus, in 634/635 wrote a letter which contained a thesis that became the core of the doctrine of Monothelitism, namely a confession of one will in Christ<sup>57</sup>. Accordingly, Honorius was the first Pope to endow "one will" with the authority of the Holy See<sup>58</sup>. Honorius' teaching in this aspect was not consistent: Christ assumed human nature without human will. However, we should acknowledge that Honorius used the expression "one will" only as an argument to give his support to Sergius who sought the Pope's approval of his tactic concerning polemic and not as a formulation or an explanation of a new doctrine. The Pope did not try to explain this inconsistency. In this sphere, Honorius seems to retranslate the teaching of Sergius. Nevertheless, the Monothelitism was born as an offspring of the dispute over Monenergism.

Honorius wrote also a second letter to Sergius<sup>59</sup>, probably in 635<sup>60</sup>, in which he explained that he objected to using the phrase "one" or "two operations" because it is very irrelevant to speak of one or two operations of Christ<sup>61</sup>. The Pope stated that he had written to Sophronius and Cyrus and asked them not to discuss the novelty over "one" or "two operations"<sup>62</sup> but to confess that one Christ operated both human and divine deeds in both natures<sup>63</sup>.

Honorius keeps explaining that it is necessary to speak that both natures in Christ operated in communion with each other and they were executors<sup>64</sup>. Instead of one operation it is necessary to speak of one operator in both natures<sup>65</sup>. Instead of two operations it is necessary to speak that the two natures operated according to their properties in one person of Christ<sup>66</sup>. Honorius, thus, appears to regard the operations as executors moved by Christ as agent, that is, the Pope

<sup>55</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola ad Sergium*, p. 552.13–14.

<sup>56</sup> F.-M. LÉTHEL, *Théologie de l'agonie du Christ. La liberté humaine du Fils de Dieu et son importance sotériologique mises en lumière par saint Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris 1979 [= TH, 52], p. 46–47.

<sup>57</sup> P. ALLEN, *Life and Times of Maximus the Confessor*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook...*, p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> M. JANKOWIAK, *The Invention of Dyothelitism*, [in:] *SP*, vol. LXIII, p. 338.

<sup>59</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*, [in:] *ACO*, ser. II, vol. II.2 (cetera: HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*), p. 620.20–626.9.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *CPG*, 9377.

<sup>61</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*, p. 622.1–10.

<sup>62</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*, p. 624.9–14.

<sup>63</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*, p. 624.15–16.

<sup>64</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*, p. 622.16–20: μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας ἐνεργούσας.

<sup>65</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*, p. 624.4–5: τὸν ἕνα ἐνεργοῦντα Χριστὸν τὸν κύριον ἐν ἐκατέραις ταῖς φύσεσιν.

<sup>66</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*, p. 624.6–9.

considers Logos as the subject of activity. In this way, in his second letter Honorius seems to retreat from his former position concerning a statement on one will, perhaps as a result of receiving Sophronius' *Synodical letter*<sup>67</sup>.

From the *Libellus* of bishop Stephen of Dora we know that Stephen was sent by Sophronius to Rome to convince Pope Honorius of the danger of the new doctrine through letter and personally<sup>68</sup>. The second letter of Honorius to Sergius mentions that the Pope instructed those whom Sophronius sent to him, lest he continue to proclaim the expression of two operations in the future. They firmly promised that the Patriarch would do this if Cyrus would stop proclaiming one operation<sup>69</sup>. Although, as the letter of Honorius demonstrated, this mission failed to convince the Pope to decisively support Sophronius' position. Nevertheless, the mission has achieved some success, because Honorius in his second letter demonstrated a standpoint far closer to that of the dyoenergists in terms of Christological reflections<sup>70</sup>.

Honorius, thus, occupied the position as that of a mediator between Sergius and Sophronius. Nevertheless, Honorius did not try to scrutinize the question on the basis of the Fathers. Latin Christology knew a notion of Christ's human operation and will. For example, Ambrose (337–397) claimed that there is another will of God and another will of humanity in Christ<sup>71</sup>; to the human nature of Christ befits human will<sup>72</sup>. According to Augustine (354–430), Christ as a genuine human being also had human motions of the soul<sup>73</sup>; the humanity of Christ was endowed with a will. Augustine comments that Christ's Prayer in Gethsemane is a proof of His human will<sup>74</sup>. Although the contexts of the fourth-century and

<sup>67</sup> *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions. Documents from Exile*, ed. et trans. P. ALLEN, B. NEIL, Oxford 2002, p. 13.

<sup>68</sup> ACO, ser. II, vol. I, 40.13–17. On the whole mission see the *Libellus* of bishop Stephen in ACO, ser. II, vol. I, p. 40.11–42.20.

<sup>69</sup> HONORIUS, *Epistola II ad Sergium*, p. 624.16–20.

<sup>70</sup> P. BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire...*, p. 238–239.

<sup>71</sup> AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS, *De fide*, II, 7, 52, [in:] PL, vol. XVI (cetera: AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS), col. 570B: *Una ergo voluntas, ubi una operatio; in Deo enim voluntatis series operationis effectus est. Sed alia voluntas hominis, alia Dei*. Cf. also AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS, II, 7, 53, [in:] PL, vol. XVI, col. 570C: *Suscepit ergo voluntatem meam, suscepit tristitiam meam. [...] Mea est voluntas quam suam dixit; quia ut homo suscepit tristitiam meam, ut homo locutus est; et ideo ait: Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis* (Mt 26, 39).

<sup>72</sup> AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS, II, 5, 45, [in:] PL, vol. XVI, col. 568C–569A: *Eousque autem hominem, quem veritate corporis demonstrabat, aequabat affectu, ut diceret: 'Sed tamen non sicut ego uolo, sed sicut tu uis'* (Mt 26, 39).

<sup>73</sup> AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*. (*Libri XIV–XXII*), XIV, 9, 21, rec. E. HOFFMANN, Pragae–Vindobonae–Lipsiae 1900 [= CSEL, 40.2] (cetera: AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*), p. 21.12–14: *Neque enim, in quo verum erat hominis corpus et verus hominis animus, falsus erat humanus adfectus*. Cf. also AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, XIV, 9, 21, p. 21.5–22.

<sup>74</sup> AUGUSTINUS, *Epistulae* (124–184A), 130, 14, 26, rec. A. GOLDBACHER, Vindobonae–Lipsiae 1904 [= CSEL, 44], p. 71.4–9: *nam et huius modi exemplum praebuit nobis ille mediator, qui cum dixisset:*

the seventh-century inquiry into the question of the operation and will were different, nevertheless the testimonies of the above-mentioned Latin Fathers had value as an argument during the Monothelite controversy<sup>75</sup>.

Accordingly, Pope Honorius preferred pacifism to a deep doctrinal analysis of the matter. He neglected to examine the doctrinal question of Christ's activity. He was inclined to treat a dispute rather as the matter of words. Honorius manifested himself as a searcher for peace in the Church but not as a doctrinal authority. Therefore, there were left unresolved doctrinal matters.

### The *Ekthesis* as a result of Honorius' pacifism

After the exchange of the ideas between three Patriarchs – Sergius, Sophronius and Honorius – and their declaration not to continue the confrontation, the polemic was not silenced. The unresolved matters burst out into the next stage of controversy. Bishop George of Resh'aina, a disciple of Sophronius, certifies that the Church has been disturbed by conflicts, since Maximus the Confessor decisively resisted Monenergism<sup>76</sup>. As we are informed by the *Syriac life* of Maximus the Confessor, Sophronius, influenced by Maximus, had a conflict with Arcadius, bishop of Cyprus (d. 643). The Patriarch sent a letter to Arcadius in which he proposed to convene a synod and to win to this cause Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius of Constantinople and Honorius of Rome<sup>77</sup>.

Arcadius, having received the letter, immediately informed the above-mentioned Patriarchs. The synod in Cyprus was convened in the first half of 636 and consisted of forty-six delegates<sup>78</sup>. The synod was held, most probably, after exchanging the letters between Sergius and Honorius in 634 and before the promulgation of *Ekthesis*<sup>79</sup>. It is described in detail, since the author, George of Resh'aina, was its participant. Patriarch Cyrus and his five bishops, the Roman deacon Gaius, the Constantinopolitan archdeacon Peter, Sophronius himself and eight bishops from Palestine, including George of Resh'aina, the author of the *Syriac life*, and two of his pupils were present<sup>80</sup>.

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*Pater, si fieri potest transeat a me calix iste, humanam in se voluntatem ex hominis susceptione transformans continuo subiecit: Verum non quod ego volo, sed quod tu vis, pater. Unde merito per unius oboedientiam iusti constituuntur multi.*

<sup>75</sup> J. BÖRJESSON, *Augustine on the Will*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook...*, p. 217–219.

<sup>76</sup> GEORGE OF RESH'AINA, № 8–9, p. 315–316. Cf. M. JANKOWIAK, *Żywoty Maksymusa Wyznawcy*, [in:] *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności. Studia Źródłoznawcze*, vol. V, ed. T. DERDA, E. WIP-SZYCKA, Kraków 2004, p. 181–182.

<sup>77</sup> GEORGE OF RESH'AINA, № 7–8, p. 315–316. Cf. *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, № 29–32, p. 67–70.

<sup>78</sup> GEORGE OF RESH'AINA, № 10–13, p. 316. Cf. *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, № 33, p. 70–71.

<sup>79</sup> M. JANKOWIAK, *The Invention of Dyotheletism...*, p. 182, also n. 135.

<sup>80</sup> GEORGE OF RESH'AINA, № 11, p. 316.

The doctrine of two operations, as it is testified by George, became the sticking point at the synod. The participants were divided in respect to this doctrine. Ultimately, the doctrine was condemned. The decision was to be sent to Emperor Heraclius for approval<sup>81</sup>. Sophronius was not satisfied with the decision to inform the Emperor and had a conflict with Arcadius, who accused Sophronius of holding the false doctrine. But Cyrus silenced the conflict and the letter was sent<sup>82</sup>.

After Emperor Heraclius had received the letter containing the doctrine of Sophronius and Maximus, the Emperor issued an edict, in which he rejected the doctrine<sup>83</sup>. The adherents of “one operation” thus found indirect support of their idea in the imperial politics<sup>84</sup>. Heraclius promulgated an edict directly concerning the question of the faith. The edict was sent to the four patriarchal Sees and all the bishops. It was obligatory throughout the Empire<sup>85</sup>. M. Jankowiak argues that the document issued by Heraclius was *Ekthesis*<sup>86</sup>: it was published shortly after the synod at Cyprus, thus in 636<sup>87</sup>.

The traditional dating of the promulgation of *Ekthesis* on 638 might attempt to dissociate it from both Sophronius and the synod at Cyprus in order to bleach the memory of George’s of Resh’aina teacher, Sophronius: his anti-monenergist activity was explained by the pernicious influence of Maximus the Confessor<sup>88</sup>. Therefore, the edict might have been dated to the year 638 in order to ascribe the main role in anti-monenergist movement to Maximus<sup>89</sup>.

The presence of the representatives of the Patriarchs and the intervention of the Emperor testifies that confrontation over activity in Christ was ardent on the both sides of the controversy. The attendance of Gaius, Roman deacon, as the representative of Pope Honorius, means that the Pope gave his assent to the synod and to its resolution. There is even suggestion that maybe Honorius prompted the official recognition of the doctrine in the *Ekthesis* and maybe his deacon consented to Monenergism<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> GEORGE OF RESH’AINA, № 12–14, p. 317.

<sup>82</sup> GEORGE OF RESH’AINA, № 14, p. 316–317. Later Arcadius changed his mind. Cf. ACO, ser. II, vol. I, p. 62.29–34. Cf. C. HOVORUN, *Will, Action and Freedom...*, p. 62.

<sup>83</sup> GEORGE OF RESH’AINA, № 15, p. 317. Cf. *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, № 34–34a, p. 71–72.

<sup>84</sup> For the information concerning the pro-monoenergist significance of the *Ekthesis* cf. O. КАЩУК, *Монотелітство у Візантії VII століття...*, p. 116–144.

<sup>85</sup> GEORGE OF RESH’AINA, № 15–16, p. 317.

<sup>86</sup> M. JANKOWIAK, *Essai d’histoire politique du monothélisme à partir de la correspondance entre les empereurs byzantins, les patriarches de Constantinople et les papes de Rome* [PhD Thesis, University of Warsaw 2009], p. 155–160. Cf. P. BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire...*, p. 239–240. The traditional date – *Regestes*, № 292–293, p. 220–221.

<sup>87</sup> M. JANKOWIAK, *Żywoty Maksymusa Wyznawcy...*, p. 173, 180.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 180–181. Cf. P. BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire...*, p. 241.

<sup>89</sup> M. JANKOWIAK, *Żywoty Maksymusa Wyznawcy...*, p. 180–181.

<sup>90</sup> P. BOOTH, *Crisis of Empire...*, p. 240.

In its main outlines, the *Ekthesis* repeats the Christological ideas and terminology of Sergius of Constantinople since it was probably written by him<sup>91</sup>. The document proclaimed one subject of operation: it is necessary to maintain that one and the same Christ operated both divine and human acts. Each operation which befitted both God and man proceeded from one and the same incarnate Word of God without division and confusion, and referred to one and the same subject<sup>92</sup>. Accordingly, to one and the same incarnate God the Logos whole divine and human operation is attributed<sup>93</sup>. Thus, the document emphasized that the principle of activity was always God the Logos. The phrase “one operation” was not uttered explicitly. According to the *Ekthesis*, acceptance of human operation in Christ meant to divide Christ into two subjects, one of which effected miracles, the other – passions<sup>94</sup>.

The *Ekthesis* officially banned the usage of phrases “one or two operations” in Christ. The phrase “one operation”<sup>95</sup>, though applied by some of the Fathers, was deemed not acceptable for anyone who thinks that it leads to the destruction of the belief in two natures united in one hypostasis of Christ. Likewise, the phrase “two operations” was reckoned as a statement which leads many to temptation, since it was used by none of the Fathers. Moreover, the phrase “two operations” implied two wills in Christ contrary to each other. Accordingly, two wills introduce two subjects. In this way, to confess two wills of Christ is impious and alien to Christian dogma<sup>96</sup>. Thus, in the *Ekthesis* the debate proceeded from the terminology associated with operation in Christ to that of the will.

From the proclamation of one subject of activity and from the ban imposed on discussion over operations the *Ekthesis* proceeded to the proclamation of one will in Christ (ἐν θέλῃμα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). The flesh of Christ animated by reasonable soul never separately and of its own impulse performed the natural reflex in opposition to the will of the Word of God hypostatically united

<sup>91</sup> ACO, ser. II, vol. I, 16.21–33. Cf. *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. XI, ed. J.D. MANSI, Florentiae 1765, 606B–C. Cf. also G. DAGRON, *Kościół bizantyński i chrześcijaństwo bizantyńskie między najazdami a ikonoklazmem (VII wiek – początek VIII wieku)*, [in:] *Historia chrześcijaństwa. Religia – kultura – polityka*, vol. IV, *Biskupi, mnisi i cesarze 610–1054*, ed. J.M. MAYER, C.I.L. PIETRI, A. VAUCHEZ, M. VENARD, Polish ed. J. KŁOCZOWSKI, Warszawa 1999, p. 43; A.N. STRATOS, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. I..., p. 301; IDEM, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, vol. II, 634–641, trans. H.T. HIONIDES, Amsterdam 1972, p. 142. According to Lethel, the *Ekthesis* is a repetition of the *Psephos*. See F.-M. LÉTHEL, *Théologie de l'agonie du Christ...*, p. 48.

<sup>92</sup> HERACLIIUS IMPERATOR, *Ekthesis*, [in:] ACO, ser. II, vol. I (cetera: HERACLIIUS IMPERATOR), p. 160.8–11.

<sup>93</sup> HERACLIIUS IMPERATOR, p. 158.39–160.1: ἐνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη κηρύττομεν, καὶ πᾶσαν θείαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σεσαρκωμένῳ θεῷ λόγῳ. HERACLIIUS IMPERATOR, p. 158.19–30.

<sup>94</sup> HERACLIIUS IMPERATOR, p. 158.22–28.

<sup>95</sup> HERACLIIUS IMPERATOR, p. 160.10–11.

<sup>96</sup> HERACLIIUS IMPERATOR, p. 160.10–19.

to it, but whenever and however and to whatever extent God the Word himself willed it<sup>97</sup>. The proclamation of the single will was not the aim itself of the edict. It served as an argument to put aside the “two-operation” formula and to support the ban on discussion over operations. The logic of the imperial *Ekthesis* was the same as the logic of Patriarch Sergius and Pope Honorius.

### Conclusion

The pacifism of Pope Honorius legalized the Emperor’s intervention in the sphere of doctrine. Honorius became the implicit initiator of the *Ekthesis*, therefore the document expressed also the standpoint of the Pope. There are four main points which may be concluded from the *Ekthesis*. The first point is that the document indirectly confirmed the doctrine of Monenergism and rejected “two operations” in Christ: the *Ekthesis*’ terminology was analogous to that of Sergius, unlike that of Sophronius. The second point is that the document, *de facto*, acknowledged the insufficiency of the monenergist arguments and that the arguments of its opponents were strong enough to continue the dispute. It also means that theological position of Pope Honorius was not diligently elaborated, probably because of the trust given to Christological statements of Patriarch Sergius. Therefore, he attempted to put aside the dispute. The third point is that the doctrine of the *Ekthesis*, like that of Sergius and Honorius, was inconsistent: it clearly deprived Christ’s human nature of its mere will, though the document claimed that Christ’s humanity retains its properties. The *Ekthesis* became a monothelite statement of faith. In this document the continuation of Honorius’ statement on one will is evident. The fourth point is that the document testified that the ultimate decision in the sphere of doctrine belonged to the Emperor: the edict was issued and signed by Heraclius with the tacit consent of Pope Honorius and other Patriarchs. The document expressed the coincidence of both imperial and ecclesial politics. The doctrinal reflection of Pope Leo seems to be not strictly accepted in respect of terminology, although Chalcedonian Christology, formed under influence of Pope Leo, in Cyrillian interpretation was accepted. The Latin Christology was not taken into consideration either. In this way, Pope Honorius did not manage to manifest himself as a doctrinal arbiter who tried to dissolve theological problems on the basis of the Scripture and Fathers, but as a pacifist who first of all sought the peace for the Church. The *Ekthesis* did not silence the controversy, because it left the Christological matters over operations unresolved.

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<sup>97</sup> HERACLIUS IMPERATOR, p. 160.25–29. Cf. G. DAGRON, *Kościół bizantyński...*, p. 43.

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**Abstract.** The purpose of this article is to analyze the standpoint of Pope Honorius (625–638) at the early stage of the controversy over operation in Christ. Patriarch Sophronius (633/634–638) expressed his protest against the statement on one operation in Christ after it had been officially expressed in the Alexandrian *Pact* of unity in 633. The *Pact* was supported by both Sergius of Constantinople (610–638) and Emperor Heraclius (610–641). Patriarch Sergius developed his tactics in order to defend the stance of both the Church of Constantinople and the Emperor. As a result, a significant tension between both Patriarchs arose. After the confrontation between Sophronius of Jerusalem and Sergius of Constantinople, Pope Honorius (625–638) was concerned with the matter of operation in Christ. He maintained the standpoint of Sergius and became one of the implicit initiators of the *Ekthesis* issued by Emperor Heraclius.

**Keywords:** Pope Honorius, Sophronius of Jerusalem, Sergius of Constantinople, Monenergism, Monothelism, operation, will, Church, *Ekthesis*, doctrine, Christology

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## BARBARIANS ON THE COINS OF TRAJAN DECIUS (249–251)

The theme of the barbarian, especially its variants which presented the barbarian as an enemy or a captive, was an ideologically expressive symbol utilised in Roman art and mintage across centuries<sup>1</sup>. It symbolised victory and the capability of conquering a specific person or an entire empire; it expressed the idea of Roman victory and dominance in the ancient world. In the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century one is struck by its absence in imperial coinage. It falls to the so-called first great crisis (249–253)<sup>2</sup>, which covered the reign of a number of rulers: Trajan Decius and his sons Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian (249–251), Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (251–253), as well as Aemilianus (253). The lack of this theme in imperial coinage is intriguing. In the third century, during a time of wars which justified and enforced the presence of the theme, and in the period of a glorification of the emperor as the victor and the unconquerable leader of an empire, the figure of a stranger-enemy was transposed to the reverses of coins, whose content touched upon various spheres of state-social life, not only of military questions<sup>3</sup>. The absence of the images of the barbarians is surprising

<sup>1</sup> Cf. (e.g.) J.A. OSTROWSKI, „*Cum restrictis ad terga manibus*”. *Wizerunki jeńców wojennych jako element rzymskiej propagandy politycznej*, [in:] *Niewolnictwo i niewolnicy w Europie od starożytności po czasy nowożytne*, ed. D. QUIRINI-POPEŁAWSKA, Kraków 1998, p. 41–47; S.P. MATTERN, *Rome and the Enemy. Imperial Strategy in the Principate*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1999, p. 171–202; I.M. FERRIS, *Enemies of Rome. Barbarians through Roman Eyes*, Stroud 2000; L. HANNESSTAD, *War and Greek Art*, [in:] *Essays on Warfare in Antiquity*, ed. T. BEKKER-NIELSEN, L. HANNESSTAD, København 2001, p. 146–154. Cf. also: T. KOTUŁA, *Barbarzyńcy i dworzanie. Rzym a barbarzyńcy w dworskiej literaturze późnorzymskiej*, Kraków 2004, p. 34–112.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. CHRISTOL, *L’empire romain du III siècle. Histoire politique (de 192, mort de Commode à 323, concile de Nicée)*, Paris 1997, p. 121–130.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A.A. KLUCZEK, *Wizerunek „obcego-wroga” w ikonografii monetarnej. Przykład mennictwa cesarza rzymskiego Aureliana (270–275)*, [in:] *Grecy, Rzymianie i ich sąsiedzi*, ed. K. NAWOTKA, M. PAWLAK, A. PAŁUCHOWSKI, A. WOJCIECHOWSKA, Wrocław 2007, p. 305–326; EADEM, *Empereur invaincu*

in the typologically rich mintage of the aforementioned rulers (consecutively, 226, 264 and 64 types of coins)<sup>4</sup>. It is assumed that it might have been caused by the echoes of failures in the Gothic war, such as the siege of Novae on the Danube and Nicopolis ad Istrum, the fall of Philippopolis in Thrace (250), the destruction of Marcianopolis, the lost battle at Abritus in Moesia Inferior (251), and finally the death of the emperors Herennius Etruscus and Trajan Decius incurred in the fighting against the Goths (251)<sup>5</sup>.

However, the theme of the barbarian was featured in the provincial coinage of Trajan Decius. The ordering of the provincial coins of the period of his reign in the *Roman Provincial Coinage* enables one to engage in a discussion on this subject<sup>6</sup>.

The representation of an enemy or a captive found its way on coins whose obverses feature the portrait of either Trajan Decius himself or the *caesar* Herennius Etruscus, the elder son of the emperor. They were issued in four mints: Nicomedia, Caesarea Maritima, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Alexandria. Taken as a whole, it is not a large group of issues (cf. Appendix).

### Iconographic models – coins featuring the barbarian theme

In the iconography of coin reverses, barbarians were juxtaposed in various configurations with a mounted horseman (cf. figs 1–3), the goddess of victory or a *tropaion* – a symbol of victory (cf. fig. 4). The barbarian(s) was or were depicted below the steed whereas the Roman rides at a trot (“pacing horse”) or at a gallop (“galloping-horse series”). The relations of the barbarians with the Roman empire were also represented by means of a scene in which a Roman is armed with a spear, and fighting the enemies, trampling them down on horseback. The former reach

*et barbares. Les représentations des barbares dans le monnayage romain de l'époque impériale (235–284 apr. J.-C.)*, [in:] *Rzym antyczny. Polityka i pieniądz. The Ancient Rome. Politics and Money IV*, ed. W. KACZANOWICZ, Katowice 2008, p. 104–134; EADEM, *VNDIQVE VICTORES. Wizja rzymskiego władztwa nad światem w mennictwie złotego wieku Antoninów i doby kryzysu III wieku – studium porównawcze*, Katowice 2009, p. 233–236, 249–295.

<sup>4</sup> C. HEITZ, *Alles bare Münze? Fremdendarstellungen auf römischem Geld*, BJ 206, 2006, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> A.A. KLUCZEK, *VNDIQVE VICTORES...*, p. 253–254, 293–294. The Gothic war (250–251): T. KOTULA, *Kryzys III wieku w zachodnich prowincjach cesarstwa rzymskiego*, Wrocław 1992 [= AUW.A], p. 23–24; IDEM, *Cesarz Klaudiusz II i Bellum Gothicum lat 269–270*, Wrocław 1994 [= AUW.A], esp. p. 74–76; U. HUTTNER, *Von Maximinus Thrax bis Aemilianus*, [in:] *Die Zeit der Soldaten-Kaiser. Krise und Transformation der Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (235–284)*, ed. K.-P. JOHNE, U. HARTMANN, T. GERHARDT, Berlin 2008, p. 208–211; L. GROZDANOVA, *The Roman Emperors against the Goths of Cniva. Political Mythology, Historical Documents and Retrievable Reality*, Sofia 2019, p. 81–117. The numismatic ‘remains’ after the war: A. BURSCHÉ, *The Battle of Abritus, the Imperial Treasury and Aurei in Barbaricum*, NC 173, 2013, p. 151–170.

<sup>6</sup> A. HOSTEIN, J. MAIRAT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IX, *From Trajan Decius to Uranius Antoninus (AD 249–254)*, London–Paris 2016 (cetera: RPC 9).

their hands to their conqueror; they lay or sit on the ground or they run away. Other reverses depict captives who sit or kneel below the *tropaion*.

The reverse representations of coins of Trajan Decius with the barbarian theme, if one disregards slight differences in the arrangement of details, may be classified within six basic iconographic models<sup>7</sup>: a horseman and an enemy who sits; a horseman and a fleeing enemy; a horseman riding at a gallop and an enemy; a horseman riding at a gallop and two enemies; Nike, *tropaion* and a captive; a *tropaion* and two captives. The first of these models was featured in three varieties.

The distribution of these models and their varieties in the particular mints, which also takes into account a reference, on the obverse, to the figure of the emperor or *caesar* is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

**The barbarian theme in provincial coinage 249–251 – iconographic models**

Item no.	Reverse theme	Nico-media	Caesarea Maritima	Magnesia / Sipylos	Alexandria
1	a horseman, a sitting enemy	TD			
2	a horseman, a fleeing enemy	TD			
3	a horseman riding at a gallop, an enemy		TD, HE		HE
4	a horseman riding at a gallop, two enemies			TD	
5	Nike crowning a <i>tropaion</i> , a kneeling captive			TD	
6	a <i>tropaion</i> , two sitting captives				TD

TD – Trajan Decius

HE – Herennius Etruscus

**The activities of provincial mints and the barbarian theme**

From the years 249–251, eighty-four provincial mints operated there. They functioned with varying intensity, releasing a varying number of emissions (the total number of issues is 1219). The mint in Antioch (Syria Coele, Syria) was the most active one, with a record-breaking number of issues: 185 (it is almost 16% of all

<sup>7</sup> Here I distinguish the iconographic model from the type defined with a reverse inscription. I take into account only the elements of the iconography.

provincial issues between the years 249–251)<sup>8</sup>. The second place is occupied by Alexandria ad Aegyptum (Egypt) – 77 issues<sup>9</sup>, further on there are the following: Caesarea Maritima (Syria Palaestina, Samaria) – 64<sup>10</sup>, Tarsus (Cilicia) – 48<sup>11</sup>, Nicaea (Bithynia-Pontus, Bithynia) – 47<sup>12</sup>, Rhessaena (Mesopotamia) – 46<sup>13</sup>, Viminacium (Moesia Superior, Moesia) – 44<sup>14</sup>, Ephesus (Asia, Ionia)<sup>15</sup> and Samos (Asia, Ionia)<sup>16</sup> – 40 issues each, Aelia Capitolina (Syria Palaestina, Judaea) – 34<sup>17</sup>, and Anazarbus (Cilicia) – 32 issues<sup>18</sup>. The twelfth place was occupied by Nicomedia (Bithynia-Pontus, Bithynia), where the number of issues was 30<sup>19</sup>. 56% of all provincial issues of the period of Trajan Decius's reign originate from the twelve centres which were mentioned. The remaining mints operated less actively; in some of them, the number of the issues was well below the average level. Between 25 and 15 issues – 9 mints; less than 15 issues – a total of 63 mints. In the latter group, there is Magnesia ad Sipylum (Asia, Lydia) with six issues<sup>20</sup>, and other mints in which, in extreme cases, three<sup>21</sup>, two<sup>22</sup>, and sometimes single issues were developed<sup>23</sup>.

On the one hand, the barbarian theme was introduced in coins in major mints, which boasted copious production (these are the following: Alexandria, Caesarea Maritima, and to a certain extent also Nicomedia), and, on the other hand, in a mint in which few emissions were developed (Magnesia ad Sipylum). The distribution

<sup>8</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 1602–1786.

<sup>9</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 2220–2296.

<sup>10</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 2048–2111.

<sup>11</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 1342–1389.

<sup>12</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 240–255, 255A, 256–273, 273A, 274–284.

<sup>13</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 1556–1601.

<sup>14</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 1–43, 21A.

<sup>15</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 604–605, 605A, 606–642.

<sup>16</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 665–704.

<sup>17</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 2175–2208.

<sup>18</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 1467–1472, 1472A, 1473–1497.

<sup>19</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 318–346, 346A.

<sup>20</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 571–576.

<sup>21</sup> 6 mints, see: *RPC* 9, nos 991–993: Andeda (Lycia-Pamphylia, Pisidia), 777–779: Aphrodisias (Phrygia-Caria, Caria), 1179, 1179A, 1180: Casae (Lycia-Pamphylia, Cilicia), 986, 986A, 987: Comama (Lycia-Pamphylia, Pisidia), 1200–1202: Laerte (Lycia-Pamphylia, Cilicia), 705–707: Priene (Asia, Ionia).

<sup>22</sup> 9 mints, see: *RPC* 9, nos 1419–1420: Adana (Cilicia), 663–664: Anineta (Asia, Lydia), 1310–1311: Antiochia ad Cragum (Cilicia), 224–225: Apamea (Bithynia-Pontus, Bithynia), 1194–1195: Carallia (Lycia-Pamphylia, Cilicia), 994–995: Panemoteichus (Lycia-Pamphylia, Pisidia), 1136–1137: Sillyum (Lycia-Pamphylia, Pamphylia), 1221–1222: Sinope (Galatia-Pontus, Paphlagonia), 963–964: Tityassus (Lycia-Pamphylia, Pisidia).

<sup>23</sup> 4 mints, see: *RPC* 9, no 208: Caesarea Germanica (Bithynia-Pontus, Bithynia), 970: Colbasa (Lycia-Pamphylia, Pisidia), 907: Hadrianopolis (Phrygia-Caria, Phrygia), 788: Laodicea ad Lycum (Phrygia-Caria, Phrygia).

of the number of iconographic models, among which there were those in which the image of the barbarian was introduced, is represented in Table 2 against the background of the number of issues – all issues and the ones which feature the barbarian theme – in these four mints.

Table 2

## Provincial mintage 249–251 – the barbarian theme

Item no.	Mint	Aggregated number of issues	Aggregated number of iconographic models	The barbarian theme	
				Number of issues	The number of iconographic models
1	Alexandria	77	28	6 (8%)	2 (7%)
2	Caesarea Maritima	64	32	2 (3%)	1 (3%)
3	Nicomedia	30	22	3 (10%)	2 (9%)
4	Magnesia ad Sipylum	6	5	3 (50%)	2 (40%)

The activities of major mints in Alexandria<sup>24</sup> and Caesarea Maritima<sup>25</sup> and the considerable typological variety of their products do not correlate with the considerable amount of coins which feature the barbarian theme. The other side of the spectrum is occupied by the case of Magnesia ad Sipylum. Its peculiar nature cannot be emphasised by absolute numbers which specify the number of the issue in general and the number of issues with the barbarian theme – this was after all a centre of minor activity, therefore these numbers are appropriately low. This peculiar nature is determined by the high percentages which define the contribution of the barbarian theme in the bulk of the issue (even as much as 50%) and the iconographic models in general (40%). Finally, Nicomedia, in the terms which are indicated here, somehow yields the average of the presence of the number of issues with the barbarian theme and of iconographic models with the barbarian theme.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. W. KELLNER, *Die Münzstätte Alexandria in Ägypten von Kleopatra bis Arcadius*, Wien 2009, p. 42–43.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. L. LEVINE, *Some Observations on the Coins of Caesarea Maritima*, IEJ 22.2/3, 1972, p. 135sqq.

### The barbarian theme in the iconographic tradition of the Nicomedia, Caesarea Maritima, Alexandria and Magnesia ad Sipylum mints

Nevertheless, the Nicomedia and Caesarea Maritima mints are interesting because – in light of the familiar coins which were emitted there – a novelty, in reference to the coins of Trajan Decius's reign, was associated with the introduction of a Roman horseman who aims his spear at the enemy who is sitting or lying on the ground or who is running away from his conqueror. Such an arrangement of the scene had not been featured in the products of both of these mints. Indeed, in Nicomedia the theme of an emperor riding a horse at a gallop was previously used, but there was no figure of the enemy. However, already in the subsequent period such an addition appeared in Gallienus's coinage (253–268): the reverses of his coins from Nicomedia bear the representation of the emperor on horseback who is fighting two horseless enemies<sup>26</sup>.

The local numismatic tradition associated with the barbarian theme was different in the case of the two remaining mints, Alexandria and Magnesia ad Sipylum: here one may find the iconographical patterns of the representations featured on Trajan Decius's coins.

In Alexandria, the instances of inspiration which were found date back above all to the period of Trajan's reign (98–117), for it was at that time that many iconographical solutions were introduced by means of which – incorporating the barbarian theme in them – the victorious power and the success of this emperor were expressed. Among them one may find an image consisting of a *tropaion* and two captives who are sitting beneath it. Sometimes it was embedded in a more comprehensive scene<sup>27</sup>, and sometimes his figure alone filled the reverse<sup>28</sup>. Another representation which was promoted on Trajan's coins has to do with a horseman who dominates above a barbarian. A horseman, who is holding a sceptre and a *parazonium*, his horse pacing; a barbarian kneels before him and stretches his hand toward him<sup>29</sup>. In other coins, a horseman, armed with a spear, rides a horse

<sup>26</sup> See: [http://www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=216954](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=216954) [27 XII 2019].

<sup>27</sup> Cf. (e.g.) M. AMANDRY, A. BURNETT, J. MAIRAT, W. METCALF, L. BRICAULT, M. BLET-LEMARQUAND, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. III, *Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96–138)*, London–Paris 2015 (cetera: *RPC* 3), no 4381 (AD 109/110): emperor, laureate-headed, seated facing from the throne, between trophy with captive and a captive; nos 4806.1–3 (AD 113/114), rv.: L IZ; Nike advancing, l., holding wreath and palm-branch; to l., trophy with standing Armenian captive and kneeling Armenian captive; G. DATTARI, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, Cairo 1901, no 717; <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=64019> [27 XII 2019], rv.: emperor seated on curule chair, l., holding Nike and sceptre; trophy and supplicant before him, L IZ above.

<sup>28</sup> *RPC* 3, nos 4153 (101/102), 4161 (102/103), 4188 (105/106), 4338.1–6 (108/109), 4457.1–4 (109/110), 4548 (110/111), 4559 (110/111), 4697 (112/113), 4697A, 4750 (112/113). See also: *RPC* 3, nos 4339.1–2 (108/109), rv.: trophy with captives, one standing, L IB.

<sup>29</sup> *RPC* 3, no 4971.

at a gallop, and below – under the hooves of the horse – there lies an enemy who stretches his hand toward him<sup>30</sup>.

In Alexandrian coinage both iconographic models – a horseman confronting an enemy<sup>31</sup> and a *tropaion* and captives<sup>32</sup> – were recurrent themes featured on coins of successive rulers. This second representation became especially popular. One also observed a particular situation, which had to do with the use of the theme of a *tropaion* and captives in Alexandria. It was represented in reverses even when it continued to be rarely represented in provincial coinage and it was not featured in imperial coinage, which happened in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>33</sup>.

Both iconographic models used in the tetradrachms of Trajan Decius therefore belong to items which were used in Alexandria and ones that were more or less popular since Trajan's reign. Even though these rulers share a *cognomen* adopted by Decius (Imperator Caesar C. Messius Quintus Decius Traianus Augustus<sup>34</sup>), the thread which was thus created between them results in this case from a numismatic iconographical tradition, and to one that was associated not only with the Alexandrian mint. Both the image of the horseman mounted on a galloping

<sup>30</sup> RPC 3, no 4665 (112/113: LIC).

<sup>31</sup> C. HOWGEGO, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IV.4, *The Antonines (AD 138–192): Egypt* (online) (cetera: RPC 4.4), no 14188 temp. (Commodus, 180/181), rv.: L KA; emperor in military dress, brandishing thunderbolt (or spear), galloping, r., over fallen foe, wearing high cap. (holding shield,) and horse (?); G. DATTARI, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini...*, no 3986 (Septimius Severus, 193–211), 4017 (Septimius Severus (Julia Domna)), 4079 Septimius Severus (Geta), 4699 (Gordian III, 238–244). The scene is supplemented by the figures of soldiers – RPC 4.4, no 14093 temp. (M. Aurelius, 166/167), rv.: [L Z](?); emperor in military dress galloping, l., brandishing spear; before and behind, soldiers holding shields; beneath hooves, fallen foe; beneath belly of horse, two foes, one fallen, the other seated.

<sup>32</sup> Antoninus Pius (138–161): RPC 4.4, nos 13526 temp., 15867 temp., 15171 temp., M. Aurelius: RPC 4.4, nos 14122 temp., 14683 temp., 14682 temp., 15190 temp., 15499 temp., 16910 temp., 16659 temp., M. Aurelius (Faustina II): RPC 4.4, nos 16491 temp., 16403 temp., M. Aurelius (Crispina): RPC 4.4, no 15090 temp., L. Verus (161–169): RPC 4.4, nos 14615 temp., 16203 temp., 16577 temp., 15084 temp., Commodus: RPC 4.4, nos 14168 temp., 14189 temp., 14518 temp., Severus Alexander (222–235): D. CALOMINO, A. BURNETT, S. MATTHIES, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. VI, *From Elagabalus to Maximinus (AD 218–238)* (online) (cetera: RPC 6), nos 10618 temp., 10647 temp., Severus Alexander (Julia Mamaea): RPC 6, nos 10638 temp., 10656 temp., Maximinus (235–238): RPC 6, nos 10711 temp., 10746 temp., Maximinus (Maximus): RPC 6, nos 10727 temp., 10761 temp.; Gordian III: G. DATTARI, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini...*, nos 4802–4804. Trophy with captive – M. Aurelius: RPC 4.4, nos 14082 temp., 15193 temp., L. Verus: RPC 4.4, nos 14116 temp., 14177 temp., 14501 temp., 14502 temp., 14503 temp., 16199 temp. Such a model [was featured] in the mintage of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, Nero (54–68): A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, P.P. RIPOLLÈS, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. I, *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London–Paris 1992, no 5265, rv.: LH; trophy and captive kneeling in front.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. G.C. PICARD, *Les trophées romains. Contribution à l'histoire de la Religion et de l'Art triomphal de Rome*, Paris 1957, p. 472–473.

<sup>34</sup> See: M. PEACHIN, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284*, Amsterdam 1990, p. 240–264, nos 3–4, 6–14, 16–19, 21–37, 39, 64–65, 67–70, 72–91, 134–138, 140, 144–161, 164–165.

horse and fighting with an enemy lying on the ground, and the image composed of a *tropaion* and captives simply became recognised and gained wide currency in Roman coinage.

In Magnesia ad Sipylum, the bronze coins in which Aur. Artemas Menemachou Laianou *strategos* preserved his name, the iconography which was a long-standing staple in this centre was also utilised, even though it was featured only sporadically. In 180–182, it was introduced to the bronzes of Commodus, which bore the name of *strategos* Ail. Attikos Quadratos. A few types of coins are associated with his name<sup>35</sup>, including two which are of interest in the context that is considered. Both of them exhibit Nike crowning a trophy. One of the coins features a shield next to a trophy at the right-hand side<sup>36</sup>. One introduced another element in the second coin – a kneeling captive who occupied a place between Nike and the trophy, whereas the shield was moved to the left-hand edge of the representation<sup>37</sup>. After some years, *strategos* M. Aur. Gaius replicated the latter solution in the Caracalla's bronzes (198–217)<sup>38</sup>. Subsequently, such iconography found its way on coins with the representation of *caesar* Philip Junior (*caes.* 244–247, *aug.* 247–249), issued during the reign of Trajan Decius's predecessor, Philip the Arab (244–249)<sup>39</sup>. A slight correction was introduced in the coins of Trajan Decius – the shield which flanked the trophy at the left-hand side disappeared. Also the reign of Caracalla<sup>40</sup> and that of the Philips<sup>41</sup> are the source periods of the representation in which a horseman fights against two foes – a representation which was reiterated in the coinage of Trajan Decius.

<sup>35</sup> V. HEUCHERT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IV.2, *The Antonines (AD 138–192): Asia* (online, with temporary numbers) (cetera: *RPC* 4.2), no 1331 temp.: Cybele seated in *biga* drawn by lions, l., 1332 temp., 2837 temp.: temple enclosing statue of Cybele standing l., between two lions, 3135 temp.: river god (Hermos) reclining, 11426 temp.: wagon (*quadriga* or *biga*) drawn by horses or mules.

<sup>36</sup> *RPC* 4.2, no 1337 temp.; K. KRAFT, *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien. Materialien und Entwürfe*, Berlin 1972 [= *IF*, 29], p. 187, no 7.

<sup>37</sup> *RPC* 4.2, no 2360 temp.

<sup>38</sup> B.V. HEAD, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia*, Bologna 1964 [repr.] (cetera: *BMCG*), Magnesia ad Sipylum, p. 148, no 66.

<sup>39</sup> *BMCG*, Magnesia ad Sipylum, p. 153, no 89.

<sup>40</sup> L. FORRER, *The Weber Collection of Greek Coins*, vol. III.1, London 1926, no 6845.

<sup>41</sup> [http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/philip\\_II/\\_magnesiaAdSipy\\_Paris\\_713.jpg](http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/philip_II/_magnesiaAdSipy_Paris_713.jpg) [29 XII 2019]. In the subsequent period, such a reverse was featured in Gallienus's coinage, see: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals Danish National Museum. Lydia*, Copenhagen 1947, no 273, rv.: ΕΠΙ CΤΡ ΑΥΡ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟC ΜΑΓΝΗ CΙΠ, emperor on horseback, r., below, two fallen enemies. Cf. also obv.: ΑΥΚ Μ ΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΥC, laureate, draped, cuirassed bust of Philip Junior, rv.: ΕΠΙ CΤΡ ΑΥΡ ΑΙΝΕΙΟΥ ΒΙΠΠΙΟΥC / ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ CΙΠΙΛΑ, emperor on horseback galloping, r., bound captive kneels below: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland. Sammlung von Aulock. Lydien*, vol. II, ed. G. KLEINER et al., Berlin 1963, Lydia, Magnesia, no 3006; <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/259594> [23 XII 2019].

### The theme of the barbarian in the dynastic ideology of Trajan Decius

The Alexandria, Caesarea Maritima and Nicomedia mints were the centres where coins with obverses which bore the names and the portraits of all members of the dynasty were created: those of emperor Trajan Decius, empress Herennia Etruscilla, their sons Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian. The coins from Magnesia ad Sipylum do not feature the young dynasts. If we consider the iconographic models which were adopted here, then two were associated with the empress, and three other models were associated with the emperor – two of them saw the appearance of either a captive or an enemy. In three of the remaining mints, the number of the iconographic models is the following for Trajan Decius, Herennia Etruscilla, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, in Alexandria: 22, 4, 3, 3; in Caesarea: 25, 10, 11, 4; in Nicomedia: 18, 3, 4, 1, respectively. Some reverse representations remained unique for the individual members of the dynasty, while others were used in various family configurations.

From a dynastic perspective, it was mainly the emperor Trajan Decius who emitted the coins featuring the barbarian theme in all four mints<sup>42</sup>. It was only in Alexandria that the reverses of *caesar* Herennius Etruscus featured an iconographical theme which was absent on the coins of the emperor. Caesarea Maritima was the place where reverses bearing the same representation were issued for both of them. *Caesar* Hostilian, the younger son of Trajan Decius, was omitted.

Alexandria and Caesarea Maritima, two major mints, abound in material for the formulation of a number of remarks about the association of monetary themes with the members of Trajan Decius's family, the promotion of the dynastic unity and the ideology of victory.

In Alexandria, the figure of Nike appeared only on the tetradrachms of the emperor<sup>43</sup>. Tetradrachms issued, for both his sons feature the image of a figure standing in armour and *paludamentum*, wearing a helmet and carrying a sceptre in her hand; she is sometimes identified as Roma<sup>44</sup>. Only the reverses which represent the head of Zeus were repeated on the coins of three male members of the dynasty<sup>45</sup>. There was a prevalence of iconographic models used in individual cases in coins struck for specific people; there is a paucity (about 10%) of representations which are common for the dynasts. The themes which represent the ideology of victory, including the themes of the barbarian and Nike, provided a basis for the development of a small number of iconographic models (slightly more than 10%).

<sup>42</sup> Nicomedia – *RPC* 9, nos 325, 326, 327; Magnesia ad Sipylum – *RPC* 9, nos 572, 573, 574; Alexandria – *RPC* 9, nos 2256, 2257, 2279.

<sup>43</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 2226, 2227, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2275, 2276: Nike advancing, r., holding wreath and palm; *RPC* 9, no 2249: Nike seated l., on cuirass, holding wreath and palm.

<sup>44</sup> Herennius Etruscus – *RPC* 9, nos 2262, 2291, 2292; Hostilian – *RPC* 9, no 2295.

<sup>45</sup> Decius – *RPC* 9, nos 2258, 2283, 2284; Herennius Etruscus – *RPC* 9, no 2293; Hostilian – *RPC* 9, no 2296.

The promotion of the dynasty associated with the ideology of victory is more pronounced in the content of coins originating from Caesarea Maritima. Many iconographic models made reference to military subjects (more than 30%)<sup>46</sup>. There were representations of Nike / Victoria, whose attributes included a wreath and an olive twig, and the goddess was marching<sup>47</sup>, standing in a place<sup>48</sup>, or standing on a globe<sup>49</sup>. In other bronzes she was holding *vexilla* in her hand<sup>50</sup>. Further pieces presented Nike / Victoria in front of the emperor (fig. 5)<sup>51</sup>. Differently than in the case of the Alexandria mint, in Caesarea the theme of the goddess of victory was associated with both Trajan Decius, and with *caesar* Herennius Etruscus. In this case, coins were also issued with obverses for Herennia Etruscilla and for Herennius Etruscus, which depicted in one representation three members of the ruling family: the empress, flanked by two *togati*, extending hands to each other; one perceives in them the emperor and the elder son (fig. 6)<sup>52</sup>. This is a relatively rare solution in provincial coinage which symbolises the unity of the family and the cooperation of the rulers. Hostilian is not a part of this group, even though on the coins from other mints which operated in the period 249–251, in one representation, a group of three people consisting of the emperor and his sons<sup>53</sup>, or two brothers<sup>54</sup>. In Caesarea, many of reverse iconographic models (more than 30%) were reiterated in coins with obverses of various members of the *domus Augusta*. The names and the representations of all of them, of the whole group of four people, found their way on coins with reverse themes: Tyche<sup>55</sup> and the sitting Roma with a figurine of the goddess of victory in her hand (fig. 7)<sup>56</sup>.

### **The barbarian theme – the ideology of victory and “regionalisms” in the coinage of Trajan Decius**

In provincial coinage of Trajan Decius, the figures of the barbarians are either small in reference to the victorious representatives of the Roman side or they are “normal” in size. The latter option refers to some coins from Alexandria: a Roman and an enemy who attacks him are represented as equal in (physical) size. The

<sup>46</sup> Decius – *RPC* 9, nos 2059, 2060, 2061; Herennius Etruscus – *RPC* 9, no 2083.

<sup>47</sup> Decius – *RPC* 9, no 2070; Herennius Etruscus – *RPC* 9, no 2089.

<sup>48</sup> Decius – *RPC* 9, no 2072.

<sup>49</sup> Herennius Etruscus – *RPC* 9, no 2088.

<sup>50</sup> Decius – *RPC* 9, no 2071.

<sup>51</sup> Decius – *RPC* 9, no 2058.

<sup>52</sup> Herennia Etruscilla – *RPC* 9, no 2077; Herennius Etruscus – *RPC* 9, no 2082.

<sup>53</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 972: Cremna (Lycia-Pamphilia, Pisidia), 1469, 1483: Anazarbus (Cilicia, Cilicia Pedias).

<sup>54</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 2201–2205: Aelia Capitolina (Syria Palaestina, Judaea), 2212–2214, 2219: Bostra (Arabia).

<sup>55</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 2096–2099, 2101–2104, 2107–2111.

<sup>56</sup> *RPC* 9, nos 2065, 2078, 2085, 2090.

former option is more common. Below the steed which is mounted by the Roman, there are the “small barbarians”, who are as if artificially superimposed on the scene. According to Annalina Caló Levi:

It is evident that the small physical size of the barbarian is a device which emphasizes his abject position in contrast to the victorious emperor or divinity. [...] At first the barbarian is a symbol of a people recently vanquished by the emperor. Later the connection with an actual victory is less often found<sup>57</sup>.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the “small barbarians” indeed performed the function of an attribute of the Roman rulers and deities.

In the years of Trajan Decius’s reign, during which there were no instances of success in the fight against barbarians, the “small barbarians” are a metaphor for the greatness of the Roman and his power to be victorious. The issuing of coins both with “small barbarians” and with “normal-sized” barbarians, however, was spectacular in his coinage, even though it was limited to a few mints. It seems that the issues which were indicated also made reference – content-wise – to the aura induced by the concerns associated with the real barbarians Trajan Decius was confronted with during his reign. Such a complex assessment of the presence of the barbarians in the provincial coins of Trajan Decius neatly supplements and enhances his image which emerges from the content of the imperial coins.

In imperial coinage of Trajan Decius, there are very few references to foreign peoples. The inscriptions and representations were introduced which referred to the “provinces” of the Roman empire<sup>58</sup>. Many slogans were applied in reference to the provinces and the entire Danube area of the Roman state: DACIA<sup>59</sup>, DACIA FELIX<sup>60</sup>, PANNONIAE (S C)<sup>61</sup>, EXERCITVS INLVRICVS S C<sup>62</sup>, GENIVS

<sup>57</sup> A.C. LEVI, *Barbarians on Roman Imperial Coins and Sculpture*, New York 1952, p. 27.

<sup>58</sup> J.A. OSTROWSKI, *Les personnifications des provinces dans l'art romain*, Varsovie 1990, p. 61–62; A.A. KLUCZEK, *VNDIQVE VICTORES...*, p. 71–75; M. VITALE, *Das Imperium in Wort und Bild. Römische Darstellungsformen beherrschter Gebiete in Inschriftenmonumenten, Münzprägungen und Literatur*, Stuttgart 2017, p. 252–255. The extent of the presence of such themes in Decius’s coinage was established by Erika Manders; geographical references – 35.6% of coins, only military themes were represented more frequently: 37.5% of coins. Cf. E. MANDERS, *Coining Images of Power. Patterns in the Representation of Roman Emperors on Imperial Coinage, A.D. 193–284*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= IE, 15], p. 256–257.

<sup>59</sup> H. MATTINGLY, E.A. SYDENHAM, C.H.V. SUTHERLAND, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV.3, *Gordian III – Uranius Antoninus*, London 1968 [repr.] (cetera: RIC 4.3), Tr. D., nos 2, 12–13 (au, Rome), 35–36 (au, Milan), 101, 112–113 (ses/dp/as, Rome).

<sup>60</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., nos 14 (au, Rome), 37 (au, Milan), 114 (ses/as, Rome). Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. T. MOMMSEN et al., Berolini 1863– (cetera: CIL), 03, 1176: *restitutor Daciarum*; CIL 02, 4949, 4957–4958: *Dacicus maximus*. The emperor’s epithet refers to the fighting in Dacia in 250.

<sup>61</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., nos 5 (au, Rome), 20–26 (au/ant, Rome), 41 (au, Milan), 124 (ses, Rome); RIC 4.3, Tr. D. (Her. Etr.), no 158 (ant, Antioch); RIC 4.3, Tr. D. (Host.), no 195 (ant, Antioch).

<sup>62</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., no 102 (ses/as, Rome).

EXERCITVS ILLVRICIANI (S C)<sup>63</sup>, GENIO EXERC ILLYRICIANI<sup>64</sup>, GEN ILLVRICI (S C)<sup>65</sup>. The provinces of Dacia and Pannonia returned to the imperial coins after a long period of absence: Dacia previously featured in the coinage of Antoninus Pius (138–161)<sup>66</sup>; Pannonia previously featured during Hadrian's reign (117–138)<sup>67</sup>. However, references to the entire Illyricum were a novelty. As far as the themes are concerned, the entire group of these “regional” issues of Trajan Decius was limited to the Danube lands. Such a geographical preference may have been a result of the fact that this was the area of origin of the emperor<sup>68</sup> and that military activities were conducted there. The exposure of these areas to external danger and the necessity to organise a defence there are perhaps indicated by the military standards held by the personified provinces<sup>69</sup>. Also, the employment of the types of VICTORIA AVG (cf. figs 8–9)<sup>70</sup> and VICTORIA GERMANICA (fig. 10)<sup>71</sup> is an indication that the problem of the strangers-enemies was perceived in the content represented in coins.

<sup>63</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., nos 3–4 (au, Rome), 16–18 (au/ant/q/d, Rome), 39–40 (ant, Milan), 103–105 (ses, Rome), 117–119 (ses/dp/as, Rome).

<sup>64</sup> P. GYSEN, *Légende de revers au datif pour un antoninien de Trajan Dèce*, BCEN 36.3, 1999, p. 75–76 (ant, Rome).

<sup>65</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., nos 9 (au, Rome), 15 (ant, Rome), 38 (ant, Milan), 116 (ses, Rome).

<sup>66</sup> H. MATTINGLY, E.A. SYDENHAM, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. III, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London 1968 [repr.], Ant. P., no 581 (ses, Rome): DACIA COS II S C, Dacia standing, holding crown and standard.

<sup>67</sup> H. MATTINGLY, E.A. SYDENHAM, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. II, *Vespasian to Hadrian*, London 1968 [repr.], Hadr. (L. Aelius Caesar), nos 1059–1060 (ses, Rome), 1071–1073 (dp/as, Rome): TR POT COS II PANNONIA S C.

<sup>68</sup> AURÉLIUS VICTOR, *Liber de Caesaribus. Livre des Césars*, 29.1, ed. et trans. P. DUFRAIGNE, Paris 1975 [= CUF] (cetera: AURELIUS VICTOR); EUTROPIUS, *Breviarium ab Urbe condita*. EUTROPE, *Abrégé d'histoire romaine*, 9.4, ed. et trans. J. HELLEGOUARC'H, Paris 1999 [= CUF.SL]; PSEUDO-AURELIUS VICTOR, *Epitome de Caesaribus. Abrégé des Césars*, 29.1, ed. et trans. M. FESTY, Paris 1999 [= CUF.SL]. Decius's career and *nomina* – cf. X. LOROT, *Un sénateur illyrien élevé à la pourpre: Trajan Dèce*, [in:] *Les empereurs illyriens*, ed. E. FRÉZOULS, H. JOUFFROY, Strasbourg 1998, p. 44–55; A.R. BIRLEY, *Decius Reconsidered*, [in:] *Les empereurs illyriens...*, p. 57–77.

<sup>69</sup> C. HEITZ, *Die Guten, die Bösen und die Hässlichen. Nördliche 'Barbaren' in der römischen Bildkunst*, Hamburg 2009 [= SAnt, 48], p. 137; E. MANDERS, *Coining Images...*, p. 258.

<sup>70</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., nos 7 (au, Rome), 29 (au/q/ant), 42 (au/q, Milan), 48 (ant, Antioch), 108 (ses/dp, Rome), 126 (2ses/ses/as, Rome); RIC 4.3, Tr. D. (Herennia Etruscilla), no 70 (ant, Antioch); RIC 4.3, Tr. D. (Her. Etruscus), no 161 (ant, Antioch); RIC 4.3, Tr. D. (Host.), no 201 (ant, Antioch); RIC 4.3, Host., nos 208–209 (ant, Antioch).

<sup>71</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., no 43 (ant, Milan); RIC 4.3, Her. Etr., no 154 (ant, Rome); RIC 4.3, Tr. D. (Host.), no 185 (ant, Rome).

## Final remarks

The theme of the barbarian in Trajan Decius's coinage was not a popular one. It was engaged in four mints and in a few iconographic models. This is a scant number, considering the number of all provincial mints which operated in the period 249–251 and the plenitude of the types which were developed in them.

Nevertheless, this small group of provincial coins featuring the barbarian theme enables us to make a number of generalisations. In contrast to imperial coinage, the provincial coins featured literal references to the non-Roman world, symbolised by the figure of the enemy or captive. This foreign world was outlined in the iconography, either allusively (in imperial coins) or directly (in provincial coins). Moreover, it existed exclusively as a hostile world, a world which was being vanquished or eventually vanquished by the Romans.

The presence of the barbarian theme in provincial coinage indicates that in individual cases – in these few mints – the concerns resulting from the situation of the empire attacked by the barbarians at that time were expressed. This does not rule out the fact that the idea of the glorification of the ruler(s) as the victor(s) was embedded in the same representations. The echoes of the fighting against the barbarians could – even though it was absent in imperial coinage – revive this idea in provincial mintage.

The merit of the conquering of enemies – symbolised by the barbarian theme – was ascribed to Trajan Decius; the role of the victor was also sporadically played by Herennius Etruscus. This limiting to two of the three male members of the ruling family perhaps reflects their actual participation in military campaigns, in the undertaking of which the emperor was supported by his elder son, who operated in Illyricum since 250<sup>72</sup>.

The defeats suffered in 251 at the end of Trajan Decius's rule marked a turning point in the practice of the employment of the barbarian theme in provincial coinage. In the period of his direct successors, Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (251–253), one may perceive – in the figure kneeling before Roma in the iconography of the coins from Antioch – an image of a barbarian<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> AURELIUS VICTOR, 29.1. See: J.F. SALISBURY, H. MATTINGLY, *The Reign of Trajan Decius*, JRS 14, 1924, p. 14–18; U. HUTTNER, *Von Maximinus Thrax bis Aemilianus...*, p. 208–211.

<sup>73</sup> RPC 9, no 1278, obv.: IMP C VIMP GALVSSIANO AVG; radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Volusian, r.; rv.: ANTIOCHI OCL A, S R; Roma seated on throne, r., holding sceptre and Nike; at feet, captive kneeling, l. The identity of the kneeling figure is not obvious at all. Cf. A. KRZYŻANOWSKA, *Monnaies coloniales d'Antioche de Pisidie*, Warszawa 1970, p. 77, 196, VI/18: the position of the suppliant bears a resemblance to the personification of the province which kneels before the emperor. The suppliant may symbolise the inhabitants of Antioch, towards whom Roma is a benefactress. Note: the poorly legible attributes of Roma were interpreted to be a tessera (?) and a cornucopia, the symbols of Liberalitas and Fortuna. However, Roma holds a sceptre and the figurine of the goddess of victory.

## Appendix

### Nicomedia, province: Bithynia-Pontus, region: Bithynia

- 1 Æ, Trajan Decius  
obv.: AY(T) KA(I) TPAIAN ΔEKIOΓ AYΓ ΓE; radiate and cuirassed bust of emperor, l., holding spear and shield with gorgoneion,  
rv.: NIKOMHΔEΩN ΔIΓ NEΩKOPΩN; emperor riding on horse, r., with r. hand spearing fallen enemy who sits on ground.  
Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 325
- 2 Æ, Trajan Decius  
obv.: AY(T) KA TPAIAN ΔEKIOΓ AYΓ Γ(E); radiate and cuirassed bust of emperor, l., holding spear and shield with gorgoneion,  
rv.: NIKOMHΔEΩN ΔIΓ NEΩKOPΩN; emperor riding on horse, r., with r. hand spearing small enemy running.  
Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 326
- 3 Æ, Trajan Decius  
obv.: AY KA TPAIAN ΔEKIOΓ AYΓ ΓE; radiate and cuirassed bust of emperor, l., holding spear and shield with gorgoneion,  
rv.: NIKOMHΔEΩN ΔIΓ NEΩKOPΩN; emperor on horseback riding, r., with r. hand spearing small enemy running.  
Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 327

### Caesarea Maritima, province: Syria Palaestina, region: Samaria

- 4 Æ, Trajan Decius  
obv.: IMP C C MS Q TRA DECIVS AVG; laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of emperor, r.,  
rv.: COL PR F AVG F C CAES MET (PR) (S) (P); emperor riding on galloping horse, r., holding transverse spear; below, at r., small figure of enemy.  
Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 2057
- 5 Æ, Trajan Decius (Herennius Etruscus)  
obv.: (C) MES Q EREN ETRVSCO DECIO CAES; radiate, draped, cuirassed bust of *caesar*, r.,  
rv.: COL PR F AV(G) F C CAES MET S P; horseman riding on galloping horse, r., holding transverse spear; below, at r., small figure of enemy.  
Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 2084

### Magnesia ad Sipylum, province: Asia, region: Lydia

- 6 Æ, Trajan Decius  
obv.: AYΤ Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC CEB; radiate, draped, cuirassed bust of emperor, r.,  
rv.: ΕΠΙ CΤΡ ΑΥΡ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ ΜΕΝΕΜ ΛΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ CΥΠΠΥΑ; emperor on horseback riding, r., with r. hand spearing two fallen enemies on the ground.  
Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 572

- 7 Æ, Trajan Decius  
 obv.: ΑΥ Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC; radiate, draped, cuirassed bust of emperor, r.,  
 rv.: ΕΠΙ ΑΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΣΠΥΛΟΥ; Nike advancing, l. holding wreath over  
 trophy; at her feet, prisoner kneeling.  
 Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 573
- 8 Æ, Trajan Decius  
 obv.: ΑΥ Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC; radiate, draped, cuirassed bust of emperor, r.,  
 rv.: ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ ΑΡΤΕΜΑ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ, ΣΠΥΛΑ, (ΑΥΡ); Nike advancing, l. holding wreath  
 over trophy; at her feet, prisoner kneeling.  
 Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 574

**Alexandria, province: Egypt, region: Egypt**

- 9 Tetradrachm, Trajan Decius  
 obv.: Α Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC Ε; laureate, draped, cuirassed bust of emperor, r.,  
 rv.: L – A; trophy of arms with two shields with, on each side, a bound and seated captive.  
 Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 2256
- 10 Tetradrachm, Trajan Decius  
 obv.: Α Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC ΕΥ; laureate, draped, cuirassed bust of emperor, r.,  
 rv.: L – A; trophy of arms with two shields with, on each side, a bound and seated captive.  
 Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 2257
- 11 Tetradrachm, Trajan Decius  
 obv.: Α Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC; laureate and cuirassed bust of emperor, r.,  
 rv.: L – B; trophy of arms with two shields with, on each side, a bound and seated captive.  
 Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 2279
- 12 obv.: Α Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC Ε; laureate and cuirassed bust of emperor, r.,  
 rv.: L – B; trophy of arms with two shields with, on each side, a bound and seated captive.  
 Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 2280
- 13 Tetradrachm, Trajan Decius (Herennius Etruscus)  
 obv.: Κ ΕΡΕ ΕΤΡ ΜΕC ΔΕΚΙΟC ΚΑΙC; bare-headed and cuirassed bust of *caesar*, r.,  
 rv.: L B; horseman riding on galloping horse r., with r. hand spearing fallen enemy who  
 lies on ground to the r., with r. arm raised.  
 Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 2289
- 14 Tetradrachm, Trajan Decius (Herennius Etruscus)  
 obv.: Κ ΕΡΕ ΕΤΡ ΜΕC ΔΕΚΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑ; bare-headed and cuirassed bust of *caesar*, r.,  
 rv.: L B; horseman riding on galloping horse r., with r. hand spearing fallen enemy who  
 lies on ground to the r., with r. arm raised.  
 Ref.: *RPC* 9, no 2290

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**Abstract.** During Trajan Decius's reign (249–251) in a number of provincial mints – Alexandria, Caesarea Maritima, Magnesia ad Sipylum and Nicomedia – coins were issued featuring the theme of the barbarian (an enemy or a captive) in reverse iconography. In this article, I discuss these coins, considering them in the context of the iconographic tradition and the activity of the particular mints during Decius's reign, and also in relation to the ideology of victory and the dynastic ideology. They are interesting especially because the theme of the barbarian was not utilised in the parallel imperial coinage. Nevertheless, its presence in provincial coinage is also of a marginal nature. Moreover, the end of Decius's reign also coincided with a time-related hiatus in the use of the theme in provincial coinage.

**Keywords:** Trajan Decius, Roman provincial coins, barbarians

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ILLUSTRATIONS



**Fig. 1.** Tetradrachm, Alexandria (Egypt), Trajan Decius (Herennius Etruscus), 250/251 AD; obv.: Κ ΕΡΕ ΕΤΡ ΜΕC ΔΕΚΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑ, bareheaded, draped, and cuirassed bust, r.; rv.: *caesar* on horseback galloping, r., thrusting spear at fallen enemy below horse / L B; cf. *RPC* 9, no 2290 [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=381421](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=381421)]



**Fig. 2.**  $\text{Æ}$ , Caesarea Maritima (Samaria), Trajan Decius, (249–251 AD); obv.: IMP C C MS Q TRA DECIVS AVG, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust, r.; rv.: COL PR F AV[G F C CAES MET PR S P], emperor riding on galloping horse, r., holding transverse spear; below, at r., small enemy; cf. *RPC* 9, no 2057 [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=290511](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=290511)]



**Fig. 3.** Æ, Nicomedia (Bithynia), Trajan Decius, (249–251 AD); obv.: ΑΥΤ ΚΑ ΤΡΑΙΑΝ ΔΕΚΙΟΓ ΑΥΤ Γ(Ε), radiate and cuirasse bust., l., holding spear and shield, which is ornamented with a gorgoneion; rv.: ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ ΔΙΕ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, emperor on horseback, r., holding spear; below horse, small enemy running, r.; cf. *RPC* 9, no 326 [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=391374](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=391374)]



**Fig. 4.** Tetradrachm, Alexandria (Egypt), Trajan Decius, 250/251 AD; obv.: Α Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC ΔΕΚΙΟC Ε, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.; rv.: trophy with two captives / L B; cf. *RPC* 9, no 2280 [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=306427](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=306427)]



**Fig. 5.** *Æ*, Caesarea Maritima (Samaria), Trajan Decius, (249–251 AD); obv.: IMP C C MES Q TRA(I) DECIVS AVG, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.; rv.: COL PR F AVG F C CAES MET / R PSP, emperor standing, l., holding spear, receiving wreath from Victory / Nike standing r.; cf. *RPC* 9, no 2058 [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=151101](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=151101)]



**Fig. 6.** *Æ*, Caesarea Maritima (Samaria), Trajan Decius (Herennius Etruscus), (249–251 AD); obv.: MES Q ERE ETRVSCO DECIO CAES, radiate and draped bust, r.; rv.: COL PR F AVG F C CAES MET S P, Herennia Etruscilla standing facing between Trajan Decius, r., and Herennius Etruscus, l., clasping hands; cf. *RPC* 9, no 2082 [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=278097](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=278097)]



**Fig. 7.** Æ, Caesarea Maritima (Samaria), Trajan Decius, (249–251 AD); obv.: IMP C C MES Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG, radiate and draped bust, r.; rv.: [COL PR F] AVG F C CAES METRO, Roma seated, l., on shield, holding Nike and spear; cf. *RPC* 9, no 2065 [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=139067](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=139067)]



**Fig. 8.** Ant, Antioch?, Trajan Decius, 251 AD; obv.: IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DE[CIVS AVG], radiate and cuirassed bust, r.; rv.: V[I]C[T]ORIA AVC, Victory standing on globe, r., holding wreath and palm [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=250028](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=250028)]



**Fig. 9.** Ses, Rome, Trajan Decius, 249–250 AD; obv.: IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG, laureate and cuirassed bust, r.; rv.: VICTORIA AVG S C, Victory advancing, l., holding wreath and palm; cf. *RIC* 4.3, Tr. D., no 126d [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=253743](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=253743)]



**Fig. 10.** Ant, Rome, Trajan Decius, 251 AD; obv.: IMP CAE TRA DECIVS AVG, radiate, draped, and cuirassed bust, r.; rv.: VICTORIA GERMANICA, emperor on horseback riding l., raising r. hand and holding sceptre in l., Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm; cf. *RIC* 4.3, Tr. D., no 43 corr. [[www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=153115](http://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=153115)]





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## HALINA EVERT-KAPPESOWA, (CO-)FOUNDER OF POST-WAR POLISH BYZANTINE STUDIES

### Biography

The historian that laid the foundation for post-war Polish Byzantine research – Halina Janina Evert-Kappesowa – came from a respected family within Polish culture and industry. Her father, Ludwik Józef Evert (1863–1945), a descendant of a French family that settled in Poland in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was a very well-educated man. He graduated from secondary school in Radom and the Leopold Kronenberg College of Commerce in Warsaw; later, he completed additional studies in Königsberg and Paris as well as professional practice in Germany. From 1887–1895, he managed textile companies and then became a representative of the Russian textile industry in Łódź. In 1896, he and his family lived in Moscow. He was involved in social and charitable activity (he was the vice-president of the Charity Society, the president of the Polish Colony and headed the War Victims' Aid Committee). In independent Poland, he was also involved in political life; he served as a senator with four terms in office (twice after running with the Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government, then appointed by the President)<sup>1</sup>. From 1923 until the end of his life, he was president of the church college of the Lutheran-Augsburg Holy Trinity Parish in Warsaw. In the interwar era, he was also a member of the City Council of Warsaw, the Social Welfare Committee, the Committee to Aid the Unemployed and the Merchants' Assembly of the City of Warsaw<sup>2</sup>. He co-founded a bookshop and one of the largest publishing houses in the Second Republic of Poland – Trzaska, Evert, Michalski<sup>3</sup>. Halina's mother,

<sup>1</sup> In the Sejm of the Republic of Poland, Ludwik Evert worked in the following commissions: administrative and local government, social economy, state debt control, constitutional, treasury and budget, and legal; cf. Biblioteka Sejmowa: [https://bs.sejm.gov.pl/F?func=find-b&request=000000383&find\\_code=SYS&local\\_base=ARS10](https://bs.sejm.gov.pl/F?func=find-b&request=000000383&find_code=SYS&local_base=ARS10) [1 XII 2019].

<sup>2</sup> For more details, cf. *Kto był kim w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J.M. MAJCHROWSKI, G. MAZUR, K. STEPAN, Warszawa 1994, p. 508; H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *Evert Ludwik Józef (1863–1945)*, [in:] *Pol-ski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. VI, Kraków 1948, p. 323–324.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. M. PIECZONKA, *Księgarnia Wydawnicza Trzaska, Evert, Michalski. Działalność wydawnicza*, Kraków 1992.



**Fig. 1.** Halina Evert-Kappesowa in her early youth (photo from Professor W. Ceran's collection).

Pelagia (1867–1950) came from the Pohorecki family, part of the Czaplic, Kierdeja coat of arms<sup>4</sup>. She was the daughter of Konstanty and Apolonia Stanisławska. The Evert family was quite patriarchal. The father was an object of particular reverence, an unachievable ideal and role model for the children; the eldest brother was also exceptionally respected. As the only daughter, Halina had a rather privileged position compared to her brothers, though her parents still had high expectations of her, too.

The future expert in Byzantine studies was most likely born on 27 December 1898<sup>5</sup>. In accordance with her wishes and the date in documents from the People's Republic of Poland from the era, most of her biographies state that she was born in Łódź in 1904<sup>6</sup>. Apart from Halina, the Everts had three sons: Władysław

<sup>4</sup> *Polska Encyklopedia Szlachecka*, vol. II, ed. S.J. STARYKOŃ-KASPRZYCKI, p. 256; vol. X, ed. IDEM, p. 29, Warszawa 1938.

<sup>5</sup> The doubts related to Kappesowa's date of birth have been brought to my attention by *doktor* Andrzej KOMPA, author of the biography *Halina Janina Evert-Kappesowa (Kappes)*, [in:] *Biographical Dictionary of Polish Women Classicists. 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. E. OLECHOWSKA, Warsaw 2018, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Akta osobowe Evert-Kappesowa H., Archiwum Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, ref. 12981; articles by W. CERAN, quoted later in the text; *Słownik Biograficzny Historyków Łódzkich*, ed. J. KITA, R. STOBIECKI, Łódź 2000, p. 29.



**Fig. 2.** Halina Evert-Kappesowa – portrait from her personal documents preserved in the Archives of the University of Lodz, sygn. 12981.

(1890–1965; writer, poet, journalist, served in the Anders Army during the war, and, in the People’s Republic of Poland, taught Russian at the Warsaw University of Life Sciences); Mieczysław (in the interwar era one of the directors of Bank Zachodni in Warsaw, then a captain of the Polish Army imprisoned in Starobelsk, most probably murdered in Katyń) and Tadeusz (1902–1983; a translator from English)<sup>7</sup>.

As for Kappesowa’s birthday, in her personal documents preserved in the Archives of the University of Łódź the information that she was born in Łódź in 1904 is consistently repeated. However, in an earlier job application to “Wolna Wszechnica” (Free University), we have a note written in her hand, with the date December 27, 1900<sup>8</sup>. In the student index and student records in the Archives of the University of Warsaw, the day of her birth is December 27, 1898, in Moscow<sup>9</sup>. Her student file also contains a document in which another date is given, this

<sup>7</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Ryszard Pohorecki, who kindly provided the information about the Evert-Kappes family from the mother’s side.

<sup>8</sup> Cited after M. DĄBROWSKA, *Profesor Halina Evert-Kappesowa i Madame Dupont*, PNH 12, 2013, p. 207.

<sup>9</sup> Akta studenckie Kappes H., Archiwum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, ref. RP 44616. She was quite reluctant to talk about Moscow as the place where she had spent her childhood. Nevertheless, during

time 1903<sup>10</sup>. Considering what might have been the reason for such discrepancies, we have concluded that she tried to appear slightly younger than her actual age. Hoping to be employed at the University of Warsaw (and the University of Łódź after the Second World War), she decided to subtract several years. In 1936 she was already 38 years old, which was quite an advanced age for an assistant beginning her academic career. The later date of birth was better for her professional prospects.

As far as the place of birth is concerned, after 1945 the historian insisted it was Łódź, thus emphasizing the relationship with the city where her husband came from and where the new university, her future workplace, was located. According to her closest associates, hiding the fact that she was born in Moscow was motivated by the fear that her Polish citizenship might be questioned and, consequently, she might be sent back to the USSR. In fact, there are additional inaccuracies related to Kappesowa's biography.

It is undisputed that the historian's childhood and early youth were spent in Moscow, where she also graduated from secondary school<sup>11</sup>. In 1916, she stayed in Sweden, where for two years she studied English and French at the Ursuline Department near Stockholm<sup>12</sup>. In private conversations, she mentioned the severe nature of Mother Urszula Ledóchowska, who was in charge of the school<sup>13</sup>. After World War I ended, she returned to Poland with her parents. In Warsaw she attended Anna Jakubowska's *gimnazjum*; however, a lung disease (most probably the beginning of tuberculosis) interrupted her further education<sup>14</sup>. The reason for suspending her education in *gimnazjum* is not entirely certain, as she mentioned in her later biographies: *the difficult material situation and my mother's illness hindered my education, so that I took my Matura [secondary school graduation] exams much later, in 1933*<sup>15</sup>. It seems unlikely that the Evert family faced financial difficulties in the 1920s. Perhaps in her youth, Halina did not consider formal education to be of much significance, as she had no plans for a future academic career at that point?

In 1922, she took up a job at the American Hoover Mission and the YMCA, which she never mentioned in her official resumes from the communist era.

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one of her last conversations with P. Krupczyński, she spoke Russian, symbolically returning to her childhood language.

<sup>10</sup> H. KAPPES, Karta indywidualna dla słuchaczy szkół wyższych, rok 1936/7, [in:] Akta studenckie, ref. RP 44616.

<sup>11</sup> H. KAPPES, Życiorys z 7 września 1932 roku [resume dated September 7 1932], [in:] Akta studenckie, ref. RP 44616.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. M. DĄBROWSKA, *Profesor Halina Evert-Kappesowa i Madame...*, p. 218.

<sup>14</sup> W. CERAN, *Prof. dr Halina Evert-Kappesowa i jej dorobek w badaniach nad dziejami Bizancjum*, E 75, 1987, p. 229.

<sup>15</sup> H. KAPPESOWA, Życiorys z marca 1945 r. [resume dated March 1945], [in:] Akta osobowe Evert-Kappesowa...

Another unknown fact in her biography is a brief time (in the academic year 1922–1923) as a student at the School of Political Sciences at the Consular Faculty. Moreover, only a handful of people knew the details of her first marriage, which lasted just six months and ended in 1923. She officially mentioned it only once in her application to work at the University<sup>16</sup>. Most probably, her parents did not approve of the relationship. In 1928, Halina Glapa-Głapińska née Evert married her second husband, Alfons Kappes, from a German family living in Łódź. Kappes had three brothers, Otto, Aleksander and Paweł<sup>17</sup>. The former two were directors of secondary schools in Łódź, and Alfons became an engineer. The couple, separated by a certain age gap, met in Turkey<sup>18</sup>.

However, before Halina settled there, from 1922–1927 she worked in the Central Military Library in Warsaw, then in the Society for Trade with Turkey (1927–1932) and the Polish-Turkish Chamber (1928–1934)<sup>19</sup>. Her stay in Turkey was a very happy period in her life. Together with her husband, she travelled a lot, got to know the country whose history she would later study. She also took care of the household with the help of Turkish housekeepers. She spoke of those times with great aplomb and delight, with numerous anecdotes and interesting details (for example, about a trained monkey kept in the house, or about the breaking of a hotel ceiling and a bath with two naked Englishmen, etc.). Unfortunately, the Kappeses were not happy for long, as Alfons fell seriously ill and, as part of preparing his wife for independent life in Poland, he encouraged her to pass the Matura exam and study history at the university.

Following her husband's suggestions, Halina began studying at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Warsaw as a guest student, even before she graduated in 1932. In October 1933, after passing her high school graduation exam at the Leleweł Gimnazjum, she applied to be accepted as a full-time student<sup>20</sup>. Her matriculation as a full-time student took place on December 18, 1933, and she completed her studies on October 26, 1936. Unfortunately, her husband did not live to see that moment: he died on November 29, 1934 at the age of 50.

At the University of Warsaw, she attended classes taught by such scholars as: Marceł Handelsman, Władysław Tomkiewicz (class in the modern history of Eastern Europe), Tadeusz Wałek-Czarnecki (history of the Republic of Rome,

<sup>16</sup> H. KAPPES, *Życiorys z 7 września 1932 roku*, [in:] Akta studenckie, ref. RP 44616.

<sup>17</sup> Otto's grandson is dr hab. Aleksander Kappes, professor at the Department of Commercial Law, to whom I owe the information about the family of the heroine's husband.

<sup>18</sup> Alfonso Kappes was 44 years old (born in 1884) on the wedding day, Halina, 27 (according to a copy of the marriage certificate issued by the Evangelical-Augsburg parish in Warsaw, stored in a students' records). No birth dates were recorded on their marriage certificate, only the age of the spouses, which in the case of Kappesowa suggested yet another date of birth, this time 1901 (!).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. W. CERAN, *Profesor dr Halina Evert-Kappesowa. Sylwetka uczzonej i pedagoga*, RŁ 23, 1975, p. 5; IDEM, *Halina Evert-Kappesowa (27 XII 1904 – 10 VI 1985)*, KH 93, 1986, p. 293–296; IDEM, *Prof. dr Halina Evert-Kappesowa i jej dorobek...*

<sup>20</sup> Akta studenckie Kappes H., Archiwum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, ref. 1789.

Hellenistic world), Stanisław Kętrzyński (auxiliary sciences of history), Jan K. Kochanowski (diplomatic interpretations of Latin texts), Oskar Halecki (the era of Władysław of Varna, the scope and division of the history of Eastern Europe, seminar on the history of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the origin of Eastern European countries and nations), Tadeusz Manteuffel (Middle Ages), Majer Bałaban (history of Jews in Europe), Zdzisław Zmigryder-Konopka (Octavian Augustus), Hanna Pohoska (teaching history), Kazimierz Zakrzewski (Christian culture, Greek-Christian culture). Moreover, she attended Władysław Tatarkiewicz's lectures on aesthetics, logic and praxeology classes taught by Tadeusz Kotarbiński and the psychology of thinking lecture by Władysław Witwicki. She received her Master's degree in history in April 1937<sup>21</sup>. Her Master's degree was granted based on her dissertation entitled *Poselstwo Camblaka na sobór w Konstancji* [*Tsamblak's Envoy to the Council of Constance*], written under O. Halecki's supervision.

Even before receiving her diploma in 1936, the historian was employed at the University of Warsaw as a junior assistant at the first Department of Byzantine History in Poland, headed by Kazimierz Zakrzewski<sup>22</sup>. In 1938, she replaced Oskar Halecki's assistant (*doktor* Wanda Maciejewska) at the Department of Eastern European History. She also taught Greek (1938–1939). In 1938, she left for Paris where she studied with the Byzantinists Charles Diehl and Rodolphe Guiland and collected materials for her doctoral dissertation. In the interwar era, she also completed her teaching practice, teaching at the Anna Jakubowska Gimnazjum in Warsaw (1936–1939), and went to London twice to study English for several months.

During the war, Kappesowa was involved in clandestine teaching; in the W. Giżycki and the L. Rudzka *gimnazjums*, she taught history and English. She was also active in the organization "Freedom and People", (codename: Mirska), where her knowledge of foreign languages was used for radio listening. This is how she remembered that period:

In November, Professor Zakrzewski introduced me to a secret organization where I worked in a group of five, headed by his wife Jadwiga Zakrzewska. I was assigned to radio monitoring and my apartment was used for organizational meetings. That work stopped in 1943, in November or December<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Kappesowa Master's diploma features exams in the following areas of knowledge: principles of the historical research method, basic knowledge of auxiliary sciences of history and sources in the history of Poland (good), the history of the Middle Ages in Poland and the world (very good), ancient history (very good), modern and contemporary Polish and world history (very good), general principles of philosophical science (good), in-depth knowledge of the political history of Poland and Rus of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (very good); cf. H. KAPPES, *Dyplom magistra filozofii*, [in:] *Akta studenckie*, ref. RP 44616.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. M. DABROWSKA, *Posłowie. Halina Evert-Kappesowa – uczennica Haleckiego i Zakrzewskiego*, [in:] *Kazimierz Zakrzewski. Historia i polityka*, ed. EADEM, Łódź 2015, p. 309–312.

<sup>23</sup> *Curriculum vitae* written in March 1945, [in:] *Akta osobowe Evert-Kappesowa...*

It was during the difficult time of the war (in 1942), at the clandestine university, that Kappesowa obtained her doctorate based on her work *Rome et Byzance à l'époque de l'Union de Lyon, 1272–1284*<sup>24</sup>. The dissertation was reviewed by Marcelli Handelsman and Stanisław Kętrzyński. The doctorate was approved by the Council of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Warsaw on 16 May 1945 (the doctoral diploma, bearing the grade “very good”, was issued on June 28, 1945)<sup>25</sup>.

During the Warsaw Uprising, our heroine and her family stayed in Warsaw; later, they were sent to the camp in Pruszków. Eventually, the Everts found shelter with the Radziwiłłs in Nieborów. Małgorzata Dąbrowska wrote about the circumstances of the meeting between H. Evert-Kappesowa and Janusz Radziwiłł:

She stands helpless at the station, probably in Łowicz, because it is known that she had managed to escape from Pruszków. She sees Janusz Radziwiłł as she approaches him. ‘Does the duke not recognize me?’ she asks hesitantly. Seeing his surprised face, she adds quietly: ‘I am Senator Evert’s daughter’. Radziwiłł asks about her parents, and when he hears that they are struggling to survive in the countryside, not far away, he invites them to Nieborów, where, while very crowded, a place to stay will be found for them<sup>26</sup>.

In February 1945, Halina comes to Łódź and takes up a job as a teacher at the Maria Konopnicka Gimnazjum and Liceum No. 5. Soon after, her father dies. In 1948, Kappesowa started teaching at the Higher School of Economics. Between 1949 and 1950, she worked as a history lecturer at the Sanitary Training Centre<sup>27</sup>.

At the University of Łódź, she initially taught her assigned classes (lectures on the history of Byzantium, two hours a week)<sup>28</sup>. In October 1950, she was made a senior assistant at the Department of Ancient and Medieval Social History<sup>29</sup>. The head of the aforementioned unit, Marian H. Serejski, provided the following argument for hiring Kappesowa:

She is fully qualified for the senior assistant position [...]. In the face of the multiple teaching duties and the shortage of professional junior academic staff, it seems necessary to allow Dr. Kappesowa to be affiliated with the University and to devote herself fully to applicable work<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Akta egzaminacyjne Kappes H., Archiwum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, sygn. RP UW W Hum UEM 5496.

<sup>25</sup> H. KAPPESOWA, Doctoral degree, [in:] Akta egzaminacyjne...

<sup>26</sup> M. DĄBROWSKA, *Profesor Halina Evert-Kappesowa i Madame...*, p. 218–219.

<sup>27</sup> Personal documents from 1950s, [in:] Akta osobowe Evert-Kappesowa...

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Skład osobowy i spis wykładów na rok 1946–1947*, Łódź 1947.

<sup>29</sup> The application for work at the University was submitted in April 1950.

<sup>30</sup> M.H. SEREJSKI’s assessment from April 1950, [in:] Akta osobowe Evert-Kappesowa...

After being offered the position, the historian taught classes in world history (continued until the mid-1960s) and a monographic lecture on the formation of feudalism in Eastern Europe<sup>31</sup>. It is worth mentioning at this point that the classes she taught at the University of Łódź were different from those of today. They had quite a formal, established order. They started with a protocol from previous classes (a form of recapitulation), then one of the students would read an assigned paper on a given topic, which was followed by a discussion<sup>32</sup>. In the following years, the historian presented a lecture on Eastern Europe during the era of the Crusades and, together with Bogumił Zwolski, supervised a Master's Degree seminar<sup>33</sup>. Index of lectures also includes her *Key Issues from the History of Byzantium, Byzantine Sources, Economic Changes in Byzantium and the Balkans in the Seventh–Ninth Centuries, Economic and Political History of Byzantium until 1204* or *The Significance of Byzantium in the History of Western Culture*<sup>34</sup>.

From 1951 until 1955, Kappesowa worked at the University of Łódź as *adiunkt*, then as a deputy professor. In 1956, she obtained the academic title of *docent* (she had first applied for it in 1954, but was denied, as her achievements to date were considered insufficient<sup>35</sup>). From 1957 until 1959, she taught at the University of Poznań. She was nominated *profesor nadzwyczajny* in 1971<sup>36</sup> and retired in 1975. Between 1957 and 1970, at the Institute of History of the University of Łódź, she headed the Department of Byzantine History, which was established on her initiative, as well as the Department of World Ancient and Medieval History (1966–1975)<sup>37</sup>.

Concluding this section of the article, it is worthwhile to briefly outline the scope of Kappesowa's scholarly interests. In terms of chronology and issues covered, her research was quite extensive. As Waldemar Ceran emphasized, it covered practically the entire history of Byzantium from the fourth to the fifteenth century<sup>38</sup>. Małgorzata Dąbrowska adds that her interests ranged from the early (linked to the influence of K. Zakrzewski) to the late Byzantium (O. Halecki's inspirations). The main issue to which Kappesowa devoted many years of her work

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Skład osobowy i spis wykładów na rok 1952–1953*, Łódź 1953.

<sup>32</sup> In the 1960s, most of classes at the IH UŁ looked like this.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Skład osobowy i spis wykładów na rok 1955–1956*, Łódź 1956.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Skład osobowy i spis wykładów na rok 1963–1964*, Łódź 1964; *1964–1965*, Łódź 1966; *1966–1967*, Łódź 1970.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Akta osobowe Evert-Kappesowa..., p. 138 and Akta osobowe pracowników naukowych, Kappes H., Archiwum Akt Nowych, Zbiór Ministerstwa Szkolnictwa Wyższego w Warszawie, series 26.2, ref. 3193.

<sup>36</sup> Akta profesorskie Evert-Kappesowa H., Archiwum Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, ref. 140.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Słownik biograficzny historyków łódzkich...*, p. 29–31 (s.v. *Evert-Kappesowa Halina*); J. KITA, *Halina Evert-Kappesowa (27 grudnia 1904 – 10 czerwca 1985)*, [in:] *Luminarze nauki polskiej w Uniwersytecie Łódzkim. Pro memoria*, Łódź 2015, p. 55–58.

<sup>38</sup> W. CERAN, *Prof. dr Halina Evert-Kappesowa i jej dorobek...*, p. 231–241.

was the Union of Lyons, a subject on which she wrote the following publications: *La société byzantine et l'Union de Lyon* (1949), *Le clergé byzantin et l'Union de Lyon* (1952), *La fin de l'Union de Lyon* (1956), *Stronnictwo antylacińskie w Konstantynopolu w przeddzień jego upadku* [*The Anti-Latin Party in Constantinople on the Eve of Its Fall*] (1949), *Bizancjum a Stolica Apostolska w epoce unii lyońskiej* [*Byzantium and the Holy See in the Era of the Union of Lyons*] (1983). In the above-mentioned works (published mainly in the "Byzantinoslavica" journal), she analyzed the relations between the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Holy See in the period preceding the union and during it. She presented the objectives that the emperor expected to achieve, the attitude of the clergy and various groups of Byzantine society to the union, as well as the reasons and circumstances for its collapse.

Another area of Kappesowa's research was the Byzantine-Latin relations before the fall of Constantinople: *Stronnictwo antylacińskie w Konstantynopolu w przeddzień jego upadku* [*The Anti-Latin Party in Constantinople on the Eve of Its Fall*] (1949), *La tiare ou le turban* (1953). In these publications, she analyzed the programs of the pro-Latin and pro-Muslim parties, arguing that the position of the latter – namely that the Turkish rule was a 'lesser evil' than the loss of independence of the Byzantine Church – stemmed not from religious fanaticism but the political realities of the era<sup>39</sup>.

In line with the expectations of the time, the Łódź-based Byzantine scholar also researched social and economic history. She studied agrarian relations, the social structure of the Byzantine village from the seventh to the ninth centuries and the Slavic colonization in the Balkans. Her most important publications in that field include: *Studia nad historią wsi bizantyńskiej w VII–IX w.* [*Studies of the History of the Byzantine Village in the Seventh–Ninth Century*] (1963), *Une grande propriété foncière du VIII<sup>e</sup> s. à Byzance* (1963), *Recherches sur la colonisation slave à Byzance* (1969), *Słowianie pod Tesaloniką* [*Slavs under Thessaloniki*] (1970), *Wielka i drobna własność ziemiska w Egipcie w IV–VII w.* [*Large and Minor Land Properties in Egypt from the Fourth–Seventh Centuries*] (1983).

The fourth subject of Kappesowa's research, one she addressed as the last, was the operation of Byzantine social assistance, health care as well as culture and customs from the fourth to the seventh century. This area of interest was represented by works: *The Social Rank of a Physician in the Early Byzantine Empire (4<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD)* (1979) and *Historie konstantynopolitańskie* [*Constantinople's Stories*] (1964)<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> IDEM, *Halina Evert-Kappesowa (27 XII 1904 – 10 VI 1985)...*, p. 295.

<sup>40</sup> A bibliography of Kappesowa's works was compiled by W. CERAN in "Rocznik Łódzki" 23, 1975, p. 15–21 and the journal "Eos" 75, 1987, p. 245–250.

In addition to her research, Kappesowa was involved in activities aimed at popularizing and encouraging interest in the history of Byzantium in Poland<sup>41</sup>. For example, the work dedicated to K. Zakrzewski, entitled *Historie Konstantynopolitańskie* [*Constantinople's Stories*] (1964), served to popularize Byzantium-related issues. This publication consisted of essays aimed at introducing the Polish reader to the culture of the Byzantine state, its peculiarities and its everyday life<sup>42</sup>. Kappesowa also introduced the achievements of Byzantine studies and reviewed the works of Polish, Soviet, English, French and German historians<sup>43</sup>. She initiated a number of translations; one of her achievements was the 1967 publication of the Polish translation of George Ostrogorsky's synthesis *History of the Byzantine State*<sup>44</sup>. In the preface to the Polish edition, Ostrogorski stressed, *I am glad that work on the translation was undertaken by such an outstanding specialist as docent dr H. Evert-Kappesowa, as this is a guarantee of the quality of the outcome*<sup>45</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that in the aforementioned volume the Łódź-based historian outlined the state of Polish research on the history of Byzantium to-date. According to her observation,

Byzantine research in Poland has been mostly casual and random. The history of Byzantium was considered attention-worthy as long as it was associated with the examined problem or could shed light thereon. Classical philologists, therefore, have attempted to learn and establish how and in what way the influence of antiquity on Byzantine speakers and writers was expressed. Historians of the Polish Middle Ages have been interested in Byzantium almost exclusively from the point of view of the Greek church's relations with Rus. Researchers of the history of the Slavic region have drawn relevant information from Byzantine

<sup>41</sup> The Byzantine issues were popularized by the entries she compiled for *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich. Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych*, ed. W. KOWALENKO, G. LABUDA, T. LEHR-SPLAWIŃSKI, vol. I, Wrocław 1961; vol. II, Wrocław 1964.

<sup>42</sup> H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *Wstęp*, [in:] EADEM, *Historie Konstantynopolitańskie*, Warszawa 1964, p. 6. The book consisted of six essays devoted to: Theodora, Philaret the Merciful, Theodore of Stoudios/the Stoudite, Ptochoprodromos/the poor Prodromos, doctors in Byzantium and the capital of the Byzantine state. In addition, the volume was provided with an introduction and bibliographic guidelines.

<sup>43</sup> As CERAN noted, in the above-mentioned publications she not only presented other people's achievements, but also expressed her own views and findings, which allowed her to actively participate in the international discussion on key issues in the history of Byzantium, *Prof. dr Halina Evert-Kappesowa i jej dorobek...*, p. 240.

<sup>44</sup> The Polish-language version of the work, which according to specialists was the best introduction to Byzantine issues, was the sixth after German, French, English, Serbo-Croatian and Slovakian. It was done by a team of several Łódź-based Byzantine specialists under the direction of Kappesowa, based on the third (supplemented) German edition (*Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*, München 1963).

<sup>45</sup> G. OSTROGORSKI, *Przedmowa autora do wydania polskiego*, [in:] IDEM, *Dzieje Bizancjum*, trans. supervised by H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, Warszawa 1967, p. 5.

chroniclers. Therefore, some sections and certain periods of Byzantine history have been investigated with a great deal of accuracy, while others remain practically untouched<sup>46</sup>.

Kappesowa also stressed that before Ostrogorski's work was translated, there had only been one historiography textbook in Polish (*Dzieje Byzancjum. Wielka historia powszechna* [*The History of Byzantium. The Great History of the World*] by K. Zakrzewski), which did not cover the time after 1204, and as such it did not include the final phase of the state's existence.

Despite its undeniable advantages, we will not find answers there [in Zakrzewski's textbook – JK] to many questions about economic, political and social history, which today we ask of works of such kind. Hence, the growing need to provide our scholarly literature with a book that would capture the history of Byzantium in its various aspects, from the beginning of the state's existence until its end<sup>47</sup>.

By the way, our heroine very aptly characterized the specific character of research and the problems that Polish Byzantinists had to face. She stressed that the development of this sub-discipline was hampered by a lack of sources and access to literature (access to new source publications published in Western Europe was limited, and Polish scholars had hardly any opportunity to carry out queries abroad). Another problem was the required knowledge of at least two classical languages and, preferably, several foreign ones, which was *an obstacle for many of the students of our universities, who generally do not have such qualifications and thus, despite their interest, have to give up Byzantine studies*<sup>48</sup>. As she explained, those were the reasons for the limited interest in the history of Byzantium in the post-war era, emphasizing at the same time the determination, resolve and fortitude of all those who, despite the hindrances, decided to pursue this field of study.

Concluding the subject of H. Evert-Kappesowa's scholarly accomplishments, it is worth noting that despite the isolation resulting from life behind the Iron Curtain, following the Thaw (after 1956), she participated in international scholarly life. She carried out research projects and visited a number of places abroad, also behind the Iron Curtain: Ohrid (1961), Strasbourg (1969), Dumbarton Oaks (1971–1972), Paris (1973) and Athens (1976). She also endeavored to popularize

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<sup>46</sup> H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *Bizantynistyka w Polsce*, [in:] G. OSTROGORSKI, *Dzieje Byzancjum...*, p. 45. In *Historie Konstantynopolitańskie* she emphasized that works devoted exclusively to Byzantine issues were extremely rare in Polish scholarly literature. The real breakthrough was the establishment of the Department of the History of Byzantium at the University of Warsaw, whose research, however, was interrupted by the war. The death of K. Zakrzewski, who was murdered by the Nazis, was an irretrievable loss.

<sup>47</sup> H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *Wstęp...*, p. 7.

<sup>48</sup> EADEM, *Bizantynistyka w Polsce...*

Byzantine issues in the field of university didactics. In 1957–1970, on her initiative and under her direction, the Byzantine History Department, the only such unit in Poland at that time, was active at the University.

Kappesowa was also a member of international scholarly societies, such as the Comité National Polonais or the Committee of Antiquity Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences; she was a member of Polish Historical Society (PTH) and Łódź Scholarly Society (ŁTN). She participated in international conventions and conferences, including the Byzantine Congress in Prague (1957), the congress in Weimar (1961), the 12<sup>th</sup> International Byzantine Congress in Ohrid (1961), the International Byzantine Congress in Oxford (1966) and the International Byzantine Congress in Athens (1976). She spoke at Byzantium-themed symposia in Strasbourg (1969, 1973), and Paris (1973). She gave lectures at the universities in Toulouse and Bochum and had her works published in prestigious journals, such as “Byzantinoslavica”, “Meander”, “Paleologia”, “Vizantijskij Vremennik”, “Przegląd Historyczny” and “Kwartalnik Historyczny”.

She was also highly accomplished in the field of didactics. She was involved in school textbooks on ancient history<sup>49</sup>. She supervised three doctoral dissertations at the University of Łódź: Waldemar Ceran (1967), Piotr Krupczyński (1977), Małgorzata Dąbrowska (1985) and fourteen master’s theses<sup>50</sup>.

### Academic advancement under the communist regime

The beginning of H. Evert-Kappesowa’s scholarly career was not typical. She decided to pursue it quite late; most likely, when planning her life, she was restricted by the social class from which she hailed. Representatives of landowning families, as well as daughters of the political and financial elites of the Second Polish Republic, most often associated their future with an “appropriate” marriage. Had it not been for the premature death of Alfons Kappes, perhaps our heroine’s life would have turned out completely different.

<sup>49</sup> H. KAPPESOWA, B. ZWOLSKI, *Historia starożytna dla klasy VIII*, Warszawa 1958, p. 359 (7 editions, including: 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1965). The handbook was well received from the point of view of the attractiveness of the lecture and the use of the methods of illustrative teaching. *It is evident that the authors and the publisher put considerable effort into making the material as rich as possible, despite the modest technical means available to our printing industry, showing various aspects of ancient life*; A. KRAWCZUK, *Uwagi metodyczne o podręczniku H. Evert-Kappesowej i B. Zwolskiego, Historia starożytna dla klasy VIII*, PZWS Warszawa 1960, WHi 4.1, 1961, p. 45.

<sup>50</sup> She supervised the theses of: Waldemar Ceran (1960), Stanisław Wiśniewski (1960), Adam Chodakowski (1962), Zofia Gaszyńska (1964), Marian Wiktorowski (1965), Andrzej Dyło (1967), Stefan Kwaśniak (1968), Urszula Krupczyńska (1968), Piotr Krupczyński (1968), Eleonora Trzcicka (1969), Jerzy Kotowski (1969), Renata Bolanowska (1974), Paweł Dzieciński (1977), Jacek Kluczowski (1981).

However, luckily for Polish Byzantine studies, Kappesowa's professional experience, her extended stay in the Middle East and her excellent knowledge of foreign languages sparked her interest in the history of Byzantium. However, the historian, who would later contribute to laying the foundations of post-war Polish Byzantine studies, did not have an easy start in communist Poland. As the daughter of a pre-war industrialist, senator and publisher, she represented the social class condemned to marginalization in the new system. The safe and familiar world of Evert-Kappesowa collapsed in September 1939. Having survived the war, she had to adapt to the new reality. Her stubbornness, determination and high intellectual competence undoubtedly facilitated the adaptation in the socialist state.

The forty-seven-year-old widow, responsible for the care of her elderly, sick mother, moved to Łódź (her husband's home city), and into a modest one-bedroom apartment<sup>51</sup>. From the very beginning, she tried to secure a position at the university, which she did not manage until 1950. As Małgorzata Dąbrowska argues, applying for employment and then working at the University of Łódź, she was repeatedly forced to "camouflage herself". In personal documents, she omitted information about her father's service in the Senate, and described his profession as follows: "bookseller, employee of K. Scheibler's company"<sup>52</sup>. Even in 1948, compiling the entry dedicated to Ludwik Evert for the PSB [Polish Biographical Dictionary], she was very cautious in her characterization of his political activity, stressing his charity efforts instead: supporting workers, merchants, war victims, the unemployed, etc. Characterizing her own social and political activity from the interwar period, she emphasized that she had not belonged to any political parties, but had been only involved in scholarly and social organizations (in the 1951 questionnaire, she mentioned the membership in the Polish Teachers' Union, ZNP). In the People's Republic of Poland, she was a member of the Women's League and the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship. Justifying her lack of political involvement, she wrote: *Conditions at home (the paralysis my mother suffered) prevented me from active participation. I do not belong to any political organizations*<sup>53</sup>. When asked whether her relatives had been arrested, she confirmed it: *my brother was arrested in 1948. The reason was not disclosed; he was soon released without any trial. Father was arrested for refusing to sign the Volksliste, but he was released because of his old age*<sup>54</sup>. Characterizing family relations, she mentioned her brother Mieczysław, who had not survived the war, leaving aside information about his murder by the Soviets.

<sup>51</sup> Professor R. Pohorecki claims that he visited Evert-Kappesowa and her mother in their apartment on Obrońców Stalingradu Street (today's Legionów). Most probably, after her mother's death, Kappesowa moved to 19 Stycznia Street (today's Karola Anstadta Street).

<sup>52</sup> Personnel survey, May 1950, [in:] Akta osobowe Evert-Kappesowa...

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*.

At this point, it is impossible to avoid the question of whether a person with such a family history could advance within the structures of academia in the People's Republic of Poland? After all, universities did not operate in a vacuum and ideological issues had a significant impact on both the research and staff employment policy. Looking at our heroine's career through the prism of the records in the Archives of the University of Łódź, one can conclude that her subsequent promotions were excessively delayed. As has been already signaled, H. Kappesowa applied for the *docent* title for the first time in 1954. A year later (in April 1955), the Central Selection Committee sent a letter that read: *According to the Committee's assessment, the achievements to date do not meet the requirements set for the academic title of an independent researcher*<sup>55</sup>. On April 25, the Senate of the University of Łódź requested that the application be reconsidered (the letter stated that the case also concerned *doktor* K. Kąkol, *doktor* Z. Izdebski, *doktor* B. Zwolski and *doktor* W. Ostrowski, eight persons in total). In accordance with the procedure, in Kappesowa's case, a second application had to be submitted, which she did on May 31, 1955. The application was accompanied by a list of publications, which consisted of eight articles (including five in French), eleven reviews (of which ten concerned foreign literature) and two popular science works. In an assessment of Kappesowa's achievements written in June 1955, Gerard Labuda stressed:

Evaluating all of *doktor* Kappesowa's scholarly output, we can state that the author, both in her research and popular science works, as well as in a number of critical reviews from various fields of Byzantine history, shows excellent philological background and complete mastery of the difficult research methodology required in Byzantine studies. Thus, future adepts of Polish Byzantinology could be trained under her guidance. Taking into account the sad state of our Byzantine studies, it is necessary to make every effort to ensure that its frail fire, supported at the University of Łódź by *profesor* Serejski and *doktor* Kappesowa, can be better stirred. Taking into account *doktor* Kappesowa's research achievements to date, her great enthusiasm for work even under the most difficult circumstances, almost without her own library resources, also with a view to undertaking new, creative scholarly issues, I simply consider it a necessity to grant her the title of *docent*, stabilizing her as an independent researcher and enabling her to organize her own unit. The existence of such an institution in Poland is not only a matter of honor for our science [emphasis mine – JK] [...] but it is necessary for the development of our own historiography, because the history of Byzantium is so closely associated with the past of Slavic states that there can be no decent Slavic studies without Byzantine studies<sup>56</sup>.

As a result of the repeated application and Labuda's assessment, the title of *docent* was awarded to Kappesowa on October 1, 1956.

The subsequent promotion of the historian was also a long process. The procedure for awarding her the title of *profesor nadzwyczajny* began on June 28, 1962. In accordance with the procedure, questionnaires were sent to the leading research

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>56</sup> G. LABUDA's opinion on H. KAPPESOWA, [in:] Akta osobowe Evert-Kappesowa...

centers (UW, UJ, UAM, UMCS, UMK, Bolesław Bierut University) with a request to evaluate her achievements. In response, Tadeusz Manteuffel wrote that the request was premature:

Since obtaining the title of *docent* in 1956, her writing output has consisted of four small articles and eight reviews. Five items including two books have been submitted for printing.<sup>57</sup>

M.H. Serejski gave a different answer to the same question:

Taking into account *docent* Kappesowa's recently printed work on the Byzantine village, her good knowledge of literature and latest academic endeavors in the field of Byzantine studies, both in the East and West, all her scholarly and popular science achievements, as well as her teaching experience (before the war she had served as assistant to Prof. K. Zakrzewski), I think she could be appointed *profesor nadzwyczajny*<sup>58</sup>.

Having read the manuscript of the book mentioned by Serejski (*Studia nad historią wsi bizantyńskiej w VII–IX w.*) Tadeusz Manteuffel amended his initial assessment. Unfortunately, the problems with the application continued. The Ministry evidently delayed their reply. Dean Bogumił Zwolski intervened, sending the following letter to the Rector of the University of Łódź:

The Dean's Office of the Faculty of Philosophy and History asks the Rector to kindly explain the reasons why the motion of the Faculty Council, supported unanimously by the resolution of the Senate of February 24, 1964 on granting *docent* Halina Kappesowa the title of *profesor nadzwyczajny* has not yet been either approved or denied by the Ministry. [...]. In the meantime, *docent doktor* Halina Kappesowa has expanded her scholarly output, and she supervised her assistant's doctoral dissertation, which has already been published<sup>59</sup>.

Additionally, Zwolski stressed the uniqueness of Kappesowa's research:

Researchers who devote themselves to such issues are doomed to work in seclusion, not just without advice or assistance, but also without sources and studies. They have to be collected from all the libraries of the whole country and large gaps have to be reckoned with<sup>60</sup>.

In 1970, Kappesowa's documentation was supplemented with a new list of publications: one monograph, three studies and treatises, six scholarly articles, fourteen occasional articles, reviews, polemical pieces and contributions, two popular-scientific works, one source text, one edited work, two works submitted for printing

<sup>57</sup> T. MANTEUFFEL, Odpowiedź na ankietę ws. powołania na stanowisko profesora nadzwyczajnego, [in:] Akta profesorskie Evert-Kappesowa H., Archiwum...

<sup>58</sup> M.H. SEREJSKI, Odpowiedź na ankietę w sprawie powołania na stanowisko profesora nadzwyczajnego, [in:] Akta profesorskie Evert-Kappesowa H., Archiwum...

<sup>59</sup> Letter from the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and History B. Zwolski to the Rector of the University of Łódź, [in:] Akta profesorskie Evert-Kappesowa H., Archiwum...

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

and entries for the *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* [Dictionary of Slavic Antiquities]. A total of nineteen publications from the time she was awarded the title of *docent*. This time, the output was considered sufficient and in 1971 (almost ten years after the application had been submitted), the State Council granted Kappesowa the title of *profesor nadzwyczajny*. Of course, it can be assumed with a high degree of likelihood that with regard to a person with a different name, political attitude and field of interest, the ministry would have been less inclined to delay the process. However, it is difficult to prove that the blocking of the promotion was deliberate since our heroine's scientific achievements were small in quantitative terms. The reviews unanimously emphasized the historian's language and professional competence, excellent knowledge of primary sources, enthusiasm for work and teaching experience dating back to the interwar period. At the same time, they stressed the specific character of Byzantine research; the lack of mentors, the need to develop new research methods, and difficulties in accessing sources. The sub-discipline, which set such high requirements, also involved the need to search for talented students whose dissertations could be supervised. As a result of the above, Byzantine studies were not in the mainstream of historical research during the communist era.

One more thing should be mentioned, namely, the book which would play a significant role in the heroine's professorial advancement – *Studia nad historią wsi bizantyńskiej w VII–IX wieku* (Łódź 1963). It received mixed reviews. The Byzantine scholar, who had so far specialized in the history of the Union of Lyons and who preferred political and cultural history, was “forced” to take up issues of social and economic history due to ideological pressure. As she herself mentioned, she was not particularly confident in that area, but nevertheless, she undertook the “suggested” research subject. She focused on the Byzantine village at a time considered critical (and groundbreaking) in the history of the Roman Empire. In terms of the territorial scope of the work, she mainly covered Egypt and the Balkans – economically and strategically important provinces. As she herself admitted, a comprehensive economic history of Byzantium should take into consideration the local characteristics and natural conditions of each district of the country. Unfortunately, the scarce and fragmented source data made this impossible. In the introduction to her book, Kappesowa emphasized that

the structure of this work was in a way determined by research complications and the condition of the sources. Egypt kept more of my attention longer, because until the mid-seventh century it played an important role in the economy of Byzantium, and its facilities were probably to some extent a model for other provinces, but also because we have the greatest amount of material available for its socio-economic history<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> H. KAPPESOWA, *Słowo wstępne*, [in:] *Studia nad historią wsi bizantyńskiej w VII–IX wieku*, Łódź 1963, p. 14.

Syria and Palestine did not, in her opinion, play any significant role in the history of the Byzantine village and there was not enough data to be used. The author divided the obtained materials into the following groups: accounts, chronicles, documents (such as the Imperial Chancellery Register, Records of the Constantinople's Patriarchate, etc.), legal sources (such as the Code of Justinian, Farmer's Law, etc.), hagiographic sources and literature. As for materials of Arabic provenance, she only had access to them indirectly and in fragments. She pointed out that she had had to search for information in a variety of places, assembling a narrative from crumbs: *together they made up a structure that was incomplete and very flawed*<sup>62</sup>. However, for the economic history of Byzantium to be written at some point in the future, a number of minor works must pave the way.

Naturally, a first attempt in this field will be far from perfect, including the volume in question. Perhaps, however, despite all its faults, this monograph may be of certain use, all the more so as it is one of the first works strictly in the field of Byzantine studies to be published in Polish and for Polish readers<sup>63</sup>.

Despite those reservations, in 1964, the young Warsaw-based historians Tadeusz Wasilewski and Ewa Wipszycka published a review in "Przegląd Historyczny", in which they questioned the chronological framework adopted by the author<sup>64</sup>. They argued that the analyses of the Early Byzantine period be included, as, in their opinion, it was in that era that the described phenomena had originated. Additionally, the late ninth century, which marked the end of Kappesowa's narrative, should be classified as a part of the subsequent era. However, the reviewers found Chapter I, devoted to large and minor land property in Egypt, to be particularly problematic. The Warsaw-based historians stated that the author had not carried out independent source research in that regard; she relied only on previous findings. In addition, they demonstrated her ignorance of the latest secondary sources, which, in their view, resulted in a number of simplifications and errors. They also pointed out that Kappesowa had *put too much faith in the data found in hagiographic sources*<sup>65</sup>. They indicated the need to define the difference between a town and a village in the discussed period. As far as further parts of the volume were concerned, the reviewers voiced their reservations regarding the author's omission of the peaceful infiltration of barbaric peoples into the borders of the Empire and her failure to take into account the relations between the Slavs and the population they conquered. In the conclusion of their review, Wasilewski

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16.

<sup>64</sup> A short note by Zofia PODWIŃSKA devoted to this work was published in "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" 12.1, 1964, p. 733.

<sup>65</sup> T. WASILEWSKI, E. WIPSZYCKA, [rec.:] *Studia nad historią wsi bizantyńskiej w VII–IX wieku, Halina Evert-Kappesowa, Łódź 1963 – PH 55.4, 1963, p. 670.*

and Wipszycka stated that Kappesowa's book did not expand the knowledge about the Byzantine village and did not enrich the scholarly discussion with new arguments and findings. *It is limited to the presentation of the extensive secondary sources and the historiographic concepts of the Russian and Soviet Byzantine school*<sup>66</sup>.

In response to the critical review, Evert-Kappesowa sent a letter to the editors of "Przegląd Historyczny" in defense of her work, thus starting a discussion with the reviewers, which continued in the journal in 1965. The scholar pointed out with regret that the reviewers of the work had failed and/or not wanted to notice that it was not an attempt at an exhaustive presentation of the history of the Byzantine village, but only *studies on the history of the village that consisted of three essays*. She reiterated that the preserved material had only allowed for the reconstruction of *a fragmentary image that never pretended to be the history of a village in Byzantium during the examined period*<sup>67</sup>. The aim of including Egypt in the narrative would supplement the established material with new data, taken from *hagiographies, rent contracts, published, but not yet analyzed*<sup>68</sup>. As for the accusation of failing to present the attitude of Slavic invaders towards the indigenous people, Kappesowa wrote:

It is regrettable that the reviewers failed to indicate where to obtain the necessary data to reconstruct such an image. None of the sources we know today provide such material, except for a few scarce and rare references<sup>69</sup>.

As the historian concluded,

It does not mean that I reject *en bloc* the accusations made against me. I think, for example, that the third essay would have been significantly better if it had presented the growing diversity between the provincial and capital aristocracy; the title would have reflected the content of the work better if it was *Studia nad historią wsi w Bizancjum w VII–IX wieku* [*Studies on the History of the Village in Byzantium in the Seventh-Ninth Century*] (1963). [...]. Criticism, if it is to be serious, should be as impartial as possible and based on factual arguments. Such arguments are hardly found in the review, and what I found there instead, is a very bold – for such young Byzantine scholars – and unsubstantiated disqualification of the work, a list of all its allegedly missing elements (and which for the most part cannot or should not have been included) and a complete omission of the author's contribution<sup>70</sup>.

In response to that letter, Wipszycka and Wasielewski upheld most of their accusations. In their opinion, Kappesowa had failed to prove convincingly her original contribution to the research on the Byzantine village. They also maintained the view that in Chapter III *there are no new statements or new approach to the cited*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 673.

<sup>67</sup> H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, *List do Redakcji*, PH 56.2, 1965, p. 350.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 351.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 352.

works<sup>71</sup>. In hindsight, it is difficult to reconstruct the then-state of knowledge and the preservation of sources, thus clearly determining the validity (or lack thereof) of the comments made by the reviewers. Undoubtedly, the young Warsaw-based historians were well acquainted with the sources and the latest literature on the subject; they travelled the world, carried out queries and were highly competent. Ewa Wipszycka was an expert in research on the history of Egypt, while Tadeusz Wasilewski dealt with the history of Slavs and Byzantium. Familiar with the most recent literature, they demonstrated Kappesowa's shortcomings in that regard. As the Byzantinists admit, the author's readings of that time were monumental, but classical. Confronted with the young researchers, Kappesowa did not fare too well and she was aware of her book's weakness. However, her contribution to the attempt to describe the economic history of Byzantium for the Polish reader cannot be denied<sup>72</sup>. The requirements for career advancement and ideological pressure determined the choice of the topic, which was difficult to achieve for the Łódź-based scholar in the 1950s, as she had not yet gone abroad to carry out queries at that time. Kappesowa was very upset about her younger colleagues' critical review. She was known for holding grudges so she meticulously listed all the flaws she found in T. Wasilewski's 1972 book *Bizancjum i Słowianie w IX w. Studia z dziejów stosunków politycznych i kulturalnych* [*Byzantium and Slavs. Studies in the History of Political and Cultural Relations*]<sup>73</sup>.

To conclude the evaluation of the researcher's achievements, it is worth quoting the opinion of W. Ceran, who admitted that Kappesowa's works, while primarily small studies, are nevertheless *very insightful, erudite, presenting the problem in depth*. [...] *They solve many controversial problems in Byzantinology or illuminate them to the extent that current knowledge allows*<sup>74</sup>. There were no large syntheses or extensive monographs in her oeuvre. She excelled at analytical work, which, while written in foreign languages (mainly French), became part of the international scholarly discourse. Such achievements cannot be easily and unambiguously assessed. In quantitative terms, it was not an impressive output, but specialists have recognized its value. The passage of time and the development of the discipline have shown the unquestionable merits of Kappesowa, a researcher who laid a solid foundation for later Byzantine research.

Halina Evert-Kappesowa died on June 10, 1985. She was buried in the Lutheran-Augsburg cemetery in Warsaw in the Evert family tomb<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. E. WIPSYZKA, T. WASILEWSKI, *Listy do Redakcji*, PH 56.2, 1965, p. 353–355.

<sup>72</sup> I refer here to the opinion of Professor Małgorzata DĄBROWSKA expressed in correspondence on this subject.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, [rec.:] Tadeusz Wasilewski, *Słowianie w IX w. Studia z dziejów stosunków politycznych i kulturalnych*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1972, p. 234, 2 cartes – “Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines” 35.1, 1974, p. 57–60.

<sup>74</sup> W. CERAN, *Prof. Halina Evert-Kappesowa*, GRo 2 July 1985, no. 152, p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> The Evert family tomb is located in sector Al24, row 1, grave number 26.

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**Abstract.** This article aims to expand information on the life and academic career of a historian from Łódź, the co-founder of Polish post-war Byzantine studies – Halina Evert-Kappesowa. Based on student files preserved at the University of Warsaw, as well as employee and promotion records in the Archives of the University of Łódź, the author has established facts such as the date and place of Kappesowa’s birthday, subsequent stages of education and reasons for her delayed promotions. She has also addressed Evert-Kappesowa’s achievements and their reception. This paper provides vital additions to the debate on the contribution of female historians to the development of Polish history.

The text consists of two parts; the first is devoted to the biography of the heroine and her research interests. The second concerns the course of her scientific career.

**Keywords:** Halina Evert-Kappesowa, biography, scientific career, history of historiography, Byzantine studies, PRL

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## JOHN THE SCYTHIAN – A SLAYER OF USURPERS AND THE ISAUURIANS\*

John the Scythian<sup>1</sup> one of the chiefs of the Byzantine army in the eighties and nineties of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, is mentioned in sources in the context of three events, which took place in 482 and in the years 483–488 and 492–498. What is significant, these events were not part of the struggle of the Byzantine Empire with external enemies, but in the fight against usurpers and peoples living in its territory.

There is no information about the life of John prior to 482. It can only be presumed that until that point, his career had developed along a military path, because it is hard to imagine that he could be made the *magister militum* or *comes militaris* in 482 without prior military and commanding experience, which also suggests that he was not a youngster at the time of the nomination. Therefore, he must have been born around the year 450. It is unknown who his parents were. His alias, the Scythian (Σκύθης), points to his barbaric origin. However, it is difficult to determine his ethnicity precisely, because various peoples in Byzantine sources were referred to as Scythians<sup>2</sup>.

The first mention of John the Scythian appears in the text of John of Antioch. The historian writes that Emperor Zeno sent none other than John the Scythian and Moschianus<sup>3</sup> to fight against Theodoric Amal, the leader of the Goths

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<sup>1</sup> Basic information about John – PLRE II, p. 602–603 (s.v. *Ioannes Scythia* 34); C. BEGASS, *Die Senatsaristokratie des oströmischen Reiches, ca. 457–518. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, München 2018, p. 165–166.

<sup>2</sup> For more on this ethnonym: H. WOLFRAM, *Historia Gotów*, trans. R. DARDA-STAAAB, I. DĘBEK, K. BERGER, Warszawa–Gdańsk 2003, p. 29; cf. E.W. BROOKS, *The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians*, EHR 8, 1893, p. 223, n. 92.

<sup>3</sup> *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta quae Supersunt Omnia*, 236, rec. S. MARIEV, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2008 [= CFHB, 47] (cetera: JOHN OF ANTIOCH), p. 434; cf. *The Chronicle of Marcellinus. A Translation and Commentary (with a Reproduction of Mommsen's Edition of the Text)*, a. 482, ed. B. CROKE, Sydney 1995 [= BAUS, 7] (cetera: MARCELLINUS COMES); *Chronique de Michel le Syrien: Patriarche*

who had been plundering Macedonia and Thessaly. He describes them as strategists (*strategoï*). They were to replace Sabinianus, the *magister militum per Illyricum*, executed by order of the emperor<sup>4</sup>. It is believed that John may have been appointed as the *magister militum per Illyricum* while Moschianus became the *comes rei militaris*. However, it may also have been the other way round. When commenting on this situation, E.P. Glušanin stated that Zeno, thus, reverted to promoting barbarian chiefs with no influence to important military positions<sup>5</sup>. What is known about the actions of John the Scythian and Moschianus is that they could not stop Theodoric from capturing and plundering Larissa<sup>6</sup>. In 483, Zeno reached an agreement with Theodoric, who regained the position of the *magister militum in praesenti* and the title of a patrician, and in 484, he became the consul. His people could settle in Dacia and Moesia Inferior. Although the campaign against Theodoric probably did not bring John the Scythian any great successes, it certainly did not compromise him. He did not lose the imperial trust if soon afterwards, in 483<sup>7</sup> or 484<sup>8</sup>, the emperor entrusted him with the position of the *magister militum per Orientem*, which was stripped from Illus after the latter had refused to release the imperial brother, Longinus. The emperor then expelled the people connected to Illus from Constantinople and transferred their property to Isaurian cities. Perhaps Trocundes, Illus' brother<sup>9</sup>, was among those removed from the city. Illus staged an open rebellion against the emperor<sup>10</sup> and on 19 July 484, he declared Leontius as the emperor (shortly before his ascension, Leontius had held the post of the *magister militum per Thracias*)<sup>11</sup>. Zeno entrusted John the Scythian with the task of suppressing the revolt of Illus and

*Jacobite d'Antioche* (1166–1198), vol. II, (*livre VIII–XI*), IX, 6, ed., trans. J.-B. ШАВОТ, Paris 1901. On Moschianus – PLRE II, p. 766 (s.v. *Moschianus* 1).

<sup>4</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 236, p. 434. Cf. M. WILCZYŃSKI, *Germanie w służbie zachodniorzymskiej w V w. n.e.*, Oświęcim 2018, p. 423–424. On Sabinianus – PLRE II, p. 967 (s.v. *Sabinianus Magnus* 4).

<sup>5</sup> Е.П. ГЛУШАНИН, *Военная знать ранней Византии*, Барнаул 1991, p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 482.2.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. H. ELTON, *Illus and the Imperial Aristocracy under Zeno*, B 70, 2000, p. 399; R. KOSIŃSKI, *The Emperor Zeno. Religion and Politics*, Cracow 2010, p. 147.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. M. SALAMON, *Pamprepiusz z Panopolis – pisarz, profesor, polityk, obrońca pogaństwa w cesarstwie wschodnim*, [in:] *Studia Classica et Byzantina. Alexandro Krawczuk oblata*, Kraków 1996, p. 182; K. FELD, *Barbarische Bürger. Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich*, Berlin 2005 [= *Mil.S.*, 8], p. 269.

<sup>9</sup> E.P. ГЛУШАНИН (Е.П. ГЛУШАНИН, *Военная...*, p. 153), who thinks that Trocundes was not in Constantinople at that time, is inclined to believe that news of this may have prompted him to resign from serving the emperor and join his brother.

<sup>10</sup> On the conflict between Zeno and Illus, see: M.J. LESZKA, *Kilka uwag na temat Illusa Izauryjczyka w latach 479–484*, M 42.1/2, 2007, p. 103–105.

<sup>11</sup> While Leontius came from Dalisandus in Isauria, there is no certainty that he was of Isaurian origin. Sources mention his Syrian origin. His career was of a military nature. For Leontius, see: PLRE II, p. 670–671 (s.v. *Leontius* 17); A. KIEL-FREYTAG, *Betrachtungen zur Usurpation des Illus und des Leontius (484–488 n. Chr.)*, ZPE 174, 2010, p. 291–301; C. BEGASS, *Die Senatsaristokratie...*, p. 175–177.

Leontius. Considering that John was the commander-in-chief of the Byzantine forces in the area where the uprising broke out, the emperor's decision is not surprising. Interestingly, Theodoric Amal, the recent opponent of John, participated in this operation for some time. However, according to John of Antioch, the emperor supposedly turned Theodoric back when the latter arrived in Nicomedia<sup>12</sup>. The emperor's decision was motivated by his fear that Theodoric would not behave loyally, which could mean joining the rebels or looting the Byzantine lands. It cannot be ruled out that the emperor was afraid of the lack of cooperation between Theodoric and John. Another version of Theodoric's participation in the expedition against Illus and Leontius is presented in Theophanes' *Chronographia*. He claims that the Goth turned back only after Illus and Leontius had taken refuge in the fortress of Papyrion<sup>13</sup>. John the Scythian supposedly continued its siege after the departure of Theodoric. It seems that in this case, more credibility should be given to the account of John of Antioch, who describes the dismissal of Theodoric in more detail. An argument in support of John's account is also a lack of reference to this expedition in the work of Ennodius, the author of *The Panegyric in Honor of King Theodoric*<sup>14</sup>.

After the dismissal of Theodoric, the forces sent against Illus and Leontius were strengthened by a unit of the Rugii, which was commanded by Armenarius, son of Aspar (a key figure in the political life of the empire during the time of Marcian and Leon). Reinforcements were also sent by sea. They were headed by an otherwise unknown John (who, at one point, had supposedly been around Basiliscus, the brother of Empress Verina) and Paul, the *sacellarius*<sup>15</sup>.

The decisive battle between John the Scythian's army and the rebels probably took place in mid-September 484<sup>16</sup>. The exact place where the battle was fought is unknown. Some researchers suggest that it happened near Antioch<sup>17</sup>, but most

<sup>12</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 237.4; cf. 237.6 (this refers to the dismissal of Theodoric's troops and installing the Rugii; this situation supposedly unfolded after the rebellion leaders had taken refuge in Papyrion). The contradiction between the two references of John of Antioch may only be apparent. Theodoric's dismissal did not necessarily mean that some of his people did not participate in the expedition and it is them who are referred to in passage 237.6. After dealing the final blow to Illus and Leontius' forces, their presence was no longer required.

<sup>13</sup> THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, AM 5977, rec. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1883 [= CSHB] (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 131; cf. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with Scholia*, III, 27, ed. J. BIDEZ, L. PARMENTIER, London 1898 (cetera: EVAGRIUS).

<sup>14</sup> EUNODIUS, *Panegyricus dictus Theodorico regi*, ed. F. VOGEL, [in:] MGH.AA, vol. VII, Berolini 1885, p. 203sq. Cf. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, trans. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, ass. G. GREATREX, Oxford 1997, p. 202, n. 6.

<sup>15</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 237.

<sup>16</sup> On dating this battle – M.J. LESZKA, *The Career of Flavius Appalius Illus Trocundes*, Bsl 71, 2013, p. 57.

<sup>17</sup> PLRE II, p. 602; K. TWARDOWSKA, *Rzymski Wschód w latach 395–518*, [in:] *Świat rzymski w V wieku*, ed. R. KOSIŃSKI, K. TWARDOWSKA, Kraków 2010, p. 111; P. CRAWFORD, *Roman Emperor Zeno. The Perils of Power Politics in Fifth-century Constantinople*, Barnsley–Havertown 2019, p. 198–199.

likely, it was fought somewhere in Isauria<sup>18</sup> or around Seleucia<sup>19</sup>. The only available information on its location comes from the statement made by Joshua the Stylite:

John hit them [Illus' men – MJL] hard and destroyed the bulk of their army... Being unable to resist attack, (the conspirators) took the remnant of their force and fled to a secure and well-supplied fortress...<sup>20</sup>

It can be presumed that in this battle, John's opponents lost most of their strength and the ability to act effectively. John of Antioch reports that when Leontius – who did not take part in the battle – received the news of its outcome, despite having another 2,000 soldiers, selected the most loyal of them and ordered the rest to take shelter in remote places<sup>21</sup>. Leontius and Illus locked themselves in the fortress of Papyrion, to which access was extremely difficult<sup>22</sup>. Joshua the Stylite wrote, with some exaggeration, that there was *only one possible way of ascent to it, and that was too narrow for even two people to go up together*<sup>23</sup>.

According to Theophanes, Trocundes, Illus' brother, was entrusted with the task of enlisting barbarians into their army<sup>24</sup>. For a while, the rebels still entertained the hope – which was supposedly fueled by Pamprepus, Leontius' *magister officiorum*, a poet and philosopher – that thanks to his effective action, they would regain the initiative in the struggle with the imperial forces<sup>25</sup>. However, the mission failed. Trocundes was captured by John the Scythian's people and executed on his order<sup>26</sup>. Trocundes' death seems to date to the middle of November 484<sup>27</sup>. John the Scythian, wanting to break the spirit of the besieged, probably made sure that the news of it reached Papyrion as soon as possible. However, in the face of

<sup>18</sup> G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton–New Jersey 1961, p. 495–496, n. 105; R. KOSIŃSKI, *The Emperor...*, p. 149.

<sup>19</sup> R.C. MCCAIL, *P. Gr. Vindob. 29788C: Hexameter Encomium on an Un-named Emperor*, JHS 98, 1974, p. 54.

<sup>20</sup> *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*, 17, trans. et praef. F.R. TROMBLEY, J.W. WATT, Liverpool 2000 [= TTH, 32] (cetera: JOSHUA THE STYLITE), p. 15.

<sup>21</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 237.5.

<sup>22</sup> For more on the fortress, see: J. GOTTWALD, *Die Kirche und das Schloss Paperon in Kilikisch-Armenien*, BZ 36, 1936, p. 86–100; F. HILD, H. HELLENKEMPER, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, Wien 1990 [= TIB, 5], p. 374–375.

<sup>23</sup> JOSHUA THE STYLITE, 17, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5976. It is difficult to say who the chronograph is referring to by using the term 'barbarians'. However, this bears no significance from the perspective of the situation, because the mission was unsuccessful.

<sup>25</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5976.

<sup>26</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5976.

<sup>27</sup> M.J. LESZKA, *The Career...*, p. 56–57.

the tragic information, the defenders of the fortress did not surrender but turned their frustration against Pamprepius, the unfortunate poet, who was executed<sup>28</sup>.

The imperial troops besieged the fortress of Papyrion for another four years (until 488). Did John the Scythian stay around the fortress all this time and directly command the imperial forces besieging it? The description of the siege containing unique information relayed by Joshua the Stylite gives the impression that John supervised it until the final success, although it is not stated expressly that John was present at the capture of Leontius and Illus<sup>29</sup>. John of Antioch presents an interesting episode from the siege:

While the armies were encamped opposite each other, Illus and John the Scythian came into friendly conversation (καὶ ἐς λόγους φιλιους συνῆλθον), and John sent a note to Zeno reminding him of his former good will, but as this accomplished nothing they again took to arms<sup>30</sup>.

This account, if considered true, seems to suggest that John the Scythian and Illus had already known each other (which is not surprising, considering, on the one hand, the role Illus had played in Zeno's rule, and on the other, the advancing career of John). Otherwise, it would be difficult to imagine that the good relations they had, as John of Antioch emphasizes, were established during the siege. It seems that while there can be doubts about the "friendly conversation" – after all, the blood of Trocundes, the brother of Illus, was on the hands of John the Scythian (let alone the fact that John incessantly conducted military operations against Illus, remaining loyal to the emperor), it is likely that John enabled Illus to communicate with the emperor. He did so not so much out of sympathy for him, but in the hope that there would be an agreement between them, which would end of the siege, reducing unnecessary costs and time lost. If John the Scythian indeed counted on this development, he must have been disappointed, similarly to Illus, the main interested party. Zeno did not intend to negotiate with his former general. He wanted his ultimate demise. In the face of this attitude from the emperor, the siege continued.

It is difficult to date the events described above. John of Antioch places them after the appointment of Longinus, Zeno's brother, as the consul. He also notes the

<sup>28</sup> More on this subject: M. SALAMON, *Pamprepius...*, p. 191; K. FELD, *Pamprepius. Philosoph und Politiker oder Magier und Aufrührer*, [in:] *Gelehrte in der Antike. Alexander Demandt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. A. GOLZ, A. LUTHER, H. SCHLANGE-SCHÖNINGEN, Wien 2002, p. 269, 277, n. 66.

<sup>29</sup> JOSHUA THE STYLITE, 17, p. 15–16. He mentions John's efforts to conquer the fortress and his anger at the impossibility of conquering it. The fortress did not fall for a long time, and when it did, it came as a result of betrayal. It is worth emphasizing that Joshua is the only author who writes about the emotions of John the Scythian.

<sup>30</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 237.7, p. 439.

rebellion of Theodoric Amal and the battles of the Rugii with the forces of Odoacer<sup>31</sup>. Longinus was appointed the consul for the year 486<sup>32</sup> whereas Theodoric's rebellion dates back to 486<sup>33</sup>, and the Rugii's battles with Odoacer's forces to 487<sup>34</sup>. Assuming that John of Antioch presents these events in chronological order, Illus' attempt to communicate with Zeno through John the Scythian might have taken place around the year 487. However, there is no certainty, because the information about Longinus, Theodoric and the Rugii is entwined in the story of what was happening in the besieged fortress. It is preceded by the mention of the death of Verina (nine days after the siege had begun), Marsus' death<sup>35</sup> (thirty days into the siege) and the desperation of the besieged after the external fortifications of Papyrion were broken. The previously quoted paragraph on negotiations directly refers to this last event. What seems certain about this situation is that negotiations had not been conducted until the end of 484 (after the death of Trocundes and Pamprepius, when hopes of fending off the imperial forces had been dispelled).

The sources do not mention the presence of John the Scythian when the fortress was seized. It happened as a result of betrayal. The one who surrendered the fortress, according to Theophanes<sup>36</sup>, was Trocundes' brother-in-law. However, the chronograph does not give his name. Other sources report that Indacus Kottounes<sup>37</sup> was supposedly the traitor, so perhaps he was the brother of Trocundes' wife, who remains unnamed. No source states directly that Indacus Kottounes was Trocundes' brother-in-law. This view is an attempt to reconcile the source traditions indicated above. Some sources feature the plot of betrayal without specifying the person(s) who committed it<sup>38</sup>. Other sources note the seizure of Papyrion without giving any details<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 237.7.

<sup>32</sup> M.J. LESZKA, *Dzieje Longina, brata cesarza Zenona*, [in:] *Hortus Historiae. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Józefa Wolskiego w setną rocznicę urodzin*, ed. E. DĄBROWA, M. DZIŁSKA, M. SALAMON, S. SPRAWSKI, Kraków 2010, p. 656.

<sup>33</sup> P. HEATHER, *Goths and Romans 332–489*, Oxford 1991, p. 304–305; R. KOSIŃSKI, *The Emperor...*, p. 177; M. WILCZYŃSKI, *Germanie...*, p. 425.

<sup>34</sup> R. KOSIŃSKI, *The Emperor...*, p. 177–178.

<sup>35</sup> More on ex-consul Marsus – PLRE II, p. 728–729 (s.v. *Marsus 2*).

<sup>36</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5980. E.W. BROOKS, *The Emperor Zeno...*, p. 229; reasons for betrayal – N. LENSKI, *Assimilation and Revolt in the Territory of Isauria, from the 1<sup>st</sup> Century BC to the 6<sup>th</sup> Century AD*, JESHO 42, 1999, p. 253. Cf. THEODOR ANAGNOSTES, *Kirchengeschichte, Epitome*, 438, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 3] (Trocundes' wife was supposedly behind the betrayal) – cetera: THEODOR ANAGNOSTES.

<sup>37</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 237.10.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. JOSHUA THE STYLITE, 17, p. 16. The following authors recognized Indacus Kottounes to be Trocundes' brother-in-law: E.W. BROOKS, *The Emperor Zeno...*, p. 229; W.D. BURGESS, *Isaurian Facions in the Reign of Zeno the Isaurian*, L 51, 1992, p. 878.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 488.1.

As previously mentioned, the sources indicate that John the Scythian was active in the early days of the siege of Papyrion. His constant presence around the blockaders, and for a long four years at that, was not necessary considering that there was virtually no threat from the besieged. As the *magister militum per Orientem*, he could have entrusted the command of the siege to one of his subordinates and occasionally inspected it.

As it was in the case of Trocundes, and later some leaders of the Isaurian insurgence, John is not indicated as the one who captured Leontius and Illus and ordered their execution. Joshua the Stylite writes that the decision about their execution was made by the emperor himself<sup>40</sup>. By contrast, John Malalas claims that this decision was made by the administrator of Isaurian Seleucia<sup>41</sup>. Other sources only relay the end of the siege and the execution of Illus and Leontius<sup>42</sup>. This leads us to the conclusion that John the Scythian did not play an important role in this event.

### John's role in the suppression of the Isaurian uprising

After his participation in suppressing the revolt of Illus and Leontius, John the Scythian does not appear in the sources until the Isaurian uprising in the beginning of Anastasius' rule.

The uprising in Isauria began shortly after Anastasius took power<sup>43</sup>. It is not clear, however, when exactly it broke out. Most likely, it was not provoked by Anastasius' ascension to the throne itself<sup>44</sup>. More probably, it was a consequence of imperial repressions against the Isaurian elite, which were a response to the

<sup>40</sup> JOSHUA THE STYLITE, 17, p. 16. The repressions also affected other allies of Illus and Leontius who were in the fortress.

<sup>41</sup> *Ioannis Malalae chronographia*, XV, 14, rec. J. THURN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2000 [= *CFHB*, 35] (cetera: JOHN MALALAS).

<sup>42</sup> THEODOR ANAGNOSTES, 437; THEOPHANES, AM 5980, p. 133.

<sup>43</sup> For more on the Isaurian uprising see: C. CAPIZZI, *L'Imperatore Anastasio I (491–518). Studio sulla sua vita, la sua opera e la sua personalita*, Roma 1969, p. 94–99; N. LENSKI, *Assimilation...*, p. 428–430, 440–441; A.D. LEE, *The Eastern Empire: Theodosius to Anastasius*, [in:] *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIV, ed. A. CAMERON, B. WARD-PERKINS, M. WHITBY, Cambridge 2000, p. 52–53; K. FELD, *Barbarische...*, p. 332–335; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 2010, p. 75–84.

<sup>44</sup> This is the belief of the following authors, among others: J.B. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I. to the Death of Justinian*, vol. I, New York 1958, p. 423; E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II, *De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–465)*, Paris–Bruxelles–Amsterdam 1949, p. 83; Ю. КУЛАКОВСКИЙ, *История Византии*, vol. I, London 1973, p. 463; F.K. HAARER, *Anastasios I. Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*, Cambridge 2006, p. 23–24, n. 66. That it broke out following the expulsion of the Isaurians from Constantinople – THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 137; EVAGRIUS, III, 35 (confusing Longinus of Cardala with Zeno's brother).

riots that had occurred in Constantinople in 491<sup>45</sup> as well as other actions that had affected wider groups of the Isaurians<sup>46</sup>. Anastasius had ordered the destruction of the Papyrion fortress and deprived Isauria of the 1,500-pound “dotation” in gold, which it had received annually since 484. Such behavior of the emperor could have aroused the dissatisfaction of the Isaurians. It seems that if the uprising had broken out before the unrest in Constantinople, the emperor would not have decided to free the Isaurians living in the capital, and above all, the dignitaries associated with the previous ruler. Their experience in state service as well as their wealth and authority naturally predestined them to assume the position of the rebellion’s leaders. It is highly probable that when Anastasius allowed the Isaurians to return to their lands, he did not know that an uprising would break out there. In my opinion, this event occurred at the beginning of 492, shortly before or soon after their return<sup>47</sup>.

Among the leaders of the uprising were Longinus of Cardala<sup>48</sup>, Linginines<sup>49</sup>, Conon, son of Fuscian<sup>50</sup>, two Athenodoruses<sup>51</sup>, and Longinus of Selinus<sup>52</sup>. They gathered considerable forces, comprised of both Isaurians and Romans, although their number, set by John of Antioch at 100,000 and by Theophanes at 150,000,

<sup>45</sup> On the riots, see: F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 22–23, 225; P. FILIPCZAK, *Julian, prefekt Konstantynopola*, [in:] *Hortus Historiae...*, p. 667–683. JOHN OF ANTIOCH (239.3) wrote that Anastasius, thinking that the riots were the result of an Isaurian plot, ordered them to leave Constantinople while allowing them to keep their rank and property. After they delayed following his orders, he took more decisive steps. He expelled Longinus, brother of the Emperor Zeno, to Tebaida, and his mother, wife and daughter to a monastery at Brochthi in Bithynia. Longinus of Cardala and Athenodorus, an outstanding member of the senate, as well as many other Isaurians were deprived of their property and banished to Isauria. Cf. THEODOR ANAGNOSTES, 446.21–22; EVAGRIUS, III, 29; IOANNES ZONARAS, XIV, 3.21–22, vol. III, rec. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonnæ 1897 [= CSHB].

<sup>46</sup> It must have started some time after the Constantinople riots, which are dated between May (Anastasius began his rule on April 11) and late August (or December) 491. On dating this event – P. FILIPCZAK, *Julian...*, p. 479.

<sup>47</sup> See MARCELLINUS COMES, p. 107.

<sup>48</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 239.5; THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 137–138. For more about him, see: M.B. LESZKA, M.J. LESZKA, *Longinus of Cardala. Leader of Isaurian Revolt (492–497)*, [in:] *Within the Circle of Ancient Ideas and Virtues. Studies in Honour of Professor Maria Dzielska*, ed. K. TWARDOWSKA, M. SALAMON, S. SPRAWSKI, M. STACHURA, S. TURLEJ, Kraków 2014, p. 391–398.

<sup>49</sup> He was Illus’ half-brother. He held the office of the *comes et praeses Isauriae*. His name appears in different versions – Longinines, Lilingis, Ninilingis, Lingis, Illoulingis. Perhaps he was confused with Indes. On this topic see: F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 24, n. 68. Basic information on this figure – PLRE II, p. 683–684 (s.v. *Lilingis*).

<sup>50</sup> For more about Conon, the former bishop of Apamea, see – PLRE II, p. 306–307 (s.v. *Conon* 4).

<sup>51</sup> One was a senator and the son-in-law of the patrician John – PLRE II, p. 178–179 (s.v. *Athenodorus* 2; here mistakenly referred to as son of John). What we know about the latter is that he was a different person from the former and that he participated in the Isaurian uprising – PLRE II, p. 179 (s.v. *Athenodorus* 3).

<sup>52</sup> On Longinus of Selinus – PLRE II, p. 688 (s.v. *Longinus of Selinus*).

is definitely exaggerated<sup>53</sup>. The rebel troops plundered a number of cities in the provinces bordering on Isauria.

In response to these events, Anastasius sent troops to Isauria, headed by John the Scythian and John Gibbo<sup>54</sup>. The choice of the protagonist of this article as one of the commanders of the expedition is not surprising. He had relevant experience in conducting operations in Isauria during the fight against the usurpation of Illus and Leontius, and above all, he most likely was still the *magister militum per Orientem*. The first clash between the rebels and the imperial forces occurred in Phrygia at Cotyaeum (today Kütahya)<sup>55</sup>. The Isaurians, despite their strength in numbers<sup>56</sup>, were defeated, suffering major losses. Among the victims was Linginines, one of the leaders of the uprising<sup>57</sup>. John of Antioch notes that the battle at Cotyaeum was directly commanded by John the Scythian (along with John Gibbo, who is also mentioned in this role). After the battle, the Isaurian troops withdrew to their own territory. The Byzantines allowed them to do that, which means that despite the defeat, the Isaurian forces may have still been considerable and could have retained their combat value. Theophanes writes that the Byzantines could have finished off their opponent had they not focused on looting<sup>58</sup>. Unlike Theophanes, John of Antioch mentions the fact that the Byzantines pursued the Isaurians all the way to Taurus, but, presumably, without any great success, since it was only noted that the Byzantine army stopped to winter at the foot of Taurus.

The lack of discipline in the Byzantine army, which Theophanes mentions, would not speak well of its commanders, including John the Scythian. However, it is hard to believe that experienced commanders would have made such a mistake. It seems more likely that, having their forces weakened during the battle and being aware of the great numbers of the defeated Isaurians, the Byzantine commanders opted not to pursue the final defeat of their enemy and only controlled their retreat from a safe distance.

<sup>53</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 239.5; THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 137 (this author claims that the insurgent forces were comprised of barbarians); cf. MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 492; EVAGRIUS, III, 35; JOHN MALALAS, XVI, 3; JORDANES, *Romana*, 355, ed. T. MOMMSEN, [in:] *MGH.AA*, vol. V.1, Berolini 1882; THEODOR ANAGNOSTES, 448. On John Gibbo – M.J. LESZKA, *Jan Kyrtyos – pogromca Izauryjczyków*, [in:] *W kregu antycznych politei. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Janowi Ilukowi*, ed. W. GAJEWSKI, I. MILEWSKI, Gdańsk 2017, p. 206–213.

<sup>54</sup> The sources (THEOPHANES, AM 5985–5986; JOHN MALALAS, XVI, 3) also mention *comes scholarum Diogenianus* (known as Diogenes), a relative of the Empress Ariadne, as one of the leaders.

<sup>55</sup> On Cotyaeum – K. BIELKE, N. MERSICH, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, Wien 1990 [= *TIB*, 7], p. 154.

<sup>56</sup> According to John of Antioch, the Byzantine forces totaled 2,000 soldiers and were comprised of the Huns, Goths and Bessis, among other tribes (JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 239; JOHN MALALAS, XVI, 3). As aptly noted by F.K. HAARER (*Anastasius I...*, p. 24, n. 69), pointing to such a great disproportion of strength was intended to emphasize the uniqueness of the Romans' victory. The issue of dating this battle – E.W. BROOKS, *The Emperor Zeno...*, p. 234; F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 25, n. 73.

<sup>57</sup> JOHN OF ANTIOCH, 239.5; THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 138.

<sup>58</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 138.

According to Theophanes, the Isaurians used the delay of the Byzantine forces to prepare for further combat. They supposedly strengthened the fortresses in Taurus, which guarded access to their lands. The next episode in the war between the imperial forces and the Isaurians took place the following year at Claudiopolis<sup>59</sup>. This fortress was taken by a unit commanded by Diogenianus, and later was besieged by the Isaurian forces. The siege lasted long enough for the Byzantines to start facing a shortage of food. John Gibbo and his people came to their rescue. He managed to cross the mountains unnoticed and perform a surprise attack on the besiegers. His forces were supported by Diogenianus' soldiers. The Isaurians were caught between two fires. The battle ended with the complete success of the imperial party<sup>60</sup>. It was then that Conon, one of the leaders of the rebellion, was fatally wounded<sup>61</sup>. Theophanes assesses the battle of Claudiopolis as a great victory<sup>62</sup>. While the Byzantine chronograph has the right to such an assessment, it should be noted that the victory certainly did not have a major impact, since the uprising lasted for several more years, which was partly enabled by the mountainous terrain<sup>63</sup>. The Isaurians held on to strongholds that were difficult to conquer. Longinus of Selinus played a significant role at that time, supplying his fellow men with food through the port of Antioch. The sources do not provide details on the battles conducted over those several years. Only the closing moments caught their attention.

Another episode related to the participation of John the Scythian in the fight against the Isaurian insurrection is recorded in 497<sup>64</sup>. At that point, John besieged Longinus of Cardala in an unnamed Isaurian fortress. The siege ended with the success of the imperial army. Longinus of Cardala and Longinus of Selinus along with their comrades were captured. Among them were probably both Athenodoruses. According to Theophanes, John the Scythian ordered the beheading of Longinus and one of Athenodoruses, and had their heads sent to Constantinople, where they were displayed in a hippodrome during races while the captured and shackled Isaurians were walked around. Next, the heads of Longinus and Athenodorus were put up in Sycae, which supposedly pleased Constantinopolitans<sup>65</sup>. Evagrius Scholasticus describes this event as follows:

<sup>59</sup> On Claudiopolis – F. HILD, H. HELLENKEMPER, *Kilikien...*, p. 307–310.

<sup>60</sup> A description of the Claudiopolis campaign – THEOPHANES, AM 5986, p. 138.

<sup>61</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5986, p. 138; cf. JOHN MALALAS, XVI, 3 (this author, however, links this episode to the battle of Cotyaeum).

<sup>62</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5986, p. 138.

<sup>63</sup> The issue of the duration of the Isaurian uprising is debatable. In this matter, the sources are rather divergent, pointing to the years 495, 497 or 498. On this topic – F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 26, n. 77.

<sup>64</sup> Considering the account of MARCELLINUS COMES (a. 497), who mentions the apprehension of Athenodorus, although omitting Longinus, this event should be dated to the summer of 497.

<sup>65</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5988, p. 139–140. EVAGRIUS (III, 35) mentions Longinus and a Theodore (most likely, Athenodorus – J.B. BURY, *History...*, p. 433; P. ALLEN, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Histo-*

the heads of Longinus and Theodore were sent to the emperor's city by John the Scythian. The emperor fixed these on poles and set them up at the place called Sycae, which lies opposite the city of Constantine, a pleasing sight for the Byzantines in return for the troubles they had suffered from Zeno and the Isaurians.<sup>66</sup>

Longinus of Cardala and Athenodoruses' death did not end the uprising. Its final act took place in 498 and is connected to John Gibbo. It was then that Longinus of Selinus was captured in Antiochia ad Cragum by *comes* Priskos<sup>67</sup>. On the order of John Gibbo, Longinus was transported to Constantinople. He was accompanied by Indes, another of the leaders of the uprising, who had probably been captured by John himself<sup>68</sup>. In the capital, the prisoners were displayed to the people.

John the Scythian presumably either did not participate or did not play a vital role in the last stage of the war against the Isaurians. The Byzantine forces were commanded by John Gibbo and he should be credited with the final defeat of the insurgents.

Regardless of the role played by John the Scythian at the end of the Isaurian war, the Emperor Anastasius highly appreciated his merits in suppressing the uprising, which was expressed by appointing him the consul of the year 498<sup>69</sup>.

It is not clear when John the Scythian ceased to be the *magister militum per Orientem*. J. Martindale<sup>70</sup> points to the year 498, that is, the end of the war against the Isaurians. There are other possibilities. The next *magister militum per Orientem* traceable in the sources is Areobindus (503)<sup>71</sup> and it cannot be ruled out

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*rian*, Louvain 1981, p. 155) – however, he believes that this happened after the battle of Cotyaeum and that Longinus was the brother of the Emperor Zeno. MARCELLINUS COMES (a. 497) reports on the capture of Athenodorus, who was subsequently beheaded and his head was displayed at the gates of Tarsus. He further informs about the capture of Longinus of Selinus in 498, who was supposedly taken to Constantinople, where he was shown to the public. He was said to have died of torture in Nice. The thread of the fate of the two Athenodoruses is analyzed by F.K. HAARER (*Anastasius I...*, p. 26, n. 80 – according to the researcher, the head of one of Athenodoruses was sent to Constantinople, and the other, to Tarsus).

<sup>66</sup> EVAGRIUS, III, 35 (trans. – *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, ed., trans. M. WHITBY, Liverpool 2000 [= TTH, 33], p. 180).

<sup>67</sup> MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 498. Contrary to Theophanes' account, Longinus of Selinus was not captured along with Longinus of Cardala. On Antiochia ad Cragum – F. HILD, H. HELLENKEMPER, *Kilikien...*, p. 191–193. On the suppression of the uprising also see *Victoris Tunnunensis Chronicon*, a. 495, [in:] *Victoris Tunnunensis Chronicon cum reliquiis ex consularibus caesaragustanis et Iohannis Biclarensis Chronicon*, ed. C. CARDELLE DE HARTMANN, Turnhout 2001 (cetera: VICTOR TUNN.); JOHN MALALAS, XVI, 3.

<sup>68</sup> EVAGRIUS, III, 35. On Indes – PLRE II, p. 591 (s.v. *Indes*).

<sup>69</sup> His colleague in the West was Paulin. Cf. THEOPHANES, AM 5988, p. 140; *Codex Iustinianus*, V, 30, 4; X, 19, 10, rec. P. KRUEGER, Berolini 1906; MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 498; VICTOR TUNN., a. 498.

<sup>70</sup> PLRE II, p. 602, 1291.

<sup>71</sup> PLRE II, p. 1291.

that John held this position until that time. In 503, the war with Persia resumed, prompting Anastasius to make a change. Perhaps John, due to his age or health condition, was unable to command efficiently. Naturally, this is only a hypothesis.

## Family

What we learn about the consulate of John in 498 is the last piece of information regarding his career, which can be found in sources. Theophanes<sup>72</sup> mentions John in the context of his family connections. He was supposedly the grandfather of the titular consul (ex-consul) John<sup>73</sup>, who was in the service of Emperor Justinian. His father, or the son-in-law of John the Scythian, would be Rufinus, whose career begins in the sources in 502<sup>74</sup>. Later, Rufinus was the *magister militum per Thracias*, *magister utriusque militiae*, and a patrician. His brother Timostratus was the *dux Osrhoene* between 503–506 and the *dux Mesopotamiae* in 527, among others<sup>75</sup>. Rufinus and Timostratus' father was said to be Silvanus<sup>76</sup>, known for his good relations with the Persian ruler Perozes (459–484). It suggests that John the Scythian married off his daughter, unknown by name, to a representative of a family belonging to the Byzantine elite of the last decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, whose members, including John's son-in-law, would pursue their careers also in later periods. The fact that Theophanes, or rather the author of the source from which he drew, found it worth mentioning that John the Scythian was the grandfather of ex-consul John demonstrates that he recognized him as an important figure whose actions were long remembered.

Based on the sources, the military career of John the Scythian lasted 16 years. He spent less time defending the borders of the empire and more fighting (often, victoriously) against usurpers and peoples who either had lived in its territory for centuries (the Isaurians) or sought a place to settle there (the Ostrogoths), and whose status kept changing from ally to enemy. John, as evidenced by his nickname, came from a barbarian people, but this did not prevent him from serving the emperor loyally and building his position in the circles of the empire's elite.

*Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi*

<sup>72</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 6020, p. 176.

<sup>73</sup> PLRE III, p. 625–626 (s.v. *Ioannes* 7).

<sup>74</sup> On the career of Rufinus, see PLRE II, p. 954–957 (s.v. *Rufinus* 13).

<sup>75</sup> PLRE II, p. 1119–1120 (s.v. *Timostratus*).

<sup>76</sup> PLRE II, p. 1011–1012 (s.v. *Silvanus* 7).

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**Abstract.** The paper is devoted to John the Scythian – one of the chiefs of the Byzantine army in the eighties and nineties of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the sources, the military career of John the Scythian lasted 16 years. He spent less time defending the borders of the empire and more fighting (often, victoriously) against usurpers and peoples who either had lived in its territory for centuries (the Isaurians) or sought a place to settle there (the Ostrogoths), and whose status kept changing from ally to enemy. John, as evidenced by his nickname, came from a barbarian people, but this did not prevent him from serving the emperor loyally and building his position in the circles of the empire's elite.

**Keywords:** John the Scythian, Leontius, Illus, Byzantine army, Isaurians

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## TEXTILE PRICES IN EARLY BYZANTINE HAGIOGRAPHIC TEXTS. THREE CASE STUDIES\*

### Introduction

Early Byzantine hagiographic texts do not offer much information about prices and wages, and what is provided leaves much to be desired. Despite this, such data is cited in studies on the society and economy of late Antiquity. What is distinctive – and, at the same time, confirms the need for research on a specific group of sources (papyrology, patrology) – is that knowing the source specificity (and I mean, above all, various types of cognitive limitations), a number of mistakes can be avoided. This applies primarily to the figures given in literary texts created in the Greek cultural circle. In many, if not most, cases, they cannot be taken literally, and an analysis of but one source confirms that the described events are characterized by the use of repetitive figures reporting prices, wages, tax obligations, time intervals, distances or the number of participants in a given event as well as the number of troops (army size or losses suffered in a battle or war). Historians, especially papyrologists, who are unfamiliar with the nature of Greek Old Christian texts (including early Byzantine hagiographic texts) but are “accustomed” to specific and usually reliable data from the source material they know, tend to cite this information uncritically and even literally. This leads to an attempt to match it with other, more reliable accounts. Unfortunately, these attempts are not justified. I hope that the following reflections will confirm the legitimacy of my doubts. Having conducted a query of early Byzantine hagiographic texts, I would like to draw the reader’s attention to just a few examples regarding clothing prices in this source group. Essentially, this is the only information on this subject that I was able to find in the hagiographic texts written in the Roman East from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> centuries. Let us now examine specific examples.

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### *Vita Melaniae Iunioris*. How much is/should an ascetic's robe be worth?

*Vita Melaniae Iunioris*, written by Gerontius of Jerusalem, is one of the most interesting early Byzantine hagiographic texts. It provides a lot of valuable information about the Empire in the first decades of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Among the abundant data highlighting the social and economic situation at the time, it contains information about prices, including the alleged price of Pinian's ἱμάτιον. Pinian, the spouse of Melania the Younger, similarly to his wife, was a member of the ancient Roman Valeria family<sup>1</sup>. In subsequent years, together with Melania, he gave away his wealth. Pinian's new life path was symbolized by donning a new robe – the ascetic robe, ἱμάτιον. According to Gerontius, it “was worth less than one solidus” (ὡς εἶναι τὸ τίμημα αὐτῶν νομίσματος ἑνός)<sup>2</sup>, in other words, not much. These were “Cilician robes” (κιλικίσια ἱμάτια) which ascetic Pinian chose over the previously-worn costly Antiochene robe (ἀντιοχίσια ἰδιόχροα). His wife, Melania, followed his example, but in her case, the price of the new robe was not given<sup>3</sup>. That is all the information on the prices of clothes of spouses provided in *Vita graeca*. A different value of this robe is indicated in *Vita latina*. According to this account, it cost *tabulas quinque*, hence, five *siliquae*, which is slightly more than two-thirds of a solidus<sup>4</sup>. Federico Morelli tries to analyze this information by searching for similar prices for a tunic in other early Byzantine sources. For this purpose, He turns to *Tabulae albertini* and data from papyri<sup>5</sup>. His efforts, however, do not bring any tangible result, except for the conclusion that the price given by Gerontius deviates significantly from the value of analogous tunics relayed in other sources. Morelli's research did not produce constructive findings because it was futile. In this case, Gerontius' account was completely undeserving of attention as it is unreliable. By stating that the robe purchased by Pinian was worth less than one solidus, Melania's biographer wants to communicate that its value was negligible. The same method of determining the value of clothing or other goods (or services) is characteristic of all late Antiquity Christian Greek literature, including the hagiographic texts created at that time (comments on this subject below). Nonetheless, even in this case, there is a difference; in these texts, when a pauper or a beggar is referenced, the value of their clothing is defined as “one”, “three” or a maximum of “several obols”, in other words, that it was not worth much. Such a comparison, however, could not be applied to the aristocrat, Pinian, which is why the account mentions “a piece of gold”, rather than one or several obols. A repetitive use of

<sup>1</sup> On Melania the Younger see A.H.M. JONES, J.R. MARTINDALE, J. MORRIS, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1971, p. 593 (s.v. *Melania 2*).

<sup>2</sup> *Vie de sainte Mélanie*, 8, trans. et ed. D. GORCE, Paris 1962 [= SC, 90] (cetera: GERONTIUS). Cf. also F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti nel contesto economico tardoantico: I prezzi*, ATa 12, 2004, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> GERONTIUS, 8. Cf. also F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti...*, p. 74, n. 110.

<sup>4</sup> GERONTIUS, *La Vie Latine de Sainte Mélanie*, 8, trans. et ed. P. LAURENCE, Jerusalem 2002 [= SBF. CM, 41]: *tabulae quinque* = 5 *siliquae*; cf. F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti...*, p. 74 (n. 111), 75.

<sup>5</sup> F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti...*, p. 74–75.

values – such as those cited above, regardless of circumstances – is one of the multiple cognitive deficiencies of ancient Christian literature created in the Greek cultural circle. More examples supporting the validity of this statement will be given in the critical remarks to the analyzed main accounts.

### ***Pratum spirituale*. Clothing prices in the collection of “uplifting stories”**

Another interesting data can be found in *Pratum spirituale* (*The Spiritual Meadow*) by John Moschos (540/50–620). It is a valuable source on the history of early Byzantine monasticism, especially Palestinian. Similarly to the Egyptian *Apophthegmata Patrum*, it is a collection of instructive, and, above all, “uplifting”, stories from the lives of more or less known monks as well as fictional characters. Probably, not all of these stories were written by John Moschos. For the purpose of his work, he also adopted the accounts of other authors circulating in the monastic environment<sup>6</sup>.

Reflecting the atmosphere of early Byzantine monasticism, *Pratum spirituale* also provides insight, if somewhat imperfect, into the social and economic situations of that period. Occasionally, this collection of “uplifting stories” also touches on the issue of money, including costs and clothing prices. The accounts, in which we are interested here, are stories “with a moral”, which are skewed by nature, and for this reason alone, should be approached rather carefully. In the first case, a monk gets wrongly accused of stealing a solidus. The story begins when one of the protagonists, abba Andrew of Messenia, a young friar at the time, accompanies his abbot to Palestine, probably to Jerusalem. They stay there in ξενοδοχείον, sharing the room with an old man, also a monk. The old man has a piece of gold (νόμισμα ἔν), which he hides in fear of other guests from the inn. Suffering from dementia, the old man forgets about the secret place and accuses monk Andrew of stealing his money. Although he is not guilty, he decides to sell his cloak (παλλίον) “for one piece of gold” (νόμισμα), which was exactly the amount he was accused of stealing. Naturally, the coat is worth more, but monk Andrew deliberately sells it at no profit. One of the many topoi of early Byzantine hagiographic literature is of monks selling various goods, including their handiwork, at no profit and without haggling with the buyer. Let us return to the story told by John Moschos. The protagonist of the story unfairly accused of theft accepts the blame, claiming that he was misguided by Satan, and tries to give the old man the solidus obtained from the sale of his cloak. However, the

<sup>6</sup> H. CHADWICK, *John Moschos and His Friend Sophronius the Sophist*, JTS 25, 1974, p. 41sq; P. PAT-TENDEN, *The Text of the Pratum Spirituale*, JTS 26, 1975, p. 38–54; E. FOLLIERI, *Dove e quando morì Giovanni Mosco?*, RSBN 25, 1988, p. 3–39; B. FLUSIN, *Palestinian Hagiography (Fourth-Eight Centuries)*, [in:] *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. I, *Periods and Places*, ed. S. EFTHYMIADIS, Farnham–Burlington 2011, p. 199sq; B.L. IHSEN, *John Moschos’ Spiritual Meadow. Authority and Autonomy at the End of the Antique World*, Washington 2013, p. 1–19.

old man refuses to accept it, because in the meantime, he found the hidden piece of gold and asks the young monk to forgive him for the unjust accusation. Since it was supposed to be a moral story, the sclerotic old man is greatly encouraged by the fact that although the young monk did not steal his solidus, he took the blame to relieve the old monk's misery<sup>7</sup>.

Another story included in *Pratum spirituale* is equally didactic, so as not to say "uplifting". However, it should also be disregarded in research on the level of prices at the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. This text presents the realities of Italy under Gregory the Great. John Moschos recounts the story of Peter, a priest of the Roman Church, who describes the establishment of one of the monasteries founded by Pope Gregory. The monks gathered in it were forbidden from owning anything, "not even a single obolos" (ἔχη τί ποτε μηδὲ ἕως ὀβολοῦ). However, in a fit of vanity, one of the friars, wanting to have a shirt (καμίσιον), asked an outsider to buy him a new one. The person asked for a favor, his brother who was "living in the world", does not make the purchase, but offers the friar "three pieces of gold" (τρία νομίσματα), so he will buy the shirt according to his own taste. At this point in the narrative, the convention of an "uplifting" story requires a plot twist. And then, *the monk took the three pieces of gold, and went and reported it to his higoumen, who, when he heard it, went and reported it to the most holy pope*, to the bishop of Rome, Gregory. As a consequence, the friar gets excommunicated for acting against the rules. The excluded monk, anguished by this fact, dies<sup>8</sup>.

### ***Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii. The gonachion's price in Alexandria in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century***

Leontius, the Bishop of Cypriot Neapolis (590–668), left behind a valuable source for learning about the social and economic realities of early Byzantine Egypt, and in particular of Alexandria in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. This text is *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, which was most probably written in 641–642<sup>9</sup>. John the Almsgiver, the hero of his main work, was patriarch of Alexandria (610–620), an ecclesiastical leader of Egyptian Church, and "a model of charitable activity"<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> JOANNES MOSCHUS, *Pratum spirituale*, 116, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXVII.3 (cetera: JOANNES MOSCHUS). Cf. also F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti...*, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> JOANNES MOSCHUS, 192 (trans.: JOHN MOSCHOS, *The Spiritual Meadow*, ed. et trans. J. WORTLEY, Kalamazoo 1992, p. 165). Cf. also F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti...*, p. 75, n. 119.

<sup>9</sup> E. DAWES, N.H. BAYNES, *Three Byzantine Saints. Contemporary Biographies Translated from Greek*, Oxford 1948, p. 195–198; C.A. MANGO, *A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontion of Neapolis*, [in:] *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. I. HUTTER, Wien 1984, p. 33; V. DÉROCHE, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis*, Upsala 1995 [= SBU, 3], p. 25–36; S. EFTHYMIADIS, V. DÉROCHE, A. BINGGELI, Z. AĪNALIS, *Greek Hagiography in Late Antiquity (Fourth-Seventh Centuries)*, [in:] *The Ashgate Research Companion...*, p. 72–73.

<sup>10</sup> S. EFTHYMIADIS, V. DÉROCHE, A. BINGGELI, Z. AĪNALIS, *Greek Hagiography...*, p. 73.

Stories included in early Byzantine hagiographic texts typically feature a pauper and a rich man – a Christian, who comes to his aid. Sometimes, as shown in the example of the Alexandrian priest Isidore, it is necessary to resort to trickery to cajole an affluent woman to share her wealth with the poor<sup>11</sup>. Other times, compassion for an impoverished fellowman comes on its own, spurred by the lifestyle of the beneficiary, in this case, widely-respected John, Patriarch of Alexandria, the title protagonist of Leontius' work. *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii* recounts the story of purchasing a γοναχίωv for the Alexandrian patriarch. This is where the narrative first raises questions. We are unable to unequivocally state what the term defines. The term “γοναχίωv” has multiple meanings. It can mean: a blanket, a cloak or maybe a cape, which you could either cover your back when going out or use as a cover during sleep. The description of the circumstances of the event suggests that it might be the latter: a type of throw that could serve both as an outer garment and as a blanket under which you could sleep<sup>12</sup>. Either way, this doubt is not central to the analyzed account. When one of the affluent and pious Christians from Alexandria sees the conditions in which the patriarch sleeps, he decides to buy him a new comfortable bed and the aforementioned γοναχίωv for the sum of 36 solidi (τριάκοντα ἔξ)<sup>13</sup>. The patriarch cannot accept the fact that from now on, he will sleep “in luxuries” while the local poor, the “brothers of Christ”, are lying on the streets and dying from cold. The convention of a hagiographic work requires taking action. The patriarch decides to sell the γοναχίωv. A man sent to the market for this purpose is noticed by the donor, who first made that purchase. He decides to buy back the γοναχίωv for the same amount he paid earlier, 36 solidi, and then orders its delivery back to the patriarch's house. Bishop John, not discouraged by this, sends his servant back to the market the next day to try to sell, what he claims to be, an “unessential thing” for him. This continues for two consecutive days, and as a result, the patriarch “sells” the gifted cloak three times, collecting over 100 pieces of gold. For the money obtained from the thrice-sold gonnachion, John purchased 144 cloaks of inferior quality for the Alexandrian poor<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> PALLADIUS, *The Lausiac History*, 6, 8–20, vol. II, ed. et trans. C. BUTLER, Cambridge 1904 (cetera: PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*).

<sup>12</sup> F. MORELLI, *Gonachia e kaunakai nei papiri con due documenti inediti (P.Vindob. G 1620 e P.Vindob. G 18884) e uno riedito (P.Brook. 25)*, JJP 32, 2004, p. 55sq; W. CLARYSSE, *Clothing the House. Furnishing Textiles of the 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries*, [in:] *Textiles and Architecture in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Research Group ‘Textiles from the Nile Valley’*, 6.10.2007–7.10.2007, ed. W. CLARYSSE, K. GEENS, A. DE MOOR, C. FLUCK, Antwerp 2009, p. 39–40.

<sup>13</sup> LEONTIUS NEAPOLEOS, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, 21, [in:] *Leontios von Neapolis Leben des hl. Johannes des Barmherzigen*, ed. H. GELZER, Freiburg im Breisgau 1893 (cetera: LEONTIUS NEAPOLEOS, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*). Cf. F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti...*, p. 55–56, 69–71.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Löhne und Preise in Byzanz*, BZ 32, 1932, p. 326.

This is what we can glean from this story: the alleged circumstances, in which the patriarch tries to sell the blankets gifted him, and the considerable sum he effectively raises to continue supporting the local poor. One could say: one of many “pious” stories, in which early Byzantine hagiography abounds. In his text on the prices of textiles, Federico Morelli tries to match the price of the blanket to other source data, primarily to the data from papyri. Italian scholar assumes that the right method to determine the cognitive value of information about the price of the *gonachion* mentioned in *Vita* is to compare it with other values provided in the text, especially the wages. Hence, according to the author, to collect money for the coat, you would have to work for 18 years in Alexandria, for a monthly salary (?) which John earned, i.e. for  $\frac{1}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{6}$  solidus. Based on the papyrus documents from the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Morelli estimated that 36 solidi, the sum for which the  $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\chi\iota\omega\nu$  was allegedly purchased, would have bought food for a family of four for at least 10 years, assuming that wheat was a staple in their diet. Once again, Morelli’s efforts are quite baffling, because the author attempts to collate incomparable values. Rather succinct information on the price of the cloak cannot be referred to the prices of this type of goods given in other sources, which are cognitively more valuable. Any attempts in this regard remain questionable as blankets vary in terms of their size or quality of the material from which they were sewn.

### Critical remarks

The examples discussed above confirm the validity of the statement that Christian texts created in the Greek cultural circle typically provide repetitive data on salaries, prices or other sums of money. The cited cases illustrate the reality of everyday life in Palestine (from the 420/430s to the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century), Egypt (Alexandria of the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century) and Italy (the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, the times of Gregory the Great). Admittedly, both the territorial and chronological dispersion of this data is considerable, but this aspect is not the most important in this case. The compiled data exhibits two common features: the fact that it was recorded in hagiographic texts created from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> to the mid-7<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the fact that, regardless of the circumstances in the analyzed texts, the same, repetitive figures appear.

The validity of the above remark, articulated belief that the compiled data are unreliable, is also confirmed by other numerical data that we find in the analyzed texts. In *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii* we read, when John Almsgiver learnt, that the church of Jerusalem is in great distress *he sent him towards the rebuilding and repairing of the churches 1000 numismata, 1000 sacks of corn, and 1000 of pulse, 1000 lb [pounds – IM] of iron, 1000 casks of dried fish called “Maenomene”, 1000 jars of wine and 1000 Egyptian women*<sup>15</sup>. Any comment on the account above

<sup>15</sup> LEONTIUS NEAPOLEOS, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, 20 (trans.: E. DAWES, N.H. BAYNES, *Three Byzantine Saints...*, p. 229).

seems redundant. Similar repeatable data we also find in *Pratum spirituale*: “3 gold denarii”, as an alm given to the poor<sup>16</sup>, or “3 gold pieces” as a payment for document to chancellor<sup>17</sup>. Many analogous data from the texts analyzed above could be given. This, however, is already material for separate study.

Let us return to the main thread of our considerations. Of course, we can compare the above discussed data with the prices of clothing that are found in other late Roman and in early Byzantine texts, starting from the information on the subject traced in *Edictum de pretiis rerum venalium* or in *Tabulae albertini* and finishing with papyrus data from Egypt in Byzantine and early Arab period. As the findings of Federico Morelli’s extensive study on the prices of textiles in late Antiquity show, the cognitive effect, based on hagiographic texts, is really doubtful<sup>18</sup>. Unfortunately, the data compiled above does not reflect the actual prices of textiles in the analyzed period (from mid-5<sup>th</sup> to mid-7<sup>th</sup> centuries) and should be considered valueless. The same applies to the information found on prices, wages or taxes in all late Christian Greek literature. These texts employ repetitive data, characterized by the use of identical digits (one, three, seven) and numerals (10, 30, 100, 300, 1,000, etc.). So as not to make idle claims, let us cite specific examples. In early Byzantine hagiographic texts, slave prices ranged from three solidi (τρία νομίσματα, a slave living and working on landed property around 406–408 in suburbs of Rome<sup>19</sup>), through 20 (εἴκοσι νομίσματα)<sup>20</sup>, to 30 *solidi*<sup>21</sup>. While in the first quotation, the amount is low, the price of 30 *solidi* for a slave is considerable (however, due to a “certain value” of a slave, the author of the account could not phrase it as “severals obols”, the way it is done in the case of a poor man’s clothing prices). *Apophthegmata patrum* mentions the price of flax equal to 1 gold piece (ἕν χρύσινον/νόμισμα)<sup>22</sup>. According to John Moschos, a copy of the New Testament “written on extremely fine skins” in Palestine in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century cost three pieces of gold<sup>23</sup>, hence, not very much, which is probably untrue. In that period, the prices for calligrapher services were quite significant.

<sup>16</sup> JOANNES MOSCHUS, 195.

<sup>17</sup> JOANNES MOSCHUS, 193.

<sup>18</sup> F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti...*, p. 57sq, 73sq. On the manner of repeating identical numbers and numbers in literary texts cf. also E. TAVENNER, *Three as a Magic Number in Latin Literature*, TPAPA 47, 1916, p. 117–143; P. DEVOS, *Les nombres dans l’Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, AB 92, 1974, p. 97–108; R. MEHRLEIN, *Drei*, [in:] *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. IV, ed. T. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1959, col. 269–310.

<sup>19</sup> PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 61.

<sup>20</sup> PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 37, 2–4. However, the story described on this occasion devalues the cognitive value of this information.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Löhne...*, p. 300.

<sup>22</sup> *Apophthegmata patrum. Collectio alphabetica*, 417 (*Joannes Persicus* 2), [in:] PG, vol. LXV (cetera: *Apophthegmata patrum. Collectio alphabetica*). Cf. also I. MILEWSKI, *Money in the Apophthegmata Patrum*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 608–609.

<sup>23</sup> JOANNES MOSCHUS, 134.

A similar situation applies to earnings. Early Byzantine hagiographic texts mention a daily wage of one κεράτιον (a decent pay)<sup>24</sup>. The monk Auxentios (the 5<sup>th</sup> century) provides another example. If one believes the assurances of his biographer, Auxentios worked in a Constantinopolitan workshop doing unspecified work for the sum of “three folleis” (φόλλεις τρεῖς) per day<sup>25</sup>, so the proverbial “two cents”, which is not much. In early Byzantine texts the prostitute earns an income of three folleis<sup>26</sup>, “a few obols” (ὀλίγον ὀβολοί)<sup>27</sup> or “three gold pieces” (τρία νομίσματα)<sup>28</sup>. On the other hand, a text depicting the realities of the Edessa (Upper Mesopotamia) in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., notes that the monk Paul, working as an “unskilled craftsman”, earned 100 folleis a day<sup>29</sup>. The same texts mention donations of 100 *solidi*<sup>30</sup>, 1,000 *solidi* (χιλίους χρυσίνους)<sup>31</sup>, 300 pounds of silver (προσήνεγκα αὐτῷ ἀργενταρίαν τριακοσίων λιτρῶν ἀργυρίου)<sup>32</sup>, 1000 *solidi* (χιλίους χρυσίνους)<sup>33</sup>, 10,000 *solidi* (...νομίσματα μύρια)<sup>34</sup> or 10,000 pounds of gold (χρυσίου λίτρας μυρίας) to the church<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> LEONTIUS NEAPOLEOS, *Vita Joannis Eleemosynarii*, 36 (monk Vitalis); *Vita Danielis*, [in:] *Vie et recits de Abbe Daniel de Scété*, ed. L. CLUGNET, ROC 5, 1900 (cetera: *Vita Danielis*), p. 266 (monk Eulogios). Cf. also a salary of two *siliquae* daily (δύο κεράτια καθ' ἡμέραν), cf. *Apophthegmata patrum. Collectio alphabetica*, 763 (*Pambo* 2).

<sup>25</sup> *Vita s. Auxentii*, 1, 7, [in:] PG, vol. CXIX.

<sup>26</sup> PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, 17, 5, [in:] *Procopius with an English Translation*, vol. VI, *The Anecdota or Secret History*, ed. H.B. DEWING, Cambridge Mass. 1960 (cetera: PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*).

<sup>27</sup> PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, 25, 12.

<sup>28</sup> PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 65, 2. Cf. also I. MILEWSKI, “Take her, and pay me three gold pieces a day as her hire”. *Palladius of Helenopolis on Income from Lenocinium*, [in:] *Byzantina et Slavica. Studies in Honour of Professor Maciej Salamon*, ed. S. TURLEJ, M. STACHURA, B.J. KOŁOCZEK, A. IZDEBSKI, Kraków 2019 p. 275.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Löhne...*, p. 298.

<sup>30</sup> CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS, *Vitae Monachorum Palaestinae (Vita Theodosii, 3)*, [in:] E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig 1939 [= TUGAL, 49.2] (cetera: CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS).

<sup>31</sup> PALLADIUS, *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, 6, 58, vol. I–II, ed. et trans. A.M. MALINGREY, P. LECLERCQ, Paris 1988 [= SC, 341–342] (cetera: PALLADIUS, *Dialogue*); CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS (*Vita Sabae*, 72–73).

<sup>32</sup> PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 10.

<sup>33</sup> PALLADIUS, *Dialogus*, 6, 58.

<sup>34</sup> PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 61.

<sup>35</sup> *Vita Olympiadis*, V, 21–33; VII, 3–4, ed. et trans. A.-M. MALINGREY, Paris 1968 [= SC, 13 bis]. Author of *Vita* listed also another donation, namely 20,000 pounds of silver to the Constantinopolitan church (ἀργυρίου λίτρας δισμυρίας). Cf. also SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, VIII, 9, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 4] (cetera: SOZOMENUS) and G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974 [= BBE, 7], p. 501–506.

Identical digits and numerals, as in the case of prices, wages or donations, are also used in determining the amount of alms<sup>36</sup>, taxes<sup>37</sup>, fines<sup>38</sup>, size of property<sup>39</sup>, distances<sup>40</sup>, time periods<sup>41</sup> or the number of people participating in the described event<sup>42</sup>, ransom<sup>43</sup> or bribe<sup>44</sup>. When the authors of hagiographic texts quote the number of widows<sup>45</sup>, monks<sup>46</sup>, a small amount of money<sup>47</sup>, as well as the other values<sup>48</sup>, they are numbered in a similar fashion, they usually give the following numbers: 10, 30, 100, 300, 1,000, 3,000 or 10,000. The data confirming the legitimacy of my observations given in footnotes are of course selective. It is not possible to list them all.

<sup>36</sup> Alms: GERONTIUS, 51; *Vita Danielis*, p. 60 (alms in the amount to 100 *folleis* per day).

<sup>37</sup> Taxes: BASILIUS MAGNUS, *Epistula*, 40, [in:] PG, vol. XXXII (the alleged tax of 1000 pounds to pay for the costs of the Persian expedition of Emperor Julian in 363). Cf. also THÉODORET DE CYR, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, 17, 3, vol. I–II, ed. et trans. P. CANIVET, A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, Paris 1977–1979 [= SC, 234, 468] (cetera: THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*), (χρυσίνου ἐκατὸν); *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 14, 5–8, ed. A.-J. FESTUGIERE, Bruxelles 1971 [= SHa, 53] (cetera: *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*) (χρυσίον πραγματευτικόν, 300 *solidi*); JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Acta Apostolorum*, 11, 3, [in:] PG, vol. LX (estimated tax of 10 000 gold pieces). Cf. also J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates*, München 1958, p. 129, 143.

<sup>38</sup> SOZOMENUS, V, 4 (the alleged fine for the destruction of the pagan temple in Cappadocian Caesarea).

<sup>39</sup> BASILIUS MAGNUS, *In illud: destruaum horrea mea*, 3, [in:] PG, vol. XXXI (a fortune worth “thousands of gold pieces”); JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Ad populum Antiochenum*, 2, 6, [in:] PG, vol. XLIX (annual income of tens of thousands of gold); JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Acta Apostolorum*, 11, 3, [in:] PG, vol. LX (the wealth of Constantinople’s richest inhabitants is estimated “at 1 million pounds of gold, or two or maybe even three times more”); JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Epistulam I ad Corinthios*, 5, 5, [in:] PG, vol. LXI (“a property” of poor man’s worth “one obolos”).

<sup>40</sup> Distances: THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, 10, 4; 25, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Time periods: Theodoretus, *Historia religiosa*, 2, 14, 17; 26, 4–5; 28, 3; *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 1, 12, 64; 14, 6; *Apophthegmata patrum. Collectio alphabetica* 97 (Agaton 15); 239 (Zenon 5); 417 (Joannes Persicus 2); 486 (Macarius 33); 586 (Poymen 12); 540 (Mios 2); 535 (Megethios 1); 966 (Nisteroos 6); CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS (*Vita Euthymii*, 37). The same applies to measuring time, in which case the most common statements are: “in a short time”, “in a few days”, “in a day”, “in three days”, “on the third day”, or “on the third night”.

<sup>42</sup> Number of people/inhabitants: JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Acta Apostolorum*, 11, 3, [in:] PG, vol. LX (100 000, the number of Christians in Constantinople at the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries); JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Johannem*, 58, 4, [in:] PG, vol. LIX; *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* 14, 5–8; 17, 5; THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, 12, 6; *Apophthegmata patrum. Collectio alphabetica*, 789 (*Paphnuti* 4).

<sup>43</sup> Ransom: GERONTIUS, 18–19 (νομίματα τρισχίλια) and another amount of 500 *solidi*.

<sup>44</sup> Bribe: PALLADIUS, *Dialogus*, IV, 43, 57–60 (νομίματα τρισχίλια).

<sup>45</sup> Number of “widows and virgins” in Antioch, cf. JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Matthaëum*, 66 (67), 3, [in:] PG, vol. LVII–LVIII.

<sup>46</sup> Number of monks: THEODORETUS, *Historia religiosa*, 3, 4; *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 5, 6.

<sup>47</sup> Small amount of money: PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, 58, 2 (τρία νομίματα).

<sup>48</sup> Other values: JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Epistulam II ad Timotheum*, 3, 3, [in:] PG, vol. LXII (theft of 10 *obols*); *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 14, 19 (distribution of ten bags of vegetables among the poor); CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS (*Vita Euthymii*, 15) – 30 rooms; CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS (*Vita Sabae*, 58) – 30 wine tubes.

The repetitiveness of the data cited above is characteristic of all Ancient Greek literature, from Herodotus<sup>49</sup> and Thucydides<sup>50</sup>, through the late Antique Greek patristic literature (John Chrysostom<sup>51</sup> or Gregory of Nyssa<sup>52</sup>, among others) to the works of Procopius of Caesarea<sup>53</sup>. An identical method of determining numerical data is also characteristic for the literature of middle and late Byzantine period<sup>54</sup>. Interestingly, these features also recur in texts written in Latin, but created in the Greek cultural circle, such as some of the works of John Cassian<sup>55</sup> and Jerome<sup>56</sup>. In other words, the nature of the quoted data was not determined by the language but by the readers and the methods of determining certain values, quantities and distances, which they used and understood.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. D. FEHLING, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot. Studien zur Erzählkunst Herodots*, Berlin–New York 1971 [= ULG, 9], p. 155–167; K. RUFFING, 300, [in:] B. DUNSCH, K. RUFFING, *Herodots Quellen – die Quellen Herodots*, Wiesbaden 2013, p. 201–221.

<sup>50</sup> C. RUBINCAM, *Qualification of Numerals in Thucydides*, AJAH 4, 1979, p. 77–95.

<sup>51</sup> According to John Chrysostom, in Antioch at the turn of the 380s and '90s, the medical fees for an identical consultation ranged from one to 100 pieces of gold (ἑκατὸν χρυσίνου), in other words, some patients were charged very little and others substantially more, cf. JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In paralyticum per tectum demissum*, 4, [in:] PG, vol. LI and H.J. FRINGS, *Medizin und Arzt bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern bis Chrysostomos*, Bonn 1959, p. 91–92; U. BACHMANN, *Medizinisches in den Schriften des griechischen Kirchenvater Johannes Chrysostomos* [PhD Thesis, Düsseldorf 1984], p. 99. Cf. also JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Epistulam ad Ephesios*, 21, 3, [in:] PG, vol. LXII (philosophers worth 3 obols, so nothing); JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Epistulam ad Philippenses*, 10, 3, [in:] PG, vol. LXII: hundreds of *solidi* for dresses paid by wealthy Antiochian women, and at the same time a poor man can afford to buy clothes for just 1 silver piece. Cf. also A. GONZALEZ-BLANCO, *Economia y sociedad en el Bajo Imperio segun san Juan Crisostomo*, Madrid 1980, p. 160; I. MILEWSKI, *Löhne und Preise bei den Kappadokischen Kirchenvätern und bei Johannes Chrysostomus*, MBAH 19.1, 2000, p. 51–52.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. GREGORY OF NYSSA account (GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *Epistulae*, 25, 12, ed. P. MARAVAL, Paris 1990 [= SC, 363]) about masons recruited to build the church in Nyssa. The bishop hired 30 craftsmen for “one piece of gold per day”. Meanwhile, in *Contra usurarios*, [in:] PG, vol. XLVI, col. 449, the same author states that one of the local loan sharks, a wealthy man, was so stingy that he could not bare to spend “three obols” on an entry to the public bathhouse in Nyssa, namely, pay a very small fee. Cf. also R. TEJA, *Organizacion economica y social de Capadocia en el siglo IV, segun los Padres Capadocios*, Salamanca 1974, p. 161.

<sup>53</sup> Including the sums, which Procopius quoted for the ransom paid by the early Byzantine cities to the Persian invaders, cf. I. MILEWSKI, *Lýtron. Okup za odstąpienie od oblężenia miasta jako element strategii wojennej Chosroesa I w De bello Persico Prokopiusza z Cezarei*, SDŚ 23, 2019, p. 143–170. Cf. also C. WHATELY, *Some Observations on Procopius' Use of Numbers in Descriptions of Combat in Wars Books 1–7*, *Phoe* 69, 2015, p. 395–396.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Löhne...*, p. 293–333.

<sup>55</sup> I. MILEWSKI, *Panis et vinum. Einige Bemerkungen zu den Lebensmittelpreisen und Ernährungsgewohnheiten des spätantiken Menschen bei den griechischen und lateinischen Kirchenväter*, [in:] *W kręgu antycznych politei. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Janowi Ilukowi*, ed. W. GAJEWSKI, I. MILEWSKI, Gdańsk 2017, p. 265.

<sup>56</sup> I. MILEWSKI, *Winnica eremity Saby. Uwagi na temat Vita Hilarionis 17, 26–27 autorstwa Hieronima ze Strydonu*, SGd 42, 2018, p. 82–84.

What is equally interesting, a quotation of repetitive digits and numerals for specifying prices is also visible in papyrus texts, in private correspondence. Essentially, it is rather obvious, since this was the way contemporaries defined certain values. This statement is supported by an anonymous letter, dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century, sent to an equally anonymous addressee (in many cases, due to the succinct nature of the text and its fragmentary preservation, it is impossible to determine its author, addressee or the exact time of writing the letter). The author of the letter informs his addressee that, having no money for daily subsistence, he just sold one of his coats for “10 *artabas* of wheat” (circa 300 kilograms). This information was used by Morelli to calculate the value of the cloak sold, or in fact, exchanged for cereal. Bearing in mind the average price of wheat in Egypt in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the author came to the simple conclusion that the cloak cost “one solidus”<sup>57</sup>. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century Egypt, it was possible to buy a *gonnakhion* for as little as one piece of gold, but I believe that trusting the above-quoted account is too hasty, so as not to say naive. If we were to apply the method of treating numerical data literally (in this case, prices), we might revert to the accounts of Julian the Apostate<sup>58</sup> and John Chrysostom<sup>59</sup>, who mention the price of grain in Antioch at one piece of gold per one or ten *artabas*. However, these accounts are also not credible.

Let us return to the prices of clothing we have discussed earlier. The fact that the reported data cannot be treated literally is one issue, and another is why the same numbers are given in a repetitive fashion. Does their topicality equal saying that in the reported cases, the “right” price was paid; that a tunic or a cloak cost what they should have? Perhaps the explanation should be sought in the fact that the authors of the discussed accounts did not know the actual price of the goods and provided their topical value, which was of secondary importance to the character and moral of the story. Let us consider the obvious fact that the contemporaries knew the level of prices at the time, so the reader of a hagiographic work was able to determine their validity. Simply put, providing an abnormally low or inflated price, in this case, could additionally depreciate the truthfulness and strength of the account recorded in the hagiographic text. Therefore, from the point of view of the author of a hagiographic work, statements about certain sizes, values or distances were made without attention to detail, yet such a way of specifying them was understandable to the readers at the time. However, there

<sup>57</sup> F. MORELLI, *Tessuti e indumenti...*, p. 69–70.

<sup>58</sup> JULIEN, *Le Misopogon*, 41, [in:] L'EMPEREUR JULIEN, *Ouvres complètes*, vol. II, ed. C. LACOMBRADÉ, Paris 1964 [= CUF] (one gold piece for 10 *artabas* of grain). Cf. also C. MORRISON, *Monnaie et prix à Byzance du V au VII s.*, [in:] *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantine, IV–VII s.*, ed. P. LETHIELLEUX, Paris 1989, p. 257.

<sup>59</sup> JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Epistulam I ad Corinthios*, 39, 8, [in:] PG, vol. LXI (one gold piece for 1 *artaba* of grain).

is no doubt that this data cannot be treated literally, as the papyrologist and historian Federico Morelli does in his otherwise engrossing and very useful detailed study.

*Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi*

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**Abstract.** This text analyzes three early Byzantine source accounts on clothing prices from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries in Italy (Rome), Palestine (probably in Jerusalem), and Egypt (Alexandria). The compiled and discussed narrations were compared with other contemporary source reports, which feature analogical figures describing the amount of prices, wages, taxes, and other values or distances. By making a comparative analysis, the author came to the conclusion that these data are recurrent, and, therefore, unreliable. This observation also applies to the clothing prices discussed in the text, which, undoubtedly, should be considered topical.

**Keywords:** early Byzantium, late Roman economy, early Byzantine hagiography, prices in early Byzantium

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## JOHN THE WATER-BEARER (ИВАНЪ ВОДОНОСЪЦЪ) ONCE AGAIN ON DUALISM IN THE BOSNIAN CHURCH\*

Franjo Rački published his book *Bogomili i patareni* 150 years ago<sup>1</sup>. Since then, there has been unceasing debate over the Bosnian Church, its organization, liturgical practice and dogmas. One of F. Rački's most frequently disputed theses concerns the genealogical connection between Balkan neo-Manichean heresies and the teachings of the Bosnian dissidents – particularly the question as to the direct influence of Bulgarian and Byzantine Bogomilism on the cosmology, dogmatics and social doctrine of the Bosnian Christians, or “patarenes”, as Rački called them<sup>2</sup>. Further below, I will consecutively use the terms “Christians”, “Bosnian Christians”, and “Bosnian Church”, with variants “Bosnian dissidents/heterodox”. All these designations have been used in the more recent studies that oppose the terminological “Latinization”, which is not only outdated but also suggests a certain ideological bias. The term “Bogomils”, occurring in the older literature, I find likewise imprecise: despite the obvious influence exercised by Balkan Bogomilism on religious life in medieval Bosnia and Herzegovina, the doctrine, ecclesiastical organization and liturgical practice of Bosnian Christians differed in some respects from the doctrine of Bulgarian and Byzantine neo-Manichean communities.

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<sup>1</sup> F. РАЧКИ, *Bogomili i patareni*, Zagreb 1869–1870. Further citations are from the edition: F. РАЧКИ, *Borba južnih Slovena za državnu neodvisnost. Bogomili i patareni*, Beograd 1931.

<sup>2</sup> The designation “patareni”, by which F. Rački refers to the “Bosnian dissidents”, is taken from Latin literature: as early as the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Mauro Orbini wrote about the “Patarini”: *erano in Bosna molti heretici, specialmente i Patarini* (M. ORBINI, *Il Regno degli Slavi*, München 1985, p. 352). Regarding the etymology and meaning of the lexeme, see: I. ДУЈЧЕВ, *I bogomili nei paesi slavi e la loro storia*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, vol. I, Roma 1966, p. 251–282; Д. ДРАГОЛОВИЋ, *Богомилство на Балкану и у Малој Азији*, vol. I, *Bogomil родоначалници*, Београд 1974, p. 80–82.

This article aims to demonstrate that Balkan Bogomilism did indeed exercise direct influence on the Bosnian Church, but that this does not imply the latter was *sensu stricto* Bogomil in character. The refusal of some scholars to acknowledge the presence of certain dualist elements in the doctrine of the Bosnian heterodox is often marked by religious and ideological bias connected with political attitudes that have nothing to do with scientific discourse but rather concern the ethnic and national identity (or lack of such identity) of the Bosniaks and their religion, language and culture. Here I would quote the opinion of Piotr Wróbel, a scholar well versed in Bosnian history:

The history of the Bosnian Manicheans, the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, and the subsequent Islamization are important elements of the construction of a national identity of the Bosnian Muslims, that is, of the so-called Bosniaks. These events in the distant Middle Ages acquire surprisingly great importance in a present-day perspective. As such, they become the object of what has recently been designated by the resonant but rather enigmatic term “historical politics” (German – *Geschichtspolitik*)<sup>3</sup>.

The resistance against the thesis of Bogomil influence unites different scholars from ex-Yugoslavia regardless of their ethnic, ideological or religious affiliation, and is an element of their shared Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav *Geschichtspolitik*. In other words, Yugoslav, and especially post-Yugoslav, historians are divided internally (as Serbs, Croats, Bosnians), but they are all united against the disadvantageous concept of an *external*, in this case Bulgarian, influence, supported not only by Bulgarian but also by Western scholars, and more recently by researchers from Bosnia-Herzegovina, influenced by “the classical Bulgarian perspective on medieval heresies”<sup>4</sup>. According to the deniers of the term Bogomilism, the Bosnian Church, when “pressed between” the Bulgarian (Bogomil-based) and the Western (Cathar-based) interpretation of medieval dualism, loses its identity.

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Analyzing the dogmatics and ecclesiology of the Bosnian Church is a particularly difficult task. The Latin sources are tendentious and often ascribe to the Bosnian Christians features typical of the West European dualists. Few domestic,

<sup>3</sup> P. WRÓBEL, *Kontrowersje wokół podboju i islamizacji Bośni. Przyczynek do tzw. „polityki historycznej”*, BPAS 19, 2012, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> They criticize not only the views expressed in classical studies on Balkan neo-Manicheism (S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*, Cambridge 1947; D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948), but also some more recent books and anthologies that argue in support of the connection between medieval dualist doctrines in the Balkans and in Western Europe. See the critique of the anthology of sources on Bogomilism by J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, Y. STOYANOV, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650 – c. 1450*, Manchester–New York 1998 in: DŽ. DAUTOVIĆ, *Crkva bosanska: moderni historiografski tokovi, rasprave i kontroverze (2005–2015)*, HTra 15, 2015, p. 127–160.

Bosnian-Slavic sources contain theological information. From a methodological viewpoint, the naturally correct scientific reflex would demand seeking some direct influence or parallels between the doctrine of the Bosnian Christians and other medieval heterodox doctrines.

The lack of Slavic sources is partially compensated for by the discovery made by the Russian Slavist Mikhail N. Speranskij, who published in 1902 the marginal glosses to the so-called *Srećković Gospel*, a Cyrillic monument from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (which was destroyed during the bombardment of Belgrade in 1941). In his article, he defined the manuscript as a “bosnischen Evangelium” and published the marginalia that had been added later (in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries), which according to him, testified that the manuscript had been for some time in a dualist environment<sup>5</sup>. Since then and to this day, disputes have continued *pro* and *contra* the neo-Manichean, Bogomil content of the marginal glosses. The most ardent supporter of the view that they hold a concealed Bogomil message was Alexander Solovjev, who further developed F. Rački’s thesis as to the moderate dualism of the Bosnian “patarenes”<sup>6</sup>. Among the more recent defenders of the view as to the text’s heterodox content is Sima Ćirković<sup>7</sup>, while its opponents include Dragoljub Dragojlović<sup>8</sup>. Lejla Nakaš also argued against the supposed Bogomil content of the marginalia<sup>9</sup>.

I would express some doubts about the categorical conclusions of supporters and opponents alike of the “Bogomil connection”; to do so, I will comment on two of the marginal glosses (5 and 9 according to the numeration of M.N. Speranskij). Here are the texts:

F. 75, opposite Luke 10: 30–35 (the Parable of the Good Samaritan): **ВНЬ ЧѢВЪКЪ ЕСТЬ ПЛѢКНИЦА, А ЕРЪЛЕНЪ ЖИЛИЩЕ СѢТИХЪ, А ЕРИХА МИРЪ, А ЧѢВЪИ ГРѢСИ, А ЕРЪХЪ МОИСИ, А ЛЕВГИТЬ ИВАНЪ ВОДОНОСЕЦЪ, А САМАРИТАНИНЪ ИСЪ, А ОЛѢИ И ВИНО МИЛОСТЬ БЖИЕ, А СКОТЬ ЗАКОНЪ, А ГОСТИНИЦА ЦРКВА, А ГОСТИНИКЪ ПЕТАРЪ, А ДВА ПЪКНЕЗА ВЪКРА ИДИНА.**

F. 91<sup>1</sup> opposite Luke 16: 1–11 (the Parable of the Householder): **ВНЬ ЧЛѢВЪКЪ КНЕЗЪ ВЪКА, А ЇКОНОБЪ СТАРЕШИНА ЦРКВЕ ЕГО, А ДЛЪЖНИКЪ ЗАКОННИЦИ ИЖЕ ПО ВСЕ ДНИ ГРѢХЕ ѠПЩАЮ ЧЛѢКОМЪ И ТАКО ГРѢЕ ДШЕ ЧЛѢКЕ.**

<sup>5</sup> M.N. SPERANSKIJ, *Ein bosnisches Evangelium in der Handschriftensammlung Srećković’s*, ASP 24, 1902, p. 172–182. The text of the marginal glosses, a sort of explanation of some Gospel fragments, is on p. 176–178.

<sup>6</sup> A. SOLOVJEV, *Vjersko učenje bosanske crkve*, Zagreb 1948.

<sup>7</sup> С. ЂИРКОВИЋ, *Глосе Срећковићевог јеванђеља и учење босанске цркве*, [in:] *Богомилството на Балканот во светлината на најновите истражувања. Материјали од симпозиумот одржан во Скопје на 30, 31 мај и 1 јуни 1978*, Скопје 1982, p. 207–221.

<sup>8</sup> Д. ДРАГОЛОВИЋ, *Крстјани и јеретичка црква босанска*, Београд 1987, p. 193–199.

<sup>9</sup> L. NAKAŠ, *Zapadnoštokavski pisani idiom u srednjem vijeku*, ВЈез 5, 2008, p. 199–212.

The supporters of F. Rački's hypothesis find in these marginalia some traces of moderate or radical dualism. Aleksandar Solovjev seeks in the expression **КНЕЗЪ ВЪТКА** the image of Satan, who has enslaved human souls in the material world he created (moderate dualism)<sup>10</sup>. Sima Ćirković also finds some traces of dualism, radical in this case, in the marginal glosses: according to him, the texts in the *Srećković Gospel* exemplify a radical dualist opposition between the soul (the divine principle) and the body (the material creation of the demiurge)<sup>11</sup>. The most categorical opponent of the thesis as to the presence of dualist, Bogomil influences in the doctrine of the Bosnian Christians seems to be D. Dragojlović. In his opinion, the marginal glosses in the *Srećković Gospel* have a "seeming dualist content", whereas, *the domestic sources convincingly confirm that the Bosnian Christians were not familiar with Cathar or Manichean dualism, but accepted the mystic dualism of the Eastern Church, which was rejected in the works of some mystics of the Eastern Church*<sup>12</sup>.

I can partially agree with Dragojlović's view. Indeed, from the marginal glosses, we cannot draw positive conclusions as to some dualist content – whether moderate or radical. Dualism – the opposing of the celestial to the earthly – is typical for the orthodox Churches as well, especially (here the Belgrade scholar is right again) for monastic communities, whose mysticism was not always acceptable to the official Church. I would add that A. Solovjev (criticized by Dragojlović), who was perhaps the most ardent supporter of the Bogomil theory, contradicts himself. In his analysis of the sources, he correctly points out that there is no trace of a dualist cosmology in the Serbian anti-heretical texts or in the doctrine of the Bosnian Christians; the issues there are mostly related to ritual practices<sup>13</sup>. Why then, in his later work, does he find "sure traces" of a Bogomil cosmogony in the marginalia?

The text of these marginal glosses do not permit such categorical assertions in either direction. In them, we find dualist elements similar to the ecclesiology and theology of the Balkan neo-Manicheans; these elements, however, concern not so much cosmology but rather the concept of the church, the attitude to the sacraments and to the Patristic tradition. In marginal gloss № 5, the Church is likened to an inn, and St. Peter, to an innkeeper (**а гостинница црква, а гостинникъ петаръ**). In marginal gloss № 9, the **їконовь** (the housekeeper) is the "elder" of the prince of this world (**КНЕЗЪ ВЪТКА**), the debtor is the lawyers, i.e., the clergymen, who **по все дни грѣхѣ ѿпшцаю члѣкомъ и тако гдѣе дшѣ члѣкѣ**.

That the official Church and the material temple is a crossroads, a hangout, of unclean forces, is not a new idea in the teachings of Balkan dualists. Cosmas

<sup>10</sup> A. SOLOVJEV, *Vjersko učenje bosanske crkve...*, p. 22–26.

<sup>11</sup> С. ЋИРКОВИЋ, *Глосе Срећковићевог јеванђеља...*, p. 220–221. More on the various concepts regarding the dualism of the Bosnian Church in: Д. ДРАГОЈЛОВИЋ, *Крстјани и јеретичка црква босанска...*, p. 193–199.

<sup>12</sup> Д. ДРАГОЈЛОВИЋ, *Крстјани и јеретичка црква босанска...*, p. 199.

<sup>13</sup> A. SOLOVJEV, *Svedočanstva pravoslavnih izvora o bogomilstvu na Balkanu*, GIBH 5, 1953, p. 29.

Presbyter severely condemns such views in the Bogomils: the heretics designated the churches as crossroads: *црѣкѣви во распѣтна мѣнаѣтъ сѣща*<sup>14</sup>; the temples belong to the devil: *црѣкви крѣстѣи и всѣа божѣна дѣаволоу прѣдѣаѣтъ*<sup>15</sup>. The Greek sources also provide many examples of the neo-Manichean negative attitude to the holy temples. Euthymius of Peribleptos writes, "...οἱ τοιοῦτοι Θεὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐ σέβονται, οὔτε Θεοτόκον, οὔτε τίμιον σταυρόν, οὔτε ἅγιον, οὔτε εἰκόνας, οὔτε θείους ναοὺς, οὔτε ἅγιον βάπτισμα"<sup>16</sup>. Euthymius Zigabenus specifies that the Bogomils believed the churches were inhabited by demons: "Λέγουσιν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ναοῖς κατοικεῖν τοὺς δαίμονας διαλαχόντας αὐτοὺς ἀναλόγως τῆς ἐκάστου τάξεως καὶ δυνάμεως"<sup>17</sup>. In a Greek text of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, an abridged version of the epistle of Euthymius of Peribleptos, preserved in the Vatican Apostolic Library (Vat. gr. 604), it is even noted that the heretics seemingly built churches, but immediately desecrated them, converting the altar into a latrine<sup>18</sup>.

Even assuming the words of the Byzantine controversialist were a "monk's invention" aimed to blacken the adversary, many other sources confirm the negative attitude of the Messalians to material temples<sup>19</sup>. Hence, we may assume with a considerable degree of certainty that the Bogomils inherited this aversion from their predecessors. The Bosnian Christians adopted these views; this becomes evident from marginal gloss № 5 and from most of the scant archeological data on sacral construction and icon painting in medieval Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The depiction of the official church as an inn, and St. Peter, as an innkeeper (*гостинничѣ*), is a summary image of the Roman Catholic Church. There is an established view among scholars (J. Šidak, D. Dragojlović) that the members of the Bosnian Church believed themselves to be direct descendants of the Christian communities of the time of the Apostles. This religious exclusiveness precluded rivalry: the dissidents viewed the orthodox Churches as "disloyal" to the tradition, as "tainted" by innovations, as devilish. All the more so when one of these Churches would lay claim to religious leadership over territories inhabited by "true Christians" and would be powerful enough to organize the persecution of dissidents.

<sup>14</sup> COSMAS PRESBYTER, *Homily Against the Bogumils*, ed. J. SAMPIMON, S. VAN HALSEMA, ПК 34, 2005 (cetera: COSMAS PRESBYTER), p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> COSMAS PRESBYTER, p. 48.

<sup>16</sup> F. OSTI, *L'Epistola invettiva di Eutimio della Peribleptos (1050 ca.) nei codici vaticani 840 e 604. Una versione breve e un rimaneggiamento*, [in:] *Vie per Bisanzio. VII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini*, vol. I, ed. A. RIGO, A. BABUIN, M. TRIZIO, Bari 2013, p. 260.

<sup>17</sup> M. BERKE, *An Annotated Edition of Euthymios Zigabenus "Panoplia dogmatikē", Chapters 23–28*, Belfast 2011, p. 166.

<sup>18</sup> F. OSTI, *L'Epistola invettiva...*, p. 270.

<sup>19</sup> Д. ДРАГОЈЛОВИЋ, *Богомилство на Балкану и у Малој Азији...*, p. 114–115.

Exclusiveness was not a feature of the Bosnian Church alone: every heresy asserts its exceptional status in relation to the dominant religion; this is a natural reaction of dissidents against the repressive ideological and legal pressure exercised by the official ecclesiastic and secular institutions. All medieval neo-Manichean movements condemned the orthodox Churches, accusing them of apostasy from the teachings of Christ and the Apostles. The Bogomils' desire to claim similarity to the early Christian communities has long been noted and commented on in scholarly literature<sup>20</sup>. Many examples may be adduced in support of these observations. I will cite only two:

In *Sermon against the Bogomils*, Cosmas Presbyter writes,

... ПОКЪШАА СѦ ОБОРИТИ ЦРЪКЪВЪТЪ БОЖИИЪ ИЖЕ ЮСТЬ ВЪРА ХРЪСТИАНЬСКАЯ И НЕ ВЪЗМОГОША; ... ПРЪДАНЪНА ЗАКОНЪТЪ СВѦТЪБИ БОЖИИ ЦРЪКЪВИ ПОХОУЛАНЪЩЕ, СВОЯ СИ ОУЧЕНИИА ЧЪСТНО ТВОРАТЪ<sup>21</sup>.

Euthymius Zigabenus also censures the negative attitude of the Bogomils of Constantinople towards the official Church and its prelates based on their veneration of icons: Τους ιεραρχας δε και τους Πατέρας ομου πάντα αποδοκιμαζουσιν ως ειδωλολάτρας δια την των εικόνων προσκύνησιν<sup>22</sup>.

It is hard to draw unambiguous conclusion regarding direct Bogomil influence in the Bosnian Christians' claim that their community – in contrast with the orthodox Churches – is the true heir to ancient tradition. Other unorthodox doctrines of the early Christian era and neo-Manichean teachings in the Balkans and Western Europe have likewise had such pretensions. But even assuming the similarities are typological rather than a result of direct influence, two other phrases in the marginal glosses refer directly to the Bogomil doctrine: ЗАКОННИЦИ ИЖЕ ПО ВСЕ ДНИ ГРѢХЕ ѠПШИАЮ ЧЛѦКОМЪ И ТАКО ГЪВЕ ДШЕ ЧЛѦКЕ; ЛЕВИГИТЪ ИВАНЪ ВОДНОСОСЪЦЪ.

The “lawyers” in question are orthodox priests who, by confessing the faithful and giving them absolution for their sins, bring about the perdition of their souls. Confession is linked to Holy Communion, and since both the Bogomils and the Bosnian Christians rejected the canon of the Eucharist, they also repudiated the sacrament of confession to a priest. Cosmas Presbyter notes that the Bogomils made confessions to one another, and even that women could act as confessors:

ЕРЕТИЦИ ЖЕ САМИ ВЪ СЕБѢ ИСПОВѢДЪ ТВОРАТЪ И РЕШАТЪ САМИ СЪЩЕ СЪВЪЗАНИ ДИАВОЛЪМИ ЖЪЗАМИ НЕ ЖЕ ТЪЧНИИЪ МЪЖИ ТО ТВОРАТЪ НЪ И ЖЕНЪИ ИЖЕ РЪГРОУ ДОСТОИНО ЮСТЬ<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> See, for instance, S. BYLINA, *Bogomilizm w średniowiecznej Bułgarii. Uwarunkowania społeczne, polityczne i kulturalne*, BP.AS 2, 1985, p. 133–145; J. SPYRA, *Wspólnoty bogomilskie jako próba powrotu do form życia gmin wczesnochrześcijańskich*, ZNUJ.PH 84, 1987, p. 7–21.

<sup>21</sup> COSMAS PRESBYTER, p. 31, 42.

<sup>22</sup> M. BERKE, *An Annotated Edition...*, p. 160.

<sup>23</sup> COSMAS PRESBYTER, p. 69.

The Bosnian Christians also rejected this sacrament (and most other sacraments for that matter). For them, a confession made to a priest was a sin leading to the perdition of the divine soul.

A very interesting phrase is, “А ЛЕВГИТЬ ИВАНЪ ВОДНОСЪЦЪ”, in which St. John the Baptist is compared to the Hebrew priests (the Levites) and is disparagingly called a “water-bearer”. Bulgarian and Greek anti-Bogomil treatises also emphasize the dualists’ contempt for the Forerunner of Christ; they avoided the designation “Baptist” (Βαπτιστής) or Forerunner (Πρόδρομος), and when they did refer to him as “Forerunner”, they meant of the Antichrist, as indicated in the *Sermon against the Bogomils*: *ИВАНЪ ЖЕ ПРЪДЪТЪЧЪ И ЗАРЪЖ ВЕЛИКАЯГО СЛЪНЦА ВЪЩЬСТВОУ-ЖТЪ АНТИХРИСТОВА ПРЪДЪТЪЧЪ НАРИЦАЮЩЕ*<sup>24</sup>. In their view, John is an associate of Satan, and his worst “sin” was to have baptized Jesus with water. In the *Epistle of Patriarch Cosmas to the Metropolitan of Larissa*, the author anathematizes those who claim John the Baptist belongs to Satan, who are revolted by baptism with water, and perform baptism by merely reciting the Lord’s Prayer:

Τοῖς τὸν βαπτιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐνυβρίζουσι καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ δι’ ὕδατος βάπτισμα, καὶ τούτου ἕνεκεν τὸ δι’ ὕδατος ἅγιον βάπτισμα ἀποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἄνευ ὕδατος μετὰ μόνην τὴν ῥῆσιν τοῦ Πάτερ ἡμῶν <βαπτίζομενοι> ἀνάθεμα<sup>25</sup>.

In *Panoplia dogmatica*, it is also underscored that the Bogomils of Constantinople did not accept the sacrament of baptism established, according to the Church tradition, by St. John the Forerunner: *Τὸ μὲν παρ’ ἡμῖν βάπτισμα τοῦ Ἰωάννου λέγουσιν, ὡς δι’ ὕδατος ἐπιτελούμενον, τὸ δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ Πνεύματος ὡς αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ τελειούμενον*<sup>26</sup>.

These examples indicate that the medieval dualists abhorred St. John the Forerunner, as they connected him to the Old Testament tradition, which they rejected, but especially to the sacrament of baptism, also rejected by them and replaced in the heterodox communities by the so-called “spiritual baptism”, a rite that has been described variously in the Slavic, Greek, and Latin sources, but with an invariable element: the absence of water (and myrrh) in the ritual.

**ВОДНОСЪЦЪ** from the Bosnian marginal gloss is absent in the Slavic texts of the classical age. The lexeme **воднось** f. occurs – in the sense of “bucket”, for instance, in *Codex Supr.*: *И ДОТЪКЪ СВАТААГО ОВРЪТЪ ЮЖЕ НА РАМОУ ЮГО ВОДНОСЪ ИСПЛЪНЪ ВОДЪ*<sup>27</sup>. **ВОДНОСЪЦЪ** is a masculine noun, *nomina agentis* formed with the suffix *-ъць*. The expression **ИВАНЪ ВОДНОСЪЦЪ** literally means, “Ivan, the carrier of a bucket (of water)”. The derogatory nickname indicates that the Bosnian Christians

<sup>24</sup> COSMAS PRESBYTER, p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> J. GOUILLARD, *Une source grecque du Sinodik de Boril. La lettre inédite du patriarche Cosmas*, TM 4, 1970, p. 371.

<sup>26</sup> M. VERKE, *An Annotated Edition...*, p. 164.

<sup>27</sup> *Словарь старославянского языка. Репринтное изд.*, vol. II, Санкт-Петербург 2006, p. 206.

rejected the orthodox sacrament of baptism, replacing it with a “spiritual” one similar to the liturgical practices of the Balkan or West European heterodox. Most Catholic polemicists point out that the “spiritual baptism” of Christians was performed in a way similar to the Cathar ritual: without water and by raising the Gospel to the breast of the baptized person. Latin documents clearly show that Rome required rebaptism for the Manicheans forsaking the heresy and passing into the bosom of the Catholic Church. Pope Pius II insisted on this in an epistle to the last king of Bosnia, Stephan Tomašević<sup>28</sup>. Some scholars doubt the reliability of Western sources. Dragoljub Dragoljović believes that “spiritual baptism” was actually a monastic initiation rite, a kind of ordination in which the Gospel was placed on the head of the monk in absolution for his sins<sup>29</sup>. This interpretation diminishes in trustworthiness when we consider not the Latin sources, but the domestic, Slavic-Bosnian, ones. The author of the marginal glosses to the *Srećković Gospel* stated categorically that confessing to a priest was pernicious for the soul, and the baptism performed by “Ivan the water-carrier” lacked potency for mystic purification of the soul and body. The two marginal glosses clearly indicate that the Bosnian Church, similar in this to other dualist communities, rejected both the orthodox hierarchy and two of the most important sacraments: confession (and, consequently, the Eucharist connected to it) and baptism with water, established, according to tradition, by St. John the Baptist.

I am intentionally not lingering on some phrases in the marginal glosses that might be interpreted as indicating views close to the neo-Manichean dualist cosmology: about Satan as lord of this world (КНЕЗЪ ВЪРКА), about man’s immortal soul enclosed in the mortal body. These texts allow interpretations both in support of a moderate or radical dualism in the Bosnian Christians’ doctrine (A. Solovjev, S. Čirković), and against it (D. Dragoljović). The dualist opposition between good and evil, between matter and spirit, is typical both for the neo-Manichean heresies and for the orthodox Churches. Hence, it would be questionable to look for direct influence of the Bogomil or Cathar doctrines upon this aspect of the Bosnian cosmology. But it would not be questionable as regards the phrases in the marginalia we have interpreted above: very likely, the attitude of the Bosnian Church towards the Patristic tradition (the contempt for St. John the Baptist) and the orthodox sacraments (baptism, confession, Eucharist) followed the models laid down by the Balkan Bogomils. As for the negative attitude towards the official Churches, the similarities may be typological as well, i.e., a common to all dissident movements hostility towards the dominant ecclesiastic organization. The phrase ГОСТИННИКЪ ПЕТАРЪ, however, testifies to a rejection specifically of the Roman Catholic Church, an attitude reflecting the centuries-long disagreements between the Bosnian Church, the papal power, the hierarchy, and the Catholic missionaries active in these lands.

<sup>28</sup> Д. ДРАГОЈЛОВИЋ, *Крстјани и јеретичка црква босанска...*, p. 137.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 172.

Our analysis of certain particularities of the Bosnian Church's doctrine, based on the two marginal glosses from the *Srećković Gospel*, justifies our asserting that the doctrine and liturgical practice of the Church in question differed significantly from those of the orthodox Churches. Though not copying the Bulgarian and Byzantine Bogomil communities, the Bosnian Church was undoubtedly heretical, and the neo-Manichean influences coming from the Eastern Balkans were an integral element of the Bosnian Christians' faith.

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**Abstract.** The article examines the debate as to the direct influence of Bulgarian and Byzantine Bogomilism upon the doctrine of the Bosnian Church. The author traces some scholarly views *pro et contra* the presence, in the Bosnian-Slavic sources, of traces of neo-Manichean views on the Church, the Patristic tradition, and the sacraments. In analyzing two marginal glosses in the so-called *Srećković Gospel* in the context of some anti-Bogomil Slavic and Byzantine texts, the article attempts to establish the importance of Bulgarian and Byzantine Bogomilism for the formation of certain dogmatic and ecclesiological views in the doctrine of the Bosnian Church: the negative attitude towards the orthodox Churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church; the rejection of the sacrament of baptism and of St. John the Baptist; the rejection of the sacrament of confession, and hence, of the Eucharist. These doctrinal particularities of the Bosnian Church warrant the assertion that its teachings and liturgical practice differed significantly from the dogmatics and practice of the orthodox Churches. Without being a copy of the Bogomil communities, the Bosnian Church was certainly heretical, and neo-Manichean influences from the Eastern Balkans were an integral element of the Bosnian Christians' faith.

**Keywords:** Bosnian Church, Bogomilism, dualism

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## THE APOCRYPHAL BULGARIAN SERMON OF SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM ON THE ORIGIN OF PAULICIANS AND MANICHEAN DIMENSIONS OF MEDIEVAL PAULICIAN IDENTITY

One of the most interesting documents concerning the early history of Paulicianism in Bulgarian lands is the apocryphal *Saint John Chrysostom's sermon on how the Paulicians came to be*<sup>1</sup>. Its text is known entirely or partly from eight copies; the earliest ones are dated back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>. The best-known variant is the copy from the Adžar collection N326 (17<sup>th</sup> century), preserved at the Bulgarian National Library<sup>3</sup>. It was found and published for the first time by Jordan Ivanov, the discoverer of the sermon, in 1922. Since then the Adžar and other copies have been published or quoted in different studies and research works<sup>4</sup>. The meaningful differences between the different copies are insignificant, except for the final passage. According to the Adžar copy, St. John Chrysostom from Petrič went to the Bulgarian land to search for the two “disciples of the devil”, but according to the others, he sent to the Bulgarian land delegates who brought “disciples of the devil” to Petrič<sup>5</sup>. That gives a reason to think that the copies transmitted the text of the initial original relatively correctly. According to Anisava Miltenova

<sup>1</sup> Below in the text I will refer to it as “the sermon”.

<sup>2</sup> А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Разобличението на дявола-граматик. (Към историята на старобългарската легенда за произхода на павликяните)*, [in:] *Човек и време. Сборник с научни изследвания в памет на Сабина Беляева*, София 1997, p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> Adžar is a village in a mountain part of modern Central Bulgaria – 70 kilometers northeast of Plovdiv. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century it became a literary center where several famous bookmen and calligraphers worked.

<sup>4</sup> The sermon is published also in English in “Studia Ceranea”. For that reason I do not give its full text. English translation in: М. ТСИВРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Paulicians between the Dogme and the Legend*, SCer 7, 2017, p. 249–251.

<sup>5</sup> К. СТАНЧЕВ, *Павликяните – ученици на дявола. Бележки относно финала на апокрифния разказ за произхода на павликяните*, [in:] *Vis et sapientia. Studia in honorem Anisavae Miltenova. Нови извори и подходи в медиевистиката*, София 2016, p. 765.

from stylistic and compositional point of view the different copies can be divided in four groups but all of them have originated from common initial source<sup>6</sup>.

In the present article I will try to advance arguments in favor of the following thesis:

- The author of the apocryphal sermon is an ordinary priest or monk from the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century, who lived in the region of medieval Philippopolis/Plovdiv. He was a typical representative of the Bulgarian lower clergy from the Middle Ages: he was literate and familiar with St. John Chrysostom's liturgy but poorly educated in theology and church history. During the Middle Ages ordinary monks and priests became initiators of translation and compilation of a big number of apocrypha that exerted significant influence on Bulgarian culture and on the creation of a phenomenon that can be defined as "popular Christianity/Orthodoxy". Actually, previous researchers maintained a similar view about the origin of the author, the time and place of creation of the sermon<sup>7</sup>. According to some new opinions, the sermon was written in an earlier period – around the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and its appearance was *stimulated by real historical events as the Paulician rebellion from 1074 in nearby Philipopolis*<sup>8</sup>.
- The sermon delivers popular pejorative interpretations of Paulician beliefs, historical myths and practices. The author was acquainted with these beliefs, myths and practices not from the Anti-Paulician theological literature but from his environment, and probably from some popular legend of Paulician origin about the history of this heretical group.
- The sermon can give unexpected information about the beliefs of Paulicianism on the Balkans and on their connections with Manicheism.

### **Authorship, time and place of appearance of the sermon**

Up to this moment these problems have been solved by means of the following arguments:

- The obvious historical and theological anachronisms related to the activity of St. Vasilios the Great and St. John Chrysostom, the overall ignorance of the classical Orthodox polemic against dualism and Paulicianism, as well

<sup>6</sup> А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Отново за разказа за произхода на павликяните*, ВМд 6, 2015, p. 234–235.

<sup>7</sup> Й. ИВАНОВ, *Произходът на павликянитъ споредъ два български ръкописа*, [in:] *Списание на Българската академия на науките*, vol. XXIV, София 1922, p. 26; А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Разобличението...*, p. 289–290; Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни и павликянство в българските земи. Архетип и повторения VII–XVII век*, София 2015, p. 217–218.

<sup>8</sup> М. TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA, *Paulicians...*, p. 232.

as the style of the narrative, indicate that the author was strongly influenced by the apocryphal traditions – a peculiarity that directs to the lower clergy from the Middle Ages. The lack of a similar text in Greek, explicit mentions of the “Bulgarian land”, the phonetic structure of some anthroponyms and oikonoms (appearance of b, č and š) exclude the possibility the sermon to be a translation or a revision of some Greek work<sup>9</sup>. Besides, the Middle Bulgarian literary tradition (11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century) offers other examples of original historical and religious works of obvious popular origin.

- The importance of the place named “Petrič” in the narrative. The discoverer of the sermon, Jordan Ivanov, identified “Petrič” with the medieval fortress Petrič, built in the Rhodope mountains, about 20 kilometers south of Philippopolis/Plovdiv. He advanced several arguments in favor of this identification:
  - The famous Bačkovо monastery, initially inhabited by Georgian monks, was built in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the vicinity of the fortress. The monastery became famous for its miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary, a circumstance that, according to Ivanov, coincides with the story of the miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary in Petrič in the final part of the sermon.
  - The monastery was found by Γρηγόριος Πακουριανός, a high Byzantine aristocrat who lost his life in the war against the Philippopolis/Plovdiv Paulicians in 1084. On this basis many researchers suggest that the Bačkovо monastery was built as an “Orthodox stronghold” against Paulicianism.
  - The last patriarch of Tarnovo, Saint Euthymius, in 1393 or in 1394 was sent into exile in Bačkovо monastery, where, according to his disciple Grigorij Tsamblak, he faced heretics, probably Paulicians<sup>10</sup>. These arguments of Jordan Ivanov were accepted by later researchers who, just like Ivanov, tend to identify the place of appearance of the sermon with the Bačkovо monastery<sup>11</sup>.

In my opinion, the author of the sermon had connections not with the Bačkovо monastery but with the medieval fortress and the town of Petrič. This is confirmed by the following facts:

- The monastery, unlike the fortress/town, is not mentioned in the text of the sermon. Indeed, they are built in the immediate vicinity but in two different places; the distance between them is about 10 kilometers.

<sup>9</sup> Й. ИВАНОВ, *Произходъ на павликянитъ...*, p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Р. БАРТИКЯН, *Византийская, армянская и болгарская легенды о происхождении павликан и их историческая основа*, ВВг 6, 1980, p. 60; А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Разобличението...*, p. 290; ЕАДЕМ, *Отново за разказа...*, p. 238.

- There is no evidence that the monastery was built as an “ideological stronghold” against Paulicianism or that it subsequently became a similar “stronghold”. Γρηγόριος Πακουριανός explicitly mentioned in the monastery typicon that it was built for the monks who knew “iverian characters”<sup>12</sup>, i.e. for Georgian and Armenian (Chalcedon) monks. In the last three centuries the monastery preserved its Georgian character.
- There is no evidence that before Saint Euthymius’ exile at the very end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century a writing tradition in Old Slavonic or Middle Bulgarian had been developed in the monastery.
- Not only the monastery church but also the main medieval church of the fortress Petrič was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and was known as “the Virgin Mary of Petrič”.
- The stone inscription of the Bulgarian Tsar John Asen II (1218–1241), found in Petrič, testifies that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Middle Bulgarian was used as a written language in this place.

Additional conclusions about the cultural profile of the author and the time of appearance of the sermon can be deduced from the text.

- The language of the sermon: according to Jordan Ivanov, some lexemes in the text of the Adžar copy indicates that the sermon appeared in the Middle Ages<sup>13</sup>. Anisava Miltenova accepts the 13<sup>th</sup> century as the time of its appearance, drawing on the omission of both nasal vowels, a phenomenon dated back to the epoch of Middle Bulgarian<sup>14</sup>.
- The orthography of the text: copies from the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries as a whole follow the norms of Resava spelling<sup>15</sup>. This is especially valid for the Adžar copy. Resava orthography was initially introduced in Serbia in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and after the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century gradually spread across Bulgarian lands, replacing the much more complicated Tarnovo spelling that was dominant in the 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century. The main differences between both spelling types were the disappearance of the characters rendering the nasal vowels – *ѡ* and *ѣ* the reduction of both er vowels – *ѣ* and *ѥ* to only one er – *ѣ* or *ѥ* in Resava variants. The nasal vowel *ѡ* is most often replaced with *ѡ/оу* (u); actually, this is the common reflection *ѡ > u*, which is typical of Serbian and Croatian but not of Bulgarian. The charter *ѡ* in the Adžar copy appears in the place of the old nasal *ѡ* in all words. A typical example in this respect is

<sup>12</sup> *Typicon Vasuriani*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VII, ed. G. САНКОВА-РЕТКОВА et al., Sofia 1968, p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> Й. ИВАНОВ, *Произходъ на павликянитъ...*, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Разобличението...*, p. 290.

<sup>15</sup> Й. ИВАНОВ, *Произходъ на павликянитъ...*, p. 20.

the personal name СЪБОТИН/Subotin, which stemmed from Old Slavonic. However, in the other older copies the same name appears as Sambatie/Samobatie<sup>16</sup>, i.e. the copiers attempted at rendering the original pronunciation of ж by means of the characters used in Resava spelling. Therefore, all of these variants appear to be transliterations of an initial ж from the original. Besides, different ers are used in different copies, a circumstance indicating that both ers were presented in the initial variant of the work. All these give serious reasons to think that the sermon was written in accordance with Tarnovo spelling before the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and subsequently transliterated in accordance with the new Resava spelling.

- The analytical constructions: Bulgarian and Macedonian are the only Slavic languages that have experienced transition from synthetism to analytism<sup>17</sup>. This process deeply affected their inner structure and led to total transformation of their morphology – decline and disappearance of the case system, infinitive, limited use of participle and adverb constructions, etc. All of these peculiarities are known as “Balkanisms” because they are spread with different intensity and frequency in Albanian, Romanian and Greek. Some of these Balkanisms, such as merger, confusion and omission of case suffixes, replacement of infinitive with да-constructions, appearance of postpositive definite articles, formation of future tense by means of the verbs meaning to have and to want, etc. are known from the earliest Old Bulgarian manuscripts, dated back to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup>. Usually similar changes are registered in manuscripts whose copiers broke the principles of the high literary norm (which preserved the synthetic elements) and obviously were influenced by popular vernaculars. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the text of the sermon. For example, there is only one classical infinitive construction – against several да-constructions. These and other language constructions support the view that the author of the text was a representative of the milieu that can be identified with the cultural traditions of popular Orthodoxy.
- The author correctly describes the sequence of different parts of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom – the most popular in the Orthodox world. He also mentions the throne in the church where St. John Chrysostom officiated. The throne in question most likely is the so called *synthronon* (Συνθρόνον), designated for the representatives of the high clergy during the liturgy. In the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century *synthroni* were built in altars of major (the most majestic) churches

<sup>16</sup> А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Отново за разказа...*, p. 236.

<sup>17</sup> Actually, both languages up to the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century formed a common language space, and their transition to analytism also was common.

<sup>18</sup> И. ДУРИДАНОВ, *Поява на балканизми*, [in:] *Граматика на старобългарския език. Фонетика, морфология, синтаксис*, София 1991, p. 549–557.

where the liturgy was served by metropolitan bishops and the patriarch<sup>19</sup>. This indicates that the author knew the arrangement of the altars of metropolitan churches, spaces where only priests or eventually monks were allowed.

- A mention of Cappadocia: according to the sermon, Paulicianism was spread by two disciples of the devil, who came from Cappadocia to the Bulgarian land. However, it becomes clear from the narrative that Paulicians were perceived as an ethnically consolidated community, i.e. the sermon was written in a period when Paulicians had experienced a process of Bulgarisation, but the memory of their connections with Central Anatolia continued to be kept alive. For example, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century the origin of Paulicians would be related to an entirely different region, and the memory of Anatolia would be completely lost. On the other hand, the connection of dualistic communities with Cappadocia is proved by one of the most authoritative sources of the Bulgarian Middle Ages – the Sinodyc of Tsar Boril, compiled around 1211 and supplemented with additional information in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the Sinodyc of Tsar Boril, Peter, the leader of the Bogomil community in Sredets (modern Sofia), is called “Cappadocian” (from Cappadocia)<sup>20</sup>, a clear indication of his Cappadocian origin. All these indicate that the 13<sup>th</sup> or the 14<sup>th</sup> century was the time of appearance of the sermon.

### The anachronisms in the sermon – problems of interpretation

In my opinion, the sermon appeared as a contra version of some local Paulician historical narrative or legend, and the anachronisms in the sermon are mirror-images of the anachronisms in the supposed Paulician legend. I will try to reconstruct it below on the basis of the analysis of the text of the sermon and information acquired from medieval sources.

At first glance, the most paradoxical and inexplicable anachronism is the “error” of Saint Vasilios – one of the most popular Orthodox saints, who according to the narrative of sermon was misled by the devil. It is asserted that the devil went to Saint Vasilios and became his clerk or secretary. The exact term used in the text is *граматѣкъ* (gramatik). Petrus Sicilius noticed that Paulicians called their higher priests “companions” and the lower priests “notaries” – secretaries<sup>21</sup>. According to the reports of Catholic missionaries, even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Paulicians chose literate people for their priests<sup>22</sup> – most probably, this is a continuation

<sup>19</sup> В. ДИМОВА, *Църквите в България през XIII–XIV век*, София 2008, р. 103.

<sup>20</sup> М. ПОПРУЖЕНКО, *Синодик царя Борила*, София 1928, р. 68.

<sup>21</sup> *Petri Siculi Historia Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum*, Gottingae 1846 (cetera: PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*), р. 33.

<sup>22</sup> 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, р. 22.

of the tradition of notaries. The Middle Bulgarian word *gramatik* could be used in the meaning of secretary, and it is the same meaning that most likely appears in the text. In my view this is the first indication that the sermon reflects real elements of Paulician religious organizations and belief systems.

The reports of the Catholic missionaries and bishops who converted Paulicians to Catholicism in the 17<sup>th</sup> century can shed light on this strange appearance of Saint Vasilios. They noticed that Paulicians celebrated the days of typical Orthodox saints, such as Saint Sava and Saint Barbara, and used the Orthodox calendar<sup>23</sup>. Besides, they called their ritual of fire “baptism” – “baptism of the fire of Saint John the Baptist”<sup>24</sup>, an indication that Saint John the Baptist was also worshipped.

It seems that Balkan Paulicians, under the influence of different factors, including former Orthodox Christians converts to Paulicianism, accepted many elements of the Orthodox religious system, especially the cult of saints. Most probably, Saint Vasilios was one of the Orthodox saints incorporated in the Paulician belief system as early as the Middle Ages, and this circumstance attracted the attention of the author of the sermon. Besides the high respect paid by the Orthodox to his personality, two additional arguments can be advanced in favor of this hypothesis:

Saint Vasilios is glorified in the Orthodox Church as one of the three great Cappadocians. He was born in the same region that obviously was connected with the medieval history of Bulgarian Paulicians and Bogomils.

Besides, judging from the legend of Rome, widely spread among the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Paulicians, they considered their ancient Anatolian religious leaders “kings”<sup>25</sup>. Indeed, a similar notion to a certain degree corresponds to the historical events in Anatolia and on the Balkans from the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century, when Paulicians, led by military commanders, established their short-lived quasi-states and political formations. The anthroponym Vasilios (in Bulgarian *Васил*/Vasil<sup>26</sup>) stems from the Greek word for king – βασιλεύς. The presence of a Greek speaking population among the Paulicians in Philippopolis/Plovdiv, especially in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century, is out of the question, but all Paulicians from this period must have known the Greek variant of the title because their military contingents regularly

<sup>23</sup> АНТОН СТЕФАНОВ, Доклад за посещението на Никополския епископ, [in:] Б. ПРИМОВ, П. САРИЙСКИ, М. ЙОВКОВ, Документи..., р. 482.

<sup>24</sup> Fr. Petri Bogdani Bakšić, *episcopi Gallipoliensis et coadiutoris Sophiensis, de statu ecclesiae suae relatio accuratissima cum notis cuiusdam in margine adpostis L. A. 1640*, [in:] EUSEBIUS FERMEŃDZSIN, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica ab a. 1565 usque ad a. 1799*, Zagrabiae 1887 [= MSHSM, 18], p. 80.

<sup>25</sup> Philippus Stanislavov de Pavlicianorum origine eorumque libris sacris secundum vulgi opinionem quaedam enarrat XXXIX. A. 1636, 3. Augusti, Orešče, [in:] EUSEBIUS FERMEŃDZSIN, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica...*, р. 42; Д. РАДЕВА, Павликяни..., р. 380–381.

<sup>26</sup> Б. ЯНЕВ, Система на личните имена в българския и немския език, Пловдив 2009, р. 331.

took part in the military campaigns of Byzantine emperors. Moreover, according to the testimony of Anna Comnena, Alexis I Comnenus was in personal contact with the leaders of the Paulician community in Philippopolis/Plovdiv<sup>27</sup>. On this basis it might be suggested that the initial variant of the supposed Paulician legend mentioned the title king (βασιλεύς), which, subsequently in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century, after the complete Slavisation of Paulicians and the acceptance of worship of saints, was reinterpreted as the name of the great Cappadocian theologian Saint Vasilios. Probably this provoked the emergence of some typical folklore stories that became a basis of the sermon and that had circulated among the Bulgarian speaking Orthodox Christians long before its appearance.

Another folklore interpretation of real facts is the story of elimination of the devil during a liturgy officiated by Saint John Chrysostom. On the one hand, it resembles the traditions of church exorcism, but on the other hand, in my opinion, it appears to be a reflection of some popular explanation of the fact that Paulicians rejected and did not attend liturgy; probably many people in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century thought that Paulicians avoided liturgy because of the demons that possessed them. However, as we can see below, the entire narrative about the role of Saint John Chrysostom can be a reinterpretation of another initial narrative.

### The anthroponyms in the sermon

Four anthroponyms included in the narrative can also shed light on the Paulician belief system. According to the sermon, the two disciples of the devil, after their coming to Bulgarian lands, changed their original names and adopted the apostolic names of Paul and John. Replacement of anthroponyms and oikononyms with the personal names of Saint Paul's disciples and with the designations of the churches founded by Saint Paul was a regular practice in the Anatolian period of Paulician history<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, the author of the sermon correctly described a typical Paulician tradition that was probably introduced on the Balkans. However, even the discoverer of the sermon and its first researcher, Jordan Ivanov, notices that these names coincide with the names of the legendary founders of Paulicianism, Paul and John<sup>29</sup>. According to Petrus Sicilius, who mentioned these first Paulician leaders in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, they were the sons of a woman named Kalinika from Samosata. Kalinika was an adherent of Manicheism and taught her sons the principles of Manicheism. After that she sent them to preach Manicheism. It is interesting that Petrus Sicilius, just like the anonymous author

<sup>27</sup> ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VIII, ed. M. VOJNOV et al., Sofia 1972 (cetera: ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*), p. 139.

<sup>28</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 48–49.

<sup>29</sup> Й. ИВАНОВ, *Произходъ на павликянитъ...*, p. 29.

of the sermon, asserts that Paul and John spread the teachings of the devil in some settlement named Episparis<sup>30</sup>. There is no evidence that the author of the sermon had read the work of Petrus Sicilius or these of later Byzantine authors. The above mentioned coincidence resulted from the common model of perception of Paulicianism, shared by medieval Orthodox Christians.

In my view, the appearance of these two names in the work of Petrus Sicilius and in the Bulgarian sermon was due to the fact that Paulician leaders with similar names really existed in the oral or written traditions of Paulicians. This is also confirmed by a Bulgarian folksong where two mythological oronyms, the land of John and the land of Paulicians are mentioned as synonyms<sup>31</sup>. In the same song it is said that people inhabiting this land did not believe in God, did not visit churches and did not take communion<sup>32</sup>. However, nothing can be said about how Bulgarian Paulicians in the 13<sup>th</sup> or in the 14<sup>th</sup> century perceived John and Paul – as persons identical with the apostles Saint Paul and Saint John or as preachers different from them. Evolution in the Paulician conception of their own leaders' identity cannot be excluded either.

The real names of Paul and John – Subotin and Šutil, also raise certain questions. In the literature there are two opinions about the etymology of the name Subotin. According to Hrach Bartikyan, it is a Slavonised form of the Armenian personal name Sembat<sup>33</sup>. It seems that the above mentioned variants of the name, Sambatie/Samobatie, also support this hypothesis.

However, the Slavic origin of Subotin also seems completely possible. This is the well-known Bulgarian name Säbotin. It comes from the Old Slavonic word for Saturday (see above), and up to the present day continues to be in use in the Bulgarian anthroponym system<sup>34</sup>. In this case the name might indicate that Paulicians had a special attitude to Saturday. It can reflect some specific Paulician interpretation of different gospel texts where Saturday is commented, such as Mathew 12:1–8, 12:9–14, 12:11, 12, Mark 2:23–28, 3:1–6, Luke 6:1–5, 6:6–11, etc., or even influence exerted by the Old Testament (see below).

The second name Šutil does not have a Slavic origin and cannot be attributed to any of the Balkan languages. The initial š excludes the mediation of Greek in the transfer of this name to Middle Bulgarian. The hypothesis of Hrach Bartikyan that the name is a Bulgarian adoption of the proper name Šeti, mentioned in a medieval Armenian legend also considering the origin of Paulicians<sup>35</sup>, does not seem

<sup>30</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 27–28.

<sup>31</sup> М. ТСИВРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Paulicians...*, p. 239.

<sup>32</sup> *Сборникъ за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина*, vol. III, *Пъсни периодически и религиозни*, София 1890, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Р. БАРТИКЯН, *Византийская...*, p. 61.

<sup>34</sup> С. ИЛЧЕВ, *Речник на личните и фамилните имена у българите*, София 1969, p. 472.

<sup>35</sup> Р. БАРТИКЯН, *Византийская...*, p. 61.

convincing. There is no evidence that the Armenian legend was known in Bulgaria. It is very short, and its subject is completely different from that of the sermon; the name Šeti is female, and in other modern translations is given as Seti<sup>36</sup>. Besides, there are phonological problems referring to the adoption Šeti>Šutil supposed by Bartikyan.

The name could be related to the Syriac word šwdl, šwdl' (šuddāl, šuddālā) – lure, bite<sup>37</sup>, and in this case it could be regarded as a Syriac pejorative designation of Paulicians, also accepted by Bulgarians. In the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century there were direct contacts between the population of the First Bulgarian tsardom and the Syrian migrants in Thrace, which exerted influence on the vocabulary of Proto-bulgarian and Old Slavonic<sup>38</sup>.

However, in 1922 Jordan Ivanov suggested another hypothesis that was not given consideration by later researchers. He noticed the great similarity between Šutil and Shatil (Šatil), the name of the son of Adam in the Manichean mythology, and supposed the existence of a connection between both names<sup>39</sup>. Actually, Šatil is the Arabic variant of the Manichean Seth<sup>40</sup>, but names of obvious Arabic origin are registered among Paulicians inhabiting Philippolis/Plovdiv in the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41</sup>. In this case the name Šutil should be ascribed to a specific Manichean layer in the Paulician anthroponymy. Vague reminiscences betraying Manichean influence can be noticed in different parts of the sermon.

### The traces of Manicheism in the sermon and in the belief system of Paulicianism

There are several passages in the text of the sermon resembling moments of Mani's biography. The first one refers to the assertion that the devil (called Paul) who became a bookman of Saint Vasilios wrote books that drew attention with their beauty and perfection. Mani also wrote a lot of books and was remembered

<sup>36</sup> Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 515.

<sup>37</sup> J. RAUNE SMITH, *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, London 1903, p. 561.

<sup>38</sup> This problem, as well as the traces of the contacts with a Syriac speaking population in the Old Slavonic and Middle Bulgarian monuments, I discussed in a separate article – *Syriac Loanwords in the Language of the Protobulgarian Epigraphy, Old and Middle Bulgarian Manuscripts*, published in Бe 57.1, 2018, p. 2–18. Besides, there is archeological evidence of the Syrian presence in Bulgaria as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century. For example, the oldest palace in Pliska, the main Bulgarian residential center in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century, has its closest analogies in the palaces of the Umayyad dynasty in Syria (С. ВАКЛИНОВ, *Формиране на старобългарската култура VI–XI век*, София 1977, p. 156–159).

<sup>39</sup> Й. ИВАНОВ, *Произходъ на павликянитъ...*, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> S. LIEU, *Manicheism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China. A Historical Survey*, Manchester 1985, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> That is the name Κοῦσίνοϛ/Kusin recorded by Anna Comnena: ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, p. 139. Most probably Κοῦσίνοϛ/Kusin is an adoption of the Arabic Ḥusayn or of some of its variants – Husseyn, Husein, etc.

in the Iranian world as a renowned calligrapher and artist<sup>42</sup>. Moreover, if we accepted the hypothesis about the existence of a preceding Paulician legend that provoked the appearance of the sermon and that this supposed legend initially mentioned not Saint Vasilios but some variant of the Byzantine title βασιλεύς, then the parallels with Mani's life become obvious. It is well known that he was in a close relationship with the king of Iran, Šapur I, and even joined the king's retinue, where he spent ten years<sup>43</sup>. In the court of Šapur I he wrote his book *Šapurkan*, dedicated to the king. In this book Mani presented the main principles of his new religion<sup>44</sup>.

This hypothesis might also shed light on the other essential anachronism in the sermon – the strange interference of a personage named after Saint John Chrysostom, who appears in the narrative not as a theologian and preacher but as a patriarch of Constantinople. Probably the prototype of this personage is the supreme Mazdeic priest Kartir or Kardel, who, after the death of Šapur I initiated a persecution against Mani that led to Mani's death<sup>45</sup>. The episode in the church might reflect some folklore version of the trial against Mani, which gained popularity in popular Orthodox environment.

The third passage is the most indicative. This is the description of the brutal and cruel execution of Paul and John, which entirely coincides with that of Mani<sup>46</sup>. The assertion of the author of the sermon that Paulicians considered it martyrdom gives serious reasons to think that medieval Bulgarian Paulicians celebrated the death of Paul and John, but this celebration was realized in a Manichean matrix.

On the basis of all of these similarities, the following elements in the supposed Paulician legend could be reconstructed:

- The appearance of a religious preacher named Paul, who became a companion or “notary” of some “king from Cappadocia” and spread the Paulician faith in his court. Probably Paulicians identified him with Saint Paul the apostle.
- This apostle has written a lot of books that attracted the attention of king with their beauty and perfection.
- Subsequently he clashes with the high priest or priests, and as a result of this is convicted and murdered.

<sup>42</sup> Й. МИЛЕВ, *Средновековни източни поети*, София 1973, р. 470, 475.

<sup>43</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство по ранним источникам*, Москва 2011, р. 44; М. ТАРДИО, *Манихейството*, София 2001, р. 30 (trans. from French: М. ТАРДИУ, *Le manichéisme*, Paris 1997).

<sup>44</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство...*, р. 45.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, р. 49–50.

<sup>46</sup> М. Tsibranska-Kostova, also drew attention to this similarity: М. TSIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA, *Paulicians...*, р. 243.

- His disciples, Paul and John, went to Bulgarian lands and started to spread the Paulician faith and the writings of Paul.
- Finally, they are executed, but their martyrdom is remembered by their followers.

However, a similar hypothesis requires a more detailed investigation of Manichean elements in Paulicianism. Below I will try to summarize them.

### The traces of Manicheism in the belief system of Paulicianism

In a recently published article, drawing on Petrus Sicilius' evidences, I tried to summarize the elements of Paulician religious practices and beliefs that can be ascribed to Manichean heritage. I restricted them to one prayer recorded by Petrus Sicilius<sup>47</sup> and to the information that the leader of the Paulicians, Sergius, presented himself as the Paraclete<sup>48</sup> – most probably that was a kind of religious legitimation taken from Manicheism, although other religious movements also knew similar phenomena<sup>49</sup>. However, a more careful and detailed investigation of the available sources can enlarge the supposed scope of Manichean influence on Paulicianism.

- The strange myth referred to the origin of rain recorded by Petrus Sicilius<sup>50</sup> stays very close to Manichean views on the same topic<sup>51</sup> and most likely appears to be their variant. Petrus Sicilius explicitly underlines the fact that he learned about this myth not only from rumors but also from Manichean books<sup>52</sup>.
- He also speaks about the belief in the incarnation of souls – after his death man can be reincarnated in a plant he had destroyed during his life<sup>53</sup>.
- Petrus Sicilius tells about some strange way of using figs<sup>54</sup>. It is remarkable that Saint Augustine in his *Confessions* pays special attention to the Manichean notions of the consumption of this fruit (3.10)<sup>55</sup>.
- Another strange piece of information provided by Petrus Sicilius is that Paulicians in Tephrike invoked air demons and *their extremely loathsome fig tree*<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 23–24.

<sup>48</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 40, 46.

<sup>49</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство...*, p. 195–197.

<sup>50</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 25.

<sup>51</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство...*, p. 410–411.

<sup>52</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 25.

<sup>53</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 23.

<sup>54</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 24.

<sup>55</sup> AUGUSTINE, *Confessions and Enchiridion*, trans. et ed. A.C. OUTLER, London 1955, p. 39, <https://www.ling.upenn.edu/courses/hum100/augustinconf.pdf>

<sup>56</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 16.

Patriarch Fotius is more detailed on this problem – he notices that Paulicians invoked air demons when they *celebrated the mystery of their abominable fig tree*<sup>57</sup>. Both authors assert that these air demons were the same who were invoked by somebody Terebinthus, who, changing his name to Buddas, went from Judea to Persia. He was a follower of Scythianus, the author of the most important books of the Manichean canon. Subsequently, Mani inherited the books of question through Terebinthus' widow<sup>58</sup>.

This tangled story appears to be a short variant of one of the most important anti-Manichean works – the so called *Anti-Manichean legend*, whose prime source is Acta Archelai<sup>59</sup>. The researchers share the opinion that the legend reflects the connections of Manicheism with Buddhism<sup>60</sup>. It is well known that Buddha was recognized as one of the Manichean prophets, and in the eastern branches of Manicheism Mani himself was even called Buddha<sup>61</sup>. The influence exerted by Buddhism on Manicheism continues to be a controversial problem<sup>62</sup>, but in the case of “the mystery of the abominable fig tree”, a connection with the Buddhist Bodhi Tree, a large and very old sacred fig tree, might be suggested.

- There are obvious traces of the sun cult spread among Anatolian and Balkan Paulicians since the very beginning of their history. The Armenian Catholicos John (Hovhan) of Ohzun at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century noticed that Paulicians said collective prayers to the sun<sup>63</sup>. According to Medieval Arabian authors, the sect of Paulicians was *composed partly of Christians, partly of fire worshipers*<sup>64</sup>. Another Armenian author from the 11<sup>th</sup> century called Paulicians “Sons of the sun”<sup>65</sup>. The sun cult might have originated from different sources, but one of them must have been Manicheism. For example, prayers to the sun and the moon were included in the Manichean prayer book<sup>66</sup>. John (Hovhan) of Ohzun mentions the Paulician prayers to the sun in the context of their burial ceremonies<sup>67</sup>, but the sun in Manichean mythology appears to be the place

<sup>57</sup> Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Narratio de Manichaeis recens repullulantibus, [in:] Р. БАРТИКЯН, *Источники для изучения истории павликианского движения*, Ереван 1961 (cetera: РНОТИУС, Narratio), p. 174–175.

<sup>58</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 15–17; РНОТИУС, Narratio, p. 174–175.

<sup>59</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство...*, p. 54.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 62–65.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 324.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 323–324.

<sup>63</sup> *Выдержки из речи “Против Павликиан” католикоса Йоана Одзунского*, [in:] Р. БАРТИКЯН, *Источники...*, p. 110.

<sup>64</sup> З. БУНИЯТОВ, *Из истории Кавказской Албании VII–VIII вв.*, [in:] *Вопросы истории Кавказской Албании*, Баку 1962, p. 76.

<sup>65</sup> Р. БАРТИКЯН, *Источники...*, p. 53.

<sup>66</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство...*, p. 87.

<sup>67</sup> *Выдержки из речи...*, p. 110.

of purification of human souls<sup>68</sup>. Finally, the “Sunny Christ” presented in a late Armenian legend as the supreme god of Paulicians<sup>69</sup> might have a connection with Radiant Jesus from the Manichean pantheon<sup>70</sup>.

- Petrus Sicilius in his work quoted passages from Sergius’ letters. In one of these passages Sergius writes that he believes in four apostles and prophets<sup>71</sup>. Most likely Sergius had in mind the so called “short or classical range” of the Manichean apostles, including Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus and Mani himself<sup>72</sup>. It is possible for Mani in the religious notions of Sergius to have been replaced with Saint Paul.

However, we cannot be completely sure of the chronological correctness of some of the above evidences. For example, Petrus Sicilius speaks about the prayer, incarnation of souls and the origin of rain in the part of his book where he criticizes original Manicheism and the teachings of Mani. Indeed, he also notices that Constantine-Silvan rejected the myth of rain<sup>73</sup>, which might be regarded as additional evidence that the myth had been spread among Paulicians. Besides, the Buddhist/Manichean origin of the celebration of “the mystery of the fig tree” is doubtful. It might have stemmed from some agricultural holiday celebrated in Syrian lands<sup>74</sup>.

## Conclusions

The sermon reflects popular level conflicts between Orthodox Christians and Paulicians in Bulgarian lands in the 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century. Most likely, it appears to be a contra version of some Paulician “myth of identity”. These circumstances determined the contents, style and language of the sermon, as well as the appearance of flagrant anachronisms that resulted from folklore interpretations of some of the taboos, beliefs and historical myths of Bulgarian Paulicians from this period; of course, these myths must have contained a big number of anachronisms too.

In spite of all of these shortcomings, real facts referring to the medieval Paulician myths of identity can be deduced. As a whole, the sermon material indicates that these myths were developed in Manichean frameworks, although they cannot be considered Manichean in the classical meaning of this term.

<sup>68</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство...*, p. 128; М. ТАРДИО, *Манихейството...*, p. 85.

<sup>69</sup> Д. РАДЕВА, *Павликяни...*, p. 515.

<sup>70</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство...*, p. 128.

<sup>71</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 49.

<sup>72</sup> Е. СМАГИНА, *Манихейство...*, p. 116, 305.

<sup>73</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 31.

<sup>74</sup> This information seems doubtful because of the climatic conditions in Tephrike. It is found in modern North Eastern Turkey (modern Turkish city of Divriği) on 1200 m above sea level and climate is extremely unsuitable for fig trees.

In my opinion, the most important problem is how the traces of Manichean influence on Paulicianism must be interpreted. The available information about early Paulicians allows several levels of religious beliefs and practices to be outlined. The first one refers to Macrionism; in my opinion, this is the most visible and the strongest level that determined the character of Paulician dualism and doctrine. The roots of the group of notaries and companions must be sought in the Macrionist preference to the scriptures of Saint Paul the Apostle. The early Christians who accompanied and helped Saint Paul during his missionary journeys and in his correspondence must be the prototype of this Paulician “clergy”.

The second level is connected with Manicheism; it seems hidden and scattered in different beliefs, practices and myths. At this stage of our knowledge it can be asserted that medieval Paulicianism seems like conscious Marcionism imposed on subconscious Manicheism. A similar conclusion coincides with Petrus Sicilius' information that an Armenian named Constantine-Silvan erased the Manichean books from the Paulician canon and imposed only the ones from the New Testament – gospels and Apostolic letters<sup>75</sup>. It seems that at the time of Constantine-Silvan and his successors the Paulician community experienced some kind of religious reform that excluded the classical Manicheism from the official religious doctrine. That is confirmed by the information that Paulicians in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century spurned connections with Manicheism<sup>76</sup> and without problems said anathemas against Mani, Paul and John<sup>77</sup>. Petrus Sicilius, in one of his sermons against Paulicians, noticed that all Paulicians, men and women alike, knew the gospels and apostolic scriptures by heart, and even slaves, in spite of the fact that could not speak Greek well, knew them<sup>78</sup>. This testifies not only to the big popularity of the scriptures in the Paulician environment but also to their obligatory memorization – the latter could be regarded as an indication for their recently and even forcible introduction among Paulicians. This assumption as is confirmed by the data from Petrus Sicilius' history. Judging from them Paulicians were introduced to the gospels and the apostolic scriptures thanks to Constantine-Silvan's activities.

This strange mix of Marcionism and Manicheism can find a satisfactory explanation if we address the unclear moments in Petrus Sicilius' work. There is a certain logical and historical incoherence in the narrative about the early history of Paulicianism. For example, the historical continuity between Manicheans Paul and John on the one hand and Constantine-Silvan on the other is more than obscure. Besides, Sergius' appearance seems like “deus ex machina”.

<sup>75</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 31–32.

<sup>76</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 2.

<sup>77</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia*, p. 5, 32; ФНОТИУС, *Narratio*, p. 168.

<sup>78</sup> *Petri Siculi Sermi I, II, III adversus Manicheos dictos etiam Paulicianos*, [in:] Р. БАРТИКЯН, *Источники...*, p. 79.

In my opinion, the logical interruptions in the work of Petrus Sicilius are due to the fact that in Tephrike he heard and subsequently described the history of different groups connected with different heretical teachings; the most important of them must have been Marcionism and Manicheism. It seems that the early Paulician community included representatives of different heresies but experienced a process of formalization and consolidation of its doctrine around some of the ideas of Marcionism. However, this process was not completed, and many traces of Manicheism were preserved in the religious notions, normative culture, and the oral history of the Paulician community. For example, Patriarch Photios/Pseudo Photios notices that Paulicians paid much bigger respect to Constantine-Silvan than to Paul and John<sup>79</sup>; this evidence indirectly testifies that in the 9<sup>th</sup> century Paulicians continued to keep the memory of the leaders of their Manichean branch. It is indicative that the sermon, as well as a legend of Bulgarian Paulicians recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century by the Catholic missionaries, show that Paul, John and Constantine-Silvan held an important place in the myths of identity of Bulgarian Paulicians.

In my view the other levels of Paulician belief system also confirm the hypothesis of the different groups forming the initial Paulician genesis.

The third level refers to the rejection of the holy cross and icons; this may be regarded as a form of religious taboo but cannot be attributed to the influence of classical Marcionism or Manicheism. It is possible for it to have resulted from influence exerted by some unknown heretical group. John (Hovhan) of Odzun mentioned that an iconoclastic group of unknown origin joined Paulicians<sup>80</sup>. A passage from the work of Patriarch Photios/Pseudo Photios gives reasons to think that initially Paulicians did not reject the power of the cross or church baptism<sup>81</sup>. Another factor that might have provoked the appearance of these taboos was a radicalization of dualistic teachings or even influence exerted by dualistic groups who had accepted the Old Testament. This assumption is based on the information by the Old Bulgarian bookman John Exarch that “Manicheans” formed their cosmological notions on the basis of specific interpretation of the passages from the book of Genesis<sup>82</sup>. On the other hand, John (Hovhan) of Ohzun also notices that Paulicians used the words of the Old Testament prophets who strove against pagan idols<sup>83</sup> as arguments in support of their iconoclasm.

<sup>79</sup> РНОТИУС, *Narratio*, p. 169.

<sup>80</sup> *Видержки из речи...*, p. 111.

<sup>81</sup> РНОТИУС, *Narratio*, p. 173.

<sup>82</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, *Шестоднев*, София 1981, p. 207.

<sup>83</sup> *Видержки из речи...*, p. 110.

It is interesting that John (Hovhan) of Ohzun presented Paulicians as continuers of the Massalianism<sup>84</sup>. Probably in this way he explained their rejection of liturgy and church institutions, but some Massalian influence on Paulicians cannot be excluded at all.

The most intricate problem in the system of Paulician religious beliefs is the sun worship. The evidence by Armenian and some Arabian authors about the existence of a similar cult are unambiguous. On the one hand, it might be ascribed to Manichean influences, but on the other hand, it could be connected with the different ethnical components forming the Anatolian Paulician community in the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, John (Hovhan) of Ohzun notices that Caucasian Albanians<sup>85</sup> have joined Paulicians<sup>86</sup>. Actually, Hrach Bartikyan asserts that the earliest mention of the Paulician heresy comes from the documents of the local council of the Albanian church held at the very beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>87</sup>. Some researchers tend to identify the inhabitants of Baylakan, one of the regions of the early medieval Caucasian Albania, with Paulicians<sup>88</sup>, but the arguments in favor of this hypothesis seem uncertain. However, the linguistic analysis of the confessional name, Paulician, directs to Iranian languages<sup>89</sup>, which also indicates connections with territories where the sun worship had long traditions.

Finally, a distinct level of religious beliefs must be connected with the activity of Sergius, who obviously tried to create a religious cult focused on his personality and on his claim that he was the expected Paraclete.

The sermon sheds certain light not only on the folklore interpretations of the history of Bulgarian Paulicians but also on the Manichean dimensions of the medieval Paulician identity, a circumstance that remained poorly explored in past and present investigations. That makes the sermon an important source of the “ideological history” of Bulgarian Paulicians – a problem that is much more obscure and unstudied than their real history.

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<sup>84</sup> *Выдержки из речи...*, p. 111.

<sup>85</sup> Caucasian people belonged to the Lezgif linguistic group that inhabited the territories of modern Azerbaijan in the Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Some of them accepted Christianity thanks to Armenian mediation during a relatively early period and even translated parts of the New Testament in their language. It is supposed that modern Udis, a small Christian ethnical group in modern Azerbaijan and Georgia, are their descendants. In spite of the early penetration of Christianity in the southern parts of Caucasia, this region has remained under the strong political, cultural and religious impact of Iran for a long time.

<sup>86</sup> *Выдержки из речи...*, p. 111.

<sup>87</sup> Р. БАРТИКЯН, *Источники...*, p. 31–33.

<sup>88</sup> З. БУНИЯТОВ, *Из истории Кавказской Албании...*, p. 75.

<sup>89</sup> А. ПЕРИХАНЯН, *К вопросу о Происхождении Павликианства*, ППВ 2, 2011, p. 67–68.

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**Abstract.** The article deals with one of the medieval Bulgarian sources about the origin of Paulicianism – the so called *Sermon of Saint John Chrysostom on the Origin of Paulicians*. On the basis of linguistic, textological and historical analysis it is concluded that the “sermon” appears to be a popular “contra version” of an unknown Paulician myth of historical and religious identity. It is suggested a reconstruction of this supposed myth and its obvious connections with Manicheism are traced out. Finally the traces of Manicheism in Paulician belief system are discussed.

**Keywords:** Bogomils, Paulicians, Bulgaria, Manicheism

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## ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY IN THE MYTHOLOGEM OF “HEAVENLY CUSTOMS”, BETWEEN RUMANIAN POPULAR BOOKS AND FOLKLORE\*

Considerable attention has been given to the emergence, first in Judaism, later in Christianity, of a great number of Apocryphal writings at the beginning of the Christian era, which reflect hopes regarding the end of time and the afterworld<sup>1</sup>: the Apocrypha of the New Testament complying with its categories (gospels, epistles, etc.) and the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, most of which belong to Apocalyptic literature. It follows that

les apocalypses, autrement dit les révélations prêtées à un personnage de l'Écriture, à un saint ou à une personne quelconque, constituent la catégorie la plus vivante, la plus durable et par conséquent la plus complexe<sup>2</sup>.

In the Byzantine world, apocalyptic output may be organized into two categories: on the one hand, a predilection for the end of time, which starts with the *Visions of Daniel*, bringing about a long and complex textual tradition with works, of their respective traditions, such as *The Revelations of Methodius* and *The Life of Andrew, a Fool for Christ*<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, there is an ancient theme of a journey to the netherworld and the motif of a reward for the deceased with its starting point in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, a forefather of a plethora of works within the hagiographical framework dedicated to the exploration of

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<sup>1</sup> P. DINZELBACHER, *La «Visio S. Pauli». Circulation et influence d'un apocryphe eschatologique*, *Apocr* 2, 1991, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> E. PATLAGEAN, *Remarques sur la diffusion et la production des apocryphes dans le monde byzantin*, *Apocr* 2, 1991, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 158–159.

the afterworld. That's why Le Goff remarks that this text *represents the prototype of the medieval journeys in the afterworld and the medieval imaginary of the afterworld*<sup>4</sup>.

C'est sans doute l'*Apocalypse de saint Paul* qui a contribué le plus à accréditer le thème du voyage eschatologique. Non seulement parce qu'elle est la plus ancienne; se gravant dans la mémoire, son découpage en tableaux bien délimités et ses images impressionnantes ont exercé une influence sur quantité d'œuvres médiévales, tant religieuses que profanes<sup>5</sup>.

The diffusion and the reasons for the success of the work depend on its

mise en place d'un au-delà chrétien, centré sur la condition des âmes entre la mort du corps la résurrection finale. Les âmes... comparaissent *tout de suite* devant le tribunal divin, avant d'être envoyées dans deux endroits séparés et organisées en fonction du degré des mérites ou de fautes, pour profiter, dès maintenant, d'un traitement «paradisique» ou «infernale»<sup>6</sup>.

The apocalypses and the visions of the netherworld – as opposed to the end of the world prophecies – do not represent any historical reference and are constituted by two indispensable elements: ascension to Heaven and contemplation of the joys of Paradise along with the punishments of Hell. The apocalypses are, without doubt, the most popular texts: derived from, as mentioned above<sup>7</sup>, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, probably written in Greek in the Egypt of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the *Apocalypse of the Virgin* (“the most popular Byzantine Apocalypse”) and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, all texts making-up *les éléments du «canon» des «visions» médiévales occidentales*<sup>8</sup>. In this regard, S. Mimouni, according to whom *il est très probable que l'Apocalypse de la Vierge dépende de l'Apocalypse de Pierre comme de l'Apocalypse de Paul mais aussi de bien d'autres textes*, observes that numerous Greek manuscripts and their diffusion could possibly provide us with precise information about the representations of the netherworld in certain areas of the Byzantine Empire, especially in the Balkans, where the theme of *Mary's Descent into Hell* was particularly developed. Therefore, *nul doute que l'Apocalypse grecque de la Vierge ait pu influencer au plus haut point l'iconographie byzantine sur les supplices des Enfers*<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. LE GOFF, *Racconti di viaggi nell'aldilà*, [in:] *Dizionario dell'Occidente medievale*, vol. I, *Temie percorsi*, ed. J. LE GOFF, J.-C. SCHMITT, Torino 2003 (s.v. *Aldilà*).

<sup>5</sup> H. BRAET, *Les visions de l'invisible (VF-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, [in:] C. KAPPLER et al., *Apocalypses et voyages dans l'au-delà*, Paris 1987, p. 411.

<sup>6</sup> P. PIOVANELLI, *Les origines de l'«Apocalypse de Paul» reconsidérées*, *Apocr 4*, 1993, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> P. DINZELBACHER, *La «Visio S. Pauli»...*, p. 165.

<sup>8</sup> A. TIMOTIN, *La littérature eschatologique byzantine et post-byzantine dans les manuscrits roumains*, *RESEE 40*, 2002, p. 155.

<sup>9</sup> S.C. MIMOUNI, *Les «Apocalypses de la Vierge». Etat de la question*, *Apocr 4*, 1993, p. 106.

On the other hand, A. Timotin highlights that among the eschatological Byzantine and Post-Byzantine writings, the visions are the least studied, often not even published or available only in some old, outdated editions. Nevertheless, as the scholar continues,

la diffusion manuscrite remarquable de ces textes tout au long de l'histoire byzantine et post-byzantine, montre que pour les Byzantins les visions suscitaient un intérêt qui était bien loin d'être secondaire.<sup>10</sup>

These works appear circa in the 10<sup>th</sup> century with common themes and motifs, originating in apocryphal apocalypses, akin, in terms of structure, to the works circulating as the visions attributed not to the Virgin or the Apostles, but to Byzantine monks<sup>11</sup>. Among those works, the *Vision of Gregory* occupies a particular position, as the episodes of mystical ascension and the vision of Paradise and Hell *sont censés écarter au moins ses doutes concernant la foi judaïque*<sup>12</sup>.

Since the journey to the netherworld rapidly gains the status of a hagiographical topos, allowing it to point out the exceptional destiny of a character<sup>13</sup>, it happens that a particular eschatological vision included in the *Vision of Gregory* and, in turn, in the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, is in the center of my interest. Saint Basil, who lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and died probably circa 950, becomes a protagonist of a hagiographic narration enriched with elements destined to stimulate the imagination of the reader/listener. In fact, although the manuscript tradition received by *Acta Sanctorum* does not diverge from the canonical elements displayed by the life of a saint, a conspicuous number of Greek testimonies<sup>14</sup> – starting with the ones edited by Veselovskij and Vilinski – introduces in the narration attributed to Gregory (a disciple of the saint), an eschatological part that includes a description of the afterworld, of the Hell and the punishments received by the sinners, together with textual inserts, considered to be later than the “life” as such<sup>15</sup>. The narrative begins with the story of Theodora, who describes to Gregory

<sup>10</sup> A. TIMOTIN, *L'eschatologie byzantine. Historiographie et perspectives de recherche*, RESEE 41, 2003, p. 248–249.

<sup>11</sup> *A partir du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les voyages se multiplient, tendent à se détacher de l'hagiographie et à devenir un genre autonome*. Regarding the Western tradition it should be noted that: *Lorsqu'une vision en latin passe en langue vernaculaire, ce passage s'accompagne souvent d'importants changements: nouveaux supplices, développement des horreurs* (C. KAPPLER, *Introduction*, [in:] IDEM et al., *Apocalypses et voyages...*, p. 400).

<sup>12</sup> A. TIMOTIN, *La littérature eschatologique...*, p. 156.

<sup>13</sup> H. BRAET, *Les visions de l'invisible...*, p. 406–407.

<sup>14</sup> For bibliographical references and the Greek manuscript tradition, see F. HALKIN, BHG, <sup>3</sup>Bruxelles 1957 [= SHa, 8a], p. 93–94; IDEM, *Auctarium BHG*, Bruxelles 1969 [= SHa, 47], p. 43; IDEM, *Novum Auctarium BHG*, Bruxelles 1984 [= SHa, 65], p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET, *Saints de Constantinople*, B 24, 1954, p. 492–511.

the path of her soul through 21 heavenly customs. Such an enriched version of the text circulates broadly, both in Slavic-Orthodox and in the specifically Rumanian area<sup>16</sup>.

The recent critical edition of the Rumanian text<sup>17</sup> by Maria Stanciu-Istrate dates the oldest version of the text to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. There are eight variants identified, which represent the subsequent translations from Church Slavonic, Russian or directly from Greek and are articulated in three different editions, testifying the number of customs that oscillates between 20 and 21<sup>18</sup>.

The abundance of testimonies and the variable arrangement of the different sections, based only on the presence or absence of some particular episodes, demonstrate the broad circulation of the work also in Rumanian area.

The editor continues Cartoian's observations in order to highlight how strongly *The Life* is related to the iconographic representations of heavenly customs, especially the ones depicted in the monasteries of Bucovina, where 21 toll houses are portrayed. According to Cartoian, this demonstrates that the monks followed, in this respect, the literary written text they probably read in Slavonic.

More generally, Cartoian also noticed that the *Life of Saint Basil* with the heavenly customs, *illustrated by religious iconography, had a strong impact on the popular imagination and have left its profound mark on the cycle of beliefs and superstitions related to the burial*<sup>19</sup>.

In fact, the narrative is associated with one of the most peculiar and strongly individualizing aspects of the Rumanian funeral ceremony, represented by the motif of the "heavenly customs", or *vămile văzduhului*. In his seminal monography *Înmormintarea la Români*<sup>20</sup>, Marian does not hesitate to dedicate ample space to this belief, related in the first place to the fall of the rebel angels: knowing that some of them act against His will, God throws them to eternal darkness; nonetheless, having realized how many fallen beings there are, he orders them to stop where they are. Therefore, some angels remain in Heaven, others fall to the earth, giving rise to devils, and the rest of them remains suspended in the air. These last are devils too, since they are unable to come back to Heaven, however, they do not manage to sway people to evil, as they cannot stay on earth.

Therefore, not long after their fall, they gather to reach an agreement: a certain number of tolls will be created between the earth and the third Heaven, where the dead souls, travelling towards Heaven, would be held in order to discover and consider carefully their evil deeds and, if needed, throw them to the infernal

<sup>16</sup> Of the antique Rumanian translations of the *Vita* remain still irreplaceable the pages dedicated to the subject by D. ROUSSO, *Studii bizantino-romine*, Bucuresti 1907, p. 51 and N. CARTOIAN, *Cărțile populare în cultura românească*, vol. II, *Epoca influenței grecești*, București 1974, p. 202–216.

<sup>17</sup> *Viața sfântului Vasilie cel nou și vămile văzduhului*, ed. M. STANCIU-ISTRATE, București 2004.

<sup>18</sup> M. STANCIU-ISTRATE, *Studiu filologic*, [in:] *Viața sfântului Vasilie cel nou...*

<sup>19</sup> N. CARTOIAN, *Cărțile populare...*, p. 209.

<sup>20</sup> S.F. MARIAN, *Înmormintarea la Români*, București 1892, p. 448–456.

flames. The aerial devils also decide that each of them should prepare a book made of black pages to write people's sins in white letters, in order to show it to the souls on their path. This way, in a short time Heaven fills with customs called "heavenly customs", each of them taking its name after one sin (customs of theft, murder, gluttony, injustice, etc.), whose number varies between 21, 24 and even 94 in the folklore tradition. The last and most terrible custom, consisting of a long bridge, thick as a nail and wide as the blade of a razor<sup>21</sup>, passes over a dark, bottomless pond inhabited by dreadful monsters: the soul of the sinner is dragged into Hell, while the soul of the non-sinner manages to cross over and enter Paradise. Besides the book of sins, every custom-officer has a scale, by which he weighs the dead people's deeds. He is accompanied by a guide-angel, who bears another book, white with black letters, in which all the good deeds are written: the final destination of the soul is obviously determined by the prevalence of one or the other book. Nevertheless, in front of every custom, the soul can pay a toll using one of the coins and *colaci* (ring- or knot-shaped bread) he/she gave to the poor during lifetime or offered to the same soul in suffrage during the funeral. If the soul has nothing to offer, it is inevitably thrown to Hell<sup>22</sup>.

As can be observed, we are dealing with a particularly vivid and complex part of the funeral rites, all interwoven with references and allusions to the belief in customs<sup>23</sup>, attested in the *Life of Saint Basil*. Accordingly, as for the Rumanian funeral rite, it seems to be the consequence of the folklorization of an apocrypha, reputed *de facto* a canonical text of the Orthodox Church<sup>24</sup>.

It should be noticed that "heavenly customs" are linked to the "doctrine of telonia" (Gr. *τελωνία*), which in the Russian dogmatic context coincided with that of individual judgement<sup>25</sup>.

According to this doctrine, starting from the premise that God does not intervene in it directly, but makes use of the service of good and evil angels, and relying on the testimony of the most ancient Fathers (from Cyril of Alexandria to Ephrem the Syrian), it is affirmed that such Judgment begins precisely with the examination of the souls in different customs or *telonias*, which the examined souls are expected to cross in order to reach Paradise.

<sup>21</sup> In Christian milieu, the oldest testimony of *pons probationis* appears in *Dialogues* of Saint Gregory the Great, probably based on oral sources. Cf. *Visioni dell'aldilà in occidente. Fonti, modelli, testi*, ed. M.P. CICCARESE, Firenze 1987 [= BPat, 8], p. 146.

<sup>22</sup> S.F. MARIAN, *Înmormintarea...*, p. 448–456.

<sup>23</sup> See I. ANDREESCO, M. BACOU, *Morire all'ombra dei Carpazi. Dieci anni di indagine nella Romania rurale*, Milano 1990, especially section II: *Passaggio delle dogane*, p. 105–117, and the contribute of P.-H. STAHL, *L'autre monde. Les signes de reconnaissance*, BBRF S.N. 10, 1983, p. 87–106. For the mythologem of the bridge, cf. the valuable study I. CULIANU, "Pons subtilis". *Storia e significato di un simbolo*, Ae 53, 1979, p. 301–312.

<sup>24</sup> M. JUGIE, *La doctrine des fins dernières dans l'église gréco-russe*, EO 17, 1914, p. 17–22.

<sup>25</sup> MACAIRE, *Théologie dogmatique orthodoxe*, vol. II, Paris 1860, p. 630–640.

In the Western theological environment, where the concept of individual eschatology seems to be less extensive<sup>26</sup>, such interpretation is rejected remarking the fact that, in early Patristics, the *telonias* were, actually, nothing more than a simple metaphorical representation of the individual judgment<sup>27</sup>.

Therefore, the hagiographical text puts itself in a problematic relationship to an articulated type of oral tradition, which, at a deeper analysis, turns out to be not so much folkloric. In reality, the apocryphal narrative, inserted into the hagiographical text along with a related folkloric belief, perfectly illustrate a form of eschatology, based, as well as on a patrological tradition of “heavenly customs”, on two particularly complex, and, for the same reason, interesting thematic lines: the “demonization of the cosmos” and the souls’ ascension or *Himmelsreise*, subjects of multivariate analysis by Culianu, who proposed new interpretations of the issue<sup>28</sup>.

As for the demonization of the cosmos, the scholar observes that

among the first testimonies attesting, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, the diffusion of the ideas concerning the relation between spirits and celestial bodies, and those which, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, inform us about the demonic character attributed to the astral spheres we have to include (between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) the appearance of an intermediate representation, the “celestial Hell”<sup>29</sup>.

With regard to the origins of the celestial eschatology, that is to the aerial position of the Hell, Culianu stresses the fact that we have to consider the influence of the dualistic Orphic-Pythagorean doctrines and the formation and evolution of a certain number of concepts and images, which converge to elaborate a Jewish pre-dualism.

Furthermore, Culianu observes on the one hand how Oriental and Greek eschatologies influenced the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic literature and the Jewish Throne mysticism<sup>30</sup>; on the other hand, he notices how numerous motives

<sup>26</sup> J. RIVIÈRE, *Rôle du démon au jugement particulier chez les pères*, RSR 4, 1924, p. 43–64. See also A. RECHEIS, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise. Das Wirken der Geister beim Heimgang des Menschen in der Lehre der Alexandrinischen und Kappadokischen Väter*, Roma 1958, p. 193–196, where we can find the section *Die Telonia*, with the diverse interpretations of “toll houses”.

<sup>27</sup> M. JUGIE, *La doctrine des fins dernières...*

<sup>28</sup> I. CULIANU, «*Démonisation du cosmos*» et dualisme gnostique, RHR 196.3, 1979, p. 3–40; IDEM, *L'«Ascension de l'âme» dans les mystères et hors des mystères*, [in:] *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano*, ed. U. BIANCHI, M.J. VERMASEREN, Leiden 1982 [= EPROLR, 92], p. 276–302.

<sup>29</sup> IDEM, «*Démonisation du cosmos*»..., p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Also Daniélou, had previously noted how the vision of the universe which appears in the Judaic-Christian theology and in the Hebrew apocalypics is largely based on some relevant conceptions having a parallel in the Hellenistic world. That seems related to the fact that the Judaic apocalypse is influenced by the Greek tradition while, at the same time, the Judaic-Christians of Syria and Asia Minor are in contact with the Oriental religions (Cf. J. DANIELOU, *Théologie du judéo-christianisme*, Tournai 1958, p. 151).

document an opposite influence too: *the Judaic pre-dualism has left permanent marks on all these speculations, providing, as a consequence, an essential contribution to the formation of the Gnostic dualism.* Therefore, according to the Rumanian scholar, it can be claimed that from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, Judaism developed a number of pre-dualistic representations, which by superimposing themselves over the dualistic doctrines of the ancient Greek stratum *justify the appearance of the Gnostic dualism with no need of going back to the theory of an Iranian influence*<sup>31</sup>. This would explain – according to Culianu – the demonization of the cosmos in the religious atmosphere of the first centuries AD and also the roots of Gnostic dualism so that in the doctrinal area of the late Judaism (and particularly in the figure of the “angels of the peoples”) there are elements that may identify the genetic start of the “hostile powers” of the celestial world, which, in their evolution, produce the figure of the Gnostic Archons. In conclusion, starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> century after Christ, the generalization of the celestial eschatology contributes to explain the demonization of the universe, a phenomenon which becomes dominant from this era, being well represented by the Gnostic systems<sup>32</sup>. *The first consequence of this atmospheric demonology... has a soteriological character: after death, the souls of the deads have to pass through the demonic spheres and elude deceptions set by the demons*<sup>33</sup>.

Next to the demonization of the cosmos and connected with the same spiritual atmosphere, appears the subject of the ascension of the soul, which is defined by the same Culianu as *neither a topic, nor a mythologem, but an inextricable whole of problems concerning the compared history of religions*<sup>34</sup> and which includes topics such as celestial eschatology, astral origins of soul, the cosmological framework in which psychanody projects itself, etc. No less complex remain the issues related to the visionary phenomenology and to the content of the ascension vision, where *gates of Heaven, stations, door-keepers, customs, passports and watchwords, classes of angels, Hell, classes of demons and condemned, categories of damned and correspondence between sins and punishments, Paradise, etc.* can be found<sup>35</sup>.

Therefore, the journey of the soul through planetary spheres at first downward and later upward, in the form known in ancient Greece, evolves up to the concurrent pattern of the journey through heavenly customs, where

terrible door-keepers with animal shapes and very strange names indeed, were in charge of controlling the passport (i.e. the seal or badge), the knowledge of the watchwords and, sometimes, the moral luggage of the soul. A sort of military régime was, in that case, installed

<sup>31</sup> I. CULIANU, «*Démonisation du cosmos*»..., p. 33–34.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> B. NEAGOTA, *Demonologia iudeo-creștină. Mecanisme hermeneutice și reguli de generare*, Orm 1, 2004, p. 114.

<sup>34</sup> I. CULIANU, *L'«Ascension de l'âme» dans les mystères*..., p. 276.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 287.

in the sky, and the soul was supposed to have been instructed in the profound lore of *the mots de passe*, names of the watchers and protective seals in order to be able to cross the large heavenly zone occupied by enemy forces and reach her allies<sup>36</sup>.

This way, we can precisely outline the motive of the celestial journey of the soul returning to Heaven in Hans Jonas' words as

one of the most constant common features in otherwise widely divergent gnostic systems, and its significance for the gnostic mind is enhanced by the fact that it represents a belief not only important in gnostic theory and expectation, and expressive of the conception of man's relation to the world, but of immediate practical relevance to the gnostic believer, since the meaning of *gnosis* is to prepare for the final event<sup>37</sup>.

In fact, Gnostic texts, such as the fundamental *Pistis Sophia*, contain the secret names and formulas intended to secure the transit of the soul through the doors watched by terrific guardians<sup>38</sup>.

Consequently, a mythologem of the heavenly customs and the transit of the soul emerges, based on the scheme illustrated by the hermetic *Poimandres*, but with the difference that

in Christian Gnostic texts the transit of the soul assumes more gloomy and threatening shades. Unlike the hermetic planetary governors, archons are stern, implacable controllers. One needs a special pass in order to pass the diverse planetary boundaries<sup>39</sup>.

We are therefore dealing with a double textual course, one in the Orthodox Christian system, the other in the dualistic Heterodoxy. Both courses display a considerable doctrinaire and – broadly speaking – cultural interest, however, with possible tangencies, which will be analysed forthwith.

With regard to the Orthodox textual course and the long, colorful patristic tradition of the mythologem, it should be reminded that in the strictly literary, as well as theological, context, the figure of a demon represented as an agent of individual judgment appears for the first time already in the writings of Origen. The latter was soon followed by a large group of Eastern Fathers, who – in certainly more gloomy and dramatic tones – describe the moment when the soul, having left the body, is facing its otherworldly journey.

<sup>36</sup> IDEM, *Psychanodia*, Leiden 1983 [= EPROLR, 99], p. 11 (cf. the Rum. edition: *Psicanodia*, București 1997, p. 31).

<sup>37</sup> H. JONAS, *The Gnostic Religion*, Boston 2001 [1958], p. 165.

<sup>38</sup> I. CULIANU, *Psychanodia...*, p. 13 (cf. 1997, p. 33–35).

<sup>39</sup> G. FILORAMO, *L'attesa della fine. Storia della gnosi*, Roma–Bari 1993, p. 217.

Athanasius, Ephrem and, above all, Cyril of Alexandria<sup>40</sup> give an authentic, literary substance, at times plastically coruscating, to Origen's theological speculation, to which *can be traced back the responsibility for having introduced in the patristic theology of Redemption the idea of a ransom paid to Satan, justifying it with the latter's right on sinners*<sup>41</sup>. On the other hand, Origen claims that *les juifs... avaient connaissance d'aporrêta tels que la transmigration des âmes... le contexte suggère que l'auteur fait allusion à des traditions ésotériques concernant l'ascension mystique*<sup>42</sup>. Therefore, it is since Origen, that the doctrine of the heavenly demons has solidified<sup>43</sup> and its echoes can easily be found in the works of the patristic authors mentioned above.

The Heterodox course is witnessed by Gnostic texts – especially those written by Nag Hammadi – which abundantly portray the figures of custom archons who, in the seven aeons, are in charge of interrogating each soul in order to discover whether it committed the sin on which they have jurisdiction, letting the soul pass only if it has a special watchword consisting of magic numbers and words.

I shall restrict my analysis to the texts in which the mythologem is more explicitly exposed: the *Gospel of Mary*, where, during the ascension, the soul encounters seven powers (Darkness, Desire, Ignorance, Zeal/Jealousy of Death, Kingdom of the Flesh, Foolish Wisdom of the Flesh, Wrathful Wisdom)<sup>44</sup> and the two *Apocalypses of James*, where the Gnostic is reminded that he should first deal with the multitude of the archons and then three of them which, being with the demiurge, are ready to seize the soul – while sitting as heavenly custom guards – demanding a toll<sup>45</sup>.

On the other hand, in the so-called *Psalm of the Naassenes*, known through the writings of Hippolytus, Jesus wants to come down from Heaven in order to rescue human souls and teach them the mysterious path to the Kingdom of God:

<sup>40</sup> It should be reminded that Cyril with his 14<sup>th</sup> sermon about the "journey of the soul" is the first to provide the enumeration of the customs, each related to a particular kind of sin (cf. *Cyrylli Alexandriae archiepiscopi Epistolae*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXVII, col. 1071–1090).

<sup>41</sup> J. RIVIÈRE, *Rôle du démon...*, p. 44.

<sup>42</sup> G. STROUMSA, *Paradosis. Traditions ésotériques dans le christianisme des premiers siècles*, Apocr 2, 1991, p. 148–149.

<sup>43</sup> J. DANIELOU, *Les démons de l'air dans la «Vie d'Antoine»*, SAN 38, 1956, p. 139. Moreover, Daniélou clarifies that the conception of the air as the sphere of demons cannot be related to the Old Testament: it does not appear in the Hebrew Pre-Christian apocalypses, but only in the Rabbinic Judaism and is close to the Greek, especially Hellenistic, conception of the aerial presence of *daimones* (p. 136–137).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *L'Évangile selon Marie. (BG 1)*, ed. A. PASQUIER, Québec 1983 [= BCNH.ST, 10], p. 39–43; *The Gospel of Mary*, ed. C. TUCKETT, Oxford–New York 2007 [= OECGT], p. 175–180.

<sup>45</sup> *La première apocalypse de Jacques (NH V, 3); La seconde apocalypse de Jacques (NH V, 4)*, ed. A. VEILLEUX, Québec 1986 [= BCNH.ST, 17], p. 43.

*Therefore, send me forth, O Father, with the seals in my hand I shall descend and all aeons I shall pass through, all mysteries I shall reveal, and show the forms of the gods*<sup>46</sup>.

In reality, the *telonias* or customs are common, and, therefore, characteristic elements of the Gnostic literature. We can mention the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in which the guardian wants the apostle to show the *semion* to get access to the *ogdoade*, something which may reflect the existence of a heavenly custom in front of every Paradise<sup>47</sup>.

Having mentioned the latter Gnostic text, I can now introduce a further observation concerning the tangency of the two mentioned diverse doctrinal traditions. It has turned out that the theme of the journey to Heaven, a literary genre present in the Judaic Apocrypha, reappears in the text of Nag Hammadi, in which context the *Apocalypse of Paul* best illustrates the topic<sup>48</sup>.

Furthermore, in the Orthodox Christian tradition, the *Apocalypse of Paul* is the first text to describe, along the way followed by a living person, the path of the souls in the netherworld and also the first interested in the immediate eschatology of an individual<sup>49</sup>. In his volume, dense and extraordinarily documented, dedicated to the *Apocalypse of Paul*, Carozzi observes that it can be supposed that the analysed text was expected to represent a response to the homonymous Gnostic vision, which may also justify the use of language close to the one used by Gnostics and Hermetics, but at the same time compatible with Christian teaching<sup>50</sup>.

Obviously, this apocalyptic text, spread in all Europe thanks to its exceptionally rich tradition, is one of the oldest and most abundantly attested Apocrypha in the Rumanian area: the text, strongly contaminated and incomplete, describes an ascension to Heaven and the role of collectors played by demons<sup>51</sup>, despite the fact that the whole mentioned eschatological theme is well presented in the Old Rumanian literature. Therefore, the *Life of Saint Basil* with its celestial interpolation actually makes up, together with other works of the mentioned fathers, a textual constellation. In manuscripts or in ancient printed editions, the literary canon was enriched by homilies about the fate of the human soul after death,

<sup>46</sup> A. MASTROCINQUE, *Studi sulle gemme gnostiche*, ZPE 122, 1998, p. 115.

<sup>47</sup> *La première apocalypse de Jacques...*, p. 86.

<sup>48</sup> M. SCOPELLO, *Contes apocalyptiques et apocalypse philosophiques dans la bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi*, [in:] C. KAPPLER et al., *Apocalypses et voyages...*, p. 325. In addition, the author explains that the text of this apocalypse was probably redacted in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century by a Gnostic familiar with the intertestamentarian Judaism literature. In fact, topics of Hebrew origin related to the image of a celestial journey receive, in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, a Gnosticized interpretation (p. 332).

<sup>49</sup> C. CAROZZI, *Eschatologie et au-delà. Recherches sur l'Apocalypse de Paul*, Aix-en-Provence 1994, p. 7, 9.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 153–154.

<sup>51</sup> N. CARTOJAN, *Cărțile populare în cultura românească*, vol. I, *Epoca influenței sud-slave*, <sup>2</sup>București 1974, p. 81–92.

starting not only from Ephrem the Syrian but also from Cyril of Alexandria<sup>52</sup>, who, as mentioned above, were the first ones to enumerate the customs in connection with to human sins.

Now I would like to take up the mythologem of the "heavenly customs" again, showing how its representation coincides substantially in the two psychanodies (the folkloric and the Gnostic one) also with regard to their number: it is the magical seven for the Gnostics; a highly variable number in the Rumanian folklore, where the oldest and, above all, the iconographic attestations document (in agreement with the hagiographic narrative) the number 21<sup>53</sup>. All in all 21 is the result of the multiplication of the two magical numbers: 7 and 3.

At this stage, further clarification on the subject of the two psychanodies should be introduced. The angels and the spirits of the Orthodox text inspect souls' deeds luggage and their unique occupation is dividing the good ones from the bad ones. In this case, we are not dealing with the process of anamnesis which can be found in the Gnostic apocalypse, according to which the possession of a secret word assures the passage to knowledge<sup>54</sup>. Thus a substantial, different eschatological vision seems to create an insuperable divergence between the two, Orthodox and Heterodox, ascensions of the soul. Still, Carozzi, while talking about the confluence of the pagan and Christian traditions in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, clarifies that such an encounter rests on a *common mentality, whose expressions do not diverge, apart from their different religious objectives*<sup>55</sup>.

Moreover, Daniélou noticed that since *the habitat of the evil angels is located in the lower parts of the sky... after death, souls have to cross the demonic spheres in their journey to Paradise*, attempting to escape from the demons that try to hold them. The doctrine has been distinguished from *the one of the soul's journey through the angelic spheres that appears in the Ascension of Isaiah and was interpreted by Gnostics as planetary cosmocrators*. However, as observed by Daniélou, these two conceptions can be juxtaposed, as in the case of the Valentinian Gnostics<sup>56</sup> and in many Orthodox texts. Thus, the demons trying to impede souls' ascension and the angels guarding Heaven's door and demanding the warranty of the seal to let the souls come in, are both displayed by the same text<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> For the success of Cyril in Rumanian area, see D. Rouso, *Studii bizantino-române...*, p. 13–14. For the impressive presence of the sermons of Ephrem and Cyril, along with Athanasius', see the catalogue of the manuscripts stored in the Library of Bucharest (cf. G. ȘTREMPEL, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, vol. I–IV, București 1978–1992).

<sup>53</sup> N. CARTOJAN, *Cărțile populare...*, vol. II, p. 207–209.

<sup>54</sup> C. CAROZZI, *Eschatologie et au-delà...*, p. 168–169.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 91.

<sup>56</sup> A. ORBE, *Los primeros herejes ante la persecucion. Estudios valentinianos*, vol. V, Romae 1956 [= AGr.SFTh, 83], p. 116–125.

<sup>57</sup> J. DANIELOU, *Théologie du judéo-christianisme...*, p. 150.

Going back to the *Life of Saint Basil*, it has been stressed above that in its original Greek redaction scholars identified two precise moments in its composition: the first one, earlier, consists of a purely hagiographical narrative, collected in *Acta Sanctorum* and dated exactly to the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century; the second, a later one, characterized by the eschatological insertion of the story of Theodora including the description of the customs and Gregory's vision of the Last Judgement, "considerably later", with the insertion of long, epic fragments in a primitive plot<sup>58</sup>.

The shift of the date of the revision to a period following the 10<sup>th</sup> century brings us, realistically, to the time in which in the Balkan Peninsula appears and flourishes the Bogomilism.

I will not enter the issue and the controversies concerning whether is possible to find any link between the various dualisms following one another from the Iranic till the Gnosticism.

Favouring phenomenological over historical information, scholars such as Puech<sup>59</sup> and Culiانو<sup>60</sup> claimed the complete independence of a system over its precedents. One can easily observe, however, that in the history of dualisms, a dualistic system establishes itself in areas where another had already established itself before.

In this respect, Puech made some concessions. Comparing Bogomilism with the antecedent ideologies and specifying that the term "Manichaeism" used by Byzantine and Medieval heresiologists is equivalent to "Dualism", without any further reference to the doctrine of Mani, Puech claims that *the formation of "Bogomilism" is for the most part due to the Paulician farmers combined in unequal dose with Manichaeist contribution*<sup>61</sup>. According to this scholar, it would be more reasonable to assume the features identifying the Bogomilism and the sects of the Archontics and Audians to be basically common to them. Developed in Syria, the sects spread then in Armenia and in the Danubian area, where traces of them can be found only until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. They both present elements in common with the Bogomilism, such as the use of various Apocrypha, for example, and with particular emphasis on the *Ascension of Isaiah*, but they cultivate above all the myth of the origins of humanity generally adhering to the model of the Bogomilist legends. Besides, it was Cumont who pointed out the fact that the Manichaeist readings comprised a great number of Christian Apocrypha; therefore,

<sup>58</sup> G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET, *Saints de Constantinople...*, p. 496.

<sup>59</sup> H.-C. PUECH, *Cosmas le prêtre et le bogomilisme*, [in:] *A Le traité contre le Bogomiles de Cosmas le Prêtre*, ed. et trans. A. VAILLANT, H.-C. PUECH, Paris 1945, p. 129–346.

<sup>60</sup> I. COULIANO, *I miti dei dualismi occidentali. Dai sistemi gnostici al mondo moderno*, Milano 1989. Related and innovative is the method adopted by Culiانو, who builds his analysis in accordance with rigorous structuralistic criteria and follows it without looking for ideal "invariants", but applying to the variants of the Gnostic myths, "bundles of opposition" in order to define the spectrum of action.

<sup>61</sup> H.-C. PUECH, *Cosmas le prêtre...*, p. 325.

it is difficult to assess to what extent such works were rewritten by the innovators who had adopted them<sup>62</sup>.

From the reference to the Bogomilism, we can infer that the fortune of the above-mentioned dualistic doctrine would have had the effect to reactivate and modernize the mythologem of the Gnostic ascension of the soul, possibly survived in the South-Eastern European area in the form of the oral tradition<sup>63</sup> and introduced in the saint's life in the same way as the references to the historical events (Rus' attack against the Byzantine Empire, Hungarian invasion) coeval to the writing of the text.

Once identified the possible origins of this particular ascension of the soul, another problematic aspect remains to be explained, that is the folklorization of the same mythologem.

Interestingly, despite the fact that this hagiographic story – with its eschatological interpolation, having often an autonomous diffusion<sup>64</sup> – was very well known in the whole Orthodox Slavic-Byzantine area, the folkloric reflection of a belief in the customs is attested only in the Rumanian area. By referring to the fact that in European folklore we can find survivals of apocalypses and Judaic, Christian or Heretic Apocrypha, Eliade underscores how a mythological motif, frequent among Mandaeans and Manicheans but of more likely Sumerian origin,

still plays an essential part in the mythology of death and the funeral rituals of the Rumanians and other peoples of eastern Europe. Mandaean and Manichaean writings speak of 'custom

<sup>62</sup> F. CUMONT, *À propos des écritures manichéennes*, RHR 78, 1920, p. 10–11. Cumont observes that the Manichaeism could have possibly lasted longer than expected (the 6<sup>th</sup> in the Latin world and the 9<sup>th</sup> in the East) and develops an hypothesis according to which the Manichaean literature survived secretly until the middle of the Western Middle Ages.

<sup>63</sup> M. Eliade claims that in southeastern Europe *certain Bogomil conceptions have been transmitted by Apocrypha and still survive in folklore... In following the model of certain Gnostic sects, the Bogomils probably reinforced the dualism by enhancing the Devil's prestige* (cf. M. ELIADE, *Storia delle credenze e delle idee religiose*, vol. III, *Da Maometto all'età delle riforme*, Firenze 1983, p. 203). When it comes to the presence of the Bogomils, especially Bulgarian, in Rumanian territories, it is documented by Cartoian who reminds how their migration in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries originated, initially, as a result of the anti-Turkish revolt and later under the pressure of Franciscan missionaries (N. CARTOIAN, *Cărțile populare...*, vol. I, p. 39–51). Also worth mentioning is an interesting description of the miniatures, certainly Bogomil, discovered in the Rumanian area and dated back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, in G. CANTACUZINO, *Les tombes de bogomiles découvertes en Roumanie et leur rapport avec les communautés hérétiques byzantines et balkaniques*, [in:] *Actes du XIV Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Bucarest, 6–12 septembre 1971, ed. M. BERZA, E. STĂNESCU, Bucarest 1975, p. 515–528.

<sup>64</sup> It should be noted that this phenomenon is the answer to the general laws suchlike which in the West multiplies from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and sees the eschatological part gaining an autonomous popularity. For the purpose of my discourse, it seems particularly relevant Braet's observation according to which the *Apocalypse of Paul* would have undoubtedly contributed more than any other work to *accredit the subject of the eschatological journey* (cf. H. BRAET, *Les visions de l'invisible...*, p. 409–411).

houses' at each of the seven heavens and of the 'customs officers' who examine the soul's 'merchandise' (i.e. its religious works and merits) in the course of its heavenly journey. Now in the religious folklore and funerary customs of the Rumanians there is mention of a "road of death" through the seven 'custom houses of the atmosphere' (*vămile văzduhului*)<sup>65</sup>.

Another similar critical perspective was adopted by S. Lupaşcu in his extensive study – by then I had published the first version of my paper – which confirms and supports my conclusions illustrated in these lines. Lupaşcu moves, in fact, from the observation that not only *can we point out the Biblical (Apocrypha-pseudoepigraphical) and Balkan Gnostic mediation in the construction and transmission of the heavenly customs doctrine*, but also that

Gnostic hypothesis allows to exegetically set the Rumanian folkloristic narration in the passage of the soul towards heavenly customs in the vast setting of the Gnostic texts, which describe the path followed by the souls after the thanatic threshold.

The simplification of the old Gnostic scheme, specifies Lupaşcu, is determined by a long chain, partially unknown, through which, in the oral register, the Gnostic wisdom was transmitted from the Northern African world of the Hellenistic period to the Medieval Rumanian peasant world.

The conclusion reached by the scholar conforms to the results of my research, as it states that

folkloric imagination on heavenly customs has its roots in the Gnostic imagination of aeons and archons, the passage of the initiates through the planetary spheres and the intermediate heavens<sup>66</sup>.

As regards the Balkan zone, it should be recalled that if in the Greek folklore it is believed that unbaptized new-born babies become "custom officers", i.e. little demons that turn back to torment the living<sup>67</sup>, in Bulgarian folklore it is believed that certain angels are guardians at the heavenly customs<sup>68</sup>, whilst the soul is expected to pass through 24 little doors to enter the Paradise, and at each

<sup>65</sup> M. ELIADE, *A History of Religious Ideas*, vol. II, *From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity*, trans. W.R. TRASK, Chicago–London 1982 [1978], p. 406 (cf. the Italian ed.: *Storia delle credenze e delle idee religiose*, vol. II, *Da Gautama Buddha al trionfo del cristianesimo*, Firenze 1980, p. 404).

<sup>66</sup> S. LUPAŞCU, *In the Ninth Heaven: the Gnostic Background of the Rumanian Folklore Tradition of "Heaven's Customs-houses"*, SEE 30, 2003, p. 131–146 (cf. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/revista?codigo=10284> [27 II 2019]).

<sup>67</sup> C. STEWART, *Demons and the Devil. Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture*, Princeton N.J. 1992 [= PMGS, 38], p. 196–197. The scholar makes reference to the folkloristic texts that can be found in N. ПОЛИТΗΣ, *Παραδόσεις*, vol. I, Αθήνα 1965, p. 608–609.

<sup>68</sup> Д. МАРИНОВ, *Избрани произведения*, vol. I, *Народна вяра и религиозни народни обичаи*, София 1981, p. 250–251.

one to account for his actions<sup>69</sup>. It seems that in both cases we can identify the underlying memory of the mythologem, which is not displayed as such explicitly in the beliefs related to the journey to the netherworld. In the paper dedicated to the “path to the netherworld”<sup>70</sup> in the traditional vision of East-Central Europe, Francis Conte meticulously describes the stages of the journey to the netherworld without mentioning belief in the heavenly customs. So the question arises of why has it taken roots so long and deeply in the Rumanians’ ultramundane mythology; and why did they adopt such a mythologem which was preserved in the rest of south-eastern Europe exclusively in the written tradition, even if, on a more general level, the presence – common to the Bulgarian folklore – of the Dualistic elements characteristic of the cosmogonic narrations is clearly recognizable<sup>71</sup>.

According to M. Eliade, *For example, it is significant that the biblical cosmogony vanished from European folklore. The only ‘popular’ cosmogony known in southeastern Europe is dualistic in structure: it involves both God and the Devil. In the European traditions in which this cosmogony is not documented, there is no cosmogonic myth*<sup>72</sup>.

In this regard, the narrative acting, in the text, as a frame for the description of the customs seems to me illuminating. As has been mentioned earlier, the customs exist since they were created by fallen angels, stopped mid-air by God’s will. Now, this subdivision of Satan’s angels which, expelled along with their lord, came to a stop in the abysses, on earth or in the air, appears in the same terms in the *Legend of the Tiberia Sea*, one of the Middle Bulgarian texts which best illustrates the Bogomil dualism<sup>73</sup>. Is it possible to assign to the receptiveness of the Rumanians such a value that it can justify the conservation of the Gnostic mythologem in the oral dimension?<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Етнография на България*, vol. III, *Духовна култура*, ed. И. ГЕОРГИЕВА et al., София 1985, p. 34.

<sup>70</sup> F. CONTE, *Le chemin vers ‘l’autre monde’ dans la vision traditionnelle des paysans d’Europe centrale et orientale*, RES 69, 1997, p. 281–297. The monographic volume is dedicated to “Vieux-croyants et sectes russes du XVII siècle à nos jours”.

<sup>71</sup> A detailed presentation of such a legendary *corpus*, with inevitable references to the circulation of the Bogomil literature in Rumanian area together with an extensive critic bibliography is offered by G. VLĂDUȚESCU, *Filosofia legendelor cosmogonice românești*, București 1982.

<sup>72</sup> M. ELIADE, *A History of Religious Ideas*, vol. II..., p. 405 (M. ELIADE, *Storia delle credenze...*, vol. II, p. 403–404).

<sup>73</sup> J. IVANOV, *Livres et légendes bogomiles (aux sources du catharisme)*, trans. M. RIBEYROL, praef. R. NELLI, Paris 1976, p. 272–273.

<sup>74</sup> A parallel which confirms the mentioned hypothesis can be found in the Coptic area. There, the Egyptian traditions concerning the journey of the soul to the netherworld together with the trials to which it is going to be subjected are preserved in spite of the Christianization. Many Coptic literary works continue having interest in the ultramundane life keep using the fantastic details in which the memory of ancient beliefs survives. (A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Révélations de Macaire et de Marc de Tarmaqa sur le sort de l’âme après la mort*, Mu 53, 1950, p. 159–166).

The survival of the elements at great chronological intervals does not seem to pose any real obstacle. In fact, it is always Eliade to underscore how the persistence of the Manichean topics enters simultaneously between the components of the Armenian Paulicianism (7<sup>th</sup> century) and the Bulgarian Bogomilism (10<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>75</sup>. It should be reminded that the presence of the Paulicians as an Armenian sect is attested until the modern era, since in 1837 a copy of *The Key of Truth*, a Paulician sacred book from the 9<sup>th</sup> century, was found in a village in Russian Armenia. In fact, Christianity was introduced in Armenia starting from Edessa, where, however, it was received in the form of Adoptionism.

This means that also Armenians, being simply Christian, are considered Heretics and banished from the city; therefore, along with Gnostics and Marcionists, they take shelter on the mountains, where they become a real sect. From there, they are deported by the Byzantine emperor to the Balkans, mostly in Bulgaria, the country in which the Bogomilism would soon flourish<sup>76</sup>.

On the other hand, Runciman observes that the Heretic dualistic tradition was preserved principally thanks to the existence of a literature of the Gnostics, who tended to write books on visions of the famous personalities (such as Enoch, Isaia, Baruch or some apostle) placing them in the skies described following the Gnostic disposition.

As a consequence, it happens that Bogomils adapt and modify popular Greek legends of Gnostic origin: this way a literature of Slavonic translations, with a strong heretic colouring, was born<sup>77</sup>, although, it would be wrong to label it as a Bogomil literature, since its richest flourishing took place in Russia, where the Bogomilism has never arrived<sup>78</sup>.

The question remains, however, connected to a specific Gnostic presence in the Rumanian area only generally feasible when we talk about Pre-Bogomilist Dualisms (Archontics or Paulicians) in the Danubian area.

Already at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was noticed that the Gnosticism, probably brought by Syrian elements, was generally documented in the Dalmatic-Danubian area<sup>79</sup> by the presence of gems with Gnostic inscriptions. More specifically what was affirmed later, namely that in Transylvania and Oltenia there were

<sup>75</sup> M. ELIADE, *Storia delle credenze...*, vol. III, p. 394.

<sup>76</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. V, ed. M. ELIADE, New York 1987, p. 573.

<sup>77</sup> Speaking of Slavonic translations, M. Garzaniti made an interesting observation about pilgrimage narratives in the Holy Land as a vehicle for the diffusion in the Slavia Orthodoxa of themes present in the apocryphal literature: *Quoi qu'il en soit, nous pouvons dire avec certitude qu'à travers la littérature de pèlerinage de nombreux motifs apocryphes sont entrés dans la culture slave*. M. GARZANITI, *Les apocryphes dans la littérature slave ecclésiastique de pèlerinage en Palestine (XII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Apocr 9, 1998, p. 157-173.

<sup>78</sup> S. RUNCIMAN, *Le manichéisme médiéval. L'hérésie dualiste dans le christianisme*, trans. S. PÉTREMENT, J. MARTY, Paris 1949, p. 26, 78.

<sup>79</sup> V. PÂRVAN, *Contribuții epigrafice la istoria creștinismului daco-roman*, București 1911, p. 25-29.

found Abrasax gems<sup>80</sup>, some of which to be connected with the Basilidian Gnostics of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>81</sup>. It should be noticed that *abrasax* (also spelled *abraxas*) is the most important magic word known by the Fathers of the Church as the word used by the Gnostics, especially by Basilides, to designate the ruler of the 365 heavens – diverse and superior to the Creator.

The attribution to the Gnostics is principally due to the fact that the magic word *Abrasax*, recurring on many gems, is frequent in the works of the Fathers of the Church, according to whom it was the name given by the Gnostics to the ruler of the 365 heavens, considering that his name indicated the number 365<sup>82</sup>.

Speaking of Gnosticism in the Rumanian area, we should mention a clarifying text written by Zevin Rusu<sup>83</sup>, who attempted to give his own interpretation of one of the most enigmatic works of the Late Danubian Graecity: the so-called *Glycon of Constanța*, which had been given multiple possible interpretations, none of which imposed as conclusively illuminating, and which was put by Rusu in relation to the Ophite Gnostics. We are referring to a sculpture which, found in Tomis and being unique in the world<sup>84</sup>, represents a strange representation of a maned-serpent, upright on its coils and placed on a round pedestal, both carved in the same block of stone<sup>85</sup>. First, archaeologist A. Clucer<sup>86</sup> linked the statue to the cult of the snake god Glycon, founded by Alexander of Abonuteichos in Paphlagonia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (circa 140) and active at least until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The most information about the cult comes from Lucian of Samosata, who talks negatively about it in *Alexander The False Prophet*, from which we can infer that the fame of the serpent was spread in the regions of Bithynia, Thrace and Galatia, while, at the same time, the first commemorative coins, painted plaques and bronze or silver statues start to be made<sup>87</sup>. The cult of the false prophet soon arrives at Rome and

<sup>80</sup> Abrasax was claimed to be actually Mithra, whilst the Gnostic gems would have been inspired by some solar cults such as Mithraism. Later, however, it was believed that these talismans, preferably called “magical” since then, and the magical papyri, would have been made by sorcerers of the imperial age, setting aside the hypothesis of a Gnostic or Mithaistic origins. (A. MASTROCINQUE, *Le gemme gnostiche*, [in:] *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum*, p. 1, Roma 2003 [= BNum. Monografia, 8.2.1], p. 66–67, cf. <http://www.numismaticadellostato.it/> [17 I 2019]).

<sup>81</sup> D. PROTASE, *Problema continuității în Dacia în lumina arheologiei și numismaticii*, București 1966, p. 142, n. 322.

<sup>82</sup> A. MASTROCINQUE, *Le gemme gnostiche...*, p. 66, 100.

<sup>83</sup> Z. RUSU, *Der Kult der Schlange von Tomis*, D 6, 1981–1982, p. 133–160.

<sup>84</sup> Z. COVACEF, *Șarpele Glycon – un artefact unic în lume* (<https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/timp-liber/articol/sarpele-Glycon-un-artefact-unic-in-lume> [17 I 2019]).

<sup>85</sup> M. ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU, *The Treasury of Sculptures from Tomis. The Cult Inventory of a Temple*, Da N.S. 53, 2009, p. 30–31.

<sup>86</sup> A. CLUCER, *Cultul lui Glycon la Tomis și la Apulum*, Apu 6, 1967, p. 611–617.

<sup>87</sup> The excavations in the Ancient Agora of Athens have brought to light small bronze statues featuring Glycon, very similar to the statue of Tomis and the one that appears on the coins. Its cult had

its provinces: Latin inscriptions found in Moesia Superior and two altars in Dacia confirm its presence along the Danube<sup>88</sup>, which is why it was believed that the marble statue found in Constanța demonstrates the probable existence of a public cult in ancient Tomis. The oracle of Glycon represents a singular religious creation related to the iatromantic cult of Asclepius, a manifestation and personification of a “new Asclepius”, denominated Glycon, “the Sweet”. Originally born in Thessaly, recognized as a divinity in the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century BC, Asclepius becomes a healing divinity par excellence of the Greek-Roman Pantheon, with a serpent which is his primary totem animal, and adopts the role of a spiritual guide for all the believers in all their life situations<sup>89</sup>.

In Dacia, Asclepius was frequently worshipped together with other gods in order to guarantee the divine protection<sup>90</sup>. An example comes from Apulum<sup>91</sup> (Alba Iulia), where undoubted evidence of the cult of Mitra and Liber Pater exist, but also cults of other gods are mentioned, included Asclepius. The conquest of Dacia favoured the introduction of immigrants, bearing memory of their place of origin. It is evidently relevant, thus, the inscription that comes from the *castrum* of the Legio XIII Gemina in Apulum: “Glyconi/M(arcus)/Onesas/iusso dei/l(ibens) p(osuit)”. Glycon shows here one of the most representative examples of the impact of Rome upon the cult of Asclepius<sup>92</sup>. On the marble objects and coins of Tomis, there is a rampant serpent with raised human face depicted, which corresponds with the iconography representing at that time Sarapis-Agatodemonic<sup>93</sup>.

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followers also in Athens. The reduced dimension of the discovered figures seems to reflect the fact that they were made to be carried as an amulet providing the protection of New-Asclepius. Cf. R. LOUIS, *Le serpent Glycon d'Abônouteichos à Athènes et Artémis d'Éphèse à Rome*, CRAIBL 125, 1981, p. 513–514.

<sup>88</sup> S. CHIȘ, *Cultul șarpelui Glycon în imperiul roman*, BCȘS 1, 1995, p. 97–101.

<sup>89</sup> A. Magri points out that the Perates identify Christ with Asclepius, probably considered His pagan incarnation *ante literam*. Both gods possessed almost identical attributes, their activities analogous and their terrestrial lives presented similarities. *For a just conversed pagan, a sincretism of that kind did not present nothing suspicious*. Cf. A. MAGRI, *Le serpent guérisseur et l'origine de la gnose ophite*, RHR 224, 2007, p. 395–434 (here p. 58, cf. <https://journals.openedition.org/rhr/5351> [18 I 2019]).

<sup>90</sup> In Dacia, the presence of a sacred earthenware decorated with serpents is documented. Cf. D. ALICU, *Vases décorés de serpents, découverts à Sarmizegetusa*, L 39, 1980, p. 717–725, [www.jstor.org/stable/41531904](http://www.jstor.org/stable/41531904) [22 I 2019].

<sup>91</sup> *The conurbation of Apulum was one of the most important political and cultural centers of Roman Dacia in the period of 106–271 [...] Although a large part of the city's archaeological heritage is related to its religious life – having the most significant repertory of this kind in Roman Dacia*, C. SZABÓ, *Discovering the Gods in Apulum. Historiography and New Perspectives*, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265736195> [20 XI 2018].

<sup>92</sup> G. VAN DER PLOEG, *The Impact of the Roman Empire on the Cult of Asclepius*, University of Warwick 2016 (PhD Thesis), p. 209–211 (<http://webcat.warwick.ac.uk/record=b2870430~S1> [29 XII 2018]).

<sup>93</sup> D. OGDEN, *Drakon. Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford 2013, p. 330.

It should be recalled that initially the cult shows up as a normal cult of Asclepius with his sacred serpent, but soon it becomes a mystery cult. The symbol of a serpent was used by innumerable cults:

La stratification de ses significations religieuses le rend présent, ...dans presque tous les rituels des divinités anciennes. Mais l'un d'eux était probablement plus populaire que les autres: cela aiderait ainsi à expliquer l'identification par les Pérates du Logos et du reptile. Il s'agit du culte d'Asclépios, le dieu guérisseur le plus connu de la culture gréco-romaine, qui atteint le sommet de sa popularité précisément au II<sup>e</sup> siècle... Au II<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui dit serpent, dit Asclépios: c'est surtout ce culte qui met le reptile «à la mode».

Besides, Magri's article remarks that *il est vraisemblable que les Pérates aient conçu une forme de syncrétisme entre le christianisme et le culte de ce dieu grec, origine de l'ophitisme*<sup>94</sup>.

According to G. Sfameni Gasparro *iconography of the new Asclepius is testified by the famous statue discovered in Tomis, the statues (-amulet?) found in Athens and an unusual gem in which, an image of Decano Cnubis... having an analogous serpentine shape is accompanied by the name of Glycon*<sup>95</sup>.

A. Mastrocinque claims that:

In the same Anatolian regions in which *Glycon* was worshipped, there was also the cult of a serpent of Gnostic Ophites, and some Christianized sects identified the snake with Jesus... The sacred serpent worshipped by the majority of Gnostic Judeans and pagans was a luminous snake with the lion's head *Chnoumis*, that is Egyptian creator god *Chnoum*, identified with the Hebrew god, a deity of the water and of the light. A gem portrays this god and puts him beside the name of the Hebrew god, *Iao*, and the name of *Glycon*, confirming the existence of the forms of contact and identification<sup>96</sup>.

Numerous texts and astrological remnants and, above all, many magical gems depicting Chnoubis or Chnoumis, the strange divine figure of Egyptian tradition: a serpent with a radial head of lion, which was an astral decan<sup>97</sup>, a creator god who

<sup>94</sup> A. MAGRI, *Le serpent guérisseur...*, p. 35–36, 56, 58, 65.

<sup>95</sup> G. SFAMENI GASPARRO, *Oracoli e teologia: praxis oracolare e riflessioni*, Ker 26, 2013, p. 139–156 (in particular *L'oracolo di Glycon: un falso storico o una fonte di "oracoli teologici"?*).

<sup>96</sup> A. MASTROCINQUE, *Alessandro di Abonouteichos e il culto di Asclepio*, [in:] *Il culto di Asclepio nell'area mediterranea*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale – Agrigento 20–22 novembre 2005, ed. E. DE MIRO, G. SFAMENI GASPARRO, V. CALÌ, Roma 2009, p. 195–196.

<sup>97</sup> The Decans were divinities of the fixed stars, who ruled over a third of any astrological sign, that is 10 degrees of the wheel which Chaldeans used to divide into 360 degrees. There were 36 Decans, who influenced the life on earth for 10 days every year. In an astrological treatise attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, Chnoumis is the first of the sign of the lion and is described as a leonine serpent with a radiate head and body winded up in coils. (A. MASTROCINQUE, *Un'altra immagine transculturale: Chnoubis*, [in:] *Images et religion dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine. Acts of Images et religion dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, Roma, 11–13 dicembre 2003, Napoli 2008, p. 391–397).

provokes the ebb of the Nile, identified with a biblical Creator and, later, with the snake of the terrestrial Paradise. Chnoubis is composed of two elements: a serpent raised on two coils in the form of a number eight and a radiated lion's head. His images are sometimes depicted over a circular base, which could be interpreted as an altar, like the ones with serpent represented on the coins from the Hellenistic or Imperial period<sup>98</sup>. It was observed that the name of the Hebrew god YHWH resembled an HYWAH, "animal": there are traces of this speculation in the Gnostic treaties in which the Hebrew god, called Ialdabaoth, together with other Archons of the planetary spheres, had the form of an animal, and in particular a lionine form. We should add to that the fact that there was, among the Gnostics, a common belief that the Cosmocrator, Ruler of the world, had a shape of a serpent: *in the Apocryphon of John (chap. 10) it can be read that Ialdabaoth 'had the form of a dragon, the face of a lion with fulminant fiery eyes...'* It sounds like a perfect description of Chnoubis<sup>99</sup>.

Furthermore, Mastrocinque points out that the sorcerers of polytheistic-Egyptian, or Egyptianising, inspiration prescribed amulets with Chnoubis and those who used to wear them must have been mostly polytheistic, while we do not know whether the Gnostic speculations determined the production of gems depicting Chnoubis. On the other hand, the diffusion of the symbol of Chnoubis could also suggest that the leonine serpent was present in the doctrines and religious practices of the members of Judaizing or Christianizing sects, to which it should be added that the typology of a serpent seems typical of gems coming from Egypt<sup>100</sup>. The Decan of the Lion was perhaps an image of the incarnation of Asclepius, which was a serpent Glycon worshipped in Abonuteichos.

All the observations above allow us to establish a connection between Chnoubis and the Glycon of Constanța, in which we can preferably see a proof of its cult in Tomis, being its identification with the serpent Glycon all in all accepted by the majority of researchers. Nevertheless, Cecilia Pașca, a museographer, has recently recalled another hypothesis according to which we would be dealing with a depiction of the Ophite serpent: this conclusion *results from the fact that the serpent Glycon could be represented in every form; the Ophite serpent, instead, only in the form discovered at Tomis*<sup>101</sup>.

It should be noted that, always in Constanța, in a tomb of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, was found a ring decorated with a Gnostic gem, bearing a lion-headed radiated serpent, that is Chnoubis. Its presence is related to the penetration of syncretic cults of Egyptian origin in the lower basin of the Danube. In his article,

<sup>98</sup> A. MASTROCINQUE, *Le gemme gnostiche...*, p. 82.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 79.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 79–80.

<sup>101</sup> C. PAȘCA, *O reprezentare unică a Șarpelui Glykon, expusă la Muzeul de Istorie* (cf. <http://www.telegrafonline.ro/1169503200/articol/19121> [28 XII 2018]).

R. Ocheșeanu points out that the mentioned penetration was favoured mostly by trade relations with Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman age: the first evidence of the Egyptian cult in the danubian region dates back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, while the presence of a Gnostic gem of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD is rather related to a possible coming of Roman soldiers, perhaps of Gnostic faith, arrived from the Christian environment of Syria or Egypt. According to the scholar

Chnoubis was assimilated in early Christian environments. His cult seems thus related to the diffusion of Christianity in the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, while his image becomes one of the main mystical Gnostic-Ophite symbols.<sup>102</sup>

Assuming Z. Rusus’s hypothesis as a basis, we should remark the acute intuition by which this scholar first, regardless the information he did not possess, connects the Glycon to the Ophite Gnostics attributing them an agathodaemonic function. The interpretation, in itself suggestive and stimulating, becomes convincing in a concrete way if we compare Glycon to the gems of the Gnostic amulet depicting a lion-headed serpent, which in some cases was put over an altar or a base – exactly as in the case of the Glycon of Constanța (cf. *infra*, fig. 1, 2 and 3) – possibly an evidence of the fact that we are dealing with the cult statue reproduced on the gems<sup>103</sup>.

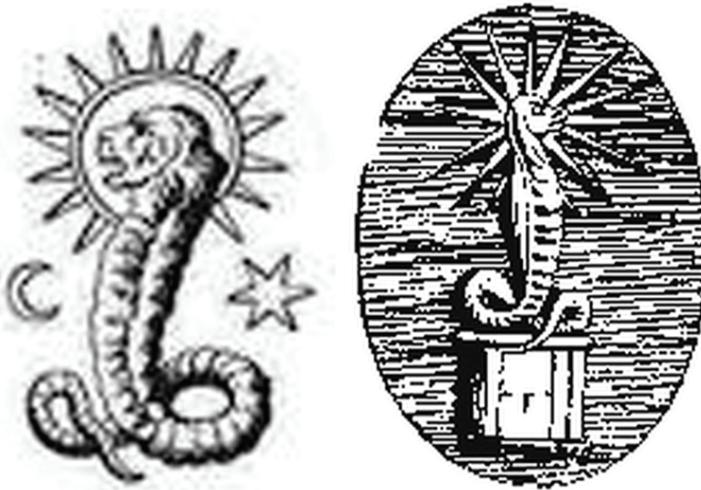
The convergence between these images is clear, starting from the strange maned-head, in this case, an ovine head: its presence would document a deeply-rooted presence of the Ophites in the Rumanian lands. It should be restated that, as was said above about the proximity between



**Fig. 1.** A marble statue of Glycon, Museum of National History and Archeology in Constanța (Photography by CRISTIAN CHIRITA, 2009. License Creative Commons BY-SA 3.0)

<sup>102</sup> R. OCHEȘEANU, *O gemă gnostică descoperită la Constanța*, Pon 4, 1971, p. 303–309. What is interesting, here, is Ocheșeanu’s conclusion that the owner of the amulets could have been one of the first Paleochristians, whose presence would be attested in Tomis, since *the rest of the funeral inventory certainly indicated the fact that the dead was not a Greek-Roman but an autochthonous element*.

<sup>103</sup> A. MASTROCINQUE, *Le gemme gnostiche...*, p. 82; *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum*, p. 1..., Catalogo, fig. 158, p. 249; fig. 183, p. 260 (images courtesy of the Italian Ministry of Arts and Cultural Heritage, Roman National Museum, Medagliere).



**Fig. 2–3.** Gnostic gems (*Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum*, p. 1..., Catalogo, fig. 158, p. 249; fig. 183, p. 260. Authorized reproduction)

Bogomils and Archontics, the presence of this sect is attested in the Danubian area until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The testimony of Epiphanius demonstrates that we are dealing with a system akin to the Ophite one, emphasizing the negative role of the Archons related to the even planets: during the ascension across different heavens, the soul had to overcome a number of obstacles interposed by the same Archons, which is why the sect probably considered so important the magical-salvific vehicles that helped the believers to overcome Archons' hostility<sup>104</sup>.

Thus, however, we are coming to justify also the specific receptiveness of the Rumanian folklore toward the Gnostic mythologem concealed under the Orthodox one and preserved by the oral tradition or recognised as an element of a collective religious memory.

The course seems thus to come to its conclusion: the mythologem associated with the ascension of the soul, despite its very antique origin and its presence as a citation in the writings of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, such as Ephrem the Syrian or Cyril of Alexandria, emerges with time displaying specific connotations, thanks to which it enters the Gnostic imaginary, to be refracted later in Christianized key in the hagiographic-eschatological narrative hinged on S. Basil the Younger.

<sup>104</sup> *Enciclopedia delle religioni*, vol. I, ed. M. GOZZINI, Firenze 1970 (s.v. *arcontici*).

From here, with a spectacular diffusion, the mythologem of Theodora’s heavenly customs is attested by tens of codices from the whole Orthodox area, but it is the Rumanian area only to retransmit and rework, also at folkloric level, the suggestive belief in the heavenly customs. Dualistic memory, oral tradition, and Orthodox hagiography seem to blend, at last, without any contradiction into an extraordinarily vivid and imaginative psychanody.

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**Abstract:** The article shows that the mythologem associated with the ascension of the soul, despite its very antique origin and its presence as a citation in the writings of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, emerges with time displaying specific connotations, thanks to which it enters the Gnostic imaginary, to be refracted later in Christianized key in the hagiographic-eschatological narrative hinged on S. Basil the Younger.

Saint Basil, who lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and died probably circa 950, becomes a protagonist of a hagiographic narration. In fact, although the manuscript tradition received by *Acta Sanctorum*

does not diverges from the canonical elements displayed by the life of a saint, a conspicuous number of Greek testimonies introduces in the narration attributed to Gregory (a disciple of the saint), an eschatological part that includes a description of the afterworld, of the Hell and the punishments received by the sinners, together with textual inserts, considered to be later than the “life” as such. The narrative begins with the story of Theodora, who describes to Gregory the path of her soul through 21 heavenly customs.

The mythologem of Theodora’s heavenly customs is attested by tens of codices from the whole Orthodox area, but it is the Rumanian area only to retransmit and rework, also at folkloric level, the suggestive belief in the heavenly customs. Dualistic memory, oral tradition, and Orthodox hagiography seem to blend, at last, without any contradiction into an extraordinarily vivid and imaginative psychanody.

**Keywords:** heavenly customs, *vămile văzduhului*, orthodoxy, heterodoxy, *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, Rumanian funeral ceremony, Rumanian folklore

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## THE BURDEN, THE CRAVING, THE TOOL THE PROVISIONING OF THE 10<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BYZANTINE ARMY IN THE LIGHT OF LEO'S *TACTICA AND SYLLOGE TACTICORUM*

**AS** Vegetius pointed out, the lack of provisions for soldiers at war meant losing the war without fighting it<sup>1</sup>. As the Byzantines were the heirs of Imperium Romanum they took advantage of their knowledge and followed the suggestions of their predecessors<sup>2</sup>. Also Leo the Wise knew that victory would be given to an enemy without fighting, should the commanders fail to provide their soldiers with necessary provisions<sup>3</sup>. Thus, their primary obligations included providing supplies, transporting them with the marching army and protecting them from theft or corruption. In case the Byzantines failed to take enough rations, the commanders were charged with acquiring provisions in any possible way. Simultaneously, the authors of military treaties knew very well that an enemy would be aware of provisioning challenges on the part of the imperial armies and would do everything to take advantage of such situations.

In the following paper, I will make an attempt to determine to which extent the authors of chosen Byzantine military treaties from the 10<sup>th</sup> century provided imperial commanders with instructions, concerning provisioning of the army while on campaign. First, I will try to specify what the soldiers ate on a daily basis. Next, I will determine to what extent the provisioning system met the expectations and needs of the Byzantines fighting for the empire. With the help of *Tactica* and

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<sup>1</sup> Vegetius gives a long list of short advices in form of proverbysyllos in the following chapter: *Flavi Vegeti Renati Epitoma Rei Militaris*, 3.26, ed. C. LAND, Lipsiae 1885 [= BSGR] (cetera: VEGETIUS), p. 121–124. The relevant passage was given on page 122.

<sup>2</sup> E.N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, Harvard 2009, p. 125–126. As G.T. Dennis points out, when the Byzantines followed instructions from the relevant treaties, they usually emerged victorious from battles: G.T. DENNIS, *The Byzantines in Battle*, [in:] *Byzantium at War (9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c.)*, ed. K. TSIGNAKIS, Athens 1997, p. 165, 178.

<sup>3</sup> *The Taktika of Leo VI*, XX, 63, trans. et ed. G. DENNIS, Washington 2010 [= CFHB.SW] (cetera: LEO VI), p. 558–559.

*Sylloge Tacticorum*, I will try to explain how the rations were gathered, transported and protected. Finally, I will specify how the supplies were utilized not only as a means of nourishment, but also as a tool of war. The following research was carried out on the basis of military treaties from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, since this time was the peak of Byzantine military revival. Although I mainly base my research on the work of Leon the Wise and the anonymous treaty known as *Sylloge Tacticorum*, I also occasionally refer to other works, such as *Peri Strategias*, *De velitatione* and *Praecepta Militaria*.

In order to determine the role of alimentation in planning and conducting war campaigns, it is necessary to bring to light what in fact Byzantine soldiers ate. Due to the scarce amount of relevant sources from the 10<sup>th</sup> century one must refer to Roman tradition as well<sup>4</sup>. As Dio Cassius relates the words of Queen Boudicca, the Romans could not survive without bread, oil and wine<sup>5</sup>. The Roman diet also included grain, meat (especially pork) vegetables, cheese, salt, sour wine and olive oil<sup>6</sup>. It is rather doubtless that Roman soldiers ate wheat. As J. Roth pointed out they were occasionally put on a barley diet<sup>7</sup>. This happened especially as a punishment for cowardice or lack of discipline<sup>8</sup>. However, as A. Dalby pointed out, in the Byzantine period the hardtacks consumed by citizens of the empire were often made of barley, rather than wheat<sup>9</sup>.

The Roman diet was not only a well-balanced one, but it was also long lasting<sup>10</sup>. The *Codex Theodosianus* confirms that the mentioned products were still a base of nutrition for the army as late as half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>. According to the author of the source, the soldiers consumed hardtacks (*buccellatum*), bread,

<sup>4</sup> J. Haldon argues that the system of organization and, to an extent, provisioning in Byzantine period retained many elements of Roman system: J. HALDON, *The Organisation and Support of an Expeditionary Force: Manpower and Logistics in the Middle Byzantine Period*, [in:] *Byzantium at War...*, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Dio's Roman History*, Phd, 62, vol. VIII, trans. E. CARY, London–New York 1955, p. 90–91.

<sup>6</sup> J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 B.C. – A.C. 235)*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 1999 [= CSCT, 23], p. 26; Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Military Diet in Selected Greek, Roman and Byzantine Sources*, [in:] *Standards of Everyday Life in the Middle Ages and in Modern Times*, ed. K. MUTAFOVA, N. HRISTOVA, I. IVANOV, G. GEORGIEVA, Veliko Tarnovo 2014, p. 651–653.

<sup>7</sup> Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Military...*, p. 650.

<sup>8</sup> The author mentions preparations for wars, including shipment of wheat and barley: LIVY, *History of Rome*, XXIII, 38; XXVI, 47, vol. VI–VII, ed. F.G. MOORE, Cambridge–London 1940 [= LCL] (cetera: LIVY), p. 134–135, 180–181. Occasionally the barley was issued not only to cowards but also defeated soldiers: LIVY, XXVII, 13, p. 260–261; POLYBIUS, *The Histories*, vol. III, Books 5–8, VI, 38.4, trans. W.R. PATTON, Cambridge–London [= LCL, 138], p. 356–357; SUETONIUS, *De Vita Caesarum*, XXIV, 2, vol. I, trans. J.C. ROLFE, London–New York 1914 [= LCL, 31], p. 156–157.

<sup>9</sup> A. DALBY, *Tastes of Byzantium. The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, London 2010, p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> What is more, in case of meat the famous Roman *lucanica* were not only transmitted to Byzantium, but also entered Bulgarian cuisine for good as *lukanka*: A. DALBY, *Tastes of Byzantium...*, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes*, 7.4.11, ed. T. MOMMSEN, P.M. MEYER, Berolini 1905, p. 317 (cetera: *Codex Theodosianus*).

sour wine (*acetum*), ordinary wine (*vinum*), salted pork and mutton<sup>12</sup>. We may not know what rations carried by the 10<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine army consisted of, but most probably the products were fit for consumption for a long time<sup>13</sup>. This can be understood by reading *Tactica*. Leo urges his commanders not to consume the army's supplies, should the opportunity to obtain food through plunder appear<sup>14</sup>. This passage leaves no doubt that if the soldiers spared its rations, they could be consumed later. This indicates that the army chiefly carried components rather than ready meals.

It is rather certain that, as a rule, Roman soldiers prepared their food<sup>15</sup>. The same probably applied to their Byzantine counterparts<sup>16</sup>. The grain, which was a fundament of diet was consumed either as bread, baked in the camp<sup>17</sup> or in a form of pulp<sup>18</sup>. It is worth stressing that the latter was popular not only in Roman times, but also during the Byzantine period<sup>19</sup>. This also means that in both periods, armies needed to include in their planning acquiring firewood in order prepare meals<sup>20</sup>. This in turn indicates that the Byzantines consumed them at a fixed time, probably the same time for the whole army. In Leo's *Tactica*, one can find information in support of this thesis. As the emperor remarked, soldiers often sang religious hymns after supper<sup>21</sup>. While the custom had both religious and social character, it is clear that the army ate more or less at the same time.

The Roman warriors consumed grain also in another form. One of the most important and primary components of soldier diet were hardtacks. Not only were they easy to prepare, they could also be stored and transported for a long time. It is clear that hardtacks were well known to Roman soldiers. These rations were also one of the basic products in Byzantine armies. In both cases, they were

<sup>12</sup> Interestingly enough, the double-baked hardtacks were also popular among non combatant citizens of Byzantium, as Procopius stressed: PROCOPIUS, *Historia Arcana*, 6, 2, [in:] *Procopius ex recensione Guilielmi Dindorfii*, vol. III, ed. I. WEBBER, Bonn 1838 (cetera: PROCOPIUS, *Historia Arcana*), p. 43.

<sup>13</sup> J. Haldon argues that at least before Arab invasion in 7<sup>th</sup> century the pattern for soldiery meals was including bread every third day, hardtacks on two of three days, salt pork/mutton – the same proportion and wind/sour wine – the same proportion: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army: Food and Transport in Byzantium, ca. 600–1100*, [in:] *Feast, Fast or Famine. Food and Drink in Byzantium*, ed. W. MAYER, S. TRZCIONKA, Brisbane 2005, p. 86.

<sup>14</sup> LEO VI, IX, 1, p. 155.

<sup>15</sup> J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 44–45.

<sup>16</sup> J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 87. The author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* instructed commanders to provide their soldiers with hand mills for the grain: *Sylloge Tacticorum, quae olim "Inedita Leonis Tactica dicebatur"*, 38.2, ed. A. DAIN, Paris 1938, p. 59 (cetera: *Sylloge Tacticorum*).

<sup>17</sup> *Commentari de Bello Civili*, I, 78, ed. F. KRANER, F. HOFMANN, Berlin 1996 [repr.], p. 100–101.

<sup>18</sup> C. Asini Polionis *De Bello Africano*, 67, ed. E. WÖLFFLIN, A. MIODOŃSKI, Lipsiae 1889, p. 106.

<sup>19</sup> A. DALBY, *Siren Feast. A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece*, London 1996, p. 197; IDEM, *Tastes of Byzantium...*, p. 80.

<sup>20</sup> J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 59–61.

<sup>21</sup> LEO VI, XI, 19, p. 203.

made of wheat, though in Byzantium barley was also consumed in this manner<sup>22</sup>. What is more, in the light of *De Cerimoniis*, the thick slicedhardtack made of barley (*paximadia*) was equally popular as ring shaped *boukellaton* made of wheat<sup>23</sup>.

More information onhardtacks can be found in *De Bellis*, written by Procopius of Caesarea. In fact, the author not only describes how the food for the soldiers should be made, but also described the consequences of its flawed preparation<sup>24</sup>. As Procopius pointed out, thehardtacks were baked in a special oven twice in order to guarantee that they would be dry<sup>25</sup>. Meanwhile, during one of the campaigns led by Belisarius, the soldiers were givenhardtacks which were baked once only<sup>26</sup>. As a result, thehardtacks delivered after some time to the warriors were not only unusable, but even proved lethal for those who consumed them. Procopius stressed that a few hundred soldiers died as a result of eating defective rations<sup>27</sup>. Interestingly enough, it seems that the Byzantines found the solution to produce thehardtacks in a less expensive and more efficient way. As the author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* pointed out, the mentioned rations formed basis of soldier's diet in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Surprisingly enough, one can find in the treaty an instruction, according to whichhardtacks should be baked once only and then dried in the sun<sup>28</sup>. The reason why these rations were not harmful for the soldiers probably was that they were very thin, as the author suggested. Regardless of the procedure of production, they were an important element of the army's diet through the 10<sup>th</sup> century and surely earlier, as Leo the Wise confirmed. According to his *Tactica*, the commanders should have ensured that a sufficient amount ofhardtacks was transported in the baggage train for the army<sup>29</sup>.

Apart fromhardtacks and wine, there is little information on products consumed by ordinary soldiers. However, we have more material concerning the diet of the emperor while on campaign. The Treaty C written by Constantine Porphyrogenitus includes a detailed description of the imperial baggage train<sup>30</sup>. As one can

<sup>22</sup> Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Military...*, p. 649–650; A. DALBY, *Tastes of Byzantium...*, p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo*, II, 44, vol. I–II, ed. J.J. REISKE, Bonn 1829–1830 [= *CSHB*, 1] (cetera: CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS), p. 658; A. DALBY, *Tastes of Byzantium...*, p. 99; J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 87.

<sup>24</sup> PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, vol. II, *Books 3–4. (Vandalic War)*, III, 13, 15–20, trans. H.B. DEWING, Cambridge Mass. 1916 [= *LCL*, 81], p. 120–123 (cetera: PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*).

<sup>25</sup> In different source Procopius confirmed that the bread should be backed two times: PROCOPIUS, *Historia Arcana*, 6, 2, 5–9, p. 43.

<sup>26</sup> The reason for this was one the emperor's official's greed, as he wanted to save money on wood and servants employed in the process.

<sup>27</sup> PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, III, 13, 20, p. 122–123.

<sup>28</sup> The Greek text seem to indicate that the bread was backed once only: *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 57.2, p. 109.

<sup>29</sup> LEO VI, X, 12–13, p. 190–191.

<sup>30</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, C, ed. et trans. J.F. HALDON, Wien 1990 [= *CFHB*, 28], p. 102–121 (cetera: *Treaty C*).

read, a not a small proportion of pack animals were required for the needs of the imperial household and the imperial table<sup>31</sup>. Thus, the treaty of Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives us a glimpse of knowledge on what the emperor and his people ate during a war campaign. Unsurprisingly, in the first place the author of the treaty lists wine<sup>32</sup>. Among other products, one must list oil, beans, rice, pistachio, almonds and lentils. It is worth mentioning, that different types of oil were taken and imperial oil is listed before ordinary oil<sup>33</sup>. Other important positions on the list were lard, fat, cheese, salted fish and animals for slaughter (sheep with lambs and cows with calves)<sup>34</sup>. Though Constantine did not provide any detailed information, he mentioned that the imperial household should do its best to obtain vegetables wherever it would be possible. Finally, the author remarked that nets for chickens should be taken as well. Among the animals suitable for imperial table and feasts are found lambs, cows, geese, and chickens<sup>35</sup>. It is clear that the rank-and-files soldiers could not count on such dishes. Most soldiers had to satisfy themselves with rations consisting largely of hardtacks<sup>36</sup>. Though there is little information about pulps and bread, it does not close the issue, since it is likely that the army carried both hardtacks and grain<sup>37</sup>. The soldiers probably also received olive oil and wine, as it is indicated in both *Sylloge Tacticorum* and *Tactica*<sup>38</sup>. Aside from this, one cannot determine with certainty what else the ordinary warriors received<sup>39</sup>. What seems obvious; however is that *tagmata* and officers ate better<sup>40</sup>.

As there is at least scarce information on Byzantine military diet, it is worth considering whether the rations were rich enough to maintain a healthy and strong soldier. As J. Roth estimates, an average soldier in the Roman army required about

<sup>31</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *Three Treatises...*, B, p. 84–85 (cetera: *Treaty B*).

<sup>32</sup> *Treaty C*, p. 102–103, 133.

<sup>33</sup> *Treaty C*, 143–145, p. 102. One can assume that the quality of these products were different.

<sup>34</sup> Interestingly again, salted fish was listed separately from other types of seafood, like sturgeon, shell-fish and carp.

<sup>35</sup> *Treaty C*, 145–147, 155–157, p. 102, 104.

<sup>36</sup> Leo indicates that while staying in intermediary camp after battle, the commander provided hardtacks, flour and water (LEO VI, X, 12, p. 190–191). However, though the hardtacks seem a rather modest product it was very popular also among all Byzantines: PROCOPIUS, *Historia Arcana*, 6, 2, 5–9, p. 43.

<sup>37</sup> In the light of *De Cerimoniis*, one should assume that in fact thematic soldiers received barley *paximadi* at least as often as wheat *boukellaton*, if not more frequently: CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, II, 44, p. 658; J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 87; IDEM, *The Organisation...*, p. 124.

<sup>38</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 57.1–57.2, p. 109; LEO VI, X, 12–13, p. 190–191. The recommendation from *Sylloge* was probably derived from Syrianus Magister: *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 338, p. 139.

<sup>39</sup> There is also a passage in *De Velitatione*, where the anonymous author instructed the commanders to supply the soldiers with bread, cheese and dried pork: *Skirmishing*, 8, [in:] *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, trans. et ed. G.T. DENNIS, Washington 1985 [= DOT, 9; CFHB.SW, 25] (cetera: *Skirmishing*), p. 164–165.

<sup>40</sup> The long lasting sausages invented by Romans (*lucanica*) were more likely given to them, than to *themata*: A. DALBY, *Tastes of Byzantium...*, p. 28.

3000 calories per day, more or less the same as today<sup>41</sup>. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that their Byzantine counterparts had similar if not an identical request. It is also likely that in the Roman army, the state provided the rations of food, subtracting the cost from the pay<sup>42</sup>. According to *Codex Theodosianus*, the soldiers were expected to collect their rations before a campaign and carry them themselves<sup>43</sup>. The system was a long-lasting one and there are indications that it might have been current in days of Belisarius. Though there is no information whether soldiers carried their rations, Procopius of Caesarea left no doubt that the hardtacks were baked and distributed by the state<sup>44</sup>. The issue becomes even more obscure in relation to later centuries. The expansion of Islam, the loss of many rich provinces and the formation of the theme system (both in the administrative and military dimension) surely created new circumstances and might have resulted in reforms also in the area discussed<sup>45</sup>. However, it seems undisputed that the state guaranteed the rations (*opsonion*) to the soldiers and they probably did not pay for it, as in Roman times<sup>46</sup>. Whether or not the quality of food was satisfying is another question, however.

It is quite possible that the quality of rations were probably different, depending on the type of formation<sup>47</sup>. It seems reasonable to assume that soldiers from *tagmata* were fed better than ordinary theme rank and file warriors<sup>48</sup>. However, the overall situation was probably difficult<sup>49</sup>. There are sources which cast doubts on the condition of the victualling issue in the Byzantine army. One of these is the *Life of St. Luke the Stylite*, who served in the army of Constantine Porphyrogenitus

<sup>41</sup> J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 7–12, 67.

<sup>42</sup> G. WATSON, *The Roman Soldier*, London 1969 [= AGRL], p. 91; J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 14–15.

<sup>43</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 7.4.11.

<sup>44</sup> It seems that the commander was issued with guarantying provisions in case of any problems, as in the case of Belisarius: PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, III, 13, 20, p. 122–123.

<sup>45</sup> The same applies to the nature and complexity of the stratiots status: D.M. GÓRZECKI, *Constantine VII's Peri ton stratioton*, GRBS 48, 2009, p. 135–154.

<sup>46</sup> The other popular term referring to the provision was *siteresia*: *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, 3, 19, ed. H. THURN, Berolini 1973 [= CFHB, 5] (cetera: SKYLITZES), p. 426; E. MCGEER, *Opsonion*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, p. 1529; I. HEATH, A. MCBRIDE, *Byzantine Armies 886–1118*, Oxford 1979, p. 5–6. However, one must note the opinion of J. Haldon who argues that it is possible that thematic soldiers were obliged to take care of supplies for themselves to some extent: J. HALDON, *The Organisation...*, p. 133–134.

<sup>47</sup> Soldiers from *themata* were often fed with *paximadi* made of barley instead of wheat: CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, p. 658.

<sup>48</sup> They also earned better: N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Middle-Byzantine Provincial Recruits: Salary and Armament*, [in:] *Byzantine Warfare*, ed. J. HALDON, Burlington 2007, p. 126; J. HALDON, *Theory and Practice in Tenth-century Military Administration: Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the Book of Ceremonies*, TM 13, 2000, p. 304.

<sup>49</sup> There are scholars who argue that an overall provisioning situation of the Byzantine army was satisfactory: E.N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy...*, p. 295.

in his youth and, as it is thought, died circa 970 AD<sup>50</sup>. The author of the text pointed out that the then future saint served in theme army and did not get by on state rations as most of his colleagues, but was supported by his rich family, who supplied him with food. What is striking, it is not that St. Luke is praised, but why. The chronicler stresses that St. Luke shared his rations with other colleagues, as state allocation was insufficient<sup>51</sup>. The relation indicates that the Byzantine military diet in 10<sup>th</sup> century was not a rich and well-balanced one, as in the case of the Romans, but quite contrary. The story of St. Luke the Stylite seems to capture a day-to-day reality of rank and file soldiers though. Financial difficulties were a common problem, especially in thematic armies and even cavalry men faced crises in the case of the death of their horses, the cost of which oscillated around 15 *nomisma*<sup>52</sup>. On the other hand, this does not mean that military service in Byzantium was not profitable in some cases. There are indications that some soldiers not only could get by decently, but also managed to save some money. This seems credible as in the work of Pseudo-Symeon there was a soldier mentioned, who accidentally left a bag with his savings (three pounds of gold) in his host's house<sup>53</sup>. However, it seems obvious that this was a man of significance, possibly a member of theme cavalry or even *tagmata* detachment.

Whatever the case, it is probable, that the rations in Byzantine army were in the best case modest both in abundance and differentiation of products. The *Life of St. Luke the Stylite* is not only an indication that the Byzantines soldier diet was rather a harsh one. Other information in support of this thesis can be found in Leo's *Tactica*. The emperor advised his commanders to train their soldiers in order to keep them tough and fit. However, later on in the fragment, Leo stressed that as a result, they will also eat with appetite their daily rations<sup>54</sup>. It is hard to believe that rank and file soldiers would complain about their food, because they were accustomed to eat tasty food and until one's fill. If they made a fuss, it might have been rather for the sake of poor quality, quantity or both.

Whatever the provisions consisted of, the amount was almost certainly never sufficient for the whole campaign. Urging to the plunder enemy territory repeats itself many times throughout *Tactica*. What is more, Leo the Wise made it clear that if the hostile area is fertile, the army should first aim at acquiring rations

<sup>50</sup> *La Vie de Saint Luc le Stylite*, XVI, 1–4, ed. F. VANDERSTUYE, [in:] *PO*, vol. XI, ed. R. GRAFFIN, F. NAU, Paris 1915 (cetera: *The Life of St. Luke the Stylite*), col. 204.

<sup>51</sup> *The Life of St. Luke the Stylite*, XVI, 1–3, p. 205.

<sup>52</sup> M. KAPLAN, *The Producing Population*, [in:] *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. HALDON, Oxford 2009, p. 153.

<sup>53</sup> PSEUDO-SIMEON, *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, XXV, 20–21, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonnæ–Lipsiae 1838 [= *CSHB*, 31], p. 713.

<sup>54</sup> LEO VI, VII, 12, p. 111.

from it, rather than consume its own supplies<sup>55</sup>. This indicates that eating one's own supplies was treated as a last resort solution, which also confirms that they were rather modest. There is also an interesting passage in *Tactica*, which can be read differently. Leo pointed out in one of his constitutions that the baggage train should move independently from the army<sup>56</sup>. The emperor also stressed on that occasion that the soldiers should stay away<sup>57</sup>. This may well be a disciplinary issue, but there is another way of understanding the passage. If one assumed that food was stored in the baggage train, there was no better way to steal rations than to infiltrate the mentioned unit. This could indicate that provisions were not particularly rich, especially while on march<sup>58</sup>.

Though the soldiers were guaranteed rations by the state, it seems that it was not infrequent situation that they suffered from lack of provisions. When it comes to pay, the *roga* was given with considerable delay and it seemed rather to be an everyday reality than an accidental problem. T. Dawson points out that during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, there was a rebellion in the army as a response to delay in pay<sup>59</sup>. After putting down the unrest, the emperor decreed that the *roga* should be given every four years<sup>60</sup>. In reality, the wellbeing of the soldiers lied usually in the hands of their commanders. For this reason, Leo advised that they should be chosen from the wealthy class<sup>61</sup>. The emperor stressed that should the commander be able to financially support his soldiers, it would have a tremendous effect on their morale. It is possible that this statement referred not only to the *roga*, but also for supplies, which could be bought in the case of cash-shortage in the state funding<sup>62</sup>. Given the Byzantine practical nature, it seems striking that the state saved on alimentation of the army. Yet, one must remember that Byzantine soldiers did not pay for their rations, as their Romans predecessors<sup>63</sup>. This explains the difference in the quality of alimentation in both armies.

It seems that the soldiers received only enough food to be kept fit for combat. Thus, rations were probably calculated at a necessary minimum. What is more, the Byzantine commanders knew that the food and drink may detract the condition of soldiers even if it was not poisoned. For instance, Leo the Wise advises

<sup>55</sup> LEO VI, IX, 1, p. 155.

<sup>56</sup> E.N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy...*, p. 351.

<sup>57</sup> LEO VI, X, 15, p. 191–193.

<sup>58</sup> LEO VI, IX, 6, p. 197.

<sup>59</sup> T. DAWSON, *Byzantine Cavalryman c. 900–1204*, Oxford 2007, p. 20; IDEM, *Byzantine Infantryman – Eastern Roman Empire c. 900–1204*, Oxford 2007, p. 41–42.

<sup>60</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, II, 44, p. 493–494.

<sup>61</sup> LEO VI, IV, 3, p. 49.

<sup>62</sup> For instance from the merchants present both on friendly and hostile territory alike: LEO VI, VI, 19; XI, 7, p. 90–91, 196–197.

<sup>63</sup> A. KAZHDAN, E. MCGEER, *Stratiotes*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, p. 1965–1966; E. MCGEER, *Recruitment*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, p. 1777–1778.

not to build camps too close to water sources. The emperor warns his commanders that in that case the soldiers and animals alike will drink too much water, become sluggish and get used to the abundance of water<sup>64</sup>. Leo knew very well that during a war campaign, the soldiers may not have this luxury. The same applied to food, especially during summer months and autumn. The author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* advises that soldiers should not eat only twice a day at that time<sup>65</sup>. Instead, they should eat more, but smaller portions, which, by the way is quite a symptomatic approach<sup>66</sup>. When the area was not abundant with water, rationing it was essential. There were situations where, for different reasons, the Byzantine army could not stay long in the same place and had to push forward. In that case, Leo advised to march at night. As the emperor stressed, during that time, both men and beasts will drink less<sup>67</sup>.

J. Roth suggests the lack or bad quality of water led to a number of defeats in the Roman army<sup>68</sup>. As Y. le Bohec pointed out there was a special detachment in the Roman army (*metatores*) responsible for locating sources of water<sup>69</sup>. In the case of the Byzantine army, this mission was probably issued to the scouting party<sup>70</sup>. It is clear that the commanders tried to supply their soldiers and faced numerous difficult problems while doing so. Providing rations was always a challenge, but the difficulty of the task depended on circumstances. While Leo stressed a general instruction that the soldiers should be fed well, the emperor also mentioned that this should be supervised especially while on march and in the case of the concentration of the whole army<sup>71</sup>. This again indicates that the army did not carry provisions for the whole campaign. As the army progressed from friendly to hostile territory, the manner of sustenance evolved from billeting to plundering, alternatively buying supplies from local sources, such as merchants. Leo urged his commanders to treat the latter well since should they bear any grievance they may cease to supply the army<sup>72</sup>. While the possibility was undesirable on Byzantine soil, it could bring disastrous consequences on hostile territory.

Though the provisions might have been scarce and rations were not particularly rich in the day-to-day reality of Byzantine soldiers, there were moments, where commanders did their best to ensure that the army is well fed. One of these

<sup>64</sup> LEO VI, XI, 31, p. 208–209.

<sup>65</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 57.1, p. 109.

<sup>66</sup> As A. Dalby pointed out, the Byzantines were rather accustomed to one big meal in the evening: A. DALBY, *Tastes of Byzantium...*, p. 97. True, even during war campaign the supper was important part of the day also from social perspective: LEO VI, XI, 19, p. 203.

<sup>67</sup> LEO VI, XX, 197, p. 606–607.

<sup>68</sup> J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 36.

<sup>69</sup> Y. LE BOHEC, *The Imperial Roman Army*, London 1994, p. 52.

<sup>70</sup> E. MCGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth. Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, Washington 1995 [= DOS, 33], p. 300–302, 331–332.

<sup>71</sup> LEO VI, IX, 6, p. 197.

<sup>72</sup> LEO VI, IX, 7, p. 197.

occasions were feasts organized at the beginning and at the end of campaign, or after a sound victory<sup>73</sup>. However, there was also another situation in which it was crucial for the soldiers to eat well, i.e. before engaging the enemy. As Leo pointed out, it is important to plan a meal before the battle so that the soldiers did not have to fight hungry<sup>74</sup>. This seemed to be the customary way of preparing soldiers for the fight in Roman times as well<sup>75</sup>.

Whatever the provisions consisted of, the amount was almost certainly never sufficient for the whole campaign. Urging the plunder enemy territory repeats itself many times throughout *Tactica*<sup>76</sup>. What is more, Leo the Wise made it clear that if the hostile area is fertile, the army should first aim at acquiring rations from it, rather than consume its own supplies<sup>77</sup>. It is clear that soldiers deprived of the provisions were eager to get them in any possible way. For the commanders, it was clear that the army would turn to plundering should they be forced to it by necessity<sup>78</sup>. This was an undesirable situation, regardless if it happened on Byzantine soil, or on hostile territory<sup>79</sup>. If the army was hungry, it could plunder and destroy the economic foundation of the theme on which it stationed<sup>80</sup>. For Leo, as an emperor, it was clear that allowing the army to loot Byzantine soil was an undesirable situation<sup>81</sup>. Thus, it is clear why he instructed his generals to prevent their soldiers from doing so. On the other hand, if the soldiers went away from the main force in hope of finding food, it could fall prey to an enemy skirmishing party<sup>82</sup>. All the same,

<sup>73</sup> Customary there was probably a feast at the beginning of the campaign. An indication of this may be found in Constantine Porphyrogenitus Treaty B: *Treaty B*, p. 88–89. Most often the feast was organized after a victory: LEO VI, XX, 191, p. 605. Leo stressed that it is best to hold it out of the enemy's resources: LEO VI, XVI, 10, p. 387. J. Roth pointed out that this was not infrequent phenomenon, as even Caesar ate the supper of Pompey after defeating him at Pharsalos: J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 59.

<sup>74</sup> LEO VI, XIII, 8 p. 283.

<sup>75</sup> J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 54.

<sup>76</sup> LEO VI, IX, 25, 45, p. 162, 170; XI, 21, p. 202–204; XVII, 25, 27, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 53, 60, 65, p. 402–409, 412–413, 416–419.

<sup>77</sup> LEO VI, IX, 1, p. 155.

<sup>78</sup> The fact that Leo urged first to plunder enemy soil and consume own supplies later seem to indicate that the amount of provisions was sometimes truly modest.

<sup>79</sup> An exemption were military operation on the eastern frontier, where the Byzantines fought Arabs. The nature of the conflict allowed commanders to utilize the “burnt ground” strategy also on its own territory. The reason for this was sheer practiciness, as the priority of the Byzantine authorities was the defense of fertile coastal territories: T. WOLIŃSKA, *Synowie Hagar. Wiedza Bizantyńczyków o armii arabskiej w świetle traktatów wojskowych z IX i X wieku*, VP 35, 2015, p. 413. However, more frequent approach was that of the author of *De Re Strategica*, dated on 9<sup>th</sup> century. According to the treaty, one should first see to the safety of Byzantine citizens, before taking any action against the enemy: *The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy*, 5, 7–10, [in:] *Three Byzantine Military...* (cetera: *Treatise on Strategy*), p. 20.

<sup>80</sup> LEO VI, XIX, 18, p. 510.

<sup>81</sup> LEO VI, IX, 18–24, p. 159–161.

<sup>82</sup> The stratagem was used by Byzantines to counter Arab raiding parties, as described in *Skirmishing*, 18, 21–31, p. 211–215.

every campaigning army relied on plunder as a way to obtain extra provisions. The Byzantines did their best to restrain their soldiers from harassing peasants on the territory of the empire<sup>83</sup>. On the hostile territory, the policy was of course very different. As Leo the Wise remarks, the campaigning army should plunder what it can and burn the rest<sup>84</sup>. However, the emperor advised to plan the plundering process in advance, taking into account a long lasting operation. In this case, Leo urged his commanders not to burn and destroy everything at the beginning, but spare some part of the enemy territory unspoiled for the way back home<sup>85</sup>.

The accumulation of rations before campaign and plunder were not the only ways to acquire provisions for the army. For the Byzantines, it was obvious that food can be obtained through hunting. In fact, from the perspective of a commander, this way offered many benefits. The author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* stressed that hunting strengthened the body and mind of the soldiers<sup>86</sup>. What is more, in order to make the whole process profitable one had to organize it on a wide scale and utilize tactics. This accustomed the soldier to discipline and cooperation. As for division of the prey, in the case of abundance, each soldier received his share. Should the hunting be poor, most of the catch went to one unit, who drew the lucky lot. However, in each case a recon unit received a proportion of the prey<sup>87</sup>.

Needless to say, the most important need of every army is water. As J. Roth stressed, without access to liquids, the human body will die within days<sup>88</sup>. The commanders were well aware of this problem and tried to provide their soldiers with rations of clean water. Numerous indications that this was the most important issue can be found, for instance, in Leo's *Tactica*<sup>89</sup>. However, the Byzantine commanders were well aware that water does not need to be poisoned in order to become harmful on its own accord. Already Vegetius pointed out that the marching Roman army needs to deal with a stagnant water effect<sup>90</sup>. The Byzantines had to solve the same problem and came up with interesting solutions. Leo the Wise instructed his commanders that one should decide, whether it is possible to build

<sup>83</sup> The main aim of most if not all of the mentioned operations was ensuring safety of Byzantine citizens: *Treatise on Strategy*, 5, 7–10, p. 20. According to Leo the strength of the empire lies in fact in two social classes, namely the farmers and soldiers: LEO VI, IX, 11, p. 196–199. However, as J. Moralee stressed, in practice the symbiosis between Byzantine army and civilians of empire was a difficult and uneasy one: J. MORALEE, *It's in the Water: Byzantine Borderlands and the Village War*, Hum 7, 2018, p. 4–5.

<sup>84</sup> This could force the enemy to separate the forces in order to look for provisions, giving the Byzantines chance to defeat inferior groups one by one: E.N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy...*, p. 262.

<sup>85</sup> LEO VI, XVII, 34, p. 404–405.

<sup>86</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 56.1, p. 106.

<sup>87</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 56.9, p. 109.

<sup>88</sup> J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 35–36.

<sup>89</sup> The necessity of providing the army with water is stressed throughout constitutions: IX, X, XI, XIII and XIV.

<sup>90</sup> VEGETIUS, 3.2, p. 67–69.

a regular cistern. If it proved impossible, a large hole in the ground should be made or barrels arranged. In both cases, one should put some clean river pebbles on the bottom. In order to prevent the water from becoming stagnant, small basins should be placed next it in order to enable the water to flow into smaller containers drop by drop<sup>91</sup>. A very similar solution was proposed by the author of *Sylloge Tacticorum*. Also in this case, he advised making small holes in barrels, through which the water could circulate to other vessel gradually<sup>92</sup>. However, if this is possible, one should construct proper cisterns. Interestingly enough, Leo was aware that such action made sense in winter rather than in other seasons, for the sake of the abundance of rainwater<sup>93</sup>. The emperor also gave a detailed description how such a cistern should be constructed<sup>94</sup>. The analyzed material indicates that although the Byzantines did their best to prepare for the campaign, much depended on luck and even more on the proper recon. Without access to reservoirs of clean water, the army could not march very far. Also, information concerning the abundance of food in invaded regions was of great importance. Interestingly, that data was usually known to both parties and a skilled commander could use it to predict where the enemy will come from.

In order to understand the system of provisioning, one has to determine how the supplies were transported during campaign. During Roman period, as late as the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the soldiers were to take their twenty days rations from the warehouses and carry them all the way?<sup>95</sup> Also, two centuries later there was no indication that the soldiers of Belisarius were in different position<sup>96</sup>. However, the Arab invasion in the 7<sup>th</sup> century created a very different situation for the whole empire. The introduction of theme system probably also changed the rules of alimentation of the Byzantine soldiers. As we know, the Roman legionaries paid for their supplies, as the relevant sum was detracted from their pay<sup>97</sup>. The Byzantine theme soldiers however not only received their *roga*, but the state also granted them with toll-free rations (*opsonion*)<sup>98</sup>. It seems that unlike in the Roman period,

<sup>91</sup> LEO VI, XV, 63, p. 378–379.

<sup>92</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 55.2, p. 105–106.

<sup>93</sup> LEO VI, XV, 63, p. 378–379.

<sup>94</sup> LEO VI, XV, 64, p. 378–381.

<sup>95</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 7.4.11 – These included twenty days rations. This in fact is an important problem, since, as J. Haldon calculated a day's ration weighted between 3–4 pounds. In case one carried supplies for 3–4 days, the burden was at least noticeable: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 86. This would explain why the Byzantines often preferred to equip their soldiers with shields instead of armour: E.N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy...*, p. 364.

<sup>96</sup> PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, III, 13, 20, p. 122–123. As J. Haldon points out the weight of one day ration could reach 1,3 kg: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 88.

<sup>97</sup> A.K. BOWMAN, *Roman Military Records from Vindolanda*, Brit 5, 1974, p. 367–368; J.P. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, p. 14–15.

<sup>98</sup> E. MCGEER, *Opsonion...*, p. 1529. According to Skylitzes they received the provisions monthly: SKYLITZES, 3, 19, p. 426.

the rations were not carried by soldiers, at least not as a rule<sup>99</sup>. An indirect support for this thesis may be found in Constitution X of Leo's *Tactica*<sup>100</sup>. The emperor urges his commanders in chapter 12 not only to set up an intermediary (still, fortified) camp, but also to take substantial amount of provisions, such as hardtacks and flour<sup>101</sup>. It seems that these were not meant for the officers only, but mostly for everyone else who would be in the camp. Moreover, the rations were managed by the commander who could decide how much of food and forage would be stored in the fortified camp.

In that case, one should face another problem. If soldiers did not carry the provisions, how were the rations otherwise transported? The logical assumption is that supplies were kept in the baggage train. From what Leo described, one may understand that during a war campaign, the Byzantines marched with one baggage train only, supplying both the emperor and the whole army<sup>102</sup>. All instructions from Constitution X seem to indicate that there was no separate baggage train designated for the *basileus*. However, the treaty of Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives a very different impression. On the contrary, from the perspective of Treaty B and C, one could think that the only baggage train on the campaign is the one, which belong to the emperor. If that is the case, how were the rations for the soldiers transported?

In order to determine, whether there was one baggage train or more, one should analyze the sources available. The earliest source from the Byzantine military revival period seems to be *Peri Strategias*, attributed to Syrianos Magistros from the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>103</sup>. Unfortunately, there is little information about Byzantine baggage train, none of which seems helpful in solving the issue. Leo's *Tactica* deals with the subjects in more detail, but in the light of the source baggage train works as one structure<sup>104</sup>. Also, the author of *Sylloge Tacitorum*, dated around the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century speaks out in the same tone<sup>105</sup>. The author of *De velitatione*

<sup>99</sup> One should stress that according to Constantine VII the *opsonion* was distributed at the beginning of the campaign: CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, II, 3, p. 695. However, as J. Haldon pointed out, it is highly improbable that the soldiers carried the rations for the whole 20 days period. More likely, they carried supplies for 3–4 days: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 98. What is more, not infrequently the soldiers carried only rations for one day, especially while leaving the camp for battle: *Skirmishing*, 8, p. 164–165.

<sup>100</sup> See also: E.N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy...*, p. 305–306.

<sup>101</sup> LEO VI, X, 12, p. 191.

<sup>102</sup> On the role of baggage train during marches Leo gave detailed description in constitution IX. The composition and role of baggage train was described in constitution X.

<sup>103</sup> A vast majority of scholars agree that the period of composition should be shifted from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> century: *Sylloge Tacitorum*, Preface, p. 4; S. COSENTINO, *Syrianos' Strategikon – a 9<sup>th</sup>-Century Source?*, Bi 2, 2000, p. 243–280; P. RANCE, *The Date of the Military Compendium of Syrianus Magister (formerly the Sixth-Century Anonymus Byzantinus)*, BZ 100.2, 2007, p. 701–737.

<sup>104</sup> LEO VI, IV, 31, p. 54–55.

<sup>105</sup> This is understandable, since the treaty was meant rather for active field commanders, and during campaign the baggage train was surely one organizational structure, as original text indicates: *Sylloge Tacitorum*, 23, p. 45–47.

addresses the issue even less frequently and mostly when it relates to enemy's vulnerability to attack<sup>106</sup>. The same applies to *Praecepta Militaria*<sup>107</sup>. The *Tactica* of Nikephoros Ouranos is a different issue, but it deals with the Byzantine army after the reform, as it seems. Thus, the only sources at our disposal are Treaties B and C on the preparation of the campaign by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

At first glance, Treaty B gives the impression that emperor estimated the total number of pack animals required during the expedition. What is more, a number of extra mules and horses were taken so the imperial baggage train was even bigger<sup>108</sup>. Thus, it may seem that the imperial baggage train carried provisions for the whole army. Unfortunately, no indication is given whether supplies for all soldiers were taken or just the closest entourage of the *basileus*. We know, however, that as the army marched through Byzantine soil, new units of theme armies were joining. At each *aplekta*, the relevant *protonotarios* was supplying not only the emperor but also the theme soldiers with rations from taxes, forced sale or from imperial resources (*aerikon*, *synone*, *eidikon*)<sup>109</sup>.

Treaty C provides us with more detailed description of the imperial baggage train. First of all, one should analyze whether it was capable of carrying provisions for the whole army. This can be determined by the number of pack animals arranged by the emperor for a campaign<sup>110</sup>. At first glance, the figures look impressive, as from Asia and Phrygia alone 200 mules and 200 pack-horses were to be provided<sup>111</sup>. If one added the customary gifts offered by officials and generals the number would rise by 70 mules and 11 horses<sup>112</sup>. Further animals were provided by other officials and bishops<sup>113</sup>. This would settle the number of pack-animals at 585 mules and 100 horses. From this pool one has to subtract 160 animals for the needs of the emperor himself and his entourage<sup>114</sup>. The imperial treasury took another 46 animals and we know that the rest was burdened barley for all the stock<sup>115</sup>. One can read elsewhere in the source materials that imperial expedition

<sup>106</sup> *Skirmishing*, 4, 14–28, p. 157–159; Ł. RÓŻYCKI, *Byzantine Asymmetric Warfare in Light of "De velitatione bellica"*, ZNUJ.PH 143.4, 2016, p. 652–655.

<sup>107</sup> *Praecepta Militaria*, 1.16, 2.17, 4.3, 4.6, 4.12, 4.17, [in:] E. MCGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's...* (cetera: *Praecepta Militaria*), p. 22, 32, 40, 42, 46, 48, 50.

<sup>108</sup> *Treaty B*, p. 84–85.

<sup>109</sup> *Treaty B*, p. 88–89; M. BARTUSIS, *Aerikon*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. I p. 28; A. KAZHDAN, *Eidikon*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. I, p. 681; A.J. CAPPEL, *Synone*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, p. 1994–1995; J. HALDON, *The Organisation...*, p. 116–117.

<sup>110</sup> More on the subject: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 88. According to the scholar the average weight of *annonikos modios* was 8,7 kg. This explains why those who loaded more on the pack animals were severely punished by the emperor: *Treaty C*, p. 120–121.

<sup>111</sup> *Treaty C*, p. 96–99.

<sup>112</sup> *Treaty C*, p. 98–99.

<sup>113</sup> *Treaty C*, p. 100–101.

<sup>114</sup> Description in details: *Treaty C*, p. 102–107.

<sup>115</sup> *Treaty C*, p. 112–113; 116–117.

to Syria required 1100 pack-animals in total, both mules and horses<sup>116</sup>. The total number is impressive and gives the impression that imperial baggage train might have been the only one in the army<sup>117</sup>. However, a detailed description provided by the emperor leaves no doubt that the loads of pack-animals did not include luggage of theme soldiers, not mentioning their rations<sup>118</sup>.

A more exact reading of the treaty gives indication that the imperial baggage might not have been the only one. Constantine stresses that while the army marched to deserted regions neither the imperial baggage train nor any other went ahead<sup>119</sup>. There is one more place in Treaty C which suggests that there was another baggage train for *themata*, of which Constantine did not mention. While describing the camp the emperor mentions discipline issues relating to theme soldiers<sup>120</sup>. He leaves no doubt that these had their tents at their disposal, of which there was no word while describing the content of imperial camp. Thus, there is an indication that the most necessary belongings and equipment were carried by the theme army separately, probably as a part of their own infrastructure. In that case, their rations might have been transported there as well. This seems to confirm that theme army might have had a different baggage train, about which unfortunately emperor gives no details<sup>121</sup>.

Perhaps it was so, because Constantine was interested in composition of the imperial baggage train only. As needed, there were the provisions for him and his entourage. Also, we know that at least some part of *hetaireia* rations came from there<sup>122</sup>. From what is described, one can also suspect that *tagmata* soldiers received provisions from imperial camp as well. However, the theme armies joined the imperial army on the way, so their provisioning was a whole different story. Perhaps, for this reason Constantine did not describe the process of its formation. At the last *aplekta*, where all forces joined together, the baggage trains were formed into one structure<sup>123</sup>. If that was the case, it is clear why in most of the military

<sup>116</sup> Treaty C, p. 118–119.

<sup>117</sup> What is more, just the animals from the imperial baggage train consumed circa 2500 kg of barley and 280 ha of pasture: J. HALDON, *The Organisation...*, p. 130.

<sup>118</sup> Treaty C, p. 118–121.

<sup>119</sup> Treaty C, p. 130–131.

<sup>120</sup> Treaty C, p. 130–131.

<sup>121</sup> Regardless of the practical organisation, the army had to transport the supplies on the back of pack animals. As J. Haldon stressed that was not the most efficient way. As a result a marching army was accompanied by a large number of animals. The scholar estimates, that an army of 10 000 men was followed by 8500–9500 pack animals: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 97–98; IDEM, *The Organisation...*, p. 130–131.

<sup>122</sup> Treaty C, 593–596, p. 132. It is worth mentioning that while Byzantines serving in Hetaireia received one cow for ten soldiers, the foreigners only got an animal for every thirty warriors.

<sup>123</sup> The location of those points was not a secret, as not only the Byzantine soldiers but also Arabs new them: *Kitab al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik*, vol. VI, ed. M.J. DE GOEJE, Lugdunum 1889, p. 82–83; A. KAZHDAN, *Aplekton*, [in:] ODB, vol. I, p. 131.

treaties it appeared as one formation<sup>124</sup>. It is hard to believe that a marching army, especially during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, where military operations on the eastern frontier gained more hit-and-run character, had two different baggage trains<sup>125</sup>. This would require substantially more people, who otherwise could have participated in battle or could have been assigned other tasks. It seems that the composition of the baggage train was flexible and depended on the type of military operation and who conducted it<sup>126</sup>. It is clear that from the tactical perspective, it was better to have a swift and possibly modest one. On the other hand, when the emperor was at the head of the campaign the baggage train could easily become a rich and lavish<sup>127</sup>.

For the Byzantine commanders, it was trivial to say that food was an important, if not a crucial, part of successful campaign. What is more, it was clear for them that keeping all the rations in the baggage train may be risky<sup>128</sup>. While marching, this was the only plausible solution; and, when battle drew near, the Byzantines hoped for the best, but planned for the worst. Ensuring the safety of the baggage train was crucial for the army, also from the psychological perspective. It is clear that not only rations were stored there, but also families, relatives and property of the soldiers. Leo was aware that as long as the safety of the baggage train is not assured, the army would not be focus on the battle<sup>129</sup>. For this reason, the commander should dedicate an officer and strong unit of soldiers to guard it<sup>130</sup>. The soldiers tasked with guarding the baggage train moved independently of the rest of the army. Also, as Leo pointed out, other soldiers were ordered to stay away<sup>131</sup>.

The Byzantine commanders knew that the army is vulnerable to attack while on march, especially on the hostile territory. For this reason, the Byzantines were always instructed to build a camp, even if the army was planning to resume

<sup>124</sup> LEO VI, IV, 31, p. 54–55; *Skirmishing*, 10, 84–86, p. 176–179; *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 23, p. 45–47; Ł. RÓŻYCKI, *Byzantine Asymmetric...*, p. 654–655.

<sup>125</sup> What is more, the duration of raid was determined by amount of supplies consumed by men and animals alike. This was also clear for Arab enemies of Byzantium, who carried swift raids, for no longer than 20 days during winter: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 98–99.

<sup>126</sup> However, the composition of the baggage train was largely determined by the number of soldiers. An army of 20 000 men required 700 tons of grain just to operate for fifteen days. During this period it would consume the production of 1700 ha: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 92–94. The composition of baggage train also depended on type of military operation. As J. Haldon remarked a hit and run raid required different wagon then full scale military operation: J. HALDON, *The Organisation...*, p. 112–113.

<sup>127</sup> E. MCGEER, *Touldos*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, p. 2099–2100.

<sup>128</sup> This also applied to situation when an operating army maintained supplying lines to their territory: *Campaign Organization and Tactics*, 21, 36–42, [in:] *Three Byzantine Military...* (cetera: *Campaign Organization*), p. 304–305.

<sup>129</sup> LEO VI, X, 1, p. 187.

<sup>130</sup> LEO VI, X, 5, p. 189.

<sup>131</sup> LEO VI, X, 15, p. 191–193.

marching the next day<sup>132</sup>. According to Leo, the area should be always fortified, even if one thought that the enemy is far away<sup>133</sup>. The engagement could well go wrong and the defeated Byzantine army forced to retreat. For this reason, the Byzantines not only set a fortified camp close to the battlefield, but also part of the rations was placed in it, should the imperial army be blocked<sup>134</sup>. The same applied to water. Leo urged again and again that one should see to the fact that plenty of water would be placed in intermediary camps<sup>135</sup>.

The issue becomes even more crucial should the imperial army be besieged in a city or a fortress. Needless to say, Leo urges his commanders to guarantee that it would be well provided with food and water, both for soldiers and civilians<sup>136</sup>, though the latter should be sent away if possible<sup>137</sup>. The rationing of water becomes a crucial issue during siege and the emperor stressed that the supply should be watched carefully<sup>138</sup>. The author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* also pointed out the need to assure the provisions for the army should it be besieged<sup>139</sup>. In this case all who were unfit for service should be sent away from the fortress, especially the old, the sick and women with children.

As already mentioned, the imperial armies did not, as a rule, take the provisions for the whole campaign<sup>140</sup>. Instead, the Byzantines assumed that while in hostile territory, an opportunity to acquire food would appear. The Byzantine commanders did their best to avoid a situation in which the process of plundering was unordered. They knew very well that soldiers who focus on acquiring the resources rather than the fighting would make an easy target. This is why Leo instructed his commanders that only selected warriors should go for loot<sup>141</sup>. Everyone who joined the raiding party on his own account should be punished. The same approach to the problem that was present in *Tactica* was repeated in *Praecepta Militaria* and *De velitatione*<sup>142</sup>. According to Nikephoros II Phokas, it is unacceptable for

<sup>132</sup> J. HALDON, *The Organisation...*, p. 138–139.

<sup>133</sup> LEO VI, XI, 2, p. 195. This was also clear from the logistic perspective, since an army marching to battle had to leave majority of pack animals and supplies behind. On the other hand, a raiding party of 4000 men could supply the army in the camp with provisions from plunder: J. HALDON, *Feeding the Army...*, p. 99.

<sup>134</sup> Or in case of upcoming battle: *Skirmishing*, 8, p. 164–165; LEO VI, X, 12–13, p. 190–191.

<sup>135</sup> LEO VI, XIII, 7, p. 180–183.

<sup>136</sup> LEO VI, XV, 40–41, p. 368–371.

<sup>137</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 53.1, p. 101; LEO VI, XV, 41, p. 370–371.

<sup>138</sup> LEO VI, XV, 52–53, p. 374–375.

<sup>139</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 53.1, p. 101.

<sup>140</sup> The maximum amount of provisions was to suffice for 24 days. Beyond this period the army would be too slow, for the sake of overloaded pack animals: *Campaign Organization...*, 21, p. 302–305.

<sup>141</sup> LEO VI, XVII, 53, p. 413.

<sup>142</sup> For commanders it was clear that maruding unit is susceptible to surprise attacks and ambushes: LEO VI, XVII, 53, 300–304, p. 413. The author of *De velitatione* described even how to provoke one: *Skirmishing*, 18, 21–31, p. 211–215.

the soldiers to focus on plundering or taking captives while the fight was still in progress<sup>143</sup>. The precaution was advisable indeed since the Byzantine soldiers frequently could not resist the temptation of enriching their drear and modest diet on their own account. Perhaps that was the case of Nikephoros Pastilas, one of the commanders of Nikephoros II Phokas, who accompanied his emperor during the successful invasion of Crete in 960–961 AD. As Leo the Deacon stresses, the soldier was ordered to recon the terrain after successful landing and fell into a trap set by the Arabs<sup>144</sup>. The chronicler points out that Pastilas was amazed by the richness of the countryside and relaxed discipline in his unit probably allowing his man to plunder the area<sup>145</sup>. It is worth mentioning that Pastilas was not a rank and file soldier, but a *strategos* of the Thrakesion theme. If a high ranking officer could be tempted in such way, how often ordinary soldiers broke the rules of discipline? Since we do not possess precise information, it must suffice to assume that the problem was grave, since regulations countering it was repeated in different treaties. The mechanism apparently worked both ways, since Byzantines also described stratagems to ambush the enemy, who was equally interested in acquiring food and forage. For instance, the author of *De velitatione* advised refrain from attacking the enemy until he started the return journey with the spoil<sup>146</sup>. In some instances, the Byzantines tried to provoke the enemy to break the discipline or divide their army by using the motivation in question. The author of *De velitatione* described a stratagem according to which some soldiers from the empire army should be dressed as peasants and advance in some distance from the army with the herds of livestock<sup>147</sup>.

When the Byzantines and their enemies did not ambush the hostile army, they occasionally poisoned some of the provisions and left them behind as a trap. The idea was by no means invented by the Byzantine commanders, since it was already known to the Romans<sup>148</sup>. Also, Leo the Wise included in his *Tactica* important information on this matter. The emperor warned his commanders to remain cautious should they find food or water on hostile territory. It was clear to Leo that their enemies might have left it as bait and poison it in order to gain upper hand

<sup>143</sup> For Nikephoros II Phokas voluntary separation from the army was unacceptable in every situation, even during pursuit: *Praecepta Militaria*, II, 7, 68–76, p. 27.

<sup>144</sup> *Leonis Diaconi Historiae Libri Decem*, I, 3, [in:] PG, vol. CXVII, col. 665–666; *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, trans. et ed. A.-M. TALBOT, D.F. SULLIVAN, Washington 2005 [= DOS, 41], p. 63.

<sup>145</sup> As Leo stressed, after successful landing on the island Nikephoros II Phokas warned his commanders to stay vigilant.

<sup>146</sup> *Skirmishing*, 4, 14–28, p. 157–159. The instruction was old and Leo the Wise gave the same advice to his generals (LEO VI, XVIII, 128, p. 484–485); E.N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy...*, p. 343–344.

<sup>147</sup> *Skirmishing*, 18, 21–31, p. 211–215.

<sup>148</sup> *Iulius Africanus Cesti. The Extant Fragments*, ed. M. WALLRAFF, C. SCARDINO, L. MECCELLA, C. GUIGNARD, Berlin–Boston 2012 [= GCS.NF, 18] (cetera: IULIUS AFRICANUS), p. 104–106.

at war with the Byzantines<sup>149</sup>. The emperor's warning is clear but obscure, without further details. Even more surprisingly, the issue is absent in works of Constantine VII, despite the fact, that the treaties referred to preparation of a war campaign.

The knowledge of the ancient Romans was not forgotten entirely though. The anonymous author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* provided us with detailed information on the use of poisonous food in waging war. The treaty leaves no doubt that the two most frequently poisoned products were bread and wine<sup>150</sup>. In both cases, detailed instructions were provided by the author on how to perform the whole process. Thus, in order to produce poisoned bread, one should kill, chop into pieces and boil a viper and a toad or a tree frog<sup>151</sup>. Next, the extract was utilized as an ingredient instead of clean water, and mixed with flour. The bread produced in that way was left for the enemy to eat as an invading army was under constant pressure to acquire food for the soldiers. The other way to spread disease was forcing captives to produce the bread, as a mere contact with the ingredients could cause ailments<sup>152</sup>. Next, the prisoners were set free and some of them joined the army. The preparation of poisoned wine was a bit more complex and required different ingredients. In order to produce the poison one had to mix the wine with quenched quicklime, monkshood, boxwood and hemlock<sup>153</sup>. It is clear that each of these were extremely dangerous as even one sip could cause a painful death. Next, the "wine" was left with other products and the deceitful army pretended to hold a feast. As the enemy drew near, one of the soldiers simulated panic and dummy escape. For many soldiers, who did not find the available rations satisfactory, this was too much of a temptation.

The effects of the actions were different, but both were grievous for the army. In case of wine, those who drink it would surely die. However, it is quite possible that the soldiers could taste the difference, realize that something is wrong and warn comrades. The casualties in this case were limited. In the case of poisoned bread, it was a different story. The toxin was probably not lethal, since the captives

<sup>149</sup> LEO VI, XVII, 54, p. 374–375.

<sup>150</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 59.1, 60, p. 110. In contrast to most quoted recommendations from *Sylloge*, those dealing with poisons derive not from Maurice' *Strategikon*, Syrianus Magister or later treaties but from much older treaty of Julius Africanus. According to G. Chatzelis and J. Harris the mentioned section of *Sylloge* comes from *Apparatus Bellicus* (*Apparatus Bellicus*, vol. VII, ed. I. LAMIS, 1746, cetera: *Apparatus Bellicus*), dated mostly to 9<sup>th</sup> century (G. CHATZELIS, J. HARRIS, *A Tenth-Century...*, p. 139, n. 338). However, first 30 chapters were probably based on *Kestoi*, by Julius Africanus. Thus, the text corresponds to: *Apparatus Bellicus*, 2, p. 916–917. Compare: IULIUS AFRICANUS, p. 110–114.

<sup>151</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 59.1, p. 110. The relevant passages can be found in: *Apparatus Bellicus*, 2, p. 916. For the procedures in case of plague outbreak: IULIUS AFRICANUS, p. 104.

<sup>152</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 59.2, p. 110. However, the Romans knew substances to counter toxin produced by tree frogs: IULIUS AFRICANUS, p. 156.

<sup>153</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 60, p. 111; compare *Apparatus Bellicus*, 3, p. 918. The section is clearly based on passage from *Cesti*, under the title: *How to use wine*: IULIUS AFRICANUS, p. 104–106.

forced to produce or eat the poisoned food lived long after they were set free. The aim of the stratagem was to cause a plague in enemy army and at least a few days had to pass before the freed prisoners reached their camp. However, it weakened the infected soldiers quickly. Also, it tended to spread rapidly, as the author of *Sylloge* pointed out<sup>154</sup>. The ailments probably included skin diseases, which were not lethal, but surely had a devastating effect on morale. Reading the treaty leaves no doubt that not only soldiers were perceived as a target. Also, it was crucial to ensure forage for the horses. The importance of the action is evident, also in the light of *Tactica*<sup>155</sup>. However, both Leo the Wise and the author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* stressed that commanders must stay vigilant, should they find any forage on the enemy soil, since it may be poisoned, as it already happened in the past<sup>156</sup>.

Finally, both the Byzantines and their enemies employed a set of actions to hinder their opponents in different ways. As the author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* points out, the enemy tried not only to remove or poison the possible resources for the invading Byzantine army, but also detract that which he could not take with him or burn. This applied particularly to water reservoirs<sup>157</sup>. The author described that in order to do it, one should chop pufferfish or a snake and boil the remains. After that the brew should be poured out to the reservoir, from which the army drew water<sup>158</sup>. Whoever drank it, swelled up very quickly, and this eliminated him from fighting effectively in upcoming battles. A similar effect could have been achieved by the use of myrtle spurge, manure, fish lard, purple sea fish or conch. The author also gave a description on how to spoil orchards. For instance, in order to desiccate the trees, one should thrust the sting of a stingray or scatter about near the tree rind of beans<sup>159</sup>. In order to deprive the soil fertility, one should strew hellebore or salt around the field<sup>160</sup>. Toxins produced by poisonous animals were used also in more direct ways. As the author of *Tactica* pointed out it is by no means rare to hurl caskets containing snakes or scorpions at the enemies<sup>161</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 59.1, p. 110.

<sup>155</sup> LEO VI, XIX, 14, p. 297–299.

<sup>156</sup> LEO VI, XVII, 54, p. 414–415. The warning was not an invention of Leo but was derived from older source (*Chronique de Jean de Nikiou*, 96, ed. et trans. H. ZOTENBERG, Paris 1883, p. 408 – citing after: G. DENNIS, *The Taktika of Leo VI...*, p. 415). The author also gave instruction on how to poison enemy horses through poisoning water: *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 66, p. 112.

<sup>157</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 61, p. 111; compare *Apparatus Bellicus*, 2, p. 917–918.

<sup>158</sup> This was in fact a very often action on the side of the Byzantine army: E.N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy...*, p. 317.

<sup>159</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 63, p. 112. Description derived from: IULIUS AFRICANUS, p. 106.

<sup>160</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 64, p. 112; compare: IULIUS AFRICANUS, p. 106–108.

<sup>161</sup> LEO VI, XIX, 60, p. 526–527. Though this information is absent from *Sylloge*, it is clear that Romans had a vast knowledge both on poisonous properties of animals and relevant antidotes: IULIUS AFRICANUS, p. 140–141 (snake bites, asp bites and scorpion stings), 142 (animal bites and venomous sea creatures), 146–147 (spider and insect bites).

The Byzantines were well aware of these stratagems and knew how to counter them, at least to a certain extent. As Constantine Porphyrogenitus stressed, the commander going to war should take with him not only supplies, but also theriac, serapium juice and other antidotes<sup>162</sup>. In turn, the author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* provided his readers with a detailed description of some of the immunizers. In order to prevent soldiers from falling prey to poison and drugs they were ordered to eat rue leaves, local nuts and dried figs<sup>163</sup>. What is more, should the mixture prove ineffective, they were to include peppercorn and clay from Lemnos, which was attributed beneficial properties. The ingredients were mixed in equal proportions, formed into pellets the size of walnut and finally eaten.

Furthermore, the wine was used not only as a poison, but also in more subtle manners, such as anesthetics. The author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* also included in his treaty an interesting prescription, which enabled putting to sleep those who drank the mixture<sup>164</sup>. In order to prepare it, one should add to the wine certain amount of Theban poppy juice, myrrh, lettuce seed, henbane juice and mandrake juice. According to the author of the text, those who drink the potion will be sleepy for two-three days. The only way to awaken the dormant is to apply to his nose a bit of wine vinegar<sup>165</sup>.

The Byzantines also knew how to eliminate digestive problems of their soldiers which arose in consequence of the climate and an unhealthy manner of consumption. In order to avoid indigestion or heaviness, commanders could have served their warriors a certain brew<sup>166</sup>. It mainly consisted of wine, which already tastes like vinegar and selection of herbs. Among these, rue and wild marshmallow were of greatest importance. The mixture should be drunk between meals, but no more than twice a day. Other suggested practices included drinking wine with milk, though the author of *Sylloge* did not specify if the type of milk was crucial in this case. In the case that the mentioned ingredients were beyond reach, the commander could still help his men. The rations of wine could be flavored with squill (*Drimia maritima*) in order to achieve a similar effect. It is not unlikely that the same properties were attributed to certain types of wine, as the author of *Sylloge Tacticorum* seems to suggest<sup>167</sup>. Among the products that are useful during a war campaign, wine from marshy lands was listed, probably for the sake of its digestive properties. In this case, this knowledge was also of Roman origin. As Plutarch points out, Roman soldiers fighting for Caesar near Pharsalus ate roots due to the lack of provisions. As the historian pointed out the disease was cured

<sup>162</sup> *Treaty C*, 205–211, p. 106, 108.

<sup>163</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 58, p. 109–110; IULIUS AFRICANUS, p. 114.

<sup>164</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 62, p. 111.

<sup>165</sup> A variant of the drink was offered to Christ before execution: Mc 15, 23.

<sup>166</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 57.1, p. 109.

<sup>167</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 57.2, p. 109.

by immense drinking of wine found in one of the cities of Thessaly<sup>168</sup>. On the other hand, Leo the Wise advised in his *Tactica* that soldiers should not drink wine at all during summer. Instead, the emperor suggested giving them water only<sup>169</sup>.

It is clear that most of the knowledge included in analyzed treaties was of Roman origin. However, what seems striking is not the fact that the Byzantines copied certain prescriptions from Romans, but that they appear in detail in only one source, namely *Sylloge Tacticorum*. Also, whoever composed *Sylloge Tacticorum* did his best to avoid accusations of providing Byzantine commanders with prescriptions for poisons. The author describes stratagems referring only to hostile actions aiming at harming the Byzantines<sup>170</sup>. At the end of the section he further assured that his intention was to protect the imperial army from despicable deceit of the enemy and not to provide commanders with instructions<sup>171</sup>. It is clear that Leo the Wise also knew the possible danger lurking for Byzantine armies, but he did not bother giving detailed receipts for immunizers and anesthetics<sup>172</sup>. The author of *Peri Strategias* also did not mention any information allowing commanders to protect their men from poisons. The reason for this may well be that the knowledge was obvious. On the other hand, it is possible that at some point, stratagems based on poisons became increasingly popular among the enemies of Byzantium, such as Arabs, Bulgars or Ross people. If that was the case, the Byzantines were forced to dust off certain sections of Roman treaties they were not forced to use previously<sup>173</sup>.

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For the Byzantines, as well as for the Romans, it was clear that provisioning will determine whether army will emerge victorious or defeated from upcoming conflict. Thus, one could think that the Byzantines would attach at least the same care for their soldiers as their counterparts in earlier centuries. At first glance, both the Byzantine and Roman soldiers consumed similar products. The base rations in both armies included cereals, especially wheat, barley, olive oil and wine. It seems that both Roman and Byzantine soldiers ate meat as well, though the first did this on regular basis and the latter rather occasionally. In case of the Byzantines, the diet of officers and probably *tagmata* warriors might have been richer and better balanced, but there is no direct proof for that. However, the provisioning of rank and file soldiers was bad enough to result with disciplinary issues.

<sup>168</sup> PLUTARCH, *Lives*, XLI, 3, vol. VII, trans. B. PERRIN, Cambridge–London 1967 [= LCL, 99], p. 542–543.

<sup>169</sup> LEO VI, XIV, 83, p. 336–337.

<sup>170</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 59.1, p. 110.

<sup>171</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 59.3, p. 110.

<sup>172</sup> LEO VI, XVII, 54, p. 374–375.

<sup>173</sup> *Sylloge Tacticorum*, 59.3, p. 110.

The moments when *themata* could eat better were the occasionally feasts, organized before, after and during war campaign. Also, richer meals were probably served before battle. The Byzantine commanders were charged with dealing with difficult provisioning situation and were implemented all actions that proved effective, including rationing, plunder while on hostile territory and purchasing supplies from local merchants. Also, Leo the Wise left no doubt that affluent commanders were expected to sponsor occasional acquisition. All the same, it seems clear that not only the authors of *Tactica* and *Sylloge Tacticorum* knew about the inefficient provisioning system, but they preferred to teach officers to handle it instead of providing costly reforms. The food, water and forage were wanted resources while on campaign, and thus, were used as a tool war by both fighting parties. The supplies were destroyed, poisoned and burned, as Byzantines and their enemies did everything to harm the opponent. Summing up, the authors of the analyzed military treaties leave no doubt that the life of a soldier, especially from thematic formations, was a harsh one. It was probably so, since the duty to provide provisions was taken by the state, while the Romans deduced the cost of performing this responsibility from soldiers' pay. The changes were possible, but demanded the professionalization of the army, which entailed greater expenditures. This occurred largely during the reigns of military emperors, such as Nikephoros II Phokas, John Tzimiskes and Basil II. In the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the role of *themata* gradually fell and many stratiotes was charged with money tax instead of personal service. This was however a different Byzantine army and a different story to tell.

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**Abstract.** It seems obvious that 10<sup>th</sup> century was a period in which the Byzantine polemology flourished once again, before it collapsed one hundred years later. During that period numerous authors of Byzantine military treaties instructed imperial commanders how to wage war. Among many issues organization of the campaign was always an important aspect. In this paper I will try to clarify selected problems. First, I will try to specify what the soldiers ate on a daily basis. Next, I will determine to what extent the provisioning system met the expectations and needs of the Byzantines fighting for the empire. With the help of *Tactica* and *Sylloge Tacticorum*, I will try to explain how the rations were gathered, transported and protected. Finally, I will specify how the supplies were utilized not only as a means of nourishment, but also as a tool of war. The following research was carried out on the basis of military treaties from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, since this time was the peak of Byzantine military revival. Although I mainly base my research on the work of Leon the Wise and the anonymous treaty known as *Sylloge Tacticorum*, I also occasionally refer to other works, such as *Peri Strategias*, *De velitatione* and *Praecepta Militaria*.

**Keywords:** Byzantium, strategy, tacticts, logistics

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## THE LINGUISTIC CREATION OF A CITY IN THE 16<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY POLISH ACCOUNTS FROM TRAVELS TO THE HOLY LAND

It is commonly known that the 16<sup>th</sup> century was a time of intense geographical discoveries, which allowed people then to see the world from a perspective other than that rooted in the Middle Ages. The mobility of the Polish gentry, primarily connected to studies abroad, and a hunger to learn about previously unknown cultures, societies, parts of the world as well as fauna and flora, spurred new explorations. Geographical discoveries made such a strong impression on people's consciousness that they wanted to confront these stories with their own experiences, which was accompanied by curiosity, suspicion, uncertainty, and, undoubtedly, fear<sup>1</sup>. However, foreign travels had a practical dimension, which included political, scientific, commercial and religious goals<sup>2</sup>. In terms of literary genres, it was diaries and journals that best narrated a story about unknown regions of the world. Peregrination as a description of travels abroad is closely connected to various pilgrimages, studies abroad, diplomatic missions as well as touristic excursions<sup>3</sup>.

The first travels of Polish pilgrims to the Holy Land started in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century while the first description by Anzelm Polak entitled *Terrae sanctae et urbis Hierusalem descriptio* was printed in 1512. Anzelm Polak was a Bernadine and a confessor at the Holy Grave while he stayed in the Holy Land between 1507–1508. Having returned to the country, he described Jerusalem, its environs and the places of worship. His account is comprised of guide notes arranged according to the parts of the world. He starts his from the south (Bethlehem and Hebron), through the west (Emmaus, Jaffa) and north (Nazareth, Samaria) and finishes with a description of the eastern part (Jericho and the Dead Sea). Anzelm Polak made Jerusalem the central point of his account. The author uses the geographical and historical information as a background to the illustration of Christ's life, the

<sup>1</sup> C. HERNAS, *Barok*, Warszawa 1998, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Antologia pamiątek polskich XVI wieku*, ed. R. POLLAK, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1966, p. XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. XXVII.

Biblical events and numerous legends and tales circulating at the time. The text includes specific locations of the described towns, which gives it a practical dimension and allows it to work almost as a guide. Naturally, the author was not able to reach all the places he noted in his story. In reference to the areas less accessible and farther from Jerusalem, he used external accounts, at times uncritically taking advantage of incredible information<sup>4</sup>.

Nevertheless, the first travel diary written in Polish from a trip to the Holy Land which took place before 1570 is the text by Jan Goryński. This diary is noteworthy because, despite a certain schematism and clumsiness of the descriptive technique, it departs from the formula of a guide's peregrination. The informative layer, which includes a description of the countries, cities and places of worship, was enriched with interesting attempts at relaying the events in which he participated. Goryński's travel route was determined by a typical 16<sup>th</sup>-century itinerary to holy lands. His diary starts with recounting the dangers of sea travel, through descriptions of Jaffa, Rama, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and ends with a report from the travel home (Rama, Jaffa, Cyprus)<sup>5</sup>.

Another account from travels to the Holy Land that is superior to the aforementioned work, both in terms of the descriptive technique and literary flair, is M.K. Radziwiłł's<sup>6</sup> diary *Peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egiptu*, which is the main subject of this article. It was not the thrill of adventure that spurred the author to travel east but penance: having converted from Calvinism to Catholicism during his illness, he had sworn to take this expiatory journey to the Holy Land<sup>7</sup>. As a 'svelte' man, Radziwiłł had spent a significant part of his life traveling abroad. It took him four years to prepare for this exotic journey. In September 1582, having written down his testament, he embarked (along with his companions and servants) on this long, exhausting, but most of all, fascinating, journey. The route led through Venice, Crete, Cyprus, Jaffa, Tripoli, Syria, Damascus, Samaria, Galilea, to Jerusalem. Once there, the author participated in excursions to Bethlehem, the Jordan River, the Dead Sea and Jericho. From Jerusalem, Radziwiłł went to Jaffa, Tripoli and Egypt (which the diary describes extensively), Damietta, Cairo, Alexandria, Italy and Venice, after which, in 1584, he returned to his hometown, Nieśwież. The phenomenon of Radziwiłł's text stems from the fact that while most

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. XXVIII–XXIX.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. XXXV.

<sup>6</sup> The author took this journey between 1582–1584. Upon his return to the country, he entrusted his notes to Tomasz Treter, who having edited the text into four letters written from travels, translated the diary to Latin. The Latin version was published in Braniewo in 1601, and was later translated to German and Polish. The Polish translation by Andrzej Wargocki has had eight editions. The original manuscript was published in 1925 by Jan Czubek. H. Dziechcińska writes about the complicated history of Radziwiłł's diary. Cf. H. DZIECHCIŃSKA, *O staropolskich dziennikach podróży*, Warszawa 1991, p. 79.

<sup>7</sup> C. HERNAS, *Barok...*, p. 159.

Old-Polish memoirs from long journeys are limited to discussing the itinerary, noting what a given author saw or was told by the guides, Radziwiłł does not stop at his own observations and information from others. His comments, interpretations of visited places, encountered people and foreign nature have a storytelling quality. Furthermore, he can often juxtapose that world with his native, Polish-gentry reality<sup>8</sup>. Radziwiłł not only describes the social circles and their organization, the foreignness of nature and the grandeur of architecture, but he also confronts these with earlier travelers' accounts and historians' works. He tries to arrive at the truth in order to relay it faithfully<sup>9</sup>.

The 16<sup>th</sup>-century diaries are an abundant source for research in the area of anthropologic linguistics<sup>10</sup>. Aside from nature and people, it is the urban organism that is the key protagonist of the diaries at the time. These authors stopped at numerous towns and cities along their way and later discussed them extensively in their works<sup>11</sup>. The Polish writers were not alone in their approach to this product of culture. As H. Dziechcińska points out, in many a European diary at the time, the descriptions of agglomerations provide a certain construction axis to a work's composition<sup>12</sup>. In the Renaissance, an interest in this civilizational product – the city – developed for several reasons. Firstly, it was connected with the worldview

<sup>8</sup> *Antologia pamiętników polskich...*, p. XXXVI.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. C. HERNAS, *Barok...*, p. 159; H. KACZMAREK, *Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła „Sierotki” podróż po starożytnym świecie (I. Balkany i wyspy)*, BP 4, 1989, p. 343–351; D. ROTT, *Staropolskie chorografie. Początki – rozwój – przemiany gatunku*, Katowice 1995; A. REJTER, *Kształtowanie się gatunku reportażu podróżniczego w perspektywie stylistycznej i pragmatycznej*, Katowice 2000; D. CHEMPEREK, *Podróż do Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egiptu Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła „Sierotki” – relacje konwertyty*, [in:] *Radziwiłłowie. Obrazy literackie. Biografie. Świadczenia historyczne*, ed. K. STĘPNIK, Lublin 2003, p. 39–48; M. KACZMAREK, *Peregrynacje do Jerozolimy i Betlejem w XVI wieku w świetle dziuryszy Anzelm Polaka, Jana Goryskiego i Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła „Sierotki”*, [in:] *Ecclesia et homines. Instytucje i ludzie Kościoła w czasach Jagiellonów (XIV–XVI w.)*, ed. A. JANUSZEK-SIERADZKA, Sandomierz 2014; L. ZINKOW, *Wenecja na trasie peregrynacji Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła „Sierotki” do Egiptu i Ziemi Świętej*, [in:] *Terra Culturae. Obszary, transfery i recepcje kultury. Studia oraz szkice o kulturze i historii*, ed. Ł. BURKIEWICZ, Kraków 2018, p. 143–156.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. R. ZARĘBSKI, *Językowe sposoby osvajania egzotycznej rzeczywistości w „Podróży do Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egiptu” Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła „Sierotki”*, [in:] *Pogranicza*, ed. D. KOWALSKA, Łódź 2007, p. 753–766.

<sup>11</sup> There is an abundance of literature on the history of the idea of the city, see e.g. H. PIRENNE, *Les villes du Moyen Âge*, Paris 2017 (Bruxelles 1927); L. MUMFORD, *The City in the History*, New York 1961; C. DELFANTE, *Grande histoire de la ville. De la Mésopotamie aux États-Unis*, Paris 1999; L. BENEVOLO, *The History of the City*, London 1980; A. MAŁCZAK, *Życie codzienne w podróżach po Europie w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1980; Z. PASZKOWSKI, *Historia idei miasta. Od antyku do renesansu*, Szczecin 2015; Z. HOJKA, *Diariusz Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła Sierotki – pierwszy polski przewodnik po Ziemi Świętej i krajach Lewantu*, [in:] *Miasto jako przedmiot refleksji i fascynacji. Rozważania socjologiczne i historyczne*, ed. IDEM, K. WOJTYSIAK, D. DOMŻAŁSKI, Katowice 2015; M. KURAN, *Obraz ulic w miastach imperium osmańskiego w wybranych relacjach polskich podróżników z drugiej połowy XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, LC 1, 2019, p. 19–40.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. H. DZIECHCIŃSKA, *O staropolskich dziennikach...*, p. 42.

of the epoch, which was marked by the anthropocentrism; the city appeared as a perfect invention specially suited to human needs. Secondly, it was a result of a shift in how the city was perceived and the way it operated. While *in the Middle Ages, it was primarily a center of administrative and legal activities, over time, it gradually gained a residential meaning*. Consequently, the Renaissance highlighted the relationships between individual urban elements, which contributed to the more distinct homogeneity of the urban creation<sup>13</sup>. Finally, the urban awareness of the people at the time grew significantly. Although their daily lives were still strongly tied to nature, which in reference to the culture of that time, especially the Polish one, was particularly illustrated by following the role model of a land-owning noble, they were increasingly more dependent on what was happening in the city.

The urban awareness of the Renaissance was shaped by a variety of factors that influenced one another. Certain criteria determined whether a given building complex could be categorized as a city, which decided how it was viewed. An examination of the semantics of the lexeme *miasto* in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Polish language, contrasted with the Old-Polish period<sup>14</sup>, proves that on the one hand, its meaning underwent clarification; on the other, the scope of its polysemy expanded (concrete meanings, e.g. a city in the modern understanding, an administrative unit or district as well as metaphorical ones, e.g. a community of the living and the dead, the heavenly kingdom, etc.). The definitional prototypical features of a city already included such semes as: an area surrounded with a wall, a planned building arrangement, and squares and streets forming a road network. The walls and fortifications comprised the most visible outline of the city. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century urban awareness was also informed by means of other elements, such as certain structures (particularly of public utility) and their construction rules. The tenets of architectural art were closely linked to an interest in the system of weights and measures, which was undergoing gradual standardization. Such aspects as defense, fortifications, the presence of secular and religious buildings or the road network connected to the life of an agglomeration formed a certain stereotype of presenting a city in travel texts. This stereotype corresponded with the rules for description found in rhetoric textbooks that made references to Antiquity and determined

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 54.

<sup>14</sup> *Miasto* 1. 'a place, locus', 2. 'a city, its residents', 3. 'a basis, foundation' (Sstp); 1. 'a place', 2. 'an enclosed and typically walled-in area with high-density planned housing comprising squares and streets, forming a more or less independent administrative, self-governing and sometimes political unit; the city's residents; city authorities' (metaphorical meanings: 'on the religious community of the living and the dead; also on the Church', 'on the heavenly kingdom', 'on the world; on life and earthly possessions', a) 'a district, a part of the city', b) 'in Old Testament, a military garrison with an arms warehouse, etc.', c) 'a citizenship', d) 'a city's image'. Cf. *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. I–XXXIV, ed. M.R. MAYENOWA, F. PEPŁOWSKI, Wrocław 1966–1994; vol. XXXV to the entry ROWNY, ed. K. MROWCEWICZ, P. POTONIEC, Warszawa 1995–.

how one should find appropriate and subject-suitable means of verbalizing one's visual experiences when praising or admiring a city<sup>15</sup>.

In the old diary literature, it is worth considering the city in the context of the aforementioned notion of linguistic creation. Presumably, when describing different cities in the past, the authors remained in constant tension between what their school knowledge dictated about the manners of praising and describing the urban topos, and their firsthand experiences visiting a city. It is noteworthy that a nobleman who embarked on a journey at the time received a set of instructions from his parents or protector, not only regarding the itinerary, sightseeing the foreign lands and noting down the pilgrimage, but also pointers on how to observe and describe an agglomeration. It is illustrated by Jakub Sobieski's advice for his sons, Jan and Marek, who were setting on their journey in 1646: *When you are traveling through a great city, ask around whose city this is, sub cuius regimine, who its praesidia are, what its situs is. Note all this down in that book of yours throughout your pilgrimage*<sup>16</sup>.

The goal of this outline is to reveal the linguistic means used by the 16<sup>th</sup>-century authors<sup>17</sup> when constructing an image of foreign cities, which were often exotic, especially for the Renaissance reader. A methodological pillar for these reflections will be the notion of the *linguistic creation*, which I understand similarly to T. Skubalanka as an *entirety of linguistic processes created by a text's author for a given purpose; a particular fictional being which is an element of an artist's 'vision of the world'*<sup>18</sup>. Therefore, I will be interested in the vocabulary and conventional means of style (such as epithets, comparisons, evaluative lexicon), which an author used to refer to or depict an encountered city and to characterize its exterior look and various ways of functioning. The notion of the linguistic creation is connected to the *semiotic role*. This term, also applied by the aforementioned researcher, is key in the context of evoking the object of the description. As a certain conceptual framework, the aspects (roles and profiles) of a city produced by different linguistic means are a consequence of the issues that are key to the idea of a linguistic vision of the world; a vision understood as a subjective vantage point of an author and the perspective from which he or she interpreted reality<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. H. DZIECHCIŃSKA, *O staropolskich dziennikach...*, p. 53, 44–63.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> The analyzed material comes from the following texts: ANZELM POŁAK, *Opisanie Ziemi Świętej*, [in:] *Antologia pamiątek polskich...* (cetera: AP), p. 3–12; JAN GORYŃSKI, *Peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej*, [in:] *Antologia pamiątek polskich...* (cetera: JG), p. 13–29; MIKOŁAJ KRZYSZTOF RADZIWIŁŁ SIEROTKA, *Podróż do Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egiptu 1582–1584*, ed. L. KUKULSKI, Warszawa 1962 (cetera: MR). The parenthesis contains an abbreviation of the diary's title and the page number.

<sup>18</sup> T. SKUBALANKA, *Językowa kreacja Jacka Soplicy (Księdza Robaka)*, [in:] EADEM, *Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Norwid. Studia nad językiem i stylem*, Lublin 1997, p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> J. BARTMIŃSKI, *Punkt widzenia, perspektywa, językowy obraz świata*, [in:] *Językowy obraz świata*, ed. IDEM, Lublin 1999, p. 103–120.

Regarding the description of the cities, the 16<sup>th</sup>-century authors employed a certain technique (especially, Radziwiłł) of making references to the characteristics featured in historiographic sources, e.g. *Że o tym mieście* [Tripoli – RZ] *wiele ich pisze, ja odpuszczam* (MR 27). [Since so many have written about this city [of Tripoli – RZ], I shan't].

The diarists, who observed the described reality from the viewpoint of a proprietor, which was a dominant perspective in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup>, were interested in any mechanisms connected to how the urban organism worked. On the other hand, it is difficult to unambiguously state how much of this interest was dictated by a purely human response of curiosity about the new and the foreign, and to what extent it was a product of a certain rhetorical convention that dated back to Antiquity. It is also not without significance that in order to make the exotic realities more graspable, the travelers attempted to relate the foreign elements to the known reality, e.g. via similes, which pointed to closer, more familiar objects (at least, to educated readers)<sup>21</sup>. For example:

Które miasto ani małością jest zaciśnione, ani się komu wielkością nie uprzykrzy [...]. Wszakż zda mi się, iż na dłużej i na szerzej jest na kształt Krakowa (AP 10), mym zdaniem, jako oni piszą, [miasto Kair – RZ] większe jest, niż pięććroć miasto Paryż we Francji (MR 142).

The city neither suffocates with smallness nor is it too large to be a nuisance [...]. Methinks, in terms of length and width, its shape resembles Cracow, I believe, as they write, [the city of Cairo – RZ] is five times bigger than the city of Paris in France.

The diarists typically introduced the agglomerations that were less known to the readers at the time by means of synonymic doubles, whose task was to clarify and disambiguate which place specifically on the 16<sup>th</sup>-century world map was being discussed<sup>22</sup>, e.g. *przyjechałem do Kanei, olim Cydonia* (MR 215) [I had arrived at Kanea, formerly Cydonia]. More recognizable cities were indicated via their commonly used names, e.g. *miasto Betlejem* (AP 4) [the city of Bethlehem], *o dwudziestej zoczyliśmy pyramides, które blisko Kairo* (MR 140) [around eight in the evening, we spotted the pyramids nearby Cairo]. In the case of smaller urban centers, the authors sporadically used the diminutive “town”, e.g. *Miasteczko błahe w tej insule w bok było widzieć, ale tam nawy nie przystępują, a też portu nie masz* (MR 201) [The town, tiny on this island, was seen from the side, but no vessels accede there nor does it have a port]. At times, the first presentation of a place, aside from its proper name, was expanded by comments of a historical or mythological nature

<sup>20</sup> A. NIEWIARA, *Wyobrażenia o narodach w pamiętnikach i dziennikach z XVI–XIX wieku*, Katowice 2000, p. 25–26.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. R. ZARĘBSKI, *Językowe sposoby osławiania...*

<sup>22</sup> Cf. IDEM, *Onomastykon szesnastowiecznych relacji z podróży do Ziemi Świętej*, [in:] *Nazwy własne a społeczeństwo*, vol. II, ed. R. ŁOBODZIŃSKA, Łask 2010, p. 497–510.

or various anecdotes related to the town, e.g. *Sachar miasto przedniejsze w Samarii (o którym Ioann. 4) między dwiema górami Garizim i Hebal. Dzisiaj zową Turcy to miasto Neapolim* (MR 45) [*Sychar, one of Samaria's finest cities (cf. Ioann. 4), is located between Mounts Gerizim and Ebal. Today, the Turks call this city Neapolis*].

Based on definitional characteristics, a place that fulfilled the requirements of being a city, remained in clear opposition to nature, which stemmed from ancient rhetoric<sup>23</sup>. Travelers, charmed by the achievements and panache of exotic urban architecture were perfectly aware of that, however, the contexts in which a city appears in the background or next to nature point to a rather strong codependence between this civilizational product and nature, e.g. *Z tej góry Damaszek widzieć dobrze, bo pod nią leży miasto, bardzo długie, w cudnej i żyznej wszelakimi owocami równinie* (MR 34) [*This mount offers a good view of Damascus because there is a city underneath it, very long and nestled in a marvelous plain fertile with all types of fruits*]. Interestingly, the way of presenting the natural beauty of the described cities is strongly marked by the viewpoint of a proprietor, dominant in the nobility's mentality of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup>, e.g.

O żyzności pól damasceńskich i różnaitości fruktów byłoby co pisać, ale już to drudzy uczynili [...]. Jest w Syrii, w Tripoli i w Balbech, i tu zwłaszcza w Damaszku owoc jeden, zalecający się szczególnie dobrym smakiem, zową go w wielu językach mauza (MR 38).

A lot could be written about the fertility of the damascene fields and the diversity of its crops, but others have already done that [...]. In Syria, Tripoli and Balbec, and especially here, in Damascus, there is one particularly tasty crop, which they call mauza in many languages.

In Radziwiłł's diary, the city is typically depicted as a walled-in area, separated from the wasteland, farmlands, woods and territory not owned by anybody and often dangerous, e.g. *same tylko miasto nowe Kairo murem jest opasane, a stare miasto i Bulach nie mają wkoło muru* (MR 142) [*only New Cairo is walled-in, Old Cairo and Bulac have no walls around them*]. In the perception of large agglomerations, the author notices the difference between the center – the city, and its peripheries – the suburbs, e.g.

Z tej góry prawie dobrze widzieć większą część miasta [Kairu – RZ] i ty przedmieścia, w których (jako się wspomniało) jest tak wiele moschei; jest rzecz pozorna patrzeć, zwłaszcza że oprócz nowego miasta, w którym nie tak wiele, ale wszędzie indziej po mieście i po przedmieściach, i wkoło na każdą stronę, jako okiem przejrzy (MR 161).

From this mount, you get a rather good view of most of the city [of Cairo – RZ] and these suburbs, which hold (as mentioned earlier) so many mosques; it is striking that although

<sup>23</sup> Cf. H. DZIECHCIŃSKA, *O staropolskich dziennikach...*, p. 53.

<sup>24</sup> A. NIEWIARA, *Wyobrażenia o narodach...*, p. 25.

there is not much in the new city, there is a lot to see everywhere else in the city and in the suburbs, all around, as far as the eye can see.

However, what seems most pertinent is the city's fortification, which is illustrated in numerous contexts, e.g. *O tym mieście o obronie jego, która jest wielka i strzelbą, i municją, że wiele ich pisze, ja zaniecham* (MR 212) [*Since so many have written about this city, its defense, which is mighty with guns and ammo, I shan't*]. In the analyzed diaries, the semiotic role of the city as a fortress is also established by the walls, e.g.

Z rumu znać, że miasto [Jerycho – RZ] to było wielkie, okrągłe, bo i teraz widzieć około, jako grobla, kędy mury się obaliły; a gdzie były wieże (które znać barzo gęsto), tam gromada większa rumu jako pagórek okrągły (MR 99).

The ruins suggest that the city [of Jericho – RZ] was huge and round, and even now if you look around, you can see how the walls collapsed like a levee; and where towers used to be (of which there were many), a larger pile of ruins forms a round hill;

the city gate, e.g.

przyjchaliśmy do Hieruzalem, gdzie wedle obyczaju u bramy Piscium stanęliśmy, a wtem niektórzy janczarowie, przez bramę Damascenam wjachwaszy, dali znać, że pielgrzymowie przyjchali (MR 49).

we arrived at Jerusalem, where as custom dictates, we stopped at the Fish Gate, when some Janissaries, having passed the Damascus Gate, gave a signal that the pilgrims had arrived,

Wchodząc w miasto Jerozolimę od wschodniej strony, z staradawna były rozne bramy, z których jedna znaczniejsza, to jest z góry Oliwnej do kościoła Salomonowego idąc, to jest Złota Brama, którą Pan do miasta w Niedzielę Kwietną wszedł z wielką ozdobą, do której był most sklepiasty przez przekop (AP 11).

Entering the city of Jerusalem from the east, there once were a number of gates, of which one was most significant, that is, coming from the Mount of Olives towards Solomon's Temple was the Golden Gate, which the Lord passed through with great adornment into the city on Palm Sunday, and which had a vaulted bridge over the dike;

or other ruins, e.g. *Tam teraz nic inszego nie masz, tylko mur pusty na cztery granie bez połapu i nakrycia* (AP 8) [*Now there is nothing there, only an empty four-ridge wall with no ceiling nor cover*].

The diarists also pay attention to how an agglomeration is situated, e.g. *Święte Jeruzalem siedzi na wysokiej górze naświętszej Syjonie, i idzie nieco na dół z góry od Wieczornika połudziennego* (AP 10) [*Holy Jerusalem sits atop the tall and holiest Mount Zion, and slopes downward a little from the southern Cenacle*], *miasto*

*egipskie, leży barzo cudnie nad Nilem i jest z pół mile dobre na dłużą* (MR 136) [*the Egyptian city is located beautifully by the Nile and must be half a mile long*]. The description of the location typically includes rather detailed information about the city's size, distance or population, e.g. *pierwsze miasto egipskie, leży barzo cudnie nad Nilem i jest z pół mile dobre na dłużą* (MR 136) [*the first Egyptian city is located beautifully by the Nile and must be half a mile long*],

to nowe miasto ma trzydzieści tysięcy domów, a z przedmieściami i starym miastem i Bulach że by miało być o dwakroć sto tysięcy, ulic szesnaście tysięcy, kościołów albo moschei z barzo wysokimi wieżami i cudnych [...] (MR 143).

this new city has thirty thousand houses, and with suburbs and the old city and Bulac it would be twice a hundred thousand, sixteen thousand streets, temples or mosques with very tall spires and marvelous [...].

The use of an extensive system of measures and weights is noteworthy because it indicates the degree of civilization of a Renaissance man<sup>25</sup>.

In the 16<sup>th</sup>-century diaries, particularly in Radziwiłł's vast text, the city can be considered in the context of a structural metaphor. In this role, it appears as a receptacle densely filled with buildings and covered with a road network. Efficient transportation was ensured by a more or less developed system of streets, tracts and paths, e.g.

Prawdziwie piszą o tym mieście [Kairze – RZ], że z wielką trudnością przez ulice się przecisnąć dla wielkości ludzi, którzy tak pieszo jako i na koniach jadą, a na mulicach jeżdżą (MR 159).

It is true what they write about this city [of Cairo – RZ] that it takes great effort for swarms of people to move down the streets, whether they travel on foot, by horse or mule,

Od strony zachodniej do kościoła idąc [w Jeruzolimie – RZ], jest ulica szeroka, mając z wierzchu sklepienie, które chodzą do kościoła, i zowią to Bramą Piękną (AP 11–12).

Coming from the west towards the temple [in Jerusalem – RZ], there is a wide paved street that takes you to the temple and is called the Beautiful Gate.

The urban squares also played an important role in organizing the tissue of the agglomerations visited by the author, e.g.

Widzieć też w pośrodku placu przed kościołem drzewo oliwne [w Jeruzolimie – RZ]; na tym miejscu (tak dzierżą) był ogień złożony, przy którym św. Piotr zaprzął się Pana Chrystusa (MR 61).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. H. DZIECHCIŃSKA, *O staropolskich dziennikach podróży...*, p. 50.

In the middle of the square opposite the temple, you can see an olive tree [in Jerusalem – RZ]; in this place (so they claim) a fire was laid by which St. Peter denied Lord Jesus Christ;

and bridges, which improved mobility around the urbanized space, e.g. *Od tego mostu poczyna się już Galilea, gdzie jeszcze trochę na początku skolisto* (MR 44) [*From this bridge on starts Galilea, which is still a little rocky at first*].

The markets were another vital point on the city map, and are rather frequently mentioned by Sierotka, e.g.

Był też wtenczas w Tripoli jakoby kiermasz przed miastem, gdzie ustawicznie Turków i Murzynów moc bywało; mieli jakieś ćwiczenia, skacząc, ale nic nie grzeszy. Drudzy jeno owoce osobne przedawali, bo tam tego aż nazbyt (MR 129).

At that time, there was a type of bazaar outside the city, always frequented by throngs of Turks and Blacks; they did some exercises, jumping but it was no good. Others only sold unusual fruits because it is abundant there.

According to researchers, noticing the economical aspects that stimulated the growth of an agglomeration is a significant novelty in the perception of urban organisms by the contemporary authors compared to the medieval period. On a wider scale, the commercial life in the city had not been noticed until the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>26</sup>. Hence, in this area, Sierotka appears as an innovative author, who managed to somewhat depart from the conventionalized templates dictated by the textbooks for describing urban spaces, which heavily concentrated on the architectural layout.

However, any comments Radziwiłł made about the cities' sacral and secular architecture were strongly formulaic. The role of an agglomeration seen through the lens of the metaphor where a city is a receptacle densely filled with buildings is visible in numerous contexts featuring temples important for various faiths, monasteries, houses of worship and burial sites, e.g. [...] *po prawej stronie jest kościół bardzo cudny Świętej Anny, matki Maryjej, matki Pana Jezusowej* (AP 12) [*on the right side, there is a most wonderful Church of Saint Anna, the Mother of Mary, Lord Jesus' Mother*], *W Betlejem jest kościół wielki Panny Maryjej, przy tym kościele klasztor, który trzymają mniszki z Hieruzalem* (JG 21) [*In Bethlehem, there is a great Church of Mother Mary, and a cloister with nuns from Jerusalem*], *Drugiego dnia byłem w klasztorze Św. Heliasza zakonu św. Franciszka, tamże mszej wysłuchawszy* (MR 19) [*On the second day, I went to St. Helius monastery, the order of St. Francis, where I listened to a mass*], *Widzieliśmy też groby królów francuskich [...] którzy Ziemię Świętą wzięli, a samo Hieruzalem 39 dnia po oblężeniu roku 1098 [...]. Są jeszcze i inszych pięć albo sześć grobów, na jedenże kształt wszystkie, ale z trudnością czytane być mogą dla dawności czasu* (MR 57) [*We also saw the graves of the French*

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 46.

kings [...] who took the Holy Land and Jerusalem itself on the 39<sup>th</sup> day of the siege in 1098 [...]. There are five or six other graves, all the same shape, but difficult to read due to their ancientness].

Between the spheres of *sacrum* and *profanum*, in his diary, Radziwiłł mentions artwork located within the city space, e.g. *Niedaleko przed bramą w lewo na wysokiej górze jest kolumna Pompei, rzecz i cudna i dziwna* (MR 182) [*Near the gate, to the left, on a high mountain, there is Pompey's Pillar, both beautiful and strange*].

As far as the secular architecture goes, the 16<sup>th</sup>-century authors took notice of public use buildings (e.g. hospitals, guest houses, fountains), e.g.

Oględaliśmy szpital [w Damaszku – RZ], który Soliman, cesarz, zbudował wielkim kosztem, i dom gościnny, gdzie pielgrzymy, co do Mechy i stamtąd chodzą, przyjmują i strawią darmo przez trzy dni (MR 36).

We visited the hospital [in Damascus – RZ] built by Emperor Soliman at great expense and a guest house, where pilgrims traveling to Mecca can lodge for free for three days.

Radziwiłł, observing the unfamiliar reality from the point of view of a proprietor, also included in his diary comments from the area of architectural techniques, e.g.

Zupełnie cały [dom – RZ], sionka przy nim wąska, a sama salka na dole z ośm łokiet i wszcz, i wzdłuż, ale nie barzo jasnal z sionki wschodek na górę, gdzie jest altana, jako tam budują domy w tych krajach, bo dachów nie mają (MR 76).

An entire [house – RZ], with a narrow hallway, the room downstairs eight by eight ells, but without much light, from the hallway a step up to an arbor, because that is how they build houses in these countries, with no roofs.

In the analyzed texts, the lexemes *castle* and *palace* appear frequently, which stems from the presence of this type of secular architecture in old cities, e.g. *W nowym mieście [w Kairze – RZ] jest jednak barzo wiele pałaców cudnych i wielkim kosztem budowanych [...]* (MR 143) [*In the New City [of Cairo – RZ], there nevertheless is an abundance of magnificent palaces built at great expense [...]*].

An important novelty, compared to conventional descriptions dictated by school textbooks of rhetoric, was the fact that the diarists noticed the residents of the agglomerations and their living conditions. The role of a city as a place for living was presented in a variety of contexts, e.g.

Bo choć Damaszek miasto barzo ludne, wielkie (na dłużą kładą go dwie mili) i cudne, jednakże od morza daleko leży, a kupcy z Europy barzo rzadko tam bywają. Lud pospolity dziwnie chrześcijanom nie sprzyja, przeto janczarowie wzięli nas między się, żeśmy przy koniach szli. Skoro nas gmin obaczył, poczęli krzyzczyć, gwizdać, a zwłaszcza chłopięta, że się ze wszystkich ulic ludzie sypali, chcąc nas widzieć. A gdyśmy już przyszli między kramy, w ludniejsze ulice, ciskali za nami i plwali na nas, i, by nas byli janczarowie nie bronili, rozszarpaliby nas byli (MR 34).

Damascus is a very populous city, huge (two-miles long) and wonderful, but it is far away from the sea, and the merchants from Europe rarely visit it. The common people are strangely hostile to Christians, hence the Janissaries took us among themselves so we walked by their horses. Once the folk saw us, they began to shout, whistle, especially young boys, so throngs of people poured in from all streets, throwing things at us and spitting, and if the Janissaries had not protected us, they would have torn us to pieces.

Radziwiłł was interested in such aspects related to city life as: the water system, air quality, preparing meals, nutrition, clothing, etc., e.g.

Z tych podziemnych pałaców teraz wiele jest urobionych cystern, w których wodę chowają Nilową, która przez kanał do miasta idzie. [...] Powietrze tam, począwszy od księżyca maja aż do pierwszego dżdżu w jesieni (bo w Aleksandrii bywa deszcz [...]) zawsze złe i prawie jako morowe (MR 187).

The underground palaces now make for cisterns where the Nile water is stored and distributed to the city through a canal [...] The air there, starting with the May moon to the first autumn rains (because Alexandria can have rain [...] is always bad and almost putrid.

The cities visited by the diarists appear as a conglomerate of nations, faiths and tribes, e.g.

Zatem Turcy otwierać kościół przyszli ku południowi, a myśmy też wyszli tak, jakośmy weszli, z zakonnikami i z drugimi, którzy ci to są: gdy pielgrzymowie wchodzą, tedy z nimi tamci chrześcijanie, którzy w Hieruzalem mieszkają wszystkich nacji, wcisną się, bo iż tam obecni, tedy dla nich nie otwierają kościoła (MR 58).

Hence, the Turks came to open the church around noon, and we entered as if we had arrived with the monks and the others who were: when pilgrims enter, those Christians of all nations living in Jerusalem wedge themselves in, because otherwise, they would not open the church for them.

The way these agglomerations' residents were perceived, how they lived and what relationships they had were marked by the author's viewpoint of a Christian, European and Pole. In this area, the diarists (Radziwiłł and Goryński) fell prey to stereotypes which were derived from the so-called imagination clichés accompanying an evaluative stage of categorizing certain nations<sup>27</sup>. The result was a pejorative view of the Turks, Arabs or Blacks, e.g. *zbójce Arabowie* (MR 143) [*rouge Arabs*].

The city's administrative body along with its interior organization play a crucial role in Radziwiłł's text, e.g. *Basza tam [w Kairze – RZ] jest starszym nad wszystkim królestwem* (MR 143) [*There [in Cairo – RZ] a pasha is the most superior authority*].

<sup>27</sup> A. NIEWIARA, *Wyobrażenia o narodach...*, p. 32.

The repertoire of linguistic means designed to create a city was somewhat dictated by the descriptive formula, which required that all agglomerations, despite their negative aspects, should be evaluated positively. Therefore, the city and its parts were usually pronounced as *cudne*, (*na*)*przedniejsze*<sup>28</sup> and accompanied by phrases indicating its size, e.g. *Miasto Betlejem jest napředniejsze* (AP 4) [*The city of Bethlehem is the finest*], *Nazajutrz mieliśmy trochę wiatru przeciwnego, jednak z wieczorem przyłynęliśmy do miasta Fua, które na brzegu leży; nie barzo wielkie, ale cudne* (MR 180) [*The next day we had some headwind, however, in the evening, we arrived at the city of Fua, which is located at the shore; not too big but marvelous*], *Przyjchaliśmy do Ramy [...] Znać, że miasto było wielkie i cudne, ale wszystko zburzone* (MR 120) [*We arrived at Rama [...] Visibly, the city used to be huge and marvelous, but now is all in ruins*], *Sachar miasto przedniejsze w Samarii* (MR 45) [*Sychar, one of Samaria's finest cities*]. Natural conditions of the cities' location were also positively evaluated, e.g. *miasto egipskie, leży barzo cudnie nad Nilem* (MR 136) [*the Egyptian city is located beautifully by the Nile*],

Z tej góry Damaszek widzieć dobrze, bo pod nią leży miasto, barzo długie, w cudnej i żywej wszelakimi owocami równinie (MR 34).

This mount offers a good view of Damascus, because there is a city underneath it, very long and nestled in a marvelous plain fertile with all types of fruits.

As a matter of fact, the adjective *cudny* is employed in reference to numerous other elements of the urban space, e.g.

Oględywałem obeliscum, który jest w mieście z kamienia czerwonego porphyte, granowity; wszędzie characteres hieroglyphici na nim są wykowane. Rzecz cudna i wysoka (MR 186).

I admired an obelisk which is in the city, made of red porphyry, angular; hieroglyphical characters chiseled all over it. A marvelous and tall thing.

The pool of adjectival modifiers describing individual cities in the diaries is rather limited and formulaic. Other adjectives that evaluated the agglomerations positively include *slawne*, *barzo obronne* [*famous, well-fortified*], e.g.

przyjchalem do Kanei, olim Cydonia, jeszcze nim bramę otworzono [...]. oględywałem miasto (przez wiele dni, bom tam dziewięć niedziel mieszkał). Jest barzo obronne i z portem (MR 215).

<sup>28</sup> *Cudny* 'very beautiful; perfect, extraordinary, exquisite; fine'; a) 'beautiful in its physical appearance'; b) 'perfect, fine, of superior quality; nice, pleasant'. Cf. *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku...* In reference to the entry *przedni*, in the 5<sup>th</sup> place, *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku...* notes the meaning 'distinguishing itself from others belonging to the same group, outstanding, superior in some respect'. These adjectives were often used in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Polish language in a variety of contexts, regardless of their stylistic classification.

I had arrived at Kanea, formerly Cydonia, even before they opened the gates [...]. I examined the city (for many days because I stayed there for nine Sundays). It is well-fortified and has a port.

Modifiers with a negative emotional charge were used rarely and only in reference to certain living conditions in the city or some of its integral parts, e.g. *A iż powietrze w mieście [Aleksandrii – RZ] barzo złe lecie* (MR 183) [*And since in the city [of Alexandria – RZ] the air is very bad*].

To recapitulate, I would like to note the following facts. On the one hand, undoubtedly, the image of the city in the analyzed diaries was rather strongly influenced by the traditions of Antiquity, which was refreshed and sustained in the epoch of the Renaissance. This explains such roles of city centers as: a fortified walled-in space; an area of civilizational development juxtaposed with nature; a receptacle densely filled with secular and sacral buildings, covered with a road network and a grid of key points (fountains, monuments); and finally, an administrative structure. To illustrate the aforementioned aspects of how a 16<sup>th</sup>-century city operated, the authors employed a rather poor range of linguistic means: especially, repetitive adjectives, similes with references to places and phenomena known from the familiar European, and often Polish, reality. On the other hand, there are also attempts at departing from the formula and creating a contemporary image of the city. These are particularly visible in Radziwiłł's vast diary. The following roles of a city should be considered as products of the author's spontaneous reaction to encountering the unknown: an area dependent on the geographical and natural conditions (precisely measured and counted), a commercial and economic territory, a more or less hostile living location, a space where cultures and nations met.

The aspects of urban agglomerations that draw from an innovative worldview are largely the consequence of overlap of several forms of the author's anthropocentric viewpoint (of a proprietor, nobleman, Christian, European and Pole)<sup>29</sup>.

*Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi*

<sup>29</sup> It is worth contrasting the comments on the image of the city in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century diary literature with the observations about the vision of the city in later diaries (cf. E. UMIŃSKA-TYTOŃ, *Miasto widziane z okien dylizansu (na podstawie Itinerarium Jakuba Lanhausa z lat 1768–1769)*, [in:] *Zielonogórskie Seminarium Językoznawcze 2019. Dyskursy o przeszłości. Dyskursy w przeszłości*, ed. M. HAWRYSZ, M. JURWICZ-NOWAK, I. KOTLARSKA, Zielona Góra 2020, p. 211–221).

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**Abstract.** The article tries to describe the linguistic creation of a city in Polish 16<sup>th</sup>-century diaries from journeys to the Holy Land. During long trips, the authors visited many exotic, for the Polish traveller, cities and towns to whom they devoted a lot of space in their diaries. The analysis is based on findings of theory of linguistic image of a world and on the concept of linguistic creation and semiotic role. The author outlines the set of linguistic means used by the diarists to indicate various roles. He concludes that the image of a city presented in the analysed texts oscillates between traditional frame that has its source in the classical antiquity and modern perspective significant for the man of the Renaissance.

**Keywords:** city, language creation, Polish diaries, XVI century, Holy Land

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# **BOOK REVIEWS**





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**МАЯ ПЕТРОВА-ТАНЕВА, *Помощница на царете: св. императрица Теофана в южнославянската традиция* [МАЈА ПЕТРОВА-ТАНЕВА, *Supporter to the Tsars: Saint Empress Theophano in the South Slavic Tradition*],  
Издателски център Боян Пенев, София 2018, pp. 335.**

I can say without any doubt that the appearance of Maya Petrova-Taneva's book is an event in Bulgarian mediaeval studies, not only in literary and hagiographic fields, but also in areas related to pursuing political ideology and legitimizing power through holiness. It is a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the veneration of a saint, who not only was the wife of one of the most remarkable Roman *basileis*, but through the presence of her relics in Tărnovgrade has attracted the attention of probably the most remarkable figure of 14<sup>th</sup> century Bulgaria – Patriarch Euthymius – and enters the pantheon of the Second Bulgarian Empire as an “supporter to the tsars”. The book is constructed in a classical way: the study of the life of Empress Theophano preceded the presentation of her worship in the Empire, and then in Bulgaria and Serbia, after which the author proceeded to present the sources for the cult (first prologues, then *Vita* of the deacon Nicholas and the service of St. Patriarch Euthymius of Tărnovgrade) and even some of the later manifestations of the cult were not ignored. The conclusion presents the results of the research, followed by an appendix that is no less valuable than the study itself because presenting the sources, on which it is based.

Without trying to retell the book and thus deprive the future reader of the pleasure of first contact with it, I shall present some essential elements of this research. The extensive introduction is a detailed overview of the sources and historiography. This is by no means a simple enumeration, but an analytical representation of both the texts on which the study is based

and its precursors. Among other things, this section is also an important tool to use in new investigation and understanding the book itself. The first chapter is devoted to the life of the Empress and to a survey of her veneration in the Empire. The life and relations in the imperial court could always be of interest, but especially in some of the more delicate cases that have both political and religious implications. Such is our case, which presents fluctuating moments of sorrow and God's intercession. The narration strictly follows the sources and refers to the relevant literature on the topic. The second part of the chapter presents the Byzantine sources for understanding the veneration of St. Theophano: The Anonymous Life, that of Patriarch Euthymius of Constantinople, the discourse for Empress Theophano by Nicephorus Gregoras, and the Greek service for her. The texts are examined individually and in context so that we can best understand the worship of this remarkable woman.

The second chapter is devoted to the cult of St. Theophano in Bulgaria and Serbia. Here we are facing a later and completely different development. While in the 10<sup>th</sup> century's Empire it was maintained and held by the authorities with an aim to consolidating the Macedonian dynasty, among the Orthodox southern Slavs, worship was revived on a new basis in order to acquire its own meaning and in its own way to achieve the desired result in strengthening power and society. The beginning is undoubtedly related to a *translatio* of Saint Theophano's relics in Tărnovgrade, but we do not know the facts in detail. It is important to

us that this is a continuation of a practice that began at the dawn of the Second Empire and involved the construction of a special pantheon of intercessors of power. The continuation of worship in Vidin and Belgrade is also related to the presence of the relics of St. Theophano in the two capitals and to the efforts of their rulers to collect holiness in their cities. We are interested in the analysis that the author makes of the functioning of the cult and the rise of its political significance among the Slavs, combined with the possible weakening of its importance in Byzantium, which took place gradually after the end of the Macedonian dynasty. This is one of the main messages of the monographic work.

The following chapters focus on exploring the Slavic sources for the worship of St. Theophano. Chapter 3 presents the synaxary readings: The Prologue *Vita*, the Panegyric discourse of the Bdin Miscellany and so forth. They are presented with the history of the text and the copies, text-critical analysis, comparisons with Greek and other Slavic texts. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the Life of the Saint Empress by Deacon Nicholas, based on its copies in Balkan Cyrillic manuscripts. We find a review of the copies, accompanied by a table of comparisons between them. The Greek prototype, its author and sources were explored, again accompanied by comparative tables presenting borrowings and additions from other texts. Particular attention was paid to the South Slavic translations of the *Vita*, classified by Maya Petrova-Taneva as A and B.

The participation of Patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovgrade in the preparation of the texts for the worship of the Holy Empress Theophano is undoubtedly a remarkable fact from the religious, cultural and literary history of the Bulgarian 14<sup>th</sup> century. The involvement of such a figure in the veneration testifies for the importance given to him in Second Bulgarian Empire. St. Euthymius is central figure not only for the religious but also to the political life of the country, as the creator of a special pantheon of protectors of the tsar and the people at this difficult time. He is the author of St. Theophano's divine service, to which chapter 5 of the book is dedicated, and possibly of a prayer canon of the saint

and maybe translator of *Vita* by Deacon Nicholas. It provides the reader with an extremely interesting analysis and comparison of the text of the service with other works, which not only show interdependencies, but also make it possible to draw parallels with similar cults and their functioning accordingly. A good example of this is the comparison with the veneration of St. Paraskeva-Petka and some elements of the Our Lady's City-protection cult. The last chapter 6 is devoted to the later developments of the cult of St. Theophano in the Balkans. The conclusion presents and summarizes the results achieved in the development of worship of the Holy Empress, highlighting and arranging the conclusions, giving even greater clarity to the presentation.

At the beginning I noted that I consider the appearance of Maya Petrova-Taneva's book a remarkable event in Bulgarian mediaeval studies. I believe that this review confirms my words, but I would also like to add that the book not only reaches interesting and important conclusions, but also gives prospects for further research. After the last chapter of the book there is an annex with texts, some of which published for the first time. This is a significant contribution to the hagiographical studies related to the veneration of St. Theophano: the two synaxary *Vitae* and the two translations of the *Vita* of the Holy Empress by Deacon Nicholas, whose Greek prototype has not yet been discovered, as well as the sixth marial miracle with Emperor Leon VI the Wise from the collection of the Our Lady's Miracles by Agapius Landos and several apocryphal prayers to women-saints, including St. Theophano. In fact, the office and the prayer canon to the saint empress were not included, since they were used by other editions and their reissue was not among the tasks of the author. The texts annexed to the study, and especially The *Vita* of Deacon Nicholas with his two available translations, make the book an indispensable tool for all who will work in the field of medieval Slavic as well as Byzantine hagiography.

I began this brief review by saying that the appearance of Maya Petrova-Taneva's book on the veneration of the Holy Empress Theophano

in the Empire and among the Southern Slavs was an event in Bulgarian mediaeval studies. I think the suggested observations completely confirm them. However, what is most important for a study is not the accomplished text, but the prospects for future research that it opens. I believe that in this case we have every reason to see them, and some to continue on the right path.

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**ПЛАМЕН ПАВЛОВ, *Забравеното Средновековие* [PLAMEN PAVLOV, *The Forgotten Middle Ages*], Българска История, София 2019, pp. 303.**

Last year, Plamen Pavlov – an outstanding Bulgarian researcher and promoter of knowledge about medieval (but not only) Bulgaria<sup>1</sup>, for years associated with the University of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Veliko Tŕrnovo – published a book entitled *Забравеното Средновековие* [*The Forgotten Middle Ages*], the purpose of which was to familiarize a wide range of readers with less known issues related to the Bulgarian Middle Ages. The book consists of twenty-five texts. Some of them had already been published (but have been reviewed and supplemented by the author); others have “premiered” in the discussed book.

*The Forgotten Middle Ages* opens with the text *Кубер и „двойното начало” на средно-*

*вековна България* [*Kuber and the “double beginning” of medieval Bulgaria*] (p. 11–19). It is devoted to the role of the so-called Kuber’s Bulgaria (located in Macedonia), little known to the average reader, in the process of establishing the medieval Bulgarian state.

The protagonist of the next text *Кан Тервел и неговите съвременници* [*Khan Tervel and his contemporaries*] (p. 20–28) is Khan Tervel (700–720), successor of Asparuh (the founder of Danubian Bulgaria). The author also reflects on the rulers (of Byzantium, the Arabs, Khazars) as well as leaders with whom Tervel came into contact (especially during the Arabs’ siege of Constantinople in the years 717–718). Pavlov claims that Tervel deserves a prominent place in the pantheon of European heroes who defended Europe against the Arabs.

In the text *Кървавото лято на 811 година* [*The Bloody Summer of 811*] (p. 29–37), Pavlov outlines the achievements and figure of Khan Krum (802/803–814), paying particular attention to his victory in 811 over the Byzantine armed forces, commanded by Emperor Nicephorus I. He concludes by saying that due to his achievements and role in the history of medieval Bulgaria, Krum should bear the nickname “The Great”.

The article *Българската власт отвъд Тимок и Морава (краят на VII – средата на IX в.)* [*The Bulgarian power beyond the Timok and Morava (the late 7<sup>th</sup> – the mid-9<sup>th</sup> centuries)*] (p. 38–48) was devoted to the history of the Bulgarian presence on Serbian lands in the period between the late 7<sup>th</sup> and the mid-9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>1</sup> P. Pavlov is the author of numerous publications on the Bulgarian Middle Ages, but not only. The bibliography of his works includes several hundred items; the list of his works published up to 2019 – С. ГЕОРГИЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, *Списък на трудовете на Професор доктор Пламен Христов Павлов*, [in:] *Владетел, държава и църква на Балканите през Средновековието. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. д-р Пламен Павлов*, р. 1, ed. Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2020 [= АММТ, 1], р. 26–80. For instance: П. ПАВЛОВ, *Княз Пресиан II (последният владетел на Първото българско царство и претендент за византийския престол)*, Стара Загора 1993; ИДЕМ, *Залезът на Първото българско царство (1015–1018)*, София 1999; ИДЕМ, *Българското средновековие. Познато и непознато. Страници от политическата и културната история на България, VII–XV век*, Велико Търново 2008; ИДЕМ, *Векът на цар Самуил*, София 2014; ИДЕМ, И. ТЮНЮНДЖИЕВ, *Османските завоевания и „Държавата на Духа”*, Велико Търново 2017.

The next text, mysteriously entitled „Осми-  
ят” от седмочислениците [*The “eighth” of the  
Seven Holy Men*] (p. 49–58) covers the activities  
of Boris-Michael, who decided to introduce  
Bulgaria into the circle of Christian states. Ac-  
cording to Pavlov, his achievements in the reli-  
gious sphere, including the support for the disci-  
ples of Saints Constantine-Cyril and Methodius,  
justifies calling him the eighth of the Seven Holy  
Men (this term is used in reference to the disci-  
ples of the Solun Brothers).

The text *Цар Симеон Велики и „исто-  
рията на древните”* [*Tsar Simeon the Great  
and the “ancient history”*] (p. 59–69) is devo-  
ted to the political ideology promoted by Tsar  
Simeon I the Great, according to which the  
Bulgarians become “the chosen people” and Si-  
meon – the new Moses.

In the article *Последните дни на цар Са-  
муил* [*The final days of Tsar Samuel*] (p. 70–78),  
Pavlov analyzes the source material on the cir-  
cumstances of the death of Tsar Samuel. He  
indicates, e.g. that since Samuel was a promi-  
nent figure across the globe at that time, and his  
death was recorded in sources of various pro-  
venance. The Bulgarian scholar concludes his  
arguments with a postulate that the remains of  
Samuel – discovered in Prespa (in the Church  
of St. Achilles) by the Greek scholar Nikolaos  
K. Moutzopoulos, and not transferred to Bul-  
garia – should be placed in the Hagia Sophia  
Church in Sofia-Serdica, which was probably  
his birthplace.

*Владимировият кръст – неизвестна ре-  
ликва от времето на цар Самуил и неговите  
наследници* [*Vladimir’s cross – the unknown re-  
lic from the time of Tsar Samuel and his succes-  
sors*] (p. 79–84) concerns the fate of the cross,  
which John Vladimir (the prince of Duklja) was  
said to have received from the Bulgarian ruler,  
and which he yielded when he died in Prespa  
at the order of Tsar Ivan Vladislav. Currently,  
this cross is believed to be in the hands of the  
Andrović family and used during religious cer-  
emonies in one of the churches near Bar. Due  
to the importance of this relic, Pavlov calls for  
further research by Bulgarian and Montenegrin  
scholars to verify whether the cross owned by  
the Androvićs is indeed Vladimir’s cross.

In order to present Plamen Pavlov’s schol-  
arly argumentation, we will devote a little more  
space to characterize the next two, important  
texts. The first of them: *Пресиан II – последни-  
ят владетел на Първото българско царство  
(1018 г.)* [*Presian II – the last ruler of the First  
Bulgarian Empire (1018)*] (p. 85–97) is a sum-  
mary of completely novel research by Plamen  
Pavlov, related to the collapse of the First Bul-  
garian State<sup>2</sup>. It was dedicated to the last ruler  
of this political creation (this fact has been prov-  
en by Pavlov), namely Presian II (1018), the  
eldest son of Tsar Ivan Vladislav (1015–1018),  
so far considered to be the last ruler in early  
medieval Bulgaria. Aware of the scarce and suc-  
cinct references to Presian in the sources of the  
era, the Bulgarian scholar convincingly recon-  
structs the political life of this ruler. He points  
to the significance of the name he received from  
his father, which is a reference to one of the ear-  
lier predecessors on the Bulgarian throne, from  
the period before the official Christianization  
of Bulgaria, that is, Khan Presian (836–852).  
Pavlov sees this as evidence of dynastic ties  
between the Komitopouloi and the family of  
Krum himself, and perhaps also a suggestion on  
the part of Ivan Vladislav at the seniority of the  
Aaron family, from which he came, over that  
of Samuel. In addition, the reference to Khan  
Presian, during whose time the borders of the  
Bulgarian state reached the Adriatic Sea and  
the vicinity of Thessalonica, could have had  
a symbolic meaning in the context of the strug-  
gle with Byzantium in the second decade of the  
11<sup>th</sup> century. The author points to the moment  
when the Byzantine-Bulgarian war ended, which  
is evidenced by the actions of the Byzantines, as  
an important element of proving the tsarist ti-  
tle of Presian II. The military stand, from which  
Emperor Basil II (976–1025) himself report-  
edly spoke to his victorious soldiers and de-  
feated enemies (a custom cultivated since the  
times of the Roman Republic), was ordered by  
the *basileus* to be brought out only after Pre-  
sian had surrendered. The latter, along with  
his younger brothers, Alusian and Aaron, had  
resisted the imperial army by taking refuge on

<sup>2</sup> П. ПАВЛОВ, *Княз Пресиан II...; ИДЕМ, Залезът...*

Mount Tomor. The defeated Bulgarian tsar received the high title of a *magister*<sup>3</sup>. Additionally, he and the rest of the ruling family and representatives of the Bulgarian nobility were included in the Byzantine aristocracy. In the past, another Bulgarian ruler, Boris II (969–971), had been dethroned and treated in the same way by Emperor John I Tzimisces (969–976). The hypothesis of the Bulgarian historian regarding Presian's tsarism is also confirmed by one of the miniatures in the so-called Venetian Psalter of Basil II, in which the Bulgarian was depicted dressed in the robes similar to those worn by the *basileus* and is clearly the most important figure among the eight representatives of the Bulgarian aristocracy displayed there. Pavlov follows Presian's further career, now as a Byzantine *magister* and strategist in Asia Minor, during which he twice participated in the coups against the reign of Constantine VIII (1025–1028) in 1026, and Roman III (1028–1034) in 1030 (according to Pavlov, and contrary to the popular belief that it happened in 1029). Importantly, the researcher opts for the interpretation in which the driving force behind Presian's actions was not the personal desire to seize the Byzantine throne as part of internal struggles within the East Roman aristocracy (as viewed, for instance, by a scholar of the same renown, Vassil N. Zlatarski), but the wish to restore Bulgarian statehood, the liberation of the Bulgarians from the Byzantine yoke, or the creation of a common Byzantine-Slavic state. This view is in line with a tendency noticeable in more recent studies by Bulgarian historians (Pavlov was the one who set its course) on the rebellions of the Bulgarian nobility within the Byzantine Empire<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> On the system of offices and titles in the Byzantine state hierarchy at the time, see, e.g. N. KANEV, *Byzantine Rank Hierarchy in the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, SCer 8, 2018, p. 153–165; ИДЕМ, *Emperor Basil II and the Awarding of Byzantine Honorific Titles to Bulgarians in the Course of the Conquest of Bulgaria (976–1018)*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 455–473.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. P.C. ЙОРДАНОВ, *Заговорът на Елемаг и Гавра през 1019 г.*, [in:] *Хиляда години от битката при Беласица и от смъртта на цар Самуил (1014–2014)*, ed. V. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2015, p. 122–128.

The final accent of his deliberations concerns the death of the former Bulgarian tsar. Pavlov supports the version according to which the Bulgarian spent the last years of his life in Hungary (a view based on a mention of his name in an inscription discovered during archaeological research of the medieval rotunda in the city of Michalovce, Slovakia).

The second of the more extensively presented texts, *Загадката Петър Делян* [*The mysterious Peter Delyan*] (p. 98–105) was devoted to the leader of the greatest Bulgarian uprising against Byzantine power in 1040–1041. Pavlov follows the fate of the titular Peter from the moment he appeared in Byzantine sources until the final collapse of his endeavor, emphasizing the lack of knowledge about the actual origin and portrait of this representative of the Bulgarian aristocracy. The researcher presents Peter Delyan as a charismatic man, skilled organizer, and expert in military matters, although, according to the author, not a real descendant of the Komitopouloi family – the son of Gabriel Radomir and the grandson of Tsar Samuel. There are two new points to note in the reflections of the Bulgarian historian: a) the assumption (as stated by the archaeologist Ivan Petrinski) that Peter Delyan established a temporary capital of a renewed Bulgarian state – restored, at least, from a Bulgarian perspective – in Ostrovo (today the city of Arnissa in Greece) near Thessalonica, the second most important Byzantine metropolis in the Balkans, after the capital Constantinople; b) an indication that the nickname Delyan, which the Byzantine author Michael Psellos had derived from the Greek *dolianos*, meaning “crafty”, “cunning”, “deceptive”, actually comes from the Old Bulgarian verb *odoleti*, meaning “I win”, so the leader of the uprising would have the nickname corresponding to the Latin *Victor* – “The Winner”.

The next two texts *Бунтът на граничаря Нестор* [*The rebellion of the border guard Nestor*] (p. 105–113) and *Травъл и въстанието на павликяните (1084–1086)* [*Traullos and the Paulician Uprising (1084–1086)*] (p. 114–123) discuss the leaders of the rebellions that broke out in the Bulgarian lands in the 1070s and 1080s. They were led by the people who had

been in the Byzantine service before the revolt. Despite their Bulgarian origin, they did not choose to proclaim themselves as the tsars of Bulgaria and take up the fight to restore Bulgarian statehood.

In the text *Методите на „психологическата война“ във въстанието на Петър и Асен* [*The methods of psychological warfare in the Uprising of Peter and Asen*] (p. 124–134), Pavlov examines the methods applied by Theodore-Peter and Asen during the uprising against the Byzantines<sup>5</sup>. The author illustrates that in order to achieve their goals, they were able to skillfully use the social sentiments, national and psychological features, ideas, aspirations and fears of the medieval Bulgarians.

In the text *Към психологическия портрет на цар Калоян (1197–1207) и неговата политика* [*On the psychological portrait of Tsar Kaloyan and his politics*] (p. 135–145), Pavlov characterizes Kaloyan as having relatively extensive knowledge of Bulgarian history and knowledge of political partners, opponents and foes. He applied this knowledge expertly to implement his ambitious, imperial policies.

The next text *Военните съюзници на Второто българско царство* [*The military allies of the Second Bulgarian Empire*] (p. 146–163) presents the allies sought out by the rulers of the Second Bulgarian Empire. P. Pavlov elaborates in particular on the cooperation between the Bulgarians and the Cumans.

In the article *Иван Асен II „в страната на русите“* [*Ivan Asen II “in the land of the Rus”*] (p. 164–174), the author challenges the view that Ivan Asen II (and his younger brother Alexander) had been staying in the Principality of Galicia before taking up the fight for the Bulgarian throne against Boril. According to the researcher from Târnovo, the sons of Asen I had stayed in Kiev.

<sup>5</sup> See also: К. МАРИНОВ, *Бунтовният Хемус. Масивът като база за нападения и убежище по време на първите Асеневици*, Епо 23.2, 2015, p. 330–347; ИДЕМ, *Новият Завет и византийската пропаганда. Още веднъж за Никита Хониат и българското освободително движение*, [in:] *Великите Асеневици*, ed. П. ПАВЛОВ, Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2016, p. 70–83.

The text *„Латинските“ влияния в средновековна България* [*“Latin” influences in medieval Bulgaria*] (p. 175–185) illustrates Latin influences in Bulgaria, both political, cultural, and religious.

The section *„Снощи татари минаха...“* [*“Last night the Tatars marched through...”*] (p. 186–197) deals with the issue of Tatar influence (under Nogai and Chaka) in Bulgaria and the efforts to combat them (at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century).

In the article *„Царю Александре, твоят митничар да взема според закона...“* [*Tsar Aleksander, let your customs officer collect according to the law...“*] (p. 198–205), Pavlov, opening with the fragment of a *gramota* of the Wallachian voivode Radu I, quoted in the title, examines the issue of Bulgarian influence in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Wallachia<sup>6</sup>.

The text *Многоото „Българи“ през XIV век* [*Multiple “Bulgarias” in the 14<sup>th</sup> century*] (p. 206–210) characterizes the decentralization process of the Bulgarian state in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, indicating that before the Turkish conquest, there had been several Bulgarian state centers with capitals in Veliko Târnovo, Vidin, Kaliakria, Prilep, Velbâzhd (today: Kyustendil) as well as so-called Byzantine Bulgaria with its capital in Mesembria (today: Nesebâr).

In the article *Българите и турската експанзия в Мала Азия (краят на XIII – средата на XIV в.)* [*Bulgarians and the Turkish expansion in Asia Minor (the late 13<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries)*] (p. 211–230), Plamen Pavlov discusses the participation of the Bulgarians in the battles against the Ottoman Turks at the beginning of their expansion against the Byzantines. He formulates the view that *прадедите на българите от Беломорска Тракия [...] са между първите и най-смели борци срещу турската експанзия още във времето на нейното зараждане в Мала Азия* [*the ancestors of the*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also the most recent works devoted to this subject – Т. ПОПОВ, *Българската държавна традиция във Влашката низина, Молдова и Бесарабия от края на XII до края на XV в.*, София 2017; ИДЕМ, *Българското влияние върху държавните институции на Влахия и Молдова (XIV – началото на XVIII в.)*, София 2018.

*Bulgarians from Aegean Thrace were among the first and boldest fighters against the Turkish expansion at its dawn in Asia Minor*].

In the article *Константин и Фружин: за-лезът на средновековната българска държа-вност* [*Constantine and Fružin: the decline of medieval Bulgarian statehood*] (p. 231–238), the author presents interesting reflections on the functioning of some form of Bulgarian statehood (Vidin Bulgaria) after 1397, as well as the fates of Constantine II, son of Ivan Sratsimir, the ruler of Vidin, and Fružin, son of Tsar Ivan Šišman, the ruler of Tărnovo<sup>7</sup>.

The text *Патриарх Йосиф II и неговите ученици* [*Patriarch Joseph II and his students*] (p. 239–248) focuses on the activities of the Constantinople Patriarch Joseph II (1416–1439), Ivan Shishman's son out of wedlock. The author also outlines the profiles of his disciples (Bulgarians), including Ignatius, the metropolitan of Tărnovo, the Moldavian metropolitans Damian (1437–1447) and Teocist (1453–1478), or Cardinal Isidor (who, according to Pavlov, had Bulgarian roots).

In the article *Българи, начело на Печката патриаршия* [*Bulgarians at the helm of the patriarchy in Pécs*] (p. 249–264), the scholar lays out the profiles of the clergymen who were at the head of the Serbian patriarchy in Pécs (both in the first and the second period of its existence) and were Bulgarian by origin.

The last text „*Първите дами*“ на българското средновековие [*“First Ladies” of the Bulgarian Middle Ages*] (p. 265–282) reviews the medieval Bulgarian female rulers and Bulgarian women on the thrones of other countries. The author notes the scarcity of source data on women in medieval Bulgaria.

The book is supplemented with an introduction entitled *Често очевидното е незабележимо (встъпителни думи)* [*Often the obvious goes unnoticed (Foreword)*] (p. 6–9) and the bibliography (p. 284–303).

The above-discussed book provides a good insight into the research interests of Plamen

Pavlov and testifies to the freshness of his view on numerous aspects of the history of medieval Bulgaria. Although the book is intended for a wide range of readers of historical literature, it is also interesting and inspiring for scholars studying the history of Bulgarians and their country in the Middle Ages.

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<sup>7</sup> In Polish literature, these issues are presented in: M.J. LESZKA, *Kwestia tzw. Powstania Konstantyna i Frużyna w bułgarskiej literaturze naukowej*, BPAS 21, 2014, p. 5–12.

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***A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War, ca. 300–1204*, ed. YANNIS STOURAITIS, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2018 [= Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World, 3], 6 maps, 3 figures, index, pp. X, 490.**

The presented volume is edited by Yannis Stouraitis, a lecturer of Byzantine history at the University of Edinburgh, whose research interests lie in the social and cultural history of the Byzantine Empire from 6<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century, especially focusing on the issues of Byzantine war ideology, identity and migration in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean<sup>1</sup>. The volume is divided in two parts, six chapters each, and preceded by an *Introduction* by Y. Stouraitis, who argues that the changes taking place in Byzantine warfare from Late Antiquity to ca. 1204 should be understood on a macro-structural scale (and provides the examples of the impact of the Germanic migrations of the 5<sup>th</sup> century; the Arab-Muslim expansion since the 7<sup>th</sup> century and 11<sup>th</sup> century Seljuk invasion) as a part of the phenomena of penetration and destabilization of the Byzantine's political, social and cultural structures (p. 1–19). However, this is not a classic introduction to the presented topic, but actually a separate article.

Part 1 entitled *The Mentality of War* is opened by Paul Stephenson's chapter on the issue of the Byzantine theology of victory (p. 23–58).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Y. STOURAITIS, *Krieg und Frieden in der politischen und ideologischen Wahrnehmung in Byzanz (7.–11. Jahrhundert)*, Wien 2009 [= BG.E, 5]; *Byzantine War Ideology between Roman Imperial Concept and Christian Religion. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums (Vienna, 19–21 Mai 2011)*, ed. J. KODER, Y. STOURAITIS, Wien 2012 [= VB, 30]; *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone. Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia and Europe, 300–1500 C.E.*, ed. J. PREISER-KAPPELLER, L. REINFANDT, Y. STOURAITIS, Boston–Leiden 2020 [= SGSH, 39; SGMH, 13].

The author discusses the significance of two symbols: the True Cross (which indicated that outcomes of all battles were intended by God), and the Virgin, Theotokos (as the one who, through its icons and relics, can provide divine protection to the emperors, e.g. by summoning holy warriors, as Sts. Theodore or George for an aid) for the Byzantine ideology of war. In the next chapter, Y. Stouraitis analyzes the shaping of the Byzantine war ethic and popular attitudes towards warfare in the Byzantine historiography (p. 59–91). The author points to such ideas as Roman/Byzantine Reconquista, Just War or Heraclius' concept of sacralization of defence, claiming that the Christian symbols played an important role in the symbolic legitimization of warfare. Y. Stouraitis' second chapter in the volume discusses the phenomenon of civil wars within the Byzantine Empire that was torn apart by provincialism and separatism between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries (p. 92–123). He sees a change in the role played by internal conflicts which, after the fall of the Comnenians at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, transformed: initially, they were important for the reproduction of the imperial system but as time passed by, they became a factor that completely disintegrated and destroyed the Empire. Michael Grünbart's chapter considers the images of the Byzantine's enemies based on the *romanitas/barbaricum* dichotomy (p. 124–159). The author uses both pictorial and written sources, showing a long Roman and Byzantine tradition of distinguishing the foreigners from the 'civilized' Empire's citizens, e.g. through the imperial propaganda of victory

and displaying the 'other'. Stamatina McGrath studies the role of battle narratives in the Byzantine historiography as a relay of the values of the warrior culture and, at the same time, a Christian society, transmitting the right pattern of behaviour to the collective memory (p. 160–195). Tilemachos Lounghis considers the political ideas of resolving conflicts in the Byzantine Empire, focusing on four main issues: (1) avoiding war; (2) avoiding pressure from the East and West; (3) avoiding aggressive wars; and (4) Byzantine diplomacy towards the Crusaders (p. 196–226). He claims that the Byzantine Empire, protecting its interests by various alternative means, only rarely and very reluctantly avoided armed solutions.

Part 2 is entitled *Warfare as Socio-Political Praxis*. It is opened with a chapter by Savvas Kyriakidis about the transformation of the Byzantine army structure from the rule of Constantine the Great until 1204, in which he shows *la longue durée* of the military structures of the Roman Empire (p. 229–258). Denis Sullivan presents the Byzantine strategies used in the imperial diplomacy and its ideological background that lies in the idea of Roman world supremacy (p. 259–307). The author describes the political and military history of the wars on the Byzantine frontiers in Asia and Europe up to the Fourth Crusade. Salvatore Cosentino analyzes the Byzantine naval warfare focusing on the administrative, economic and military issues (p. 308–355). He presents the arguments for Byzantine thalassocracy that begun ca. 10<sup>th</sup> century and lasted until at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Christos G. Makrypoulis considers the Byzantine siege warfare as an art of defence (p. 356–393). He uses the concept of 're-capture', arguing that the protection of Byzantine territories relied on the strategy of elastic defence; a city or a stronghold captured by the enemy had to be recaptured to maintain the integrity of the frontiers' defensive network. Therefore, a siege was a part of defensive strategy, even in the offensive campaigns. Philip Rance's chapter is about the social status and political role of the Byzantine soldiers (p. 394–439). The author discusses such issues as recruitment, payments and privileges received, as well as the socio-economic status

of the soldiers, their policing role or their relations with civilians. He also elaborates on their role in church and imperial politics, e.g. as an important factor in attempts to gain/hold the throne. In the final chapter of the volume, Georgios Theotokis studies the Byzantine arms and armour based on the written, pictorial and material sources, showing a multitude of terms appearing in the Greek sources describing weapons, as well as the variety of equipment used in the Empire (p. 440–472).

The presented volume seems to be an apt and multifaceted introduction to Byzantine warfare from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and its findings are accessible both to specialists in the field as well as to novice scholars. However, it should be emphasized that the scientific achievements of scholars writing in the Slavic languages were taken into account to an almost negligible degree, and the choice of secondary literature, apart from English, but e.g. in French, appears to be selective.

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***The Emperor in the Byzantine World. Papers from the Forty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. SHAUN TOUGHER, Routledge, New York–London 2019 [= Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications, 21], 32 figures, index, pp. XXIII, 378.**

The publication being reviewed is a result of the Symposium of Byzantine Studies held in Cardiff between 25 and 27 April 2014; the symposium was devoted to the subject of the emperor in the Byzantine world. Fergus Millar's *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC – AD 337)*<sup>1</sup> was a direct inspiration for the Symposium's considerations because, as its editor claims, there is no equivalent in historiography with regard to the Byzantine emperors (p. 1)<sup>2</sup>. The presented volume is divided into five Parts that define the axis of the undertaken issues: (1) Dynasty: Imperial families; (2) The emperor's men: Court and empire; (3) The emperor as ruler: Duties and ideals; (4) Imperial literature: Emperor as subject and author; and

(5) The material emperor: Image, spaces and empire. The volume is edited by Shaun Tougher, a Reader in Ancient History at Cardiff University, who specializes in the political and social history of the late Roman and Byzantine Empire<sup>3</sup>.

The substantial volume consists of seventeen chapters preceded by an *Introduction* (p. 1–10). Part 1 is opened by Mark Humphries' considerations on constructing the imperial legitimacy from Augustus to the Theodosians (p. 13–27). The author shows a wide range of measures that several emperors used to assure the imperial power of their dynasties, relying on bloodlines, marriages, adoptions or even constructed ancestry, as well as on other factors of dynastic legitimacy such as military success or religious rectitude. Mike Humphreys poses a question about the importance of a familial lens in the Heraclian ideology of the dynasty (p. 28–51). He argues that the Heraclians (from 610 to 681) sought legitimacy and a political base in their imperial family, but the situation changed after the deposition of co-emperors by Constantine IV and the limiting of succession to the eldest son. Mark Masterson examines Basil II's bachelorhood, claiming, through Symeon the New Theologian's *Oratio Ethica 10*, that there is an indication that the famous emperor had same-sex interests (p. 52–82). Dimitri Korobeinikov's chapter is a prosopographical study which shows the familial links between

<sup>1</sup> F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC – AD 337)*, London 1977 [1<sup>st</sup> ed.].

<sup>2</sup> However, it is worth mentioning, as S. Tougher also points out, that at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>th</sup> c. the research interest concerning the role and position of women in Byzantine society has experienced significant growth, e.g. cf. M. DĄBROWSKA, *Łacinniczki nad Bosforem. Małżeństwa bizantyńsko-łacinińskie w cesarskiej rodzinie Paleologów (XIII–XV w.)*, Łódź 1996; L. GARLAND, *Byzantine Empresses. Woman and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204*, London–New York 1999; B. HILL, *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025–1204. Power, Patronage and Ideology*, London 1999; L. JAMES, *Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium*, New York 2001; J. HERRIN, *Women in Purple. Rulers of Medieval Byzantium*, London 2002. Furthermore, it is worth paying attention to the most recent studies on imperial power by R. BENOIT-MEGGENIS, *L'empereur et le moine. Les relations du pouvoir impérial avec les monastères à Byzance, IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lyon 2017 [= TMOM, 73].

<sup>3</sup> E.g. cf. S. TOUGHER, *Julian the Apostate*, Edinburgh 2007 [= DDAH]; IDEM, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Politics and People*, Boston–Leiden 1997 [= MME, 15].

the Palaiologan dynasty and the Turks of the Rûm Sultanate (p. 83–111).

Part 2 is opened by Meaghan McEvoy's chapter about the political consequences of the celibacy of emperor Theodosius II's sisters, which led the dynasty to become extinct, and the familial policy of the aristocratic houses of Anthemii and Ardaburii, which, despite the upheavals, survived, briefly gained imperial power, and became related to other families ruling in the Empire (p. 115–134). Jonathan Shepard presents the political concept of Alexios I Komnenos in relation to the Latin West (p. 135–155). He argues that Alexios tried to reach a consensus with the Latins in order to promote the idea of a united Christendom under the leadership of Constantinople, which ultimately did not come to fruition. Jonathan Harris' chapter is devoted to the consistency of Constantine XI's imperial court, showing the importance of the political role played by the Emperor's moral authority in gaining and maintaining the loyalty of important noble figures such as Loukas Notaras (p. 156–167).

Part 3 begins with Bernard H. Stolte's chapter, which actually is a brief reconnaissance of the subject of the relation between the emperor, the law, and the lawyers (p. 171–178). Frank R. Trombley and Shaun Tougher study the prerogatives, duties and ideals of the Byzantine emperor in time of the war (p. 179–195). They show that the legacy of the Roman tradition was a crucial factor in establishing the military role of Byzantine emperors as a fundamental aspect of the reign, which was to be realized even by emperors who were not militarily active.

John Vanderspoel's chapter about the essence of imperial panegyrics opens Part 4 (p. 199–215). The author demonstrates the panegyrics not only as a literary tool for flattering the emperors, but also as a relay of imperial ideology, which could transmit a given political view to the broader public. Oscar Prieto Domínguez takes into account the process of shaping the image of emperor Theophilos in Byzantine hagiography (p. 216–234). It was presented that although Theophilos was in fact an iconoclast, and in some sources he was portrayed as a heretic or an opponent of the saints,

his image drastically changed after the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, due to the actions of his wife Theodora, who tried to emphasize the deathbed conversion of her husband to justify the emperor's rehabilitation in the eyes of the Orthodox Church. Prerona Prasad, through the prefaces of the *De ceremoniis*, analyzes Constantine VII's view on dynastic succession and imperial ideology (p. 235–247). This chapter shows that Constantine VII believed that the act of capturing the Byzantine throne at the turn of 944/945 constituted a restoration of the legacy of Basil I, and a renewal of imperial majesty; previously, in the illegitimate and ignorant hands of the Lekapenoi that majesty was disgraced. Nikolaos G. Chrissis demonstrates the ideological climate at the court of Theodore Laskaris after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, focusing on the analysis of Niketas Choniates' orations and posing the question of Byzantine identity in the face of the Latins (p. 248–263). The author argues that Choniates tried to push the emperor, whose policy was too conciliatory, into a war against the Latin conquerors, also pointing to the Roman-Byzantine unity of Nicaea, Trebizond and Epirus, as victims of the very same enemy. Savvas Kyriakidis considers the image of the emperor in the *History* of John VI Kantakouzenos, which was coined in the conflict between Andronikos II and Andronikos III, supported by Kantakouzenos himself (p. 264–277). Such an image relies on the traditional idea of one being the absolute ruler and a juxtaposition of Andronikos III's prudence, philanthropy and other positive features with Andronikos II's harshness, old age and lack of military skills.

Part 5 is opened by Alicia Walker's chapter that describes the way in which imperial power was presented in Hagia Sophia's mosaics; she emphasizes the key role of the singular depiction of the emperor in the act of *proskýnesis* before Christ, placed over the so-called 'Imperial Door' (p. 281–321). She interprets the mosaic not as a representation of Leo VI's penitential state, but as a visual complement of the Constantine VII's *Book of Ceremonies*, related to imperial liturgical ceremonies, while other Hagia Sophia's mosaics constitute a conventional depiction of the rela-

tionship between the imperial and the divine authorities, presenting the emperors as benefactors of the church, without earthly and cosmic 'taxis'. Lynn Jones argues that the concept of the 'imperial palace' should be broadened, not in terms of material culture, as a building or a complex of buildings, but as a palace on the move, i.e. 'the campaign palace' basing on the emperor's presence and fulfilling ceremonial or administrative functions outside Constantinople (p. 322–340). Mark Redknapp's final chapter describes the Byzantine archaeological findings, especially the Byzantine coins, in the collection of Amgueddfa Cymru (National Museum Wales), showing the connection between Wales and the Eastern Empire (p. 341–371).

The presented volume tries to fill a gap in the research field and brings new approaches to the study of the Byzantine emperor. Scientifically, the volume is of high quality. However, it should be noted that the chapters display large structural diversity; most of them provide exhaustive presentation of the posed issues, while others are just a small sketch of the topic (e.g. Bernard H. Stolte's chapter). Furthermore, the reader may get the impression that the last chapter is only loosely related to the main subject. It would certainly be beneficial for the volume if the authors cited the achievements of scholars writing in Slavic languages. Even though it is worth emphasizing that the volume cannot be considered a comprehensive monograph on the emperor in the Byzantine world, it aims to present a large scope of thematic and chronological diversity. It has not exhausted the topic, but constitutes a basis for further discussion and work. It should be noted that these criticisms do not deprive the volume of its high cognitive value.

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**GEORGIOS THEOTOKIS, *Byzantine Military Tactics in Syria and Mesopotamia in the Tenth Century. A Comparative Study*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2018, pp. 348.**

The reviewed book was written by Georgios Theotokis, a military historian who graduated from University of Glasgow, and is currently teaching history at the Ibn Haldun University in Turkey. The author belongs to a new generation of scholars dealing with the history of Byzantine warfare, with particular focus on the reign of the Macedonian dynasty and on military theory. He has written two monographs, numerous well-received articles and has edited a number of collective works.

It is worth emphasizing that although the 10<sup>th</sup> century is a rather popular period among Byzantine scholars, the reviewed piece is the first such comprehensive attempt to analyze the Byzantine tactics of the 10<sup>th</sup> century since the publishing of Eric McGeer's work<sup>1</sup>. After a well-written methodological introduction, the author quickly moves on to the actual analysis in the chapter entitled *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, which is a clear reference to the controversial works by Edward N. Luttwak<sup>2</sup>. Fortunately, G. Theotokis does not try and prove the existence of any grand strategy planned for generations in advance, focusing rather on the strategic importance of the Empire's eastern provinces. The first chapter also includes deliberations on the difference between tactics and strategy, and on the various attitudes to warfare adopted by mercenary forces, with a clear juxtaposition of the culture of bravery represented by west-

ern soldiers of fortune and the culture of tactical order and military trickery represented by Byzantine commanders. The chapter echoes the themes of new military history, and the author is not afraid to touch upon such topics as morale or motivation in war. The second section entitled *Strategies and Campaigning Tactics* focuses largely on the geography of the contested territories and its direct impact on how wars were fought. A slight omission in this part is the lack of any map of the region in question, which could aid some readers in understanding the historical geography. Chapter three, *The Empire's Foreign Policy in the East and the Key Role of Armenia (c. 870–965)*, is mainly a political analysis of Byzantine-Armenian relations in the context of Byzantine-Arab military conflicts. Theotokis attempts to understand the reasons for the escalating conflict between the Empire and the Hamdanid Dynasty, while taking into account the territory of Armenia, which was the fastest way for any invading force to avoid Byzantine defenses and strike directly into Anatolia. It is an interesting study, bringing a breath of fresh air in certain areas. The final chapter of the historical section is *The Empire's Foreign Policy in the East*. It contains a chronological breakdown of how the conflict evolved. It is worth noting here that the author is not afraid to utilize Arab sources and does so with care and with the use of appropriate methodology. The section on the transfer of knowledge begins with a short chapter *The Byzantine View of their Enemies on the Battlefield: The Arabs*, and the next two chapters deal with Reconnaissance, Intelligence and Espionage. The whole part is

<sup>1</sup> E. McGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth. Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, Washington 2008 [= DOS, 33].

<sup>2</sup> E. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, Harvard 2009.

cleverly structured, beginning with thoughts on the state of Byzantine knowledge about their enemies, and extensively documented with quotes from source materials. Chapter seven is an analysis of changes in the tactics of Byzantine armies of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, both in theory and in practice. Some of the hypotheses presented here are expanded versions of the author's studies on Byzantine tactics, particularly his breakthrough research on the positioning of infantry in mixed-composition armies (i.e. those comprising both footsoldiers and cavalry units)<sup>3</sup>. The author rather comprehensively described the tactical setup of mounted units, including cataphracts, whose emergence in the 10<sup>th</sup> century drastically changed the situation on the battlefields of the time. In the context of the work's title, this is the key chapter. After identifying the principal changes in Byzantine tactics, the author smoothly moves on to the next chapter, in which he analyzes the causes for these changes, clearly pointing to the intermingling of Byzantine and Arab warfare. The final two chapters contain a detailed analysis of sources on battles and entire campaigns, attempting to validate the author's theories by studying the practices observed on the battlefields of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The book ends with a carefully prepared index and a bibliography.

Assessing the work of G. Theotokis is not difficult. The piece is deeply rooted in the theory of warfare, but the author managed to combine this with practical aspects, analyzing both Byzantine and Arab sources in the two concluding chapters in search of what was actually done in the field. We should also emphasize that the author does not shy away from employing innovative methods of analysis, most prominently seen in the first part of the book. As is the case with any pioneering monograph, certain aspects are slightly lacking. There is no dedicated section on the evolution of Byzantine arms and armor in the period in question, although the topic is not entirely omitted. When analyzing tactics, there are no figures of tactical schemata, which could aid the readers to better

understand the more complex issues. I have already mentioned the lack of maps. On the other hand, what the reader does get is a work with an excellent selection of sources, whose author is well-versed in contemporary science, as evidenced in his comments in the footnotes. It is an essential read for anyone studying the Byzantine warfare of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the first monograph of its kind since the publishing of Eric McGeer's work. What is more, G. Theotokis does make use of new methods of analysis, posing intriguing questions and moving beyond certain fixed research patterns. The monograph *Byzantine Military Tactics in Syria and Mesopotamia in the Tenth Century* is a mandatory source not only for scholars of Byzantine military, but also for those interested in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in general. The author took a novel approach to studying the conflict between the Byzantium and the Hamdanid Dynasty and we may only hope that it is not his final word on the subject.

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<sup>3</sup> G. THEOTOKIS, *The Square Fighting March of the Crusaders at the Battle of Ascalon (1099)*, *JMMH* 11, 2013, p. 57–72.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A.H	Annales: histoire, sciences sociales
AA.ASH	Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AAth	Archives de l'Athos
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ABSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
AC	L'antiquité classique
ACO	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. SCHWARTZ, J. STRAUB, Berlin 1914–
ACre	Akanthus crescens
AE	L'année épigraphique
AGr.SFTh	Analecta Gregoriana. Series Facultatis Theologicae
AGRL	Aspects of Greek and Roman Life
AHI	Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia
AIPHOS	Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles
AIs	Annales Islamologiques
AISIT	Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-germanico in Trento
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AMMT	Acta Mediaevalis Magnae Tarnoviae
An	Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of World Archaeology
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–
AOC	Archives de l'Orient chrétien
APH	Acta Poloniae Historica
Apocr	Apocrypha
Apu	Apulum

ArH	Art History
ArtB	The Art Bulletin: a quarterly published by the College Art Association of America
Arv	Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore
ASAE	Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte
ASH	Ancient Society and History
ASNPLF	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia
ASP	Archiv für slavische Philologie
ATa	Antiquité tardive
Aug	Augustinianum. Periodicum semestre Instituti Patristici Augustinianum, Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis
AUW.A	Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Antiquitas
B	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines
BArchiv	Byzantinisches Archiv
BAus	Byzantina Australiensia
BBE	Bibliothèque byzantine. Études
BBg	Byzantinobulgarica
BBOS	Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies
BBRF	Buletinul Bibliotecii Române din Freiburg
BBS	Berliner byzantinistische Studien
BBTT	Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations
BC	Bollettino dei classici; a cura del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Edizione nazionale dei Classici greci e latini
BCEN	Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques
BCNH.ST	Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi. Section Textes
BCȘS	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Arheologie – Istorie – Muzeologie
BG.E	Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Ergänzungsband
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
Bi	Bizantinistica
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London

BJ	Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande
BJez	Bosanski jezik: časopis za kulturu bosanskoga književnog jezika
BKP	Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie
BL	Byzantina Lodziensia
BMd	Bulgaria Mediaevalis
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNN	Byzantina et Neohellenica Neapolitana
BNum	Bollettino di Numismatica
BOO	Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident
BP	Balcanica Posnaniensia
BP.AS	Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia
BPat	Biblioteca Patristica
BPT	Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia
Brit	Britannia: A Journal of Romano-British and Kindred Studies
BSC	Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia
BSFN	Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique
BSGR	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
Bsl	Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines
ByzS	Byzantine Studies / Études byzantines
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
C.RIT	Concilium. Rivista internazionale di Teologia
CAEC	Critical Approaches to Early Christianity
CAR	Cahiers archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et Moyen âge
CAV	Collectanea Archivi Vaticani
CC.SG	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series graeca</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae</i>
CFHB.SBe	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Berolinensis</i>
CFHB.SW	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Washingtonensis</i>
CJ	Classical Journal
CMC	Cambridge Medieval Classics
CMG	Corpus Medicorum Graecorum

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CMJ	Canadian Military Journal
CMu	Cursor mundi
COGD	<i>Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Generaliumque Decreta</i> , vol. I–VII, <i>A Special Series of Corpus Christianorum</i> , 2006–
CP	Classical Philology
CPG	<i>Clavis patrum graecorum</i> , ed. M. GEERARD, F. GLORIE, Turnhout 1974–1987 et subs.
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CSCO	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium</i>
CSCO.SS	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Scriptores Syri</i>
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae</i>
CSSe	Cistercian Studies Series
CT	Collectanea Theologica
CUF	Collection des Universités de France
CUF.SG	Collection des Universités de France. Série grecque
CUF.SL	Collection des Universités de France. Série latine
D	Dacoromania
Da	Dacia
DAn	Dubrovnik Annals
DDAH	Debates and Documents in Ancient History
DOBSC	Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia
DOML	Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
E	Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum

Eaf	Empire and After
ECA	Eastern Christian Art
ECR	Eastern Churches Review
EHR	English Historical Review
EJHS	European Journal of Horticultural Science
EMC	Échos du monde classique
EO	Échos d'Orient
EPROLR	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
FGHB	Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae / Гръцки извори за българската история
FHR	Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis collectos
FLHB	<i>Fontes latini historiae bulgaricae / Латински извори за българската история</i>
Fou	Foundations
GCRW	Greek Culture in the Roman World
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>
GECS	Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies
Ges	Gesta. International Center of Medieval Art
GIBH	Godišnjak Istorijskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine
GPKH	Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
GRo	Głos Robotniczy
Hi	Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
HMe	History and Memory
HSc	Horticultural Science
HTR	The Harvard Theological Review
HTra	Historijska traganja
Hum	Humanities

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HUS	Harvard Ukrainian Studies
ICS	Illinois Classical Studies
IE	Impact of Empire
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IF	Istanbuler Forschungen
Ifo	Íslenzk fornit
IJFSN	International Journal of Food Sciences and Nutrition
IM	Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul
Ist	Islamic Studies
JAA	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
JAAC	The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JEst	Journal of European Studies
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JHI	Journal of the History of Ideas
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJP	The Journal of Juristic Papyrology
JJRS	Japanese Journal of Religious Studies
JMMH	Journal of Medieval Military History
JNG	Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JPhPh	Journal of Pharmacognosy and Phytochemistry
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRMMRA	Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period

JSJ.S	Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
Ker	Kernos. Revue consacrée à l'étude des faits et phénomènes religieux de la Grèce antique
KH	Kwartalnik Historyczny
KSTe	Kaliskie Studia Teologiczne
KTAH	Key Themes in Ancient History
L	Latomus
Lar	Lares. Quadrimestrale di studi demoetnoantropologici
LC	Litteraria Copernicana
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHR	Law and History Review
LSJ	H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES et al., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9Oxford 1996
M	Meander. Rocznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego (1946–1996 Meander. Miesięcznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego; 1997–2004 Meander. Dwumiesięcznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego; 2005–2012 Meander. Kwartalnik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego)
MART	Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching
MBAH	Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte
MCL	Martin Classical Lectures
MGH.AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi</i>
MHR	Mediterranean Historical Review. Aranne School of History, Tel Aviv University
Mil	Millennium. Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. / Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.
Mil.S	Millennium-Studien. Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. / Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.
ML.SPh	Museum Lessianum. Series philosophica
MLSDV	<i>Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris</i>
MMe	The Medieval Mediterranean

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Mn	Mnemosyne: a Journal of Classical Studies
MSch	The Modern Schoolman: A Quarterly Journal of Philosophy
<i>MSHSM</i>	<i>Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium</i>
MST	Michigan Slavic Translations
Mu	Le Muséon
Muq	Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World
N.SAB	Notos. Scripta Antiqua et Byzantina
NC	The Numismatic Chronicle. The Journal of the Royal Society
NGC	New German Critique
NNA	Nordisk numismatisk årsskrift
NRh	Nea Rhōmē / Νέα Ῥώμη
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. KAZHDAN et al., vol. I–III, New York–Oxford 1991
OECGT	Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts
O ECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
OEH	The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage
OMon	Oxbow Monograph
OPS	Open Political Science
Orm	Orma. Revistă de studii istorico-religioase
OSHC	Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture
OSLA	Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity
Pald	Palladio
PB	Poikila Byzantina
PBAS.HSS	Papers of BAS. Humanities and Social Sciences
Pcl	Penguin Classics
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1857–1866
PH	Przegląd Historyczny

Phoe	Phoenix. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada / Revue de la Société canadienne des études classiques
PKAGW	Programm des K. Alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906–1907
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1844–1880
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. I, ed. A.H.M. JONES, J.R. MARTINDALE, J. MORRIS, Cambridge 1971; vol. II, ed. J.R. MARTINDALE, Cambridge 1980; vol. III, ed. J.R. MARTINDALE, Cambridge 1992
PM.RELLMA	Perspectives médiévales. Revue d'épistémologie des langues et littératures du Moyen Âge
PMGS	Princeton Modern Greek Studies
PMZ	<i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit</i> , ed. R.-J. LILIE et al., Berlin 1999–
PNH	Przegląd Nauk Historycznych
PO	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i>
Pon	Pontica
PLSt	Patristic Studies
Ram	Ramus: Critical Studies in Greek and Roman Literature
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. G. WISSOWA, W. KROLL, Stuttgart 1894–1978
RES	Revue des études slaves
RESEE	Revue des études sud-est européennes
RG	Rhetores Graeci
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHPR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RI	Revista istorică
RŁ	Rocznik Łódzki
RMS	Reading Medieval Sources
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien
RPhC	Routledge Philosophy Companions

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RSDN	Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici
RSR	Revue des sciences religieuses
RUB	Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles
RUSCH	Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities
S	Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies
S.IQR	Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review
SAn	Studia Anselmiana
SAN	SAN: Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics
SAnt	Schriftenreihe Antiquitates
SBF.CM	Studium biblicum franciscanum: Collectio minor
SBU	Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCBO	Scriptorium Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis / Oxford Classical Texts
SCer	Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-Eastern Europe
SDŚ	Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza
SEA	Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum
SEE	Southeastern Europe / L'Europe du Sud-Est
SFChB	Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz
SGd	Studia Gdańskie
SGMH	Studies in Global Migration History
SGSH	Studies in Global Social History
SHa	Subsidia hagiographica
SHM	<i>Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par L'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes</i>
SP	<i>Studia patristica</i>
SPBSP	Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications
SPł	Studia Płockie

SPP	Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium
SRev	Slavic Review
SUSA	Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja / Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne
SV	Studi veneziani
T	Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Thought, History, and Religion
TCH	Transformation of the Classical Heritage
TH	Théologie historique
TIB	<i>Tabula imperii byzantini</i> , ed. H. HUNGER, Wien 1976–
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
TMOM	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée
TMon	Testi e Monumenti
TPAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TTB	Translated Texts for Byzantinists
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
TUGAL	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> , Leipzig–Berlin 1882–
Tw	Twórczość
ULG	Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte
VB	Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung
VC	Vigiliae christianae: A Review of Early Christian Life and Language
VP	Vox Patrum. Antyk Chrześcijański
WBS	Wiener byzantinistische Studien
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WHi	Wiadomości Historyczne
WI	Word & Image

WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Z	Znak
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZNUJ.PH	Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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ΒΣυμ	Αμάλθεια
ΔΧΑΕ	Βυζαντιακά
ΕΠΣΕΜΣΠ	Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα
Επο	Βυζαντινά. Ἐπιστημονικό Ὅργανο Κέντρου Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου

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Be	Балканско езикознание
БИБ	Българска историческа библиотека
ВДИ	Вестник древней истории
ГСУ.ИФФ	Годишник на Софийския Университет. Историко-Филологически факултет
ДВ	Диалог со временем
ЗРВИ	Зборник Радова Византолошког Института
ИОРЯС	Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности [Императорской / Российской Академии Наук]
Мин	Минало
НВ	Ниш и Византија
ПК	Полата књигописњана / Polata Knigopisnaja. A Journal Devoted to the Study of Early Slavic Books, Texts and Literature
ПКШ	Преславска книжовна школа
ППВ	Письменные Памятники Востока
Род	Родина
СББАН	Сборник на Българската академия на науките
СЛ	Старобългарска литература

## 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.:**

<sup>25</sup> ZONARAS, XV, 13, 11.

<sup>26</sup> ZONARAS, XV, 13, 19–22.

### 2. Books by modern authors should be referenced as follows:

<sup>21</sup> M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, Oxford 1975, p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> И. ИЛИЕВ, *Св. Климент Охридски. Живот и дело*, Пловдив 2010, p. 142.

**If the same work is cited for a second (or further) time, an abbreviated version of the title (consisting of the first word(s) of the title followed by an ellipsis) should be used, e.g.:**

<sup>23</sup> G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

<sup>24</sup> A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 123.

<sup>25</sup> G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

<sup>26</sup> A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches...*, p. 44.

### 3. Articles and papers should be mentioned in the notes as:

L.W. BARNARD, *The Emperor Cult and the Origins of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, B 43, 1973, p. 11–29.

P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sebaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, REB 42, 1984, p. 5–145.

In footnotes, names of journals should be used exclusively in their abbreviated versions. The complete list of abbreviations is available at the “Studia Ceranea” website: [https://czasopisma.uni.lodz.pl/sceranea/\\_instrukcja-redakcyjna\\_](https://czasopisma.uni.lodz.pl/sceranea/_instrukcja-redakcyjna_), unabbreviated and fully Romanized references should be used in the final bibliography (see below).

Numbers of fascicles are cited only if pages are counted separately for every volume within a single year.

### 4. Articles in Festschrifts, collections of studies etc. 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](http://www.rbedrosian.com/ghew3.htm) [20 VII 2011].

[www.ancientrome.org/history.html](http://www.ancientrome.org/history.html) [20 VII 2011].

### 6. Reviews:

P. СПЕСК, [rec.:] *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History / Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum...* – BZ 83, 1990, p. 471.

**Footnote numbers should be placed before punctuation marks.**

cetera:	<i>ibidem</i> (note: only used for secondary literature)	rec. [here: <i>recensuit</i> / <i>recognovit</i> ]
cf.	IDEM/EADEM	[rec.:] [here: <i>recensio</i> ]
col. [here: <i>columna</i> ]	IDEM/EADEM	s.a. [here: <i>sine anno</i> ]
coll. [here: <i>collegit</i> ]	IDEM/IDEM/EADEM	s.l. [here: <i>sine loco</i> ]
e.g.	[in:]	sel. [here: <i>selegit</i> ]
ed.	<i>l. cit.</i>	sq, sqq
et al.	p. [here: <i>pagina</i> ]	trans.
etc.	<i>passim</i>	vol.

**In all footnotes, only the conventional abbreviated Latin phrases should be used for referencing literature both in the Latin and in the Cyrillic alphabet.**

**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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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
ћ	ѓ					
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					
Ѣ	ę					
Ѥ	ję					
Ѧ	o					
Ѩ	jo					
Ѫ	ks					
Ѭ	ps					
Ѯ	th					
Ѱ	ü					
Ѳ	je					
Ѵ	ja					



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