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TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOURTH COLLOQUIA CERANEA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, ŁÓDŹ, 12–14 MAY 2022

PIOTR CZARNECKI, <i>The Doctrine of the Ordo Sclavoniae in Light of Western Sources and the Issue of the Origins of the Dualist Heresy in Bosnia</i>	11
FRANCESCO DALL'AGLIO, <i>Paristrion as Centre and Periphery: from Byzantine Border Province to Heartland of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom</i>	29
CHIARA DI SERIO, <i>The Indian River that Flows from Paradise</i>	51
GIULIA GOLLO, <i>Byzantine Incubation Literature between Religion and Medicine: Food as Medicament in the Collection of Healing Miracles Performed by Saints Cosmas and Damian (BHG 373B)</i>	75
YANKO M. HRISTOV, DAFINA KOSTADINOVA, <i>Disease, Healing and Medical Knowledge in an Old Bulgarian Collection of Miracle Stories</i>	95
KRZYSZTOF JAGUSIAK, KONRAD TOMASZ TADAJCZYK, <i>Aconite – a Poison, or a Medicine? Ancient and Early Byzantine Testimonies</i>	119
KIRIL MARINOW, <i>Τέρνοβος, ἐν ἣ τὰ βασιλεια ἦν τῶν Βουλγάρων: the Role of the Bulgarian Capital City According to Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία by Nikephoros Gregoras</i>	135
IVAN P. PETROV, <i>Future Constructions in the Medieval South Slavonic Translations of Vita Antonii Magni</i>	159
MICHAŁ STACHURA, <i>The Distant Origins of “Fat Shaming” or why the People of Antiquity did not Ridicule Fat Women</i>	181
DOROTHEA VALENTINOVA, <i>Iustitia and Corruptio in Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada</i>	215
ANDREW WADE, <i>Multi-lingual, Pluri-ethnic Orthodox Monasticism in Palestine and on Sinai, in the Light of the Liturgical Sources with Particular Reference to the Liturgical Manuscript Sinai Arabic 232 (13th Century)</i>	235

ARTICLES

- ILIAS ANAGNOSTAKIS, MARIA LEONTSINI, *Cook (mageiros) in Byzantium. Was there any Female mageiros?* 247
- MAJA ANGELOVSKA-PANOVA, *The Phenomena of Bogomilism in the Context of Hagiographic Literary Works* 301
- SŁAWOMIR BRALEWSKI, “Where do these terrible diseases and pestilences come from?”. *Illness in the Roman World in Light of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius of Caesarea* 313
- BŁAŻEJ CECOTA, *The Portrayal of Abbasid Rulers in Chronography of Theophanes the Confessor* 339
- RAFFAELE D’AMATO, ANDREY EVGENEVICH NEGIN, *A Neglected Medieval Helmet from Lucera in Italy* 351
- DŽENAN DAUTOVIĆ, *Reception of John V.A. Fine Jr.’s The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation: Interesting Sleeve of a Never Ending Historiographical Debate* 399
- OLEKSANDR FYLYPCHUK, *The Attack of the Rus’ on Constantinople in the Light of the Chronicon Bruxellense* 417
- ИРИНА М. ГРИЦЕВСКАЯ, ВЯЧЕСЛАВ В. ЛИТВИНЕНКО, *Повесть о юноше и чародее в славянской книжности* 437
- NIKOLAY HRISIMOV, *Some Questions about the Slavic Tribes that participated in the Anti-Bulgarian Uprisings along the Mid-Danube in the First Decades of the 9th Century* 465
- IVELIN IVANOV, *Bulgarians, Cumans, Teutons, and Vlachs in the First Decades of the Thirteenth Century* 491
- NIKOLAY KANEV, *Two Byzantine Seals from the Excavation of the Medieval Fortress “Malkoto kale” (Yambol Region, Bulgaria)* 507
- VLADISLAV KNOLL, *Written Languages in Moldavia during the Reign of Peter Rareș (1527–1538, 1541–1546)* 523
- ANDRZEJ KOMPA, *Gnesioi filoi: George Syncellus and Theophanes the Confessor – Addenda* 599

MAGDALENA KOZŁUK, <i>Représenter la flaua bilis: le portait du colérique dans l'Iconologia de Cesare Ripa</i>	633
PIOTR KRĘZEL, <i>The Legal and Fiscal Situation of the Serbs in the Patriarchate of Peć during the First Decades of the 18th Century</i>	651
IZABELA LERACZYK, <i>The Violation of Christian Graves in the Light of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History VIII, 6, 6–7</i>	667
MIROŚLAW J. LESZKA, <i>Marcellinus Comes on Emperor Anastasius. A Handful of Remarks</i>	689
ALEXANDRU MADGEARU, <i>The Competition for Cumania between Hungary and Bulgaria (1211–1247)</i>	699
IRENEUSZ MILEWSKI, <i>Cyril of Scythopolis on Relieving the Damage in Palestine Inflicted during the Samaritan Revolt (529–531)</i>	725
МИТКО В. ПАНОВ, <i>Ideology behind the Naming: On the Origin of Basil II's Appellation 'Scythicus'</i>	739
ZOFIA RZEŹNICKA, <i>Hare in Sauce According to Anthimus' Recipe: Meat</i>	751
SZYMON WIERZBIŃSKI, <i>The Chieftains of the Eastern Roman Empire in Light of the Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes</i>	779

BOOK REVIEWS


JAN PROSTKO-PROSTYŃSKI, <i>A History of the Herules</i> , Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Poznań 2020 [= Historia, 244], pp. 196 – SŁAWOMIR BRALEWSKI	791
НИКОЛАЙ А. КЪНЕВ, <i>Византия и България на Балканите. Студии върху политическата история и българо-византийското имперско противоборство на Балканския полуостров през периода VII–X в. (Византино-български студии II)</i> [NIKOLAY A. KĀNEV, <i>Byzantium and Bulgaria in the Balkans. Studies on the Political History and the Bulgarian-Byzantine Political Conflict on the Balkan Peninsula in the Period 7th–10th c. (Byzantine-Bulgarian Studies II)</i>], УИ “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, Велико Търново 2021, pp. 308 – YANKO M. HRISTOV	793

<i>The Mobility of Serbs in Early Modern Times. Some Remarks on the Margins of Ilona Czamańska's New History of Serbia.</i> ILONA CZAMAŃSKA, <i>Historia Serbii. Od pojawienia się Serbów na Bałkanach do 1830 roku</i> [History of Serbia. From the Arrival of the Serbs in the Balkans to 1830], vol. I, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2021 [= Biblioteka Europy Środkowej i Południowo-Wschodniej], pp. 280 – PIOTR KRĘZEL	797
RONALD A. BLEEKER, <i>Aspar and the Struggle for the Eastern Roman Empire, AD 421–71</i> , Bloomsbury Publishing, London 2022, pp. XII, 234 – ŁUKASZ PIGOŃSKI	801
ABBREVIATIONS	807
GUIDELINES FOR THE AUTHORS	825

**FOURTH COLLOQUIA CERANEA
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THE DOCTRINE OF THE *ORDO SCLAVONIAE* IN LIGHT OF WESTERN SOURCES AND THE ISSUE OF THE ORIGINS OF THE DUALIST HERESY IN BOSNIA

Abstract. The issue of the Bosnian church – or more precisely the dualist heresy in Bosnia – has caused serious controversies among scholars since the 19th century. The main aim of this paper is to shed new light on this controversial issue, through the analysis of the doctrine of Slavonic dualism (*ordo Sclavoniae*) based on Western sources. The subject of the analysis will be the sources concerning the contacts of the Cathars from France and Italy with the heretics from *Sclavonia* and especially the sources containing information on the doctrine, such as the 13th-century Italian sources presenting the doctrines of the Cathars belonging to *ordo Sclavoniae* (Cathar churches of Bagnolo and March de Treviso) and later, 14th and 15th-century sources presenting the teachings of the heretics from Bosnia.

The aim of the analysis will be to reconstruct the doctrines of Slavonic dualism (*ordo Sclavoniae*) in order to find its distinctive features (especially comparing with two main forms of Bogomil-Cathar dualism – Bulgarian and Drugunthian) and to answer the following question: which doctrinal conceptions had the most significant influence on its formation? Knowledge concerning the sources of inspiration for the dualist doctrine of the *ordo Sclavoniae* will enable us to draw conclusions concerning the origins of Slavonic dualism, its evolution and to assume an attitude towards scholars' conceptions concerning the character of the Bosnian heresy.

Keywords: Bosnian Church, Medieval dualism, Catharism, Bogomilism

The issue of the Bosnian Church has caused serious controversies among scholars for a long time. In the 19th century, the Croatian historian Franjo Rački – based on Eastern and Western sources – concluded that this church was dualistic and emerged under the Bogomil influence¹. Such an approach was later accepted in the 20th century by many other scholars from the Balkans and from Western Europe, such as Konstantin Jireček, Franjo Šanjek or Jean Duvernoy, who gathered many new source arguments to support their arguments for a dualist

¹ F. RAČKI, *Bogomili i patareni*, RJAZU 7, 1869, p. 84–179; 8, 1869, p. 121–187; 10, 1870, p. 160–263.

interpretation². This interpretation also has its supporters today. Contemporary scholars like Zdenko Zlatar, Thomas Butler or Georgi Minczew, for example, still uncover dualist elements in vast source material concerning the Bosnian Church, both from Bosnia and from the Cathar West³. The interpretation proposed by Franjo Rački – apart from its supporters – has also found an equally numerous group of detractors, who deny the dualist character of the Bosnian Church, claiming that its origins were Eastern Orthodox (for example, V. Glušac, M. Miletić, D. Dragojlović)⁴ or Catholic (for example, J. Šidak, C. Truhelka, L. Petrović)⁵. Undoubtedly, the most commonly known and influential adversary of the dualistic interpretation of the Bosnian Church is the American scholar John V.A. Fine. In his work *The Bosnian Church*, published for the first time in 1975, he tried to prove a thesis according to which the Bosnian Church was a schismatic monastic community with Catholic origins. He not only denied the dualistic character of the Bosnian Church but also downplayed the significance of Bogomilism in Bulgaria and, more broadly, in the Balkans⁶. Between these two opposing interpretations we can also find scholars (such as D. Mandić, M. Lambert or T. Mudry), who promote the middle way. Although they do not perceive the Bosnian Church as a dualist community, they do not deny the existence of the dualist heresy in Bosnia⁷.

The issue of the character of the Bosnian Church is not the only source of controversy among the scholars. The supporters of the dualist option propose many different conceptions concerning the issue of the origins of this dualism, i.e. various answers to the question: where did these dualistic ideas come from? According to the first conception, formulated in the 1860s by Franjo Rački – later shared by Dimitri Obolensky and Dominik Mandić, and nowadays by Paul Louis Thomas

² K. JIREČEK, *Istoriya Srba*, vol. IV, trans. J. RADONIĆ, Beograd 1922, p. 182; F. ŠANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques et le mouvement cathare XII^e–XV^e siècle*, Paris 1976; J. DUVERNOY, *L'histoire des cathares*, Toulouse 1979, p. 47–72.

³ Z. ZLATAR, *The Haeresis of the Bosnian Church: une question mal posee*, Here 46–47, 2007, p. 81–120; T. BUTLER, *Les chretiens bosniennes*, [in:] *1209–2009 Cathares. Une histoire à pacifier?*, ed. A. BRENON, Loubatieres 2010, p. 109–116; G. MINCZEW, *John the Water-Bearer (Иванъ Водоносьць)*. *Once Again on Dualism in the Bosnian Church*, SCer 10, 2020, p. 415–424.

⁴ В. ГЛУШАЦ, *Средњовековна 'босанска црква' била је православна*, Београд 1924; М. МИЛЕТИЋ, *I krstjani di Bosnia alla luce dei loro monumenti di pietra*, Roma 1957; Д. ДРАГОЈЛОВИЋ, *Крстјани и јеретичка црква босанска*, Београд 1987.

⁵ J. ŠIDAK, *Problem bosanske crkve u našoj historiografiji od Petranovića do Glušca. (Prilog rješenju tzv. Bogomilskog pitanja)*, RJAZU 259, 1937, p. 37–182; Ć. TRUHELKA, *Bosanska narodna (patarenska) crkva*, [in:] *Povijest hrvatskih zemalja Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do godine 1463. Knjiga prva*, Sarajevo 1942, p. 767–793; L. PETROVIĆ, *Kršćani bosanske crkve*, Sarajevo 1999, p. 15.

⁶ J.V.A. FINE, *The Bosnian Church. A New Interpretation*, New York–London 1975. On the criticism of Fine's interpretation cf., for example, Z. ZLATAR, *The haeresis...*, p. 91–96; F. ŠANJEK, *Chrétiens bosniens: un amalgame de catharisme et de valdéisme*, SIOc 16, 2003, p. 95.

⁷ D. MANDIĆ, *Bogomilska crkva bosanskih krstjana*, Chicago 1962; M. LAMBERT, *Le probleme des chretiens bosniaques*, "Heresis" 23, 1994, p. 29–50; T. MUDRY, *Histoire de la Bosnie-Herzegovine – Faits et controversies*, Paris 1999, p. 257–263.

– the Bogomil dualist ideas were brought to Bosnia by the heretics expelled from Serbia by Stephen Nemanja at the end of the 12th century⁸. A different direction of the flow of dualistic ideas was proposed in the 1970s by the Croatian scholar F. Šanjek who claimed that Bogomil dualism first came from Byzantium to Dalmatia, where the heretical church of Dalmatia (*Ecclesia Dalmatiae*) was formed, and at the end of the 12th century, the Dalmatian heretics expelled by the church authorities brought the dualist heresy to Bosnia⁹. Also in the case of the origins of Bosnian dualism, apart from the supporters of the Serbian and Dalmatian theories we also have scholars who propose the middle way (such as M. Lambert, T. Butler or M. Lorenz), and claim that the dualist ideas may have arrived in Bosnia from these two directions independently¹⁰.

As we can see, there are many controversies concerning the Bosnian Church. The Bosnian sources are not especially numerous, and they do not provide any precise information concerning both controversial issues: the character of the Bosnian church and the origins of the Bosnian dualism. In such a situation, it is not surprising that scholars have used Western sources since the 19th century (beginning with Rački), which contain many important testimonies about the Bosnian Church, with which the Cathars had contacts. Nevertheless, the scholars rather rarely focus their attention on the doctrinal issues and do not make attempts to reconstruct the doctrine of the dualist heresy in Bosnia. Such a reconstruction could shed new light on the above-mentioned controversial issues and give answers to many important questions. Therefore, it is worth taking another look at the sources – both Western and Bosnian – containing information about the doctrine of the dualist heresy in Bosnia to find the answers to important questions: first, was there a specific doctrine of the Bosnian dualism and secondly, if so, can we find then in it the influences of the earlier Bogomil or Cathar doctrinal conceptions? A closer analysis of the Bosnian doctrines and especially a comparison with other dualist conceptions will also let us to answer the question of whether the sources describing the Bosnian dualism are credible, i.e. if their authors indeed present some specific version of the dualistic doctrine, characteristic only to Bosnia, or if they only repeat the concepts contained in the polemical sources – anti-Cathar and anti-Bogomil. Answering this question will let us determine how probable the existence of the heresy in Bosnia was. The comparison of the doctrines, on the other hand, will also let us discover the sources of Bosnian dualism, and to verify the above-mentioned conceptions of the scholars.

⁸ F. RAČKI, *Bogomili...*, p. 377–378; D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils*, Cambridge 1948, p. 283–284; D. MANDIĆ, *Bogomilska...*, p. 130–132; P.L. THOMAS, *L'église médiévale de Bosnie était-elle dualiste?*, *SlOc* 16, 2003, p. 118.

⁹ F. ŠANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques...*, p. 39–45.

¹⁰ M. LAMBERT, *The Cathars*, Oxford 1998, p. 299; T. BUTLER, *Les chrétiens...*, p. 110–113; M. LORENZ, *Bogumili, katari i bosanski krstjani. Transfer dualističkih hereza između istoka i zapada (11–13 stoljeće)*, *HTra* 15, 2015, p. 46–48.

From the beginning, it should be underlined that from the point of view of the Western sources, the existence of the dualism in Bosnia is obvious and beyond any doubt. At the beginning of the 13th century, the *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*, which describes the events in Italian Catharism that took place between the Saint-Felix council in 1167 and the end of the 12th century, says that the newly elected bishops of two Italian Cathar churches – that of Bagnolo (Caloianes) and that of the March of Treviso (Nicola) had gone to *Sclavonia* for ordination¹¹. This information is very important because it shows that *Sclavonia* was one of the crucial centers of medieval Bogomil dualism, exactly like Bulgaria and Drugonthia. Another significant source, which speaks about the contacts of the Cathars (this time from France) with Bosnia is the letter of the papal legate – cardinal Conrad of Porto from 1223. He writes about the heretical pope who acts in the regions of Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia, where the Cathars escape. This anti-pope established his representative in Languedoc, a certain Bartholemew of Carcassone, whose authority was recognized by one of the southern French Cathar bishops – Vigorosus de Baconia¹².

Around 1250, the church of *Sclavonia* was mentioned by a well-informed Italian inquisitor, Rainer Sacchoni (a former Cathar perfect for 17 years) who in his polemical work mentions all the dualist communities in existence at that time¹³. *Tractatus de hereticis*, written in the 1260s, most probably by another experienced Italian inquisitor – Anselm of Alessandria – presents a short history of medieval

¹¹ *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*, ed. A. DONDAINE, AFP 19, 1949 (cetera: *De heresi*), p. 308: *Item quidam de mantua cum suis sequacibus elegerunt quemdam nomine Caloianem sibi in episcopum et, eo in Sclavonia misso, post receptionem ordinis, episcopatus officio super eos functus est. Eodem itaque modo, quidam alius, Nicola nomine, a congregatione vincentiorum electus et in Sclavania ad ordinem recipiendum missus, post reditum ab eis, episcopus teneretur.*

¹² *Archiepiscopi Rotomagensis ad suffraganeos, quibus mandatum Conradi Portuensis episcopi & A.S.L. significat conveniendi senonas adversus Bartholomeum, Albigenium episcopum*, ed. J.D. MANSI, [in:] *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. XXII, ed. IDEM, Venetiis 1778, col. 1204: *Ecce quod vidimus in finibus Brunarum, Croatie et Dalmatie, juxta Hungariam nationem, ut per antipapam moras antichristi de cetero breviores esse minime dubitetur, dum novus lucifer novae arrogantiae fellibus intumescens sedem suam contendit ponere in lateribus aquilonis, non tam ut sit similis altissimo apostolorum principis successori, quam ut ipsum cum universali ecclesia deprimat et annullat. Hinc est quod papa perfidiae, qui maceram vineae Domini sabaoth jam pro magna parte dedit in direptionem et singularis ferus stineam depascitur et conculcat: ad eum confluent Albigenes, ut ad eorum consulta respondeat, ejus inhiantes doctrinis et eius damnati sectae judicia complectentes. Iste satanas quemdam sue perversitatis hominem usque in Agenum diocesim diffamavit, nomine Bartholomaeum Carcensem. Est enim de Carcassona oriundus, vices illius agentem, ut illis corruptis partibus propinetur uberius fel draconis in calicis Baylonis. Cui Bartholomaeo Vigorosus de Bathona haereticorum episcopus funestam exhibendo reverentiam, sedem et locum suum concessit in villa quae dicitur Pojors et seipsum transtulit in partes Tholosanas.*

¹³ *Summa Fratris Raineri de ordine fratrum praedicatorum, de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, [in:] *Un Traité Neo-Manicheen du 13 siècle, Le Liber de duobus principiis suivi d'un fragment de Rituel Cathare*, ed. A. DONDAINE, Roma 1939 (cetera: *Summa Fratris Raineri*), p. 70.

dualism, where Bosnia is also mentioned¹⁴. The author of this work says that the dualist heresy was brought from Constantinople by the Bosnian merchants who, after the return to their homeland, had established the heretic church of *Sclavonia*, or of Bosnia¹⁵.

As the sources show us, the contacts of the Cathars with the *Ecclesia Sclavoniae* lasted till the end of Catharism. From the letter of Pope John XXII to the Bosnian ban Stefan Kotromanić from 1325, we learn that the heretics (as we may suppose – Cathars) escape to Bosnia in significant numbers¹⁶. This information is also confirmed by the testimony of the Piedmont heretic Jacob Bech, from 1388, who told the inquisitors that Bosnia was the last center of heresy, where one could learn the dualist doctrine¹⁷. It seems that the heresy in Bosnia indeed survived much longer than in the West because it was mentioned by the popes of the 15th century who underlined that it was dualistic in nature. Eugene IV in a letter to Thomas, bishop of Hvar, says openly that the Bosnians believed in two principles – good and evil – perceived the devil as equal to God and rejected the Old Testament¹⁸. A similar account can be found in the scriptures of Pius II (1458–1464), who calls the Bosnian heretics Manichaeans¹⁹.

Of course, one may ask a question: do all the above-mentioned sources indeed tell us about Bosnia because some of them use a much less obvious name – the Church of *Sclavonia* (*Ecclesia Sclavoniae*)? The solution to this problematic issue,

¹⁴ More on this source cf.: A. DONDAINE, *La hiérarchie cathare en Italie II*, AFP 20, 1950, p. 235–239.

¹⁵ *Tractatus de Hereticis*, ed. A. DONDAINE, AFP 20, 1950 (cetera: *Tractatus de Hereticis*), p. 308: *Postea quidam de Sclavonia, scilicet de terra que dicitur Bossona, iverunt Constantinopolim causa mercationis; reversi ad terram suam predicaverunt et multiplicati constituerunt episcopum, qui dicitur episcopus Sclavonie sive Bossone.*

¹⁶ *Stephanum principem Bosnensem, catholicum, rogat ut ex partibus regni sui haereticos expellat, haeresim extirpet*, [in:] *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317–1334)*, vol. VII, ed. A.L. TAUTU, Vaticano 1952, p. 160: [...] *magna haereticorum caterva de multis et variis partibus congregata ad principatum Bosnensem, sub fiducia ibi seminandi obscoenos errores tuteque ibidem moriandi, confluit, qui antiqui hostis imbuti versutia ac veneno suae falsitatis armati, catholicorum animas, sub simplicitatis simulatae fallacia, praetensa sed falsa christiani nominis professionie corrumpunt [...].*

¹⁷ *Processus contra valdenses in Lombardia superiori anno 1387*, ed. G. AMATI, ASI 39, 1865, p. 53: *Item dicit dictus Iacobus deponens quod modo sunt decem anni vel circa quod fuit missus per Petrum Patritii predictum in Sclavonia pro doctrina predicta integraliter addiscenda et perfecte a magistris ibidem commorantibus in loco qui dicitur Boxena [...].*

¹⁸ *Thomas ep. Phariensis XVIII*, [in:] *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. IV, ed. D. FARLATI, Venetiis 1769, p. 257–258: *Hi sunt qui Diabolo parem omnipotenti Deo exhibent principatum, duo ponentes prima principia, unum malorum, alterum bonorum: hi sunt damnatores veteris testamenti, mutilatores et corruptores novi; hi sunt qui nuptias damnant, qui cibos a Deo ad usum hominum creatos immundos affirmant [...].*

¹⁹ *Cosmographia Pii Papae in Asiae & Europae eleganti descriptione*, Parisiis 1509, p. 103: *In hac regione quam plurimi heretici possunt quos vocant Manicheos pessimum genus hominum, qui duo principia rerum produunt: alterum malorum alterum bonorum. Nec primatum Romanae ecclesiae tenent, neque Christum aequalem consubstantiali patri esse fatent [...].*

based on the testimony of solid source material, was proposed in the 1970s by Franjo Šanjek. He noticed that in the account of the Cathar council in St-Felix-de-Caraman in 1167 – so it is older than all the above-mentioned sources – the Bogomil bishop of Constantinople, Nicetas, did not mention the Church of Bosnia or *Sclavonia* in his sermon concerning the organization of the dualist communities in the East²⁰. He mentioned only the Church of Dalmatia, which – according to Šanjek – was later transferred to Bosnia because the name *Ecclesia Dalmatiae* disappears in the later sources for the name *Ecclesia Sclavoniae*²¹. What should be underlined here is that this conception is not only a hypothesis, but it is based on convincing source arguments. Based on the letters of Innocent III, Šanjek noticed that in 1200 Bernard, the archbishop of Split, expelled heretics from his city who were called Patarenes or the Cathars; they were later received in Bosnia by ban Kulin who, according to the sources, accepted the heresy with his subjects²². The abjuration of the heresy by ban Kulin at Bilino Polje in 1203 in the presence of the papal legate John de Casamaris is another argument confirming the existence of the dualist heresy in Bosnia, according to scholars²³. In this document the Bosnians promise that they would read the Old Testament alongside the New, that they would have altars and crosses in their churches, that they would receive the Holy Communion, and that they would not accept Manichaeans²⁴.

²⁰ *Charte de Niquinta, antipape des herétiques surnommés d'Albigéois*, ed. D. ZBIRAL, [in:] *1209–2009 Cathares...*, p. 47: *Post haec vero Papa Niquinta dixit ecclesie Tolosane: Vos dixistis mihi ut ego dicam vobis consuetudines primitivarum ecclesiarum sint leves aut graves et ego dicam vobis: Septem ecclesie Asiae fuerunt divisas et terminatas inter illas et nulla illarum faciebat ad aliam aliquam rem ad suam contradicionem. Et ecclesia Romanae et Drogometie et Melenguie et Bulgarie et Dalmaciae sunt divisas et terminatas [...]*.

²¹ F. ŠANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques...*, p. 20–27.

²² INNOCENTIUS III PAPA, *Hemmerado, regi Hungarorum*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CCXIV, ed. J.P. MIGNE, Paris 1890, col. 872: *Accepimus autem, quod cum nuper venerabilis frater noster Spalatensis archiepiscopus Patarenos non paucos de Spalatensi et Traguriensi civitatibus effugasset, nobilis vir Culinus banus Bossinus iniquitati eorum non solum tutum latibulum, sed et presidium contulit manifestum, et perversitati eorundem terram suam et se ipsum exponens ipsos pro catholicis, immo ultra catholicos honoravit, vocans eos antonomasice christianos. INNOCENTIUS III PAPA, B. Spalatensi archiepiscopo et I. Capellano pontificio, ut de fide catholica in terra Culini Bani Bossini inquirant et reformanda reformant*, [in:] *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, vol. I, ed. A. THEINER, Roma 1863; p. 15: *Cum igitur in terra nobilis viri Culini Bani, quorundam hominum multitudo moretur, qui de damnata catharorum heresi sunt vehementer suspecti et graviter infamati.*

²³ F. ŠANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques...*, p. 43–44; D. KNIEVALD, *Vjerodostojnost latinskih izvora o bosanskim krstjanima*, RJAZU 270, 1949, p. 129; J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650 – c. 1450*, Manchester–New York 2013, p. 47–48; T. BUTLER, *Les chretiens...*, p. 112–113.

²⁴ *Abiuracija na Bolinu Polju 1203*, ed. D. KNIEVALD, [in:] *IDEM, Vjerodostojnost latinskih izvora... (ce-tera: Abiuracija na Bolinu Polju)*, p. 127: *Nos priores illorum hominum, qui hactenus singulariter Christiani nominis prerogativa vocati sumus, in territorio Bosne [...]; Abiuracija na Bolinu Polju*, p. 128: [...]
libros tam novi, quam veteris testamenti, sicut facit Ecclesia Romana, legemus. [...] *In omnibus ecclesis*

The combination of the rejection of the Old Testament and Catholic sacraments and of the iconoclasm together with the whole context of the abjuration as described by the sources convinces us that we are dealing with the dualist heresy here. The problem is that we do not know exactly which form of dualism it was; it means we do not know if the Bosnian heretics professed a radical dualism of two opposed principles or the moderate one and we also do not know to what extent this dualism was similar to the Bogomil and Cathar doctrines. It should be noted that this is a problem of all the Bosnian sources; the situation looks similar in the case of the collection of Radoslav the Christian, known from the 15th century manuscript, the prototype of which emerged at the turn the 13th century²⁵ (according to Rački and Šajek). This source shows us that we are dealing with the Bogomil-Cathar type of dualism because it contains the first part of the heretical baptism with the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, we also do not find any additional information here concerning the type of dualism²⁶.

As we can see, based on the joint testimony of the Western and the Bosnian sources, we can conclude that dualism in Bosnia undoubtedly existed. Trying to determine what kind of dualism it was (and this is necessary when we want to say something about its origins), we have to focus on the Western sources, especially those which describe the doctrines of the Cathars professing "Slavonic" doctrines. Such sources can be found mainly in Italy, where – as it was mentioned above – the leaders of two Cathar churches went to *Sclavonia* for ordination at the end of the 12th century. In the case of France, the relations with *Sclavonia* are not mentioned before the letter of Conrad of Porto. Moreover, the relations of the French Cathars with Bosnia not only emerged late, but were also very limited. Meanwhile, in the Italian sources, we can find many important mentions about the doctrines of the Cathars belonging to the *ordo Sclavoniae*. But what exactly was this *ordo Sclavoniae*? Rainer Sacchoni, the best-informed Italian inquisitor, who knew Catharism from the perspective of an insider, enlists all the dualist communities (Bogomil and Cathar), which existed in his times, and at the end he says that all of them have roots in one of two crucial churches – the church of Bulgaria and the church of Drugonthia²⁷. Indeed, if we take a look at the other sources we will find many mentions about two opposing orders – *ordo Bulgariae* and *ordo Drugonthiae*, whose representatives openly competed and even condemned one

habebimus altaria et cruces [...] Per singula loca habebimus sacerdotes, qui dominicis, et festivis diebus adminus missas secundum ordinem ecclesiasticum debeant celebrare, confessiones audire et penitentias tribuere. [...] Septies in anno ad minus Corpus Domini de manu sacerdotis accipiemus [...].

²⁵ F. RAČKI, *Dva nova priloza za poviest bosanskih patarena*, Star 14, 1882, p. 23; F. ŠANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques...*, p. 193.

²⁶ F. ŠANJEK, *L'initiation cathare dans l'Occident médiéval*, Here 5, 1985, p. 23; IDEM, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques...*, p. 192–193.

²⁷ *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 70: [...] *Ecclesia Bulgariae et Ecclesia Drugonthiae. Et omnes habuerunt originem de duabus ultimis.*

another²⁸. *Ordo Bulgariae*, represented in Italy by the church of Concorezzo was a Bulgarian doctrinal order, moderately dualistic, which assumed the existence of only one God – the creator of the angels and of four material elements. In this option, Satan, the fallen angel, was only a maker, a demiurge, who formed the visible world from the matter created by God because he himself did not have the power of creation²⁹. *Ordo Drugonthiae* – in Italy professed by the church of Desenzano – was a radical form of the Bogomil dualism, which emerged under the Paulician influence, according to Bernard Hamilton³⁰. Its foundation was the belief in two equally powerful and co-eternal gods: the good one who was the creator of the angels and the whole spiritual world; and the evil one, the creator of matter³¹. The doctrines of the two main orders – *ordo Bulgariae* and *ordo Drugonthiae* – are presented very precisely in the sources, but in the case of the *ordo Sclavoniae* the situation looks completely different. The descriptions of this doctrine in the sources are imprecise, ambiguous and it is usually described by the relations to the two main orders, which may suggest that the doctrine of the *ordo Sclavoniae* was an eclectic mix of the Bulgarian and Drugonthian elements, rather than original theological conception³². The additional problem is that although the sources identify the adherents of the *ordo Bulgariae* with the members of the church of Concorezzo (*Concorezzenses*), and the adherents of the *ordo Drugonthiae* with the members of the church of Desenzano (also called *Albanenses*), the adherents of the *ordo Sclavoniae* are identified with the *Bagnolenses*. This creates chaos because from the above-mentioned *De heresi*, we learn that the faith from *Sclavonia* was professed not only by the bishop Caloiannes of Bagnolo, but also by Nicola, the bishop of the March of Treviso. Thus, trying to reconstruct the

²⁸ More on the competition between the *Ordo Bulgariae* and *Ordo Drugonthiae* in France cf.: DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, [in:] *Une somme anti-cathare. Le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, ed. C. THOUZELLIER, Louvain 1964 [= SSLo, 32], p. 138–139: *Nonnulli enim eorum obediunt Grecis hereticis, alii autem Bulgaris et alii Drogovetis. Et ita capita divisa gerentes caudas habent ad invicem colligatas, et ita regnum eorum divisum est et corruptum, et ita teste Christo desolatione dignissimum, et ideo non est Christi*. For Italy cf., for example, *De heresi*, p. 306; *Tractatus de hereticis*, p. 309; *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 77: *Item omnes ecclesiae Catharorum se recipiunt ad invicem licet habeant diversas et contrarias opiniones, praeter Albanenses et Concorezzenses, qui se damnant adinvicem*.

²⁹ On the doctrine of the church of Concorezzo cf.: *De heresi*, p. 310; *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 76; MONETA DE CREMONA, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, ed. T.A. RICCHINI, Roma 1743 (cetera: MONETA DE CREMONA), p. 109–110; JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS, *Disputationes nonnullae adversus haereticos*, ed. D. BAZZOCCHI, [in:] *L'eresia catara. Appendice*, Bologna 1920 (cetera: JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS), p. XVII.

³⁰ B. HAMILTON, *The Origins of the Dualist Church of Drugunthia*, ECR 6, 1974, p. 115–124.

³¹ On the doctrine of the church of Deseznano cf.: *De heresi*, p. 309; *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 71; MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 3–4.

³² Cf.: *Tractatus de Hereticis*, p. 313: *Opinio begnolensium triplex est. Nam aliqui tenent cum illis de Concorezo, aliqui tenent quod tenent Albanenses, aliqui tenent mediam viam*; cf. also: *Brevis Summula*, ed. A. MOLINIER, AMi 22, 1910 (cetera: *Brevis Summula*), p. 213–216; *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 77.

doctrine of the *ordo Sclavoniae*, we should analyze the doctrines of two Italian Cathar churches: that of Bagnolo and that of the March of Treviso.

In the case of the church of Bagnolo, important information is provided by one of the oldest sources – the *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia*. It does not describe the most distinctive elements of the doctrine such as the theology and cosmology, but nevertheless tells us that the church of Bagnolo professed faith in only one God, as did the church of Concorezzo, which is a consequence of the fact that the first bishop of Bagnolo, Caloiannes made peace with Garattus, the bishop of Concorezzo³³. This description of the doctrine of the church of Bagnolo brought from *Sclavonia* confirms the opinion of scholars such as F. Šanjek or B. Hamilton who claim that, at least in the first period, the doctrine of the Slavonic dualists from Dalmatia and Bosnia was moderately dualistic³⁴. The subsequent description of the *De heresi* (and other Italian sources) shows us that it was not a clear version of the *ordo Bulgariae*. The specificity of the *ordo Sclavoniae* manifested itself on the level of anthropology and Christology. In the doctrine of the church of Bagnolo, there were three versions of the anthropological doctrine, out of which only one was common with the church of Concorezzo (and consequently, with the Bogomil *Interrogatio Iohannis*). According to it, the bodies of Adam and Eve were animated by the angels cast down from heaven, while the souls of all their offspring (i.e. all people) emerged as the result of the act of procreation³⁵. Two other versions assumed that people are animated by souls created by God to replenish the empty places in heaven after the fall of the angels. The first of them assumed that all the angels who sinned in heaven will be damned, while the second differentiated between the angels who sinned voluntarily and those who were somehow forced (*quasi coacti*)³⁶. Another specific element of the

³³ *De heresi*, p. 308: [...] *garattus cum complicibus suis, omnes predictos episcopos cum suis sequacibus de promissione sibi prius ab eis facta astrictos fore causantur nisi ab eo solvantur, et contra deum et contra rationem illos ordinem episcopatus accepisse iudicat. Et ob hoc aliquem illorum episcoporum non vult in communicatione orationum suarum et in reverentis faciendis suscipere nisi caloiannem, quem nuper absolvit et cum eo pacem fecit. De heresi*, p. 310–311: *Caloiannes, episcopus unius partis hereticorum, qui habent ordinem suum de Sclavania, et Garattus, episcopus alterius partis adulteratorum doctrine Christi, qui habent ordinem suum de Bulgaria credunt et predicant tantum unum bonum deum omnipotentem sine principio, qui creavit angelos et IIIIor elementa. Et dicunt, quod lucifer et complices sui peccaverunt in celo.*

³⁴ F. ŠANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques...*, p. 133–140; B. HAMILTON, *The Cathar Council of Saint-Felix Reconsidered*, AFP 48, 1978, p. 46–47.

³⁵ *Tractatus de Hereticis*, p. 313: *Et dicunt quod de spiritus Ade et Eve traducuntur alii spiritus, ad supplendam et restaurandam ruinam malorum spirituum qui peccaverunt voluntarie; et fuerunt in corporibus a diabolo, spiritus scilicet Ade et Eve. Et illa traducio spiritus ex spiritu est ex natura, sicut corpus ex corpore, et planta ex planta; Interrogatio Iohannis, [in:] *Le livre secret des cathares. Interrogatio Iohannis. Edition critique, traduction commentaire*, ed. et trans. E. BOZOKY, Paris 2009 (cetera: *Interrogatio Iohannis*), p. 58–60.*

³⁶ *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 77: [...] *isti [...] conveniunt [...] de catharis de Concorrezo [...] excepto hoc, quod dicunt, quod anime sunt create ante mundi constitutionem et quod tunc etiam peccaverunt.*

Bagnolenses' doctrine was Christology and Mariology. The doctrine of the *ordo Sclavoniae* also differed here from the Bulgarian one, where according to the teachings expressed in the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, Christ, the son of God, came to Earth in an apparent body and his mother was an angel³⁷. In the Slavonic doctrine, it was not only Mary who was considered an angel, but so was John the Evangelist and Christ himself³⁸.

A close analysis of the sources shows that the doctrine of the Bagnolenses indeed was a mix of two main forms of medieval dualism – the Bulgarian and the Drugunthian. A moderately dualistic theology was taken from the *ordo Bulgariae* – angelic Christology was exactly the same as in the church of Desenzano, professing *ordo Drugonthiae*, and the alternative versions of the anthropological doctrine were very similar to the Drugunthian version³⁹. The doctrinal analysis shows two crucial features of the Slavonic doctrine: eclecticism (a mixing of Bulgarian and Drugunthian elements) and some kind of fluidity, which means that various versions of the doctrine co-existed within one doctrinal order. Considering this, we may suspect that the doctrine of Bosnian dualists, later borrowed by the Italians, could have emerged under the influence of agents of the two main branches of Bogomilism – Bulgarian and Drugunthian – on Bosnian soil. But before we draw any final conclusions, we should also take a look at the doctrine of the second Italian Cathar community, belonging to the *ordo Sclavoniae* – the church of the March of Treviso. In this case, the sources are even more laconic than in the case of the church of Bagnolo. The only source on which we can rely is the *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum* (from around 1240), which according to Dondaine, presents the doctrine of the Cathars as belonging to the group of *Bagnolenses*⁴⁰. However, this information is not especially precise

De heresi, p. 311: *Qui vero dicunt, omnes spiritus salvandos simul creatos, asseverant, quod illi spiritus qui ceciderunt incorporantur non salvandi, et ita de corpore in corpus procedunt. [...] Et dicunt, quod alii spiritus creati sunt a Deo omnipotente, qui debent supplere locum non salvandorum. [...] quodam illorum confirmant, quod pars illorum, qui ceciderunt, salvandi sunt, qui non voluntate set quasi coactione peccaverut, et qui cum deliberatione peccaverunt, dampnandi sunt.* Cf. also: JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS, p. XXXVIII–XXXIX.

³⁷ *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 68: *Quando cogitavit pater meus mittere me in mundum istum, misit ante me angelum suum per spiritum sanctum ut reciperet me qui vocabatur Maria mater mea.* In the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, Christ was not an angel, but the son of God, sitting at his right hand from the beginning, cf.: *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 44.

³⁸ *De heresi*, p. 311: *Sclavini tempore gratie credunt, quod filius Dei, scilicet Ihesus Christus, et Iohannes Evangelista et Maria fuerunt tres angeli apparentes in carne.* Cf. also: *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 77; JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS, p. CXIII.

³⁹ On the Christology of the church of Desenzano cf.: MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 5, 232; *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 71. The human spirits, according to the doctrine of the church of Desenzano, are identical with the angels fallen from heaven, but in this doctrine we will not find the idea that God created new souls after the fall, cf.: *De heresi*, p. 309; MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 5, 36, 38, 52.

⁴⁰ A. DONDAINE, *Le manuel de l'inquisiteur*, AFP 17, 1947, p. 174–180; I. DA MILANO, *Fr. Gregorio O.P., vescovo di Fano, e la 'Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum'*, Ae 14, 1940, p. 124–125.

because, as it was said above, the label *Bagnolenses* was used in the sources to describe various Cathar groups, which belonged neither to *ordo Bulgariae* nor to *ordo Drugonthiae*. The fact that the doctrine of the *Disputatio* is radically dualistic, convinces us that we are not dealing with the doctrine of the church of Bagnolo here; it is also completely different than in the case of the Tuscan churches of Florence and Valle Spoletana, which leads us to the conclusion that this must be the doctrine of the church of the March of Treviso, so the radically dualistic version of the *ordo Sclavoniae*⁴¹. Although the *Disputatio* mentions two gods, two eternal principles with the power of creation, the type of dualism described in this source is different than in the *ordo Drugonthiae*. The distinctive element of the radical dualism of *ordo Sclavoniae* is the inequality of two principles. Different than in the Drugunthian doctrine, where the opponent of the good god is the evil god who is equally powerful, in this case, the opponent of God (written with the capital letter) is the devil (or lucifer), written with the lowercase, also called the *minor creator*⁴². And it is not only a matter of names because the *Disputatio* indeed presents the devil as inferior to God. It says that in the beginning, when he was a steward of the heavenly hosts (the angels of the good God), he desired to become equal with God. Therefore, he started to reduce the duties of the angels and for that, he was cast down from heaven by Michael the archangel⁴³. The theme of Satan as the steward of the heavenly hosts, identified with the unjust steward from the gospel of St. Luke (Lc 16: 1–8) is nothing new in medieval radical dualism; it exists in an early form of the Drugunthian doctrine and is rooted in the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, but the main difference is that in Drugunthian dualism Satan never wants to become equal with the good god because he already is equal with him⁴⁴. The desire to become equal with God as the motive of Satan's

⁴¹ The doctrine of the churches of Florence and Valle Spoletana was completely different that the one described in the *Disputatio*, cf.: *Abiuratio Patarenorum Petri et Andrei*, ed. G. RISTORI, [in:] IDEM, *Patarini in Firenze nella prima metà del secolo XIII*, RSCST 1, 1905, p. 188–189.

⁴² *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, ed. I. DA MILANO, Ae 14, 1940, p. 126: *Duos etiam creatores, duo eterna principia, duos Deos constituunt, unum visibillum, alterum invisibillum* (cetera: *Disputatio inter catholicum*). *Disputatio inter catholicum*, p. 130: *Deum omnia creasse, concedo, intellige bona; sed mala et vana et transitoria et visibilia ipse non fecit, sed minor creator, scilicet lucifer et idcirco dicitur a Johanne: sine ipso factum est nihil, idest transitoria*.

⁴³ *Disputatio inter catholicum*, p. 132: *Villicus iniquitatis, de quo Evangelium dicit, fuit diabolus, cui omnis angelorum cura fuerat deputata; ut laudum et psalmorum pensiones Deo ab angelis reddendas ipse colligeret; sed cum angelis, pro tam dura pensione gravatis coniuravit ut similis potest esse altissimo: et de pensionibus iam dictis cotidie fraudabat dicens: quantum debes domino meo? Centum horos tritici, et ille: accipe cautionem tuam, inquit, et scribe octoginta; et similia. Hoc autem videns, altissimus Michael eum substituit et ipsum a villicatione removit, et cum suis complicitibus de celo eiecit*.

⁴⁴ On the theme of the unjust steward in the drugunthian Catharism cf.: MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 4: [...] <Diabolus> *caute ascendit in coelum Dei Sancti, et ibi colloquio suo fraudulento praedictis animas decepit et ad terram istam et caliginosum aerem duxit, et credunt eum villicum iniquitatis dici a Domino Luc. 16. v. 8* [...]. Cf. also: *Brevis Summula*, p. 201; *De heresi*, p. 309. On the theme of the unjust steward in the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, cf.: *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 50.

rebellion appears only in the moderately dualistic Bogomilism, precisely in the doctrine described at the beginning of the 12th century by the Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigabenus⁴⁵. As we can see, the radical Slavonic dualism differs seriously from the Drugunthian one; its distinctive feature is the belief in the existence of two eternal but unequal principles: God and the devil, the minor creator. The differences do not end with theology, however; they exist also in other elements of the doctrine, especially in anthropology. According to the *Disputatio*, when the devil – the creator of the transient material world – had formed the bodies of Adam and Eve and was unable to animate them, he decided to ask God for help. When God announced it in heaven, two angels, who secretly loved the devil, decided to go and help the devil voluntarily. God agreed, but warned them not to fall asleep on their way because they would forget the way back to their heavenly home. The angels did not listen to God's warnings, fell asleep on their way and finally were imprisoned by the devil in the bodies of Adam and Eve⁴⁶. As we can see in the radical version of the Slavonic doctrine, we have a very problematic theme of the cooperation of God with the devil in the creation of people, which was characteristic for the moderately dualistic *ordo Bulgariae*, described by Zigabenus⁴⁷.

Before drawing any final conclusions from this analysis, we should try to answer the question: how can we be sure that the doctrine presented in the *Disputatio* was indeed imported from Bosnia and was not constructed by the Italian Cathars, who combined the elements of the Bulgarian and Drugunthian doctrine on their own? This problem can be solved by another Western source, much younger, but this time describing directly the doctrine of the heretics from Bosnia. It is the *Isti sunt errores haereticorum bosnensium*, attached to the answer of the Pope Gregory XI to the letter of the Franciscan vicar in Bosnia – Bartholomew of Auvergne from 1373⁴⁸. In this source we can also find specific radical dualism of two unequal principles where the opponent of God (the major god) is Lucifer, called a minor god⁴⁹. Is it possible that *Isti sunt errores* was fabricated

⁴⁵ EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, *Panoplia dogmatica*, [in:] PG, vol. CXXX (cetera: EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS), col. 1295. Cf. also: *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 44.

⁴⁶ *Disputatio inter catholicum*, p. 132–133: [...] ipse vero diabolus [...] duo hominum corpora fabricavit. Sed cum per XXX annos vitalem spiritum illis corporibus infundere non posset, accessit ad misericordiam altissimi, et duos angelos ab ipso quesivit. Astiterunt statim duo, qui, diabolum occulte diligebant, et rogaverunt altissimum ut cum diabolo irent, cito reverturi. Quorum fraudem Deus agnoscens dixit: ite, sed cavete, ne dormiatis, quia post soporem reverti non possitis et viam oblivioni traderetis. Sed si dormieritis, post VI milia annorum veniam ad vos. Venerunt igitur, dormierunt in corpora ista obliti celestis patrie inclusi sunt. Isti sunt Adam et Eva.

⁴⁷ EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, PG, vol. CXXX, col. 1298.

⁴⁸ D. KNIEVALD, *Vjerodostojnost...*, p. 163–164.

⁴⁹ *Isti sunt errores hereticorum bosnensium*, ed. D. KNIEVALD, [in:] IDEM, *Vjerodostojnost latinskih izvora...*, p. 168: *Imprimis, quod sint duo dii et quod maior deus creavit omnia spiritualia et invisibilia, et minor, scilicet lucifer, omnia corporalia et visibilia.*

based on the Italian *Disputatio*? In my opinion, it is highly improbable considering that we will not find many doctrinal themes in it that were characteristic of the doctrine of the church of the March of Treviso⁵⁰. Could it have been constructed based on other polemical anti-Cathar sources? Definitely not, because the specific radical dualism of two unequal principles can be found only in the Italian *Disputatio*. All this leads us to the conclusion that the *Diputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum* contains the authentic version of the doctrine of the *ordo Sclavoniae*.

But can we conclude that this specific dualism of two eternal and independent but unequal principles was invented by the Bosnian dualists who combined the elements of the Bulgarian and Drugunthian doctrine? Of course, there is such a possibility, but it seems that it is not the only explanation because we should also draw attention to the fact that the idea of two eternal, but unequal principles existed earlier in the legend *Sea of Tiberias*, which was used by the Bulgarian Bogomils⁵¹. The issue of the origins of this legend is rather complicated, and has caused controversies among scholars who are divided into two groups: those who accept its Bogomil origins, and those who are against such a possibility. In my view, the most reasonable is the middle way (represented for example, by Y. Stoyanov), according to which – in the case of the *Sea of Tiberias* – we are dealing with two layers: the archaic one, containing the universal Earth-diver myth; and the dualistic one, which was added later by the heretics⁵². It should also be noted that it is the only Bogomil legend that contains radical dualism. According to this legend, in the beginning, there is only God, the Infinite Sea of Tiberias and Satanael, not created by God, who swims in this sea in the form of an aquatic bird, (usually a duck). Satanael calls himself God, but at the same time the good God is called by him the God of Gods and Lord of Lords, which shows that we are dealing here with the dualism of two independent and eternal, but unequal principles. In the *Sea of Tiberias* we can also find the theme of the cooperation of God with Satanael in the creation of the World, however this theme is probably a part of the archaic layer of the universal Earth-diver myth⁵³. This time, it is not about the creation of people, but of the Earth. God orders Satanael to dive in the sea and bring from

⁵⁰ In the *Isti sunt errores* we won't find the specific doctrine concerning the creation of man, or the identification of the material being with the nihil from the prologue of the Gospel of St. John.

⁵¹ More on the source and its date, cf.: *Apokryfy i legendy starotestamentowe Słowian południowych*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, Kraków 2006, p. 3; J. IVANOV, *Livres et legendes bogomiles. (Aux Sources di Catharisme)*, Paris 1976, p. 255–256, 267–274; *Sredniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła słowiańskie*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, J.M. WOLSKI, Łódź 2015 [= SeCer, 1], p. 31, 40.

⁵² For the controversies concerning the origins and content of the Sea of Tiberias cf.: Y. STOYANOV, *Islamic and Christian Heterodox Water Cosmogonies from the Ottoman Period: Parallels and Contrasts*, BSOAS 61, 2001, p. 19–33; IDEM, *The Other God. Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, New Haven–London 2000, p. 131–138.

⁵³ Y. STOYANOV, *Islamic and Christian...*, p. 22.

its bottom soil and flint, and then from the soil scattered over the sea he creates the world, and striking half of the flint with his stick he creates the angels. Also as part of this legend, Satanael becomes the steward of the heavenly hosts (which is rather illogical because, from the second part of the flint, he had already created his own angels) and led by the desire to become equal with God, he decides to rebel and consequently is cast down to Earth by Michael the archangel⁵⁴.

So what are the conclusions of this doctrinal analysis? First of all, it shows that within Bosnian dualism there were many different doctrinal conceptions that were typical either for the *ordo Bulgariae*, the *ordo Drugonthiae* or were mixes of these two types. Because of that, we cannot perceive *ordo Sclavoniae* as the third option of the Bogomil-Cathar dualism, equal to the *ordo Bulgariae* and *ordo Drugonathiae*. The doctrine of the *ordo Sclavoniae* was not a coherent and clear theological system, but rather an accidental mix of the themes borrowed from both sides, so we may say that this eclecticism was the most distinctive feature of Bosnian dualism rather than the original theology. But it should be noted that this eclecticism is a very strong argument for the existence of dualism in Bosnia because it is highly improbable that it was constructed by the Catholic polemicists. If they had constructed the dualist Bosnian doctrine, based on the polemical anti-Cathar works, it would have been either a typical radically dualistic doctrine or a typical moderately dualistic one, but surely not such a peculiar and chaotic mix of the two, which cannot be found either in French or in German sources and in Italy it appears only in the *Disputatio*. This specific eclecticism, which is distinctive for the Bosnian dualism, emerged under the influence of the missionaries representing various forms of Bogomilism, and also various Bogomil churches, and this, in turn, is an argument against the conceptions, which assume only one direction of the flow of the dualistic ideas to Bosnia. The conception of F. Šanjek, focusing on Dalmatia, is of course well founded in the source material, which shows that the dualist church of Dalmatia existed earlier than the Church of Bosnia, and that these two churches never existed in parallel, but it should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Bosnian church emerged under the exclusive influence of the church of Dalmatia. According to Šanjek, based on the Italian *Tractatus de Hereticis*, dualism was brought to Dalmatia from Constantinople before the Saint-Felix council, and from Zigabenus we learn that the Bogomils of Constantinople at that time professed a moderate dualism of the *ordo Bulgariae*, so if indeed Dalmatia had been the only source of the Bosnian dualism, it would have meant that it should have professed the pure Bulgarian doctrine, and the sources show us that it was not so⁵⁵. It is also not especially probable that Bosnian dualism emerged as a result of the expulsion of the Dalmatian heretics

⁵⁴ O Morzu Tyberiadzkim, ed., trans. A. KAWECKA, [in:] *Apokryfy i legendy...*, p. 5–6; *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne...*, p. 31, 40.

⁵⁵ F. ŠANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques...*, p. 39–45.

by the archbishop of Split at the end of the 12th century. If the Bosnians and ban Kulin did not have anything in common with the dualist heresy, they would not have received the heretical refugees so openly, and would not have converted to heresy as it is presented in the sources. It also does not seem especially probable that for the spread of the heresy in Bosnia the Dalmatian missionaries were responsible. Italian goldsmiths from Zadar – Matthew and Aristodius Zorobabel – were accused of heresy at the end of the 12th century, and according to the sources spent a lot of time in Bosnia⁵⁶. It is more probable that the dualist heresy was already known in Bosnia thanks to the Bulgarian and Drugunthian missionaries, and the heretics expelled from Serbia by Stephen Nemanja, and therefore the dualists from Dalmatia found refuge in Bosnia.

A precise analysis of the Bosnian doctrine (*ordo Sclavoniae*) based on the sources leads us to important conclusions. First, it confirms the existence of dualism in Bosnia, excluding the possibility of its construction by Catholic polemicists. Secondly, it shows that a specific feature of Bosnian dualism was the co-existence of various theological conceptions of different provenance and their eclectic mixes. All this, in turn, leads us to the conclusion that Bosnia was a field of activity for the missionaries of various forms of Bogomilism. Considering this, it seems that the most probable are the conceptions of the scholars who suggest more than one direction of the dualist influence in Bosnia.

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⁵⁶ THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, *Historia Salonitanorum Pontificium*, ed. F. RAČKI, [in:] MSHSM, vol. XXVI, Zagreb 1894 (cetera: THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS), p. 80: *Fuerunt namque eo tempore duo fratres, filii Zorobabel, quorum alter Matheus alter vero Aristodius vocabatur. Hi quamvis essent de parte Apulo, erant tamen a puertitia Jandrenses cives effecti. Conversabantur vero ex maiori parte apud Bosnam, quia erant pictores optimi et in auri fabrilis arte satis exercitati; competenter etiam latine et slavonice litterature habebant peritiam.* THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, p. 82: *Sed ita erant fallente diabolo, in barathrum heretice pestis immersi, ut non solum impiam heresim obcecato corde crederent, sed etiam scelestis labiis predicarent. Hoc invenit Bernardus Spalati commorantes, multosque iam pestiferi dogmatis tabe ab eis infectos. Cepit ergo paulatim ad catholicam normam miti sermone allicere, frequenter eos convocans, frequenter exhortans. Sed cum illi heretica calliditate tergiversantes dissimularent converti, statim archiepiscopus fecit omnia bona eorum diripi, eosque anathematis vinculo innodatos, cum magno opprobrio de civitate expelli.*

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PARISTRION AS CENTRE AND PERIPHERY: FROM BYZANTINE BORDER PROVINCE TO HEARTLAND OF THE SECOND BULGARIAN TSARDOM*

Abstract. In 1185, after a successful revolt against the Byzantine empire, the so-called second Bulgarian kingdom was established on the territory of the former province of Paradounavon/Paristrion, that had been the first area of settlement of the Bulgars who had crossed the Danube and established their state in 681, and had become a peripheral region of the Byzantine empire after the conquests of Tzimiskes and Basil II. Even before the 1185 revolt, however, Paristrion had already begun to develop an embryonal degree of self-consciousness, although not in a 'national' way, owing to its peculiar history and ethnic composition. During the course of the 9th–12th century it had experienced a constant influx of invaders from the north, many of whom had in the end settled, either forcibly or after reaching an agreement with the imperial authorities. Those *mixobarbaroi*, half-civilized barbarians (according to the Byzantine point of view) had gradually integrated with the local population, made of Bulgarians, Vlachs, and Byzantine soldiers, settlers and administrators coming from the various provinces of the empire. When the military presence on the Danube was strong the region prospered economically, and became integrated in a vast trade network managed by Cuman and Rus' traders and raiders; but during the 12th century the empire gradually withdrew its troops and its interest in Paristrion, and this relative prosperity began to diminish. Coupled with the remembrance, in popular traditions, of the past glory and abundance of the first Bulgarian empire, and with the increasing fiscal burden that oppressed the local traders, the Paristrions gradually became convinced that their future prosperity, much like at the time of the first Bulgarian kingdom, was in their independence from the empire. Once again, this peripheral region began the centre of an independent polity that traced its roots in the past Bulgarian kingdom, but exhibited also some radically different traits.

Keywords: Byzantine history, Medieval Bulgaria, Ethnicity, Peripheries, Medieval Nomads, Medieval Statehood

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The asymmetric relationship that connects the centre and the peripheries of a state is not necessarily fixed and permanent. It often remains basically unchanged during the course of time, as in the case of Constantinople and its provinces: but under certain political or economic circumstances it is also possible for a core region to become periphery and vice-versa, especially if the area under scrutiny is contested between different polities. The present paper will analyse such an occurrence: the establishment, in 1185/1186, of the so-called 'Second Bulgarian kingdom' in the region of *Paristrion*, also called *Paradounavon*, that is the area framed North by the river Danube, East by the Black Sea, and West and South by the Stara Planina and Sredna Gora massifs, called Αἴμος in the Byzantine sources and *Haemus* in the Latin ones. What had previously been a peripheral borderland, separating the core of the European imperial territories from the boundless expanse of land outside the limits of the Byzantine *oikoumene*, became, at the end of the 12th century, the heartland of an independent polity which traced its origins back to the old Bulgarian kingdom established in 681, and vanquished and reabsorbed by the Byzantine empire between the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.

Protected by the rugged terrain and impenetrable forests of the Stara Planina, that the Byzantines were reluctant to cross and where they suffered many defeats¹, the territory of Paristrion itself (at the time still called with the ancient name of Mysia) was the central area of the first Bulgarian kingdom. Between the 7th and the 10th century, this new polity took control of a large part of South-Eastern Europe, including a sizeable territory north of the Danube. Both its capitals, Pliska and Preslav², were built in that region. The old Roman and Byzantine fortresses along the Danube, that had been ineffective in stopping their invasion, were refurbished. Their importance was not only of a military nature: one of the residences of khan Omurtag was built in the vicinity of the fortress of Dristra, as a further proof of the centrality of the region³. From this relatively secure heartland the Bulgarians constantly expanded south- and westward, towards Byzantine-held Thrace and

¹ K. MARINOW, *Across Haimos: Inconveniences and Dangers in Crossing the Mountains of Bulgaria in the Middle Ages*, VTUR 1.1, 2018, p. 11–24; К. МАРИНОВ, *Стратегическата роля на Старопланинската и Средногорската вериги в светлината на българо-византийските военни сблъсъци през VII–XI век*, ИРИМГ 2, 2014, p. 111–134.

² It is perhaps an exaggeration to consider Pliska and Preslav as proper capital cities, or as the sole residences of the khans and tsars of the first Bulgarian kingdom. See D. ZIEMANN, *Pliska and Preslav: Bulgarian Capitals between Relocation and Invention*, [in:] *Българско Средновековие: общество, власт, история. Сборник в чест на Проф. Д-Р Милица Каймакамова*, ed. Г. НИКОЛОВ, А. НИКОЛОВ, София 2013, p. 170–185.

³ Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Дръстър (Силистра) и дунавската резиденция на българските ханове през първата половина на IX в.*, Арх 53.1, 2012, p. 28–45; Г. АТАНАСОВ, К. МИХАЙЛОВ, *Нови данни за двореца на хан Омуртаг в Дръстър (Силистра)* (= *ύπέρφυμον ἕκον ἰς τόν Δαυούβην*), [in:] *Трети международен конгрес по българистика, 23–26 май 2013 г. Секция "История и археология", подсекция "Археология и стара история"*, ed. Т. ПОПНЕДЕЛЕВ, София 2015, p. 213–245.

Macedonia, and built a well-organised state which, albeit for a short time, seemed capable of taking control of the whole peninsula⁴.

The regional balance of power changed in the second half of the 10th century, after a long period of peace. In 966 the emperor Nikephoros II Phocas refused to pay the annual tribute to Bulgaria and invited Svjatoslav of Kiev to raid the Bulgarian cities on the northern Danube. The plan was successful, but brought along unexpected consequences: Svjatoslav, enticed by the riches found in the region, returned with a large army of Rus', Magyar and Pecheneg warriors, and took control of the lower Danube without Byzantine permission. The Bulgarians were forced to acknowledge his dominance and Svjatoslav's army moved south, menacing Constantinople. Nikephoros was killed by his nephew John Tzimiskes, who became the new emperor and managed to repel the Rus' invasion, conquering Bulgaria and deposing its last tsar, Boris, in 971. Preslav was renamed Ioannopolis and became the seat of the *strategos* entrusted with the defence of the region, while Dobrudja and the Danube delta, renamed 'Western Mesopotamia', were garrisoned with a substantial amount of Byzantine troops under the supervision of a *katepanos*. The old fortresses of Dristra, Isaccea (Noviodunum), Dinogetia, Capidava, and Derwent were restored and enlarged, and new strongholds were built, such as the one known today as Păcuil lui Soare⁵.

Byzantine control of Paristrion was short-lived. The region was wrestled away from the empire after the revolt of the so-called *kometopuloi*, the four sons of the

⁴ On the history of the first Bulgarian kingdom in the 9th and 10th century, see especially И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Средновековна България, VII–XIV век*, София 1999, p. 169–297; M. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, *Carstwo Bułgarskie. Polityka, społeczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura 866–971*, Warszawa 2015; *The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*, ed. ИДЕМ, Łódź–Kraków 2018; *Българският златен век. Сборник в чест на цар Симеон Велики (893–927)*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, И. ИЛИЕВ, К. НЕНОВ, Пловдив 2015; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*, Cambridge 2006 [= CMT], p. 166–179, 213–238; J.V.A. FINE, *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, Ann Arbor 1983, p. 112–157; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2000, p. 18–48.

⁵ P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 48–57; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10th–12th Centuries*, Leiden 2013 [= ECEEMA, 22], p. 28–44, 101–114; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Recherches sur l'histoire du Bas-Danube au X^e–XI^e siècles: la Mésopotamie d'Occident*, RESEE 3, 1965, p. 57–79. On the *strategoi* of Ioannopolis/Preslav see especially И. ЁРДАНОВ, *Печатите от стратегията в Преслав (971–1088)*, София 1993; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 59–62. On Păcuil lui Soare see G. ATANASOV, *On the Initial Date of the Medieval Lower Danube Fortress of Păcuil lui Soare and its Harbour*, ABU 23.3, 2018, p. 77–106; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Още веднъж за датировката, принадлежността и идентифицирането на крепостта Пъкуюл луй Соаре и пристанището*, [in:] *Acta Mediaevalia Magnae Tarnoviae*, vol. I, Владетел, Държава и Църква на Балканите през Средновековието. Сборник в Чест на 60-годишнината на Проф. Д-Р Пламен Павлов, Велико Търново 2020, p. 626–674. According to Atanasov the fortress was built by the Bulgarians in the end of the 9th – beginning of the 10th century, but the harbour was built after Basil II's conquest.

comes Nicholas: the most successful of them, Samuil, created a large state centred around Macedonia and the Western Balkans and conquered Preslav in 986, but not Western Mesopotamia which remained under Byzantine control⁶. However, Paristrion was too far from the centre of Samuil's dominions and of secondary interest to him – it was, in essence, once again a periphery. After 1001 it was recovered by emperor Basil II who, between 1014 and 1018, reclaimed all the territories lost by the empire in the previous decades. Basil II organized the conquered Bulgarian lands into three themes, *Bulgaria*, *Sirmion*, and *Dristra*⁷, which became known as *Paradounavon* (Paristrion is the name most commonly employed by the sources, but it was not the official name of the military district) in the middle of the 11th century⁸, and remained under imperial control until the last quarter of the 12th century⁹.

The establishment of Paristrion as a separate region, with a strong military character, dates back to the reforms of Basil II aimed at achieving a stable control of the lands that had previously formed the Bulgarian kingdom. Since the Rus' menace had waned, he did not leave a large standing army in Paristrion but relied on the network of fortresses on the Danube¹⁰. The renewed importance of those citadels and their larger population of soldiers caused a significant increase in trade. Local goods and local workers were needed by the military, and

⁶ И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Средновековна България...*, p. 312–331; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe...*, p. 241–247; J.V.A. FINE, *The Early Medieval Balkans...*, p. 188–199; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 47–48; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 58–61; С. ПИРИВАТРИЊ, *Самуилова држава. Обим и карактер*, Београд 1997; В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Г. НИКОЛОВ, *Европейският Югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура*, Софиа 2015.

⁷ И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Средновековна България...*, p. 343–359; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 63–78; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 55–58, 62–64; N. BŪNESCU, *Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradounavon) et de Bulgarie*, Bucarest 1946; L. МАКСИМОВИЋ, *Организација византијске власти у новоосвојеним областима после 1018 године*, ЗРВИ 36, 1997, p. 31–42.

⁸ A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 68–69; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 94.

⁹ On Paristrion and the lower Danube region in the eleventh and twelfth century see especially P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*; IDEM, *The Byzantine Frontier at the Lower Danube in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, [in:] *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, ed. D. POWER, N. STANDEN, London 1996, p. 80–104; В. ТЪПКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, *Долни Дунав, гранична зона на византијски запад: към историята на северните и североизточните български земи, края на X–XII в.*, Софиа 1976; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*; IDEM, *Dunărea în epoca bizantină (secolele X–XII): o frontieră permeabilă*, RI 10, 1999, p. 41–55; IDEM, *The Military Organization of Paradunavon*, Bsl 60.2, 1999, p. 421–446; I. BARNEA, Ș. ȘTEFANESCU, *Din istoria Dobrogei*, vol. III, *Bizantini, români și bulgari la Dunărea de Jos*, Bucarest 1971; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe...*, p. 293–299, 302, 314, 319; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Добруджа*, Варна 2004, p. 102–124.

¹⁰ J. SHEPARD, *Information, Disinformation and Delay in Byzantine Diplomacy*, BF 10, 1985, p. 254–259; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 115.

archaeological excavations have unearthed many isolated low-value coins, large amounts of amphorae used primarily to transport wine and oil, and other ceramics produced in Constantinople. Moreover, the presence of new markets attracted Pecheneg and Rus' merchants, who could acquire Byzantine wares without having to travel to Constantinople or to the other Byzantine ports on the Thracian coast¹¹.

The Pecheneg presence north of the Danube, however, soon turned into a menace and the river, to use the term coined by Alexandru Madgearu, became for a long time a 'permeable frontier'¹². The first Pecheneg incursion in Byzantine territory dates back to 1027 and the most devastating raids were carried between 1032 and 1036. Those expeditions had a serious impact on the local population, not only because of the destruction they obviously inflicted but also because, between 1045 and 1047, and again in 1059, large groups of invaders received the permission to settle in the region: the Byzantine army was unable to repel them, and thought best to reach an agreement. The Pecheneg chieftains received stipends, gifts, military commands, and became involved in the task of defending the Danube frontier from other nomads such as the Oghuzs, who raided Paristrion in 1064/1065. Gradually assimilated within the imperial military and administrative system, they were called *mixobarbaroi*, half-barbarians, by the Byzantine writers¹³. This derogatory term must not be intended as an ethnonym: the Byzantines were not describing a different population but rather a group of 'almost-civilized' foreigners, whose actual ethnicity was not important to investigate since, in their eyes, they all belonged to the undifferentiated mass of the northern nomads. Even if they had partially absorbed some Byzantine customs and values, including the Christian faith, they were nonetheless perceived as essentially alien¹⁴. Thus, *mixobarbaroi* was the name given, regardless of their ethnic origin, to the local elite of military servicemen who were employed for the defence of the Danube *limes*, and who were rewarded with money and, after the institution of the *pronoia* system, with plots of land¹⁵.

¹¹ P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 84–88.

¹² A. MADGEARU, *Dunărea în epoca bizantină...*, p. 41.

¹³ V. TÜPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, *Les Mixobarbaroi et la situation politique et ethnique au Bas-Danube pendant la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle*, [in:] EADEM, *Byzance et le Balkans à partir du VI^e siècle*, London 1979, p. 615–619; N.-Ş. TANAŞOCA, *Les Mixobarbares et les formations politiques paristriennes du XI^e siècle*, RRH 12.1, 1973, p. 61–82; H. AHRWEILER, *Byzantine Concepts of the Foreigner: the Case of the Nomads*, [in:] *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. IDEM, A. LAIOU, Washington D.C. 1998, p. 10–15; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 87–88; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 109–114.

¹⁴ On the problem of how nomads were perceived by sedentary populations see especially F. HARTOG, *Le miroir d'Hérodote. Essai sur le représentation de l'Autre*, Paris 1980; specifically for the Byzantines H. AHRWEILER, *Byzantine Concepts...*; for the less studied question of how sedentary populations appeared in the eyes of the nomads, see Ts. STEPANOV, *The Bulgars and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages. The Problem of the Others*, Leiden 2010 [= ECEEMA, 8].

¹⁵ On the institution of *pronoia* see especially M. BARTUSIS, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2012, p. 94–97; J. BIRKENMEIER, *The Development of the Komnenian*

The politics of appeasement was initially successful. Peace and trade were restored and the Danubian cities began to experience an economic and demographic upsurge, vividly described in a well-known passage in Attaleiates' *History*¹⁶. In 1072 Nikephoritzes, the powerful minister of emperor Michael VII, decided to withdraw payments to the Pechenegs, who rebelled and resumed their devastating incursions. The local population rebelled as well, fearing that Nikephoritzes' plan to reform the taxation of the local markets, by forcing the producers to bring their goods to deposits controlled by imperial officers, would be detrimental to their income. This period of armed confrontation and general unrest, resembling very closely a secession of Paristrion, lasted until 29 April 1091 when the Pechenegs were finally vanquished in the battle of Levounion¹⁷. This victory ended the Pecheneg threat, but did not guarantee the safety of the Danubian border. Another nomadic people, the Cumans, who were already present in the area and had fought as Byzantine auxiliaries at Levounion, crossed the river in 1095 and plundered the region for the first time. Other raids followed in 1114, 1122 (along with a contingent of Pechenegs) and 1148, with some minor incursions in the following years. A number of Cumans settled in Paristrion, further complicating the ethnic and cultural mosaic of the area¹⁸. In the same period the Vlach presence

Army, 1081–1180, Leiden 2002, p. 148–168; A. LAIOU, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire*, Princeton 1977, p. 142–158; P. LEMERLE, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Galway 1979, p. 166–188, 230–248; А. КАЖДАН, *Аграрные отношения в Bizантии, XIII–XIV вв.*, Москва 1952, p. 202–223; A. KAZHDAN, *Pronoia: the History of a Scholarly Discussion*, MHR 10, 1995, p. 133–163, with a comprehensive bibliography. On the nomad chieftains in Byzantine service see also Ж. ЖЕКОВА, *Печати на номади на служба във Византия (XI–XII в.)*, [in:] *Acta Mediaevalia Magnae Tarnoviae*, vol. I..., p. 836–845. Niketas Choniates was extremely critical of this development, which according to him weakened the Byzantine army by giving military commands not only to half-barbarians, but also to people of low status and inadequate experience: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin–New York 1975 [= *CFHB*] (cetera: CHONIATES), p. 208–209. For other examples of Byzantine writers expressing disgust at the idea of barbarians leading Byzantine soldiers, see H. AHRWEILER, *Byzantine Concepts...*, p. 2–3.

¹⁶ *Michaelis Attaliatae Historia*, ed. E.Th. TSOLAKIS, Athens 2011 [= *CFHB.A*, 50], p. 158: *numerous and large cities, populated by a multitude of people speaking all languages.*

¹⁷ P.B. GOLDEN, *Nomads and their Sedentary Neighbors in Pre-Cinggisid Eurasia*, AEMA 7, 1987–1991, p. 53–61; F. CURTA, *The Image and the Archaeology of the Pechenegs*, Ban 23, 2013, p. 143–202; P. DIACONU, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube*, Bucarest 1970; É. MALAMUT, *L'image byzantine des Petchénègues*, BZ 88, 1995, p. 105–147; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 29–31, 87–103; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 64–84, 116–139; J. SHEPARD, *John Mauroπους, Leo Tornicius and an Alleged Russian Army: the Chronology of the Pecheneg Crisis of 1048–1049*, JÖB 24, 1975, p. 61–89.

¹⁸ A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 54–68, 142–147, 150–153; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 103–106; I. VÁSÁRY, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*, Cambridge 2005, p. 13–47; P.B. GOLDEN, *Nomads and their Sedentary Neighbors...*, p. 61–81; IDEM, *The Cumans*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. SINOR, Cambridge 1990, p. 277–284; IDEM, *The Quipchaks of Medieval Eurasia: an Example of Stateless Adaptation in the Steppes*, [in:] *Rulers from the Steppe. State Formation on the Eurasian*

also increased significantly, or at least the sources record their name more frequently. The primary economic activity of the Vlachs was sheep breeding, but they also contributed troops and scouts to the Byzantine empire, although their loyalty was, at times, questionable¹⁹.

After 1095 there is no more evidence of the presence of a *katepanos* stationed in Paristrion. The fortress of Preslav/Ioannopolis had, apparently, lost its importance, along with the whole defensive system of the region. This was a consequence of the fact that Alexios I Komnenos changed the traditional Byzantine strategy regarding the Danube *limes*: realizing that the province was difficult to defend, he reduced the military presence in the region, leaving garrisons only in the most important citadels (Isaccea and Dristra above all) and abandoning the rest of the settlements. The main line of defence was moved south, on the slopes of the Stara Planina mountain range, in order to minimize the risk of incursions in Thrace stopping the invaders on the mountain passes, in an interesting reversal of the classic (an soon to be renewed) Bulgarian strategy to block the attacks coming from the south. Moreover, Byzantine foreign politics concerns and military engagements gradually shifted westward as the confrontation with the kingdom of Hungary became more intense during the reign of emperors John II and, especially, Manuel, who established a new theme in Niš which drained even more manpower and resources from Paristrion. This does not mean that the province was abandoned or neglected – Manuel himself led the counterattack against the Cuman invasion of 1148, although he achieved little²⁰ – but the interest of the central government for Paristrion was sensibly reduced, and the local population was mostly left to itself. Owing to the fact that the Cumans acted as commercial intermediaries between Constantinople, the Byzantine fortified *emporion* on the Danube, the lands of Rus' and Galicia and the farthest Eastern regions, local trade continued to flourish especially in the centres of Dristra, Dinogetia and the new town of Kilia.

Periphery, ed. G. SEAMAN, D. MARKS, Los Angeles 1991, p. 132–157; P. DIACONU, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, Bucarest 1978; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe...*, p. 293–317; Я. ПИЛИПЧУК, *Соціальна історія кипчаків у IX–XIII ст.*, Київ 2018; Я. ПИЛИПЧУК, *Кїпчаци и Византия (конец XI – начало XIII в.)*, SHEO 5, 2012, p. 41–52.

¹⁹ M. GYÓNI, *Le nom de Βλάχοι dans l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène*, BZ 44, 1951, p. 241–252; IDEM, *La transhumance des Vlaques Balcaniques au Moyen Age*, Bsl 12, 1951, p. 29–42; E. STĂNESCU, *La population vlaque de l'Empire Byzantin au XI^e–XIII^e siècle*, BF 7, 1979, p. 23–53; P.Ș. NĂSTUREL, *Les Valaques balkaniques aux X^e–XIII^e siècles. Mouvements de population et colonisation dans la Romanie grecque et latine*, BF 7, 1979, p. 89–112; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe...*, p. 280–282, 316–317, 354–365; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 104–105; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 140, 143.

²⁰ A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 85–86, 99–100, 147–158; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 103–105, 203–210, 229–269; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe...*, p. 328–334; J.V.A. FINE, *The Early Medieval Balkans...*, p. 234–247; F. МАКК, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century*, Budapest 1989, p. 96–124.

The relative scarcity of Cuman raids in the hinterland of Paristrion is a further proof of the fact that the locals and the last wave of invaders had gradually reached a *modus vivendi*, and that peaceful relations within the various ethnies living in the region were more productive than a state of constant threat and warfare²¹.

The local population, as it has been already mentioned, was extremely diversified: Bulgarians, Vlachs, Cumans, and soldiers and administrators coming from various parts of the Byzantine empire had developed their own peculiar culture during the course of more than a century in which Roman, Slavic and 'alien' customs forcibly coexisted²². As the military confrontation between the ethnies inhabiting the region of Paristrion waned during the course of the 12th century, renewed trade opportunities created the conditions for the development of an integrated economic system, in which nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentary communities, each with their own peculiarities, language and lifestyle, coexisted and prospered. Once again, the presence of a sizeable military force, although smaller than the one stationed on the Danube in the previous century, protected the inhabitants and their trade: what's more important, it generated the need for supplies and services provided by the locals, who also worked as intermediaries in the flow of goods exchanged between Constantinople, Paristrion itself and the territories to its north.

Progressively, a group of small- and medium-scale local magnates began to emerge. Their ethnic origins and their economic activities were varied. Some had received land in *pronoia*, and commanded fortresses and military units on the river or on the mountain slopes: most likely, but not necessarily, they were sedentarized *mixobarbaroi* of Petcheneg or Cuman origins (or Rus': Manuel I entrusted four Danube fortresses to Rus' chieftains, who presumably garrisoned them with their retinue and troops, after 1160)²³ with ties with the Cumans living north of the Danube. Other Cumans had not renounced their nomadic lifestyle, and bred horses for the needs of the Byzantine military. There were landholders, descendants of the old Bulgarian aristocracy who, although culturally and politically part of the Byzantine *oikoumene*, had not entirely forgotten their heritage. And there were Vlach merchants and sheep breeders, living on the hills and moving with their herds, descending on the plains to trade their products. Long coexistence and economic

²¹ A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization...*, p. 153; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 106; J. SHEPARD, *Tzetzes' Letters to Leo at Dristra*, BF 6, 1979, p. 191–239.

²² See J. BONAREK, *Le Bas Danube dans la seconde moitié du XI-ème siècle: nouveaux états ou nouveaux peuples?*, BSC 5, 2007, p. 193–200; V. TŪRKOVA-ZAIMOVA, *La population du Bas-Danube et le pouvoir byzantine (XI^e–XII^e s.)*, [in:] EADEM, *Byzance, la Bulgarie, les Balkans*, Plovdiv 2010, p. 68–76; EADEM, *Les mouvements des populations en Mésie et en Thrace entre le début du XI^e et le début du XIII^e s.*, [in:] EADEM, *Byzance, la Bulgarie...*, p. 77–85; F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Interaction between Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples on the Lower Danube: the Cumans and the 'Second Bulgarian Empire'*, [in:] *The Steppe Lands and the World beyond them. Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th Birthday*, ed. F. CURTA, B.-P. MALEON, Iași 2013, p. 299–312.

²³ П. ПАВЛОВ, *За руското присъствие на Долни Дунав и българо-руските връзки през XI–XII в.*, Дюб 3, 1986, p. 11–20; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 107.

interdependence had gradually blurred the ethnic and cultural divisions which separated them, and trying to make a distinction between Bulgarians, Vlachs and Cumans is a difficult and most certainly irrelevant task.

This situation of relative prosperity came to an end in the second half of the 12th century. Due to the concerns arising from the old conflict with Hungary, now coupled with tensions with the Normans and the Western powers in general, the Byzantine military presence on the Danube was reduced to a minimum. The definitive inclusion of the Cumans in the Byzantine commercial and diplomatic space made its presence redundant, and the network of fortresses and trading posts that dotted the Danube was gradually decommissioned²⁴. While peace is certainly a desirable condition, the reduction of the military presence brought a parallel reduction in trade and, consequentially, a decrease in economic prosperity and social stability²⁵. The good relations between the Cumans and the inhabitants of Paristrion favoured trans-border commercial exchanges, but this was not to the benefit of the locals. Trans-Danubian Cumans were generally not interested in trading agricultural goods: likewise, the goods they exported south of the river were of no commercial interest to the locals, being mostly luxury items like silk, or horses for the needs of the Byzantine military. The locals found themselves progressively cut out from the main commercial routes of the empire. Without a significant military presence that could absorb the local production, the main market for horses, cattle and agricultural produce was Constantinople: but the Paristrion entrepreneurs had to compete with the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, which produced more, were nearer to the capital and better connected by a good network of roads and especially harbours for sea trade, something which Paristrion lacked.

The region became progressively irrelevant, both from a strategic and commercial point of view. The reduction in the volume of trade, coupled with an increasingly oppressive fiscal politics, generated a great deal of resentment amongst the local population. This was encouraged by the remembrance of the past glory of the Bulgarian kingdom, celebrated in many anonymous texts written during the Byzantine domination of Bulgaria, either as originals or as translations and adaptations from Greek models. Known as 'historical-apocalyptic writings', those are not trustworthy recollections of the past: on the contrary, characters and events of Bulgarian history are mixed together with religious texts and transfigured into allegoric tales with strong prophetic and eschatological overtones²⁶. While the

²⁴ И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Добруджа...*, p. 113–114, and especially note 186.

²⁵ For an analysis of the decrease of monetary circulation in the region see И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Добруджа...*, p. 183–186.

²⁶ On the Bulgarian historical-apocalyptic literature see especially В. ТЪПКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжнина във Византия и в средновековна България*, София 1996, p. 12–117 (English edition, V. TÄPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, A. MILTENOVA, *Historical-Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria*, Sofia 2001); М. КАЙМАКАМОВА, *Власт и история в средновековна България, VII–XIV век*, София 2011, p. 157–216; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe...*, p. 288–289.

texts are of a different nature, there is a certain insistence in all of them on representing the past of the virtuous Bulgarian people as an age of splendour and moral excellence. The champion *par excellence* of those virtues is tsar Peter (927–970), celebrated for his love of peace and for his religious zeal. The most eloquent example of this laudatory attitude, in which the symbolic and eschatological elements prevail over the historical truth, is the *Tale of the Prophet Isaiah*:

He [Peter] ruled over the Bulgarian land for twenty years without sin and without a wife, and his reign was blessed. In that time, in the days and years of saint Peter, tsar of the Bulgarians, there was abundance of everything, namely grain and butter, honey and milk and wine [...] and there was want of nothing, but there was abundance of everything according to God's will²⁷.

Isolated from the centre of the empire, impoverished and disenfranchised, increasingly confronted with the memory of a past they found much more enticing than the grim reality of the present, the local inhabitants gradually lost their emotive and identitarian connection with Constantinople²⁸. Other factors, not directly connected to Paristrion but to the general state of the empire, weighed in. The death of Manuel I, in 1180, marked the beginning of a political crisis in Constantinople, which had serious repercussions on its peripheral territories²⁹. Béla III of Hungary resumed military operations and occupied the regions of Srem, Fruška Gora, Croatia and Dalmatia while his ally, the grand *Župan* of Serbia Stefan Nemanja, began a parallel expansion on the Adriatic coast, Kosovo and Macedonia³⁰. To make

²⁷ *Ска(з)ание Нсаіе пр(о)рка*, in В. ТЪПКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Историко-апокалиптическата книжнина...*, p. 200 (English translation by the author). On the significance and textual history of the *Tale*, see I. BILIAISKY, *The Tale of the Prophet Isaiah. The Destiny and Meanings of an Apocryphal Text*, Leiden 2013 [= ECEEMA, 23].

²⁸ This phenomenon was not limited to Paristrion. See for instance the letter addressed by Michael Choniates to Demetrios Drimys, in which he laments that Constantinople was neglecting its obligations towards the provinces: *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. H.-G. BECK, A. KAMBYLIS, R. KEYDELL, Berlin–New York 2001, p. 69, 52–70, 68. See also V. TREMBLAY, *L'identité romaine est-elle exclusive à Constantinople? Dichotomie entre Byzance et les Balkans à l'époque médiobyzantine (VI^e–XII^e siècles)*, [in:] *From Constantinople to the Frontier. The City and the Cities*, ed. N. MATHEOU, T. KAMPIANAKI, L. BONDIOLI, Leiden 2016 [= MME, 106], p. 36–40. Of course the relation between capital and provinces, the attraction exercised by the capital on provincials, and the question of provincial versus 'Roman' identity are much more nuanced than a simple opposition: see A. KALDELIS, *Provincial Identities in Byzantium*, [in:] *The Routledge Handbook on Identity in Byzantium*, ed. M.E. STEWART, D.A. PARNELL, C. WHATLEY, New York 2022, p. 248–262.

²⁹ M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261*, Cambridge 2000, p. 126–136; for a partial reassessment of this position see the essays in *Byzantium, 1180–1204: 'the Sad Quarter of a Century'?*, ed. A. SIMPSON, Athens 2015.

³⁰ F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe...*, p. 334–335, 339, 346–347; J.V.A. FINE, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 1994, p. 6–9; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan frontier...*, p. 279–284; A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids*.

matters worse, in August 1185 a Norman army sacked Thessalonica and remained in the region until the month of November. In the eastern part of the empire there were no invasions, but some local *archontes* profited from the turmoil and tried to secede from the empire, after having increased the size of their militias: the most successful one was Isaac Comnenos, who took control of Cyprus and styled himself as a legitimate emperor³¹.

The idea of seceding from the empire, or at least to achieve some greater degree of autonomy, was evidently entertained also by some members of the local aristocracy of Paristrion. The catalyst that accelerated this process was an unexpected and severe onset of cattle confiscations in the early autumn of 1185. The new emperor Isaac II was about to marry Margaret, the daughter of king Béla III of Hungary. The marriage would have finally put an end to the hostilities between the two countries: Isaac did not want to use the public treasury to pay for the expenses, so he decided to take what was needed from his estates in Thrace. The greed of the tax collectors, anyways, went past his orders, and they confiscated cattle and flocks in Paristrion, especially in the region of Anchialos and the cities around it, to the point that *the barbarians living on the mount Haemus* rebelled³². Anchialos is not far from the easternmost slopes of the Stara Planina, with its population of itinerant Vlachs and Bulgarian farmers, and it was the main commercial hub of the region, where the local merchants carried their stocks to be transported oversea, and where the Byzantine tax collectors could seize their cattle and produce.

The population of Paristrion, exacerbated by this last extraordinary taxation which they rightly perceived as an abuse, convinced that the empire was no longer able to guarantee the security and the interests of its citizens, and that it could not oppose a resolute action, as the recent setbacks against Hungary, Serbia and the Normans had proved, finally decided to take the matter in their own hands. In the autumn of 1185 two brothers, Asen and Theodore (who will later chose the name Peter) approached emperor Isaac II while he was encamped at Kipsella, before his successful campaign against the Normans. We know nothing certain about them. From the fact that they were able to access the emperor, we may suppose that they were already in the service of the empire, either as holders of a *pro-noia* or as suppliers of horses or goods to the army: in short, they were part of the

The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280), Leiden 2017 [= ECEEMA, 41], p. 32–33.

³¹ P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium Transformed, c. 950–1200*, MEnc 10, 2004, p. 206–208; W.H. RUDT DE COLLENBERG, *L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)*, B 38, 1968, p. 123–179; J. HOFFMANN, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210). Untersuchungen über Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen und ihr Verhältnis zu Kaiser und Reich*, München 1974 [= MBM, 17], p. 32–38, 86–89; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Paris 1990, p. 117.

³² CHONIATES, 368; A. SIMPSON, *Byzantium's Retreating Balkan Frontiers during the Reign of the Angeloi (1185–1203): a Reconsideration*, [in:] *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. STANKOVIĆ, Lanham 2016 [= B.EEL], p. 6–7.

local elite of *mixobarbaroi* so despised by Choniates. We can assume that they were affluent, well connected to the Cumans (and possibly of Cuman, or partly Cuman descent), as the future events will show, and that they enjoyed the esteem of their countrymen.

Much has been said about the ethnic origins of the brothers (and of the rebels in general), especially because the sources, with no exception, describe them as Vlachs. The same sources, however, while carefully distinguishing between Vlachs and Cumans make almost no mention of the Bulgarians. This is confusing, since there is no evidence that the Bulgarian ethnic element had been supplanted by the Vlachs or that it did not participate in the uprising, given especially the fact that the new polity would immediately represent itself as the resurgence of the old Bulgarian kingdom rather than a new political entity. In the past decades, the controversy between Bulgarian and Romanian scholars over this matter has been fierce, and ultimately pointless³³. The most logical explanation for this is that the Byzantine authors called the rebels Vlachs because the name of Bulgaria had been used, since the time of Basil II, to indicate the western regions of the old Bulgarian kingdom and not the region of Paristrion³⁴. The same Choniates, while employing almost only the ethnonym 'Vlach', also states that people 'of both descent' (i.e., Bulgarians and Vlachs) participated to the revolt, which was aimed at the freedom 'of the people of the Bulgarians and the Vlachs'³⁵. The matter, however, is of very little importance: as said before, the populations living in Paristrion had already begun to forge a distinct identity which included and surpassed their actual, different ethnic allegiances. Questioning the ethnicity of the leaders of the revolt and of their followers, and attempting to ascribe it to any of the populations living in the region (especially to serve contemporary political and nationalist purposes), is a sterile occupation in the light of their future actions and ideology³⁶.

Once in Kipsella and at the presence of the emperor, Peter and Asen demanded some concessions (according to Choniates, a small plot of land), which Isaac did not grant. Tempers rose high and Asen, the more uncompromising of the two, was slapped in the face by order of the emperor's uncle, John the *sebastokrator*. Enraged and humiliated, they returned home and staged the uprising that would bring to

³³ For a relatively unbiased exposition of the controversy see Ph. MALINGOUDIS, *Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung des zweiten bulgarisches Staates*, Вуџ 10, 1980, p. 89–100, 123–129; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, София 1994, p. 11–19; R. DASKALOV, *Feud over the Middle Ages: Bulgarian-Romanian Historiographical Debates*, [in:] *Entangled Histories of the Balkans*, vol. III, *Shared Pasts, Disputed Legacies*, ed. IDEM, A. VEZENKOV, Leiden 2015, p. 274–354; A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 60–63.

³⁴ F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Interaction between Nomadic and Sedentary...*, p. 302–304, for some examples.

³⁵ CHONIATES, 371.

³⁶ For a summary of the many theories proposed about the ethnic origins of the Asenids see И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици...*, p. 18–19.

the establishment of the second Bulgarian kingdom³⁷. This series of events, apparently quite straightforward, present some substantial differences with the other uprisings taking place within the imperial boundaries in the same period. The first one is the fact that, since the beginning, it seems that a large part of the population was involved: while it may have been started by some local *archon*, apparently the population was quick to join them, for the reasons that have been examined above. The same Choniates states that the uprising had been planned well before the encounter with Isaac II³⁸, so that Asen's rude behaviour may have been, in fact, a provocation aimed at exacerbating the situation.

Another difference, and a very important one, is the constant reference made by the rebels to their connection with the first Bulgarian kingdom. Choniates observed, with a certain trepidation, that the ultimate aim of the rebels was *to reunite the kingdom of the Mysians and of the Bulgarians, as it had been in the past*³⁹. While we may suppose that, probably, in the beginning of the uprising the aim of the rebels was not that ambitious, and their political program not so well defined, it is uncontroversial that, once the survival of the breakaway province had been assured, their actions moved into that direction. Theodore was crowned tsar in the attire of the old Bulgarian rulers (a golden circlet and red boots, according to the dismissive description made by Choniates) and chose the name Peter, charged with so much significance; one of the first campaigns was directed at the old capital Preslav where he evidently wanted to perform his coronation⁴⁰. The new capital was set in Tărnovo, previously a town of small importance. The two Bulgarian kingdoms were separated by almost two centuries and by many differences, not least the ethnic and cultural composition of its population. It is therefore impossible to assume that the state created by the Asanids at the end of the 12th century was just the natural continuation of the old Bulgarian kingdom, whose development had been interrupted, but not destroyed, by the Byzantine conquest and domination, as if it had remained dormant waiting for a chance to resurface. Nonetheless, this was precisely the concept that its rulers strived to expound: and in a certain way, there

³⁷ CHONIATES, 368–369. The establishment of the second Bulgarian kingdom is the subject of a considerable amount of historiography. For a general bibliography on the revolt and on the first years of the kingdom see И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Средновековна България...*, p. 421–440; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици...*, p. 11–42; Ph. MALINGOUDIS, *Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates...* (see also its review, with many corrections and additions: Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Новое исследование о восстании в Паристрионе и образовании второго Болгарского царства*, ВВ 41, 1980, p. 92–112); P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 288–315; C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*, Cambridge Mass. 1968, p. 88–96; F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe...*, p. 357–365; A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 35–83; A. SIMPSON, *Byzantium's Retreating Balkan Frontiers...*

³⁸ CHONIATES, 368.

³⁹ CHONIATES, 374.

⁴⁰ CHONIATES, 372.

was truth in their claims that the aim of the uprising was the restoration of an old polity, and not the creation of a new one, as the same Choniates admitted. While it is certainly possible to frame this rebellion in the general contemporary trend of centrifugal peripheries at the edges of the Byzantine empire⁴¹, the breakaway of Paristrion was ideologically supported by much more than simple fiscal protest and social unrest. Peter and Asen were indeed local *archontes* struggling to break free from the empire and carve out an independent principality. Yet, their idea was welcomed by the local population who participated enthusiastically, notwithstanding the great dangers and difficulties it entailed: this proves that the memory of the first Bulgarian kingdom was not just a political ploy, but an idea that resonated strongly at least with the ruling elite of the region and could be used to successfully rally the population in such a difficult endeavour⁴².

The reasons for this success are manifold. Obviously the general discontent with the Byzantine government, and especially the recent surge in extraordinary taxes, was an important factor but not one that, taken alone, would be sufficient to explain the events: once paired with the remembrance of the old Bulgarian state, it became irresistible. Since all the ethnies living in Paristrion took part in the revolt and in the defence of the new polity, it is evident that this discourse was attractive not only for the ethnic Bulgarians but for all the inhabitants of the region. What they saw in the memory, or in the myth of old Bulgaria was not national pride (something that could maybe work for the Bulgarians, if such a concept can be applied to the Middle Ages) but a palingenesis in which moral renewal and spiritual virtues, the core concepts of the historical-apocalyptic literature, were as much important as material prosperity. Furthermore, from a political point of view, seeking an affiliation with a once-powerful state was of great importance for the Asenides: presenting themselves as the successors of the old Bulgarian kings, even if they were not related by blood to them, would guarantee that their claims to autonomous rule would be taken seriously by their opponents. As a matter of fact, the Byzantine emperors, the Hungarian king Imre and the Latin crusaders that took control of Constantinople after the deviation of the Fourth Crusade tried to undermine their pretensions, considering them usurpers who had unjustly and forcefully taken control of territories that did not belong to them. Asen and Peter tried to be recognized as legitimate sovereigns by Frederik Barbarossa during his passage in the Balkan peninsula in the Third Crusade, but to no avail⁴³. The matter was finally resolved by pope Innocent III who sent a royal crown and sceptre to tsar Kalojan (1197–1207), the third ruler of Bulgaria after Asen and Peter, stating

⁴¹ For which see again J. HOFFMANN, *Rudimente...*; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations...*

⁴² F. DALL'AGLIO, 'As it Had Been in the Past': the Idea of National Continuity in the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, [in:] *Laudator Temporis Acti. Studia in Memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov*, vol. I, ed. I. BILIARSKY, Sofia 2018, p. 282–299.

⁴³ *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, rec. A. CHROUST, Berolini 1928, p. 58; *Historia Peregrinorum*, rec. A. CHROUST, Berolini 1928, p. 149.

that he and his brothers were legitimate sovereigns and not usurpers: *descendants of the lineage of the old kings, they succeeded not in occupying, but in recovering the land of their fathers*⁴⁴, providing Kalojan with a prestigious endorsement for his claims.

The last factor that guaranteed the success of the revolt, perhaps the most important one from the military point of view, was the involvement of the Cumans: not only of those settled south of the Danube, who had by then become part of the ethnic mosaic of Paristrion, but of those stationed north, much more numerous and warlike. For them, the establishment of a state that would necessarily engage in military operations against Byzantium, and provide a buffer between their lands and those of the empire, was a great opportunity to resume their plundering raids in relative security⁴⁵: as a matter of fact, the Cumans participated in the military operations on the rebels' side since the beginning of the uprising, and their help was of invaluable importance until the end of the first decade of the 13th century, when more pressing matters in the core of their commonwealth reduced, but never completely extinguished, their presence south of the Danube⁴⁶. Rather than being the gateway from which hostile populations descended to pillage and devastate the region, as in the past centuries, the Danube became a sanctuary and a supply line, from which the Cuman light cavalry could join forces with the Bulgarians and, if necessary, retreat to safety. Secure in its northern boundaries, Paristrion was easily defensible if the attackers came from the south, as long as the defenders had control of the mountain passes and fortresses: this was the initial strategic goal of the rebels, and their success in doing so proved crucial in assuring the survival of the new-born state in the first years of its existence.

The insurrection of 1185 was a turning point in the history of Paristrion, and the final step in the process of identity-building that had been taking place in the region since the 11th century: and yet, paradoxically, it also meant the end, or at least a radical redefinition, of its specific features. The idea of a secession brought together all the different components of the Paristrion population, each with its own characteristics – Bulgarians, be they descendants of the old aristocracy or

⁴⁴ [...] *de priorum regum prosapia descendentes, terram patrum suorum non tam occupare quam recuperare ceperunt*: Die Register Innocenz' III, vol. VII, Pontifikatsjahr, 1204/1205. Texte und Indices, ed. O. HAGENEDER et al., Wien 1997, p. 205. The letter is dated 15 September 1204 and is addressed to Imre of Hungary, who was opposing Kalojan's coronation in the light of the ongoing conflict between Bulgaria and Hungary for the possession of the Belgrade-Braničevo area.

⁴⁵ According to *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. J.L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin–New York 1972 [= *CFHB*, 3], p. 7–8, Peter won the assistance of the trans-Danube Cumans promising easy campaigns and rich plunder. Of course, Choniates' orations were rhetoric exercises delivered in the presence of the emperor and the court, so their historical value must be carefully weighed.

⁴⁶ В. Стоянов, *Куманите в Българската история (XI–XIV в.)*, ИП 61.5/6, 2005, p. 3–25; F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Military Alliance between the Cumans and Bulgaria from the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom to the Mongol Invasion*, AEMA 16, 2008/2009, p. 29–54; K. GOLEV, *The Bulgarophilia of the Cumans in the Times of the First Asenids of Bulgaria*, 30 6.3, 2018, p. 452–471.

simple farmers, who could revive the glorious days of their forefathers, Vlach traders who wanted a fairer tax regime, Cuman merchants and raiders who were looking for more profitable enterprises, and the many more whose ancestry was unclear, mixed, untraceable – and made a single people out of them. This final act of unity, which was the high point of the formation of an embryonal Paristrion identity and at the same time the beginning of its dissolution, was the way they chose to satisfy their material and spiritual instances, since their previous existence as citizens of the Byzantine empire was evidently no longer desirable. The state that was born out of this rebellion carried, for political and cultural reasons, the name of only one of its constituents, but it was the joint creation of all its inhabitants⁴⁷.

Once again Paristrion became the heartland of a Bulgarian kingdom, after having been one of the many peripheries of the Byzantine empire. This had already happened in 681 when the Bulgars established their khanate over the local Slavs and Byzantines, and it happened again in 1185: but this time the kingdom was established by local elements, although with the assistance of the Cumans who, coincidentally, were based in the lands occupied by the Bulgars before their final descent in the Balkan peninsula. And of course, before becoming again the centre of a Bulgarian polity it was the centre of the Paristrion community, incorporating Bulgarian, Vlach, Byzantine, Cuman, sedentary, transhumant, and nomadic elements into a new collective body who was conscious of its demands, willing to fight to satisfy its necessities, and looking back to the past to legitimize its actions and its future. But when it comes to the theme of peripheries, we should not limit our remarks to the obvious fact that the Byzantines considered it a peripheral province inhabited by a peculiar population of half-barbarians. Paristrion was a periphery to the Cumans as well, being the south-westernmost point of their own *oikoumene*, stretching from West-Central Asia to the heart of the Balkans: and it was for them an area of great importance, where they got direct contact with the Byzantine empire and the trade (and plunder) opportunities it provided⁴⁸.

Paristrion does not fit well in the usual narrative of a binary and static opposition between centre and periphery. Its peculiar history and the development of its identity cannot be understood only in reference to Constantinople, and the same is true for the whole of Central and South-Eastern Europe. The history of Bulgaria, Hungary, Galicia, Rus' is related not only to Constantinople or western Europe, but

⁴⁷ While known as 'kingdom of the Vlachs and the Bulgars' in its first years, it became known as 'kingdom of Bulgaria' during the reign of Boril (1207–1218). 'Second Bulgarian kingdom' or 'Empire' (in Bulgarian, usually, второ Българско царство) is, of course, a modern appellative. See also A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 58: *the Bulgarians had a solid state tradition, while the Vlachs had none. The Bulgarian aristocracy [...] was linked to the past in a manner in which the Vlach nobility was not.*

⁴⁸ K. GOLEV, *On the Edge of "Another World": the Balkans and Crimea as Contact Zones between the Cuman-Qipchaqs and the Outside World*, EB 54, 2018, p. 109–110; Ts. STEPANOV, *Periphery as Universe*, Bsl 59, 1998, p. 247–254.

also, and with the same degree of importance, to the constant afflux of populations, ideas and goods coming from the East. In this perspective, Pechenegs, Oghuzs, Cumans, Mongols were not just exotic barbarians bent on pillaging and destroying, but important actors in a dynamic network of constant interactions, which had enormous repercussions on Constantinople and the West as well. The whole idea of a sedentary, and obviously fully-civilized, world existing in a self-sufficient void from which it projected itself outside, interacting with the nomadic polities only if and when this was suitable to its aims, must be rediscussed. Paristrion, being simultaneously a centre and a double periphery, to Constantinople and to the Cumans, and being the hinge connecting the world of the steppes with that of the sedentary civilizations, may provide an excellent case study in this regard, and on the way in which identities were formed, debated, and negotiated in the late 12th century.

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THE INDIAN RIVER THAT FLOWS FROM PARADISE*

Abstract. In the *Jewish Antiquities* (I, 1, 3), when paraphrasing the passage of Genesis 2, 10–15, Flavius Josephus notes that the four rivers springing in paradise are the Phison (Φεισὼν), which passes through India and is called Ganges by the Greeks, the Euphrates and Tigris, which flow into the Red Sea, and finally the Geon, which crosses Egypt and is called the Nile by the Greeks. Starting from Josephus' comments, this research focuses on the various interpretations of the Genesis passage, and in particular on the references to the Phison in the writings of the hellenised Jewish and Christian authors. The contents of these texts show common traits with Greco-Roman sources that describe India as a utopian space outside of history. Therefore, the analysis of the documents reveals how a sequence of texts developed over the centuries, starting from a utopian image of India and reaching a definition of a land close to paradise.

Keywords: Eden, Evilat, India, Phison, Ganges, Indus, Hyphasis

In the Septuagint, the verses of Genesis 2, 10–14, that describe Eden and the four rivers originating from it¹, appear rather controversial already among the ancient authors that quote and comment upon it².

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¹ See the Greek text in *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. I Genesis*, ed. J.W. WEVERS, Göttingen 1974. See the English translation in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. A. PIETERSMA, B.G. WRIGHT, Oxford 2007.

² On the hypothesis that the four rivers of paradise are all in an area of the Near East, see E.A. SPEISER, *The Rivers of Paradise*, [in:] *Oriental and Biblical Studies. Collected Studies of E.A. Speiser*, ed. J.J. FINKELESTEIN, M. GREENBERG, Philadelphia 1967, p. 23–34. On the Jewish sources related to this passage, see Y.T. RADDAY, *The Four Rivers of Paradise*, *HebS* 23, 1982, p. 23–31. On the Hellenistic Jewish and Christian authors reading the same passage, see M. ALEXANDRE, *Entre ciel et terre: les premiers débats sur le site du Paradis*, [in:] *Peuples et Pays Mythiques. Actes du V^e colloque du centre de recherches mythologiques de l'Université de Paris X*, ed. F. JOUAN, B. DEFORGE, Paris 1988, p. 187–224; A. SCAFI, *Il paradiso in terra. Mappa del giardino dell'Eden*, Milano 2007, p. 23–31. On the place of paradise in Armenian, Syriac, Greek and Latin Christian sources, see H. INGLEBERT, *Interpretatio Christiana. Les mutations des savoirs (cosmographie, géographie, ethnographie, histoire) dans l'Antiquité chrétienne (30–630 après J.-C.)*, Paris 2001, p. 81–90. On the medieval writings concerning these rivers and the easterly collocation of paradise, see H.R. PATCH, *The Other World According to Descriptions in*

At the beginning of Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*³, where the passage is paraphrased, we read (I, 1, 3):

ἄρδεται δ' οὗτος ὁ κήπος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ποταμοῦ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν περιρρέοντος, ὃς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη σχίζεται. καὶ Φεισῶν μὲν, σημαίνει δὲ πληθὺν τοῦνομα, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν φερόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Γάγγης λεγόμενος, Εὐφράτης δὲ καὶ Τίγρις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἀπ᾿ αἰσὶ θάλασσαν: καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης Φοράς, σημαίνει δὲ ἦτοι σκεδασμὸν ἢ ἄνθος, Τίγρις δὲ Διγλάθ, ἐξ οὗ φράζεται τὸ μετὰ στενότητος ὄξυ: Γηὼν δὲ διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥέων δηλοῖ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ἀναδιδόμενον ἡμῖν, ὃν δὴ Νεῖλον Ἑλληνες προσαγορεύουσιν.

Now this garden is watered by a single river whose stream encircles all the earth and is parted into four branches. Of these Phison (a name meaning "multitude") runs towards India and falls into the sea, being called by the Greeks Ganges; Euphrates and Tigris end in the Erythraean Sea: the Euphrates is called Phoras, signifying either "dispersion" or "flower", and the Tigris Diglath, expressing at once "narrowness" and "rapidity"; lastly Geon, which flows through Egypt, means "that which wells up to us from the opposite world", and by Greeks is called the Nile.

Unlike the Genesis passage, where the river Phison *encircles the whole land of Heuilat, there where the gold is*⁴, Josephus here writes that it crosses India and is called Ganges by the Greeks⁵. This is undoubtedly a relevant detail since it is one of the earliest mentions of India as being placed close to paradise. In his rewriting of the Genesis text, Josephus performs a two-fold intellectual task: on the one hand, he identifies the location of the four rivers in question and indicates their Greek names; on the other, he reconstructs the etymology of the Hebrew names, attributing an allegorical meaning to them. This interpretative process reflects the purpose of Josephus, who wrote the *Antiquities of the Jews* in order to make the history and traditions of his people known to a Greek-speaking audience⁶.

Medieval Literature, Cambridge Mass. 1950, p. 134–174; J. VALTROVÁ, *Beyond the Horizons of Legends: Traditional Imagery and Direct Experience in Medieval Accounts of Asia*, Nu 57, 2010, p. 154–185.

³ See the Greek text and the English translation in JOSEPHUS, *Jewish Antiquities*, vol. I, trans. H.St.J. THACKERAY, Cambridge Mass. 1930 [= LCL, 242] (cetera: JOSEPHUS). On the relation between Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* and the *Book of Genesis*, see C.T. BEGG, *Genesis in Josephus*, [in:] *The Book of Genesis. Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. C.A. EVANS, J.N. LOHR, D.L. PETERSEN, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= VT.S], p. 303–329.

⁴ Gn 2: 11. Trans. by R.J.V. HIEBERT, in *A New English Translation...*, p. 7.

⁵ Josephus rewrote the text of the Bible, translating and paraphrasing it with additions. On his method, see L.H. FELDMAN, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*, Berkeley 1998 [= HCS, 27], p. 14–23.

⁶ See Josephus' statements on his debt to the Greek audience in JOSEPHUS, I, 5–9; XVI, 174–175; XX, 262–263. On the relationship between Josephus and Greek literature, see E. ALMAGOR, *Josephus and Greek Imperial Literature*, [in:] *A Companion to Josephus*, ed. H.H. CHAPMAN, Z. RODGERS, Malden Mass.–Oxford–Chichester 2016 [= BCAW], p. 108–122.

Still within the hellenised Jewish culture, it is noteworthy that in Philo of Alexandria's works there are several hints at allegorical interpretations of the four rivers that flow from paradise. In a long passage from the *Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis* (I, 19, 63 – I, 27, 87)⁷, Philo clarifies that the four streams (ἀπόρροιαί) mentioned in Genesis 2, 10–14 are figuratively four particular virtues (ἀρεταί) of man, the great river (ποταμός) from which they flow corresponds to the general virtue (γενική ἀρετή), namely goodness (ἀγαθότης), while Eden represents the wisdom (σοφία) of God⁸. In Philo's extensive commentary, where the abstractedness of the exegesis is emphasized, the Phison represents prudence (φρόνησις), the Geon courage (ἀνδρεία), the Tigris self-mastery (σωφοσύνη), the Euphrates justice (δικαιοσύνη)⁹. In this interpretative scheme the influence of Platonic doctrines and Stoic ethics¹⁰ can be seen very clearly, since the four rivers descending from paradise metaphorically represent four virtues already classified as essential for the ideal city by Plato¹¹, and for man by Chrysippus¹², Panaetius¹³ and Posidonius¹⁴. Philo, just like Josephus, successively attributes an allegorical meaning to the etymology of the river names¹⁵. Specifically, the Phison, in Greek Φεισών, is to be linked to the verb φειδεσθαι that means "sparing", i.e. guarding the soul by wrong deeds¹⁶. The Phison has the task of preserving a beneficial, loving and favourable disposition. As Genesis 2, 11 states that there is gold in the land of Evilat, Philo explains that gold is the most precious of metals and therefore prudence is the

⁷ PHILO, *On the Creation. Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis 2 and 3*, vol. I, trans. F.H. COLSON, Cambridge Mass. 1929 [= LCL] (cetera: PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*). The same ideas are found in the *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, see PHILO, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, trans. R. MARCUS, Cambridge Mass. 1953 [= LCL, 380] (cetera: PHILO, *Quaestiones in Genesim*).

⁸ PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 19, 63. Cf. PHILO, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, I, 12.

⁹ PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 19, 65. In PHILO, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, I, 12, the list of rivers and virtues has an inversion between the second and third items: Phison-wisdom, Geon-temperance, Tigris-courage, Euphrates-justice.

¹⁰ On the relationship between the rivers of paradise and the virtues listed by Philo, see R. RADICE, *Philo and Stoic Ethics. Reflections on the Idea of Freedom*, [in:] *Philo of Alexandria and Post-Aristotelian Philosophy*, ed. F. ALESSE, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 153–155.

¹¹ PLATO, *Republic*, IV, 441D–442D, vol. I, trans. C. EMLYN-JONES, Cambridge Mass. 2013 [= LCL, 237].

¹² See fragment II, 262 in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, vol. II, coll. I. AB ARNIM, Stuttgartiae 1903.

¹³ The four virtues appropriate to man according to Panaetius are expounded in Cicero's *De officiis: cognitio veri, iustitia, magnitudo animi, temperantia* (chapters 25–104, in CICERO, *On Duties*, trans. W. MILLER, Cambridge Mass. 1913 [= LCL]).

¹⁴ Diogenes Laertius (VII, 92) reports a variable number of virtues proper to man, depending on different Stoic philosophers, but specifically attributes four virtues to Posidonius. Further on, he states in general that they are: wisdom, courage, justice, temperance (cf. DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, vol. II, trans. R.D. HICKS, Cambridge Mass. 1925 [= LCL]). See on this passage the study by J. MANSFELD, *The Stoic Cardinal Virtues at Diog. Laert. VII 92*, Mn 42, 1989, p. 88–89.

¹⁵ PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 20, 68 – 27, 87. Cf. PHILO, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, I, 13.

¹⁶ PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 20, 66.

most precious of virtues¹⁷. Philo conjures a complex symbology around the names of the remaining three rivers of paradise¹⁸, according to his critical method. In the *Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis* Philo does not identify the physical seats of the four rivers, as he is only interested in their allegorical significance¹⁹. By contrast, in the *Questions and Answers on Genesis* Philo advances a rationalistic conjecture: since some say that the Tigris and Euphrates originate in the Armenian mountains but there is no paradise there, it could be far from the *oikoumene* and there could be a river flowing underground and dividing into several large veins, which would then rise to the surface to form the known springs²⁰. However, Philo does not seem to give weight to this conjecture, because immediately afterwards he proposes the same allegorical interpretation of the four rivers developed in the *Allegorical Interpretation*. Philo's exegesis of the Scripture is undoubtedly different and more complex if we compare it to Josephus' explanation. Philo reconstructs the etymologies of the names of the rivers, steering them towards a moral meaning²¹, for which he provides numerous arguments, mostly going back to Greek philosophy, and often evoking other passages from the Scripture. More broadly, Philo's main aim is to give the biblical account a figurative value by interpreting it according to Greek ideological models that are useful in the moral education of the members of his community²².

Regarding the Christian sources, the uncertain geographical collocation of Eden and of the four rivers flowing from paradise emerges as early as the 4th century. Evidence of this is the comment to the same Genesis passage in the *Ancoratus* by Epiphanius of Salamis (Chapter 58)²³. Epiphanius underlines

¹⁷ PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 20, 66.

¹⁸ The name Geon means "breast" or "butting" (PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 21, 68). The river Tigris is connected to self-mastery that "directs" against human weakness (PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 21, 69). The name Euphrates means "fruitfulness" (PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 23, 72).

¹⁹ In *Quaestiones in Genesim*, I, 13, Philo, considering the text of the Septuagint, wonders why the location of the Euphrates is not indicated. He believes that this is for symbolic reasons, whereby the Euphrates is generally known as a symbol of justice and not for the land it flows through.

²⁰ PHILO, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, I, 12. This hypothesis is later resumed by Augustine in *The Literal Meaning of the Genesis* (see below).

²¹ On the various levels of allegory adopted by Philo, see J. CAZEAUX, *Philon d'Alexandrie, exégète*, [in:] ANRW, T. II, Bd. 21.1, ed. H. TEMPORINI, W. HAASE, Berlin–New York 1984, p. 156–226; D.T. RUNIA, *The Structure of Philo's Allegorical Treatises: A Review of Two Recent Studies and Some Additional Comments*, VC 38.3, 1984, p. 209–256; IDEM, *Further Observations on the Structure of Philo's Allegorical Treatises*, VC 41.2, 1987, p. 105–138; R. RADICE, *Allegoria e paradigmi etici in Filone di Alessandria. Commentario al «Legum allegoriae»*, Milano 2000.

²² See D. DAWSON, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria*, Berkeley 1992, p. 73–74. On Philo's method, see J. PÉPIN, *Mythe et Allégorie. Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes*, Paris 1958, p. 215–246.

²³ EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus und Panarion haer. 1–33*, ed. K. HOLL, M. BERGERMANN, Ch.-F. COLLATZ, Berlin–Boston 2013 [= GCS, 25] (cetera: EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus*).

that Eden is not in heaven and, quoting from the Genesis, explains that a spring “flows out” from Eden but it does not “descend” from above²⁴. Then he adds²⁵:

οὗτος ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, ὄνομα τῶ ἐνὶ Φεισῶν», καὶ ὁρῶμεν τὸν Φεισῶν ἐπ’ ὄψεσιν ἡμῶν. καὶ Φεισῶν μὲν ἔστιν ὁ Γάγγης παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς καλούμενος καὶ καὶ Αἰθίοψιν, Ἕλληνας δὲ τοῦτον καλοῦσιν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν. «πάσαν γὰρ τὴν Εὐλάτ περικυκλοῖ», τὴν μικρὰν Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην, τὰ μέρη τῶν Εὐλαίων, διαπερᾶ δὲ τὴν μεγάλην Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ πίπτει εἰς τὸν νότον καὶ δύνει ἔσωθεν Γαδείρων εἰς τὸν μέγαν Ὠκεανόν.

This [river] “is separated into four branches. The name of the first is Pishon”, and we see the Pishon with our own sight. And Pishon is the one called Ganges by the Indians and Ethiopians, but the Hellenes call this the Indus River. “For it surrounds all of Havilah”, little Ethiopia and the great, the parts of Havilites, and it passes through great Ethiopia and falls into the south and enters inside Gades into the great Ocean.

This passage from Epiphanius is significant in two respects. First, in the identification of the Phison with the Ganges attributed to the Indians and Ethiopians, a trace of the ancient confusion and overlapping of India and Ethiopia attested in various Greco-Roman sources can be seen²⁶. Secondly, despite the fact that the Genesis passage states that the Geon flows through Ethiopia, Epiphanius instead explains that the Phison encircles both little and great Ethiopia, and crosses the great Ethiopia, thus distinguishing between two Ethiopias without mentioning India. Equally problematic is Epiphanius’ assertion that the same river heads south to Gades and reaches the “great Ocean”. The issue is that in Greco-Roman geographical works Gades is placed to the West, near the Pillars of Heracles²⁷. Therefore, Epiphanius’ indications are rather unclear. It can be assumed that they originate from Greco-Roman sources that duplicated the location of the well-known

²⁴ EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus*, 58, 1.

²⁵ EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus*, 58, 2. The English translation (with a minor correction) is in St. EPIPHANIUS OF CYPRUS, *Ancoratus*, trans. Y.R. KIM, Washington 2014 [= FC, 128].

²⁶ On the confusion between India and Ethiopia, which is widespread in ancient sources from different contexts, see P. MAYERSON, *A Confusion of Indias: Asian India and African India in the Byzantine Sources*, JAOS 113.2, 1993, p. 169–174; P. SCHNEIDER, *L’Ethiopie et l’Inde. Interférences et confusions aux extrémités du monde antique (VIII^e siècle avant J.-C. – VI^e siècle de notre ère)*, Rome 2004 (where there is a rich collection of Greco-Roman sources on this issue); IDEM, *The So-called Confusion between India and Ethiopia: The Eastern and Southern Edges of the Inhabited World from the Greco-Roman Perspective*, [in:] *Brill’s Companion to Ancient Geography. The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, ed. S. BIANCHETTI, M. CATAUDELLA, H.-J. GEHRKE, Leiden 2016 [= BCCS], p. 184–202; P.W. VAN DER HORST, “India” in *Early Jewish Literature*, JSJ 46.4, 2015, p. 574–579.

²⁷ In many sources Gades is a city or an island. See, for instance, the passages in DIODORUS SICULUS, *Library of History*, V, 20, vol. III, trans. C.H. OLDATHER, Cambridge Mass. 1933 [= LCL]; DIODORUS SICULUS, *Library of History*, XXV, 10, vol. XI, trans. F.R. WALTON, Cambridge Mass. 1957 [= LCL]; STRABO, *Geography*, III, 5, 3–6, vol. II, trans. H.L. JONES, Cambridge Mass. 1923 [= LCL].

Pillars of Heracles both in the West near Gades²⁸ and in the far East²⁹. Later, in this chapter of the *Ancoratus*, we may note that Epiphanius firmly stresses that the existence of paradise is not to be doubted, and also the spring and the rivers that originate from it are real, and the story of Adam and Eve is true. *Otherwise* – Epiphanius comments – *the truth is a myth, and all things are allegorized*³⁰. These words by Epiphanius are highly emblematic as they show his will to demonstrate that the Genesis account cannot be considered a myth and that it is trustworthy. We understand here that among the Christian writers the allegorical interpretation of the text was controversial, and it was a widespread belief that its literary meaning should also be taken into consideration. Epiphanius' exegesis – later resumed by Pseudo-Caesarius' *Quaestiones et responsiones*³¹ – diverges entirely from those of the hellenised Jewish authors, such as Flavius Josephus and Philo, who preferred an allegorical interpretation in their comments to the biblical texts³².

Considering another 4th-century text, the *Journey from the Paradise of Eden to the Romans* (Ὀδοιπορία ἀπὸ Ἐδέμ τοῦ παδείσου ἄχρι τῶν Ῥωμαίων)³³, we find a singular description of the utopian community of the Blessed (Μακαρινοί)³⁴ living near Eden. Here, the Blessed have a church made up of a mountain of diamonds, under which flows the river that comes from paradise, and it divides into four branches: to the south the Geon and the Phison, to the north the Tigris and the Euphrates. They feed on fruit, honey, flour and manna, which rains from the

²⁸ See the sources collected in M. ALBALADEJO VIVERO, *Las Columnas de Heracles en el imaginario griego*, [in:] *Le Déroit de Gibraltar (Antiquité-Moyen Âge). I. Representations, perceptions, imaginaires*, ed. F. DES BOSCS, Y. DEJUGNAT, A. HAUSHALTER, Madrid 2019, p. 39–57.

²⁹ The location of the Pillars of Heracles in the Far East, in an unspecified area, can already be found in the α-recension of the *Alexander Romance*: see (PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES), *Historia Alexandri Magni*, III, 27, vol. I, recensio vetusta, ed. G. KROLL, Berlin 1926. Furthermore, the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* mentions the trophies of Hercules and Liber placed at the final border of India: see *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, ed. W. WALTHER BOER, Meisenheim am Glan 1973 [= BKP, 50], p. 59. Connected to this source is Pliny's information that beyond Sogdiana were the altars of Hercules, Liber, Semiramis and Alexander: PLINY, *Natural History*, VI, 18, 49, vol. II, *Books 3–7*, trans. H. RACKHAM, Cambridge Mass. 1942 [= LCL] (cetera: PLINIUS).

³⁰ EPIPHANIUS, *Ancoratus*, 58, 8: ἀλλὰ μῦθος λοιπὸν ἢ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἀλληγορεῖται τὰ πάντα. Trans. by Y.R. Kim with a minor change.

³¹ PSEUDO-KAISARIOS, *Die Erotapokriseis*, ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berlin 1989 [= GCS] (cetera: PSEUDO-CAESARIUS, QR), p. 142. See further discussion below.

³² Epiphanius' opinions are also shared by Augustine, as we are going to see later.

³³ See the critical text in *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ed. J. ROUGÉ, Paris 1966 (cetera: *Expositio totius mundi*), p. 346–355. According to J. ROUGÉ, the *Journey* has much in common with the first part of the *Expositio totius mundi*, as they seem to depend on a single source (*Expositio...*, p. 62).

³⁴ In the *Expositio totius mundi* this name became *Camarini*: see below. Among the studies dealing with the *Journey* and the *Expositio* see: M. PHILONENKO, *Camarines et Makarinoi. De la 'Narratio' de Zosime à l'Expositio totius mundi*, [in:] *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich*, Roma 1980, p. 371–377; M. ALEXANDRE, *Entre ciel et terre...*, p. 210–213.

Easter Sabbath for seven days; they also do not sow or reap but glorify God. This narrative reads like a description of a mythical Golden Age, a sort of temporarily remote *elsewhen*, with a happy and blessed mankind. We can infer that this story illustrates how, in the cultural *milieu* of late antiquity, a Christian imagery had been created around paradise, in which both the suggestions of hellenised Jewish and Christian authors converged, as well as the Greek mythical tales, such as those about the islands of the Blessed (Μακάρων νῆσοι)³⁵. Most notable among these narratives is the passage from Lucian's *True History*³⁶. Here we read of an island with a city made of gold, temples made of beryl; it is always daytime and always springtime; there are springs of water, honey and perfume, and rivers of milk and wine; fruits grow wild on the trees; ears of wheat produce ready-made bread, and some trees produce cups of wine; the inhabitants never grow old and gather in symposia where they play and sing. Undoubtedly, the text of the *Journey* has many elements common to this tale.

Sometime later, the same geographical information from Josephus on the river Phison is to be found in the work *On the Races of India and the Brahmins* (Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων) by Palladius³⁷, who specifies that the Ganges is to be identified with the Phison, which the Scripture mentions as one of the four rivers of paradise³⁸. In this text, we then read the Brahmins inhabit the area by that river, live in a state of nature and practise asceticism³⁹. Palladius' account shares several elements with the *Journey*: the Brahmins, like the Blessed, feed on the wild fruits of the earth, do not sow or plough, and pray continually to God⁴⁰.

Conversely, in Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History*⁴¹, written in the early 5th century⁴², the Phison is identified with the river Hyphasis (III, 10)⁴³:

³⁵ The islands of the Blessed are already mentioned by Hesiod and Herodotus: *Hesiodi Theogonia. Opera et dies. Scutum*, v. 171, ed. F. SOLMSEN, Oxonii 1970 [= SCBO]; *Herodoti Historiae*, III, 26, vol. I, ed. N.G. WILSON, Oxford 2015 (cetera: HERODOTUS). Cf. A.S. BROWN, *From the Golden Age to the Isles of the Blest*, Mn 51, 1998, p. 385–410.

³⁶ *Luciani opera*, II, 6–15, vol. I, ed. M.D. MACLEOD, Oxford 1972.

³⁷ PALLADIUS, *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, ed. W. BERGHOF, Meisenheim am Glan 1967 [= BKP, 24] (cetera: PALLADIUS, *De gentibus Indiae*).

³⁸ PALLADIUS, *De gentibus Indiae*, I, 1.

³⁹ 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; see my article *The Naked Wise Men of India*, SMSR 87.2, 2021, p. 685–689.

⁴⁰ PALLADIUS, *De gentibus Indiae*, I, 11–12.

⁴¹ PHILOSTORGIUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. BIDEZ, Berlin 1981 [= GCS] (cetera: PHILOSTORGIUS).

⁴² On the datation and the method of the *Ecclesiastical History*, see D. MEYER, *Débat cosmologique et discours historique dans l'Histoire ecclésiastique de Philostorge*, [in:] *L'historiographie tardo-antique et la transmission des savoirs*, ed. P. BLADEAU, P. VAN NUFFELEN, Berlin–Boston 2015 [= Mil.S, 55], p. 191–207.

⁴³ For the English translation, see PHILOSTORGIUS, *Church History*, trans. Ph.R. AMIDON, Atlanta 2007 [= WGRW, 23], p. 46.

Ὅτι κείσθαι τὸν Παράδεισον οὗτος εἰκασία χρώμενος λέγει κατὰ τὰς ἰσημερίας τῆς Ἡοῦς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ ὧν τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δῆλὰ ἐστὶ πάντα οἰκούμενα σχεδὸν μέχρι τῆς ἕξω θαλάττης, ἣν θάλατταν ὁ ἥλιος ἤδη ξυμφλέγει καθέτως ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὰς ἀκτίνας ἐρείδων· καὶ ἡ διὰ μέσου λεγομένη ζώνη τοῦτο ἐστίν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ διότι ὁ νῦν Ὑφασίς καλούμενος ποταμός, ὃν ἡ γραφὴ Φησῶν ὀνομάζει, καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ Παραδείσου ἀναβλύζων, ἐκ τῶν ἀρκτῶων μάλλον τῆς Ἀνατολῆς μερῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν φαίνεται ῥέων καὶ εἰς τὸν ταύτη Ὠκεανὸν τὸ ρεῖθρον εἰσερευγόμενος, ἀντικρὺ τῆς νήσου Ταπροβάνης. οὐ παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐρίσκεται τὸ λεγόμενον καρύφυλλον, εἴτε καρπός, εἴτε δὲ καὶ ἄνθος τυγχάνει. καὶ πεπιστεύκασιν οἱ ἐκείνη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Παραδείσου τοῦτο δένδρον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς γῆ ἔρημός τέ ἐστὶ δεινῶς ἅπασα καὶ ἀκαρποτάτη. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φέρειν τὸν ποταμὸν τὸ ἄνθος, ἐπίδηλον ἂν εἴη ὡς οὗτος ὁ ποταμός ὑπὲρ γῆς ἅπας ῥεῖ, μηδαμόθι καταδύομενος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸ ἐκείθεν φυόμενον ἠδύνατο φέρειν. ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ ἄλλο σύμβολον τῆς περὶ τὸν Παράδεισον γεγραῖς ἐπιμιξίας· φασὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐάν τις τύχοι πυρετῶ λάβρω φλεγόμενος, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν βαπτισάμενος, παραυτίκα τοῦ νοσήματος ἀπαλλάττεται.

Resorting to conjecture, he [Philostorgius] states that Paradise lies in the eastern equinox, first because it is evident that almost all the regions to the south are inhabited, all the way to the outer sea. At that distance this sea is burned by the sun, which strikes it with its rays from directly above, and this is what is called the equator. Another reason is that the river now called the Hyphasis, which scripture names the Pishon and which itself rises in Paradise, seems rather to flow south from the northern parts of the east and to empty into the ocean there opposite the island of Taprobane. Along the banks of this river is found what is called the *caryophyllon*, whether that be a fruit or a flower. The local people think that it is from a tree descended from those in Paradise. Now in fact the land above them is completely a desert, quite barren. But the fact that the river bears the flower shows that this river flows above ground for its entire length, without ever going under. Otherwise it would not be able to bear what germinates from there. And there is another sign of the linkage of earth with Paradise: they say that someone taken with a violent fever recovers at once after bathing in river.

This passage makes it clear on what assumptions the connection of paradise with the river Phison would be based. Overall, the connotation of the Indian river as a symbol of an *elsewhere* that is not only geographically remote, but also far removed from civilisation. On closer analysis of the information provided in the passage, we see three relevant elements. Philostorgius' first annotation attempts to identify the Eastern seat of paradise: it is located in the position where the sun rises during the equinox, i.e. beyond the extreme limit of the inhabited lands; furthermore, the Hyphasis-Phison flows southwards from the North-Eastern regions and reaches the Ocean opposite the island of Taprobane. The second indication highlights the river's course: the presence of the flower (or fruit) *caryophyllon* shows that the river flows on the surface. Here Philostorgius presents an opposite opinion to that of Philo, who – in his *Questions and Answers on Genesis* – conjectured the underground course of the river springing from paradise. The third comment dwells on the miraculous power of those waters, which help recover from fever. As to the first observation, we know that the Greco-Roman

sources traditionally assume the island of Taprobane⁴⁴ as a marginal space which emblematically represents the ultimate boundary of the civilized world, a sort of “another world” (*alterum orbem terrarum*) as Pliny the Elder writes in his *Natural History*⁴⁵. According to Pliny, who drew his information from previous sources, Taprobane’s inhabitants are richer than the Indians because they possess gold and large pearls⁴⁶; the sun rises from the left and goes down to the right⁴⁷; the shadows fall northwards and not southwards⁴⁸; in the summer the sea is stormy⁴⁹. Moreover, the inhabitants of the island are presented as a utopian community where there is no ostentation of riches, nobody owns slaves, there is no siesta in the middle of the day, buildings are never too high, the price of corn does not rise, there are no courts of law and no disputes⁵⁰. Again on Taprobane we can reconsider Palladius’ *On the Races of India*, where – beside the identification of the Phison with the Ganges – we find a lengthy description of the island as an extraordinary land inhabited by the Macrobioi who live up to 150 years and where the trees never stop giving fruits⁵¹. As to the plant of the *caryophyllon* mentioned in Philostorgius’ passage, it echoes the several references to miracle plants in India cited not only by Ctesias, but by several other authors⁵². Finally, Philostorgius’ observation on the therapeutic power of the river Phison is very interesting. This recalls the information on the Indus provided by Pseudo-Plutarch’s *On Rivers*⁵³: in this river is found a stone that is able to defend virgins from rapists⁵⁴, a herb that has excellent effects against jaundice⁵⁵, and a very black stone that Indians wear as earrings⁵⁶. Also noteworthy is Dio Chrysostom’s account⁵⁷ on the Fountain of Truth (πηγήν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας) of the Brahmins, “by far

⁴⁴ On Taprobane as a utopian space, see G.L. CAMPBELL, *Strange Creatures. Anthropology in Antiquity*, London 2006, p. 127–128; R. STONEMAN, *The Greek Experience of India. From Alexander to the Indo-Greeks*, Princeton–Oxford 2019, p. 248–250.

⁴⁵ PLINIUS, VI, 24, 81. Cf. SOLINU, 53, 1, in *Wunder der Welt. Collectanea rerum mirabilium*, ed. K. BRODERSEN, Darmstadt 2014.

⁴⁶ PLINIUS, VI, 24, 81.

⁴⁷ PLINIUS, VI, 24, 87.

⁴⁸ PLINIUS, VI, 24, 87.

⁴⁹ PLINIUS, VI, 24, 83.

⁵⁰ PLINIUS, VI, 24, 89.

⁵¹ PALLADIUS, *De gentibus Indiae*, I, 4; I, 6.

⁵² On Indian plants, see the information in K. KARTTUNEN, *India and the Hellenistic World*, Helsinki 1997 [= SO.SOF, 83], p. 129–167.

⁵³ See *Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia*, vol. VII, ed. G.N. BERNARDAKIS, Lipsiae 1896 (cetera: PLUTARCHUS, *De fluviis*), p. 327.

⁵⁴ PLUTARCHUS, *De fluviis*, XXV, 2.

⁵⁵ PLUTARCHUS, *De fluviis*, XXV, 3.

⁵⁶ PLUTARCHUS, *De fluviis*, XXV, 5.

⁵⁷ See DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *Discourses*, vol. III, trans. J.W. COHOON, H. LAMAR CROSBY, Cambridge Mass. 1940 [= LCL] (cetera: DIO CHRYSOSTOMUS).

the best and most godlike of all”: whoever drank its water could never be found a liar⁵⁸. A similar tradition about an Indian miracle fountain is that of John Stobaeus⁵⁹ who quotes a passage from Porphyry’s *On the Styx* (who in turn attributes his information to Bardesanes)⁶⁰. The text tells of a swamp that the Indians call “testing room” (δοκιμαστηρίον), where the Brahmans immerse those who denied committing an evil deed together with their accusers: the innocent would have no trouble crossing it, but the guilty, submerged up to the head, would be taken out of the water alive and handed over for re-education⁶¹. As seen, Philostorgius’ passage, one of the most extensive on the Indian river flowing from paradise, belongs to a well-documented tradition on the characterization of India as a land of *mirabilia*.

Later, during the 6th century, the work *Quaestiones et Responsiones* by Pseudo-Caesarius⁶² testifies how for a long time in late antiquity the heavenly or earthly collocation of Eden and of the rivers originating from it was subject of discussion⁶³. Pseudo-Caesarius, in particular, when quoting the above-mentioned passage from the Genesis, raises questions on the ‘identity’ (ὁμωνυμία)⁶⁴ between paradise and Jerusalem, or between heaven and Eden. He specifies that the garden (παράδεισος) of Eden is not in heaven, nor does the spring located there descend from heaven, and neither does the river flowing out of it come from heaven⁶⁵. Pseudo-Caesarius’ passage echoes and reworks that of Epiphanius⁶⁶, who also affirms the earthly seat of paradise. Regarding the location of the Phison, Pseudo-Caesarius states that it flows along Ethiopia and India where it is called Ganges, but the Greeks call it Ister or Indus, while the Illyrians and the Ripians call it Danube (Δανούβιος), and the Goths use a name similar to the latter (Δούναυτη)⁶⁷. As in Epiphanius’

⁵⁸ See DIO CHRYSOSTOMUS, XXXV, 22: φασὶ δὲ ἐξαιρετον αὐτοῖς εἶναι μίαν πηγὴν τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας, πολὺ πασῶν ἀρίστην καὶ θειοτάτην, ἧς οὐδέποτε ψεύσασθαι τοὺς ἐμπίπλαμένους.

⁵⁹ STOBÆUS, I, 3, 56 in *Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium*, vol. I, rec. C. WACHSMUTH, Berolini 1884.

⁶⁰ See fr. 376F in *Porphyrii Philosophi fragmenta*, ed. A. SMITH, Stuttgartiae 1993 [= BSGR].

⁶¹ See the comment on the fr. 7 and the suggestions on this ordeal by C. CASTELLETTI in PORFIRIO, *Sullo Stige*, Milano 2006, p. 245–248, 270–274.

⁶² PSEUDO-CAESARIUS, QR, 163. The date of the work *Quaestiones et responsiones* has been ascribed by R. RIEDINGER to the 6th century: *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage*, München 1969 [= Barchiv, 12], p. 442–444. Cf. I. PERCZEL, *Finding a Place for the Erotapokriseis of Pseudo-Caesarius: A New Document of Sixth-Century Palestinian Origenism*, ARAM.P 18, 2006, p. 49–83, in particular p. 59–61.

⁶³ According to M. ALEXANDRE, *Entre ciel et terre...*, p. 202–207, the discussion on the heavenly or earthly seat of paradise can be related to the opposing viewpoints of Origen and the anti-origenians.

⁶⁴ The meaning of ὁμωνυμία in Caesarius’ text is difficult to interpret, but it is quite likely that the author assumes an “ambiguity, or equivocal identity” between the words. See *LSJ* s.v. ὁμωνυμία.

⁶⁵ Caesarius explains the question of the geographical location of Eden in a rather intricate way, but it is clear in his perspective that Eden is not in heaven, but it is a place on earth.

⁶⁶ The text of Pseudo-Caesarius contains a broad paraphrase of Epiphanius’ *Ancoratus*: see the study by R. RIEDINGER, *Pseudo-Kaisarios...*, p. 267–274.

⁶⁷ PSEUDO-CAESARIUS, QR, 163.

text, the overlapping between Ethiopia and India is evident here⁶⁸, but the names of the rivers identifying the Phison increase. Only that it should be a river located in a region at the edge of the *oikoumene* seems clear. Later on, Pseudo-Caesarus essentially repeats Epiphanius' geographical indications, explaining that this river surrounds the land of Evilat, namely the second Ethiopia and the lands of the Evilites, runs through the first Ethiopia, and then flowing south and west near Gades runs out into the well-known Ocean.

Returning to the *Genesis* passage on the four rivers that originate in Eden, and mainly on the Phison, we find other comments in the 6th century work *Christian Topography* by Cosmas Indicopleustes (II, 81)⁶⁹. First of all, we read that the Phison is called Indus or Ganges, it flows from unspecified internal regions into the Indian sea, and it also *produces beans of the Egyptian sort, and the fruit called Neilagathia; savoury herbs, also, and lotus plants, and crocodiles, and everything the Nile produces*⁷⁰. Noteworthy here is the shift from the identification of the Phison with an Indian river to the comparison with the Nile. This association is not surprising as often in Greco-Roman sources the Indus and Ganges are compared to the Nile, owing to the great flow of their waters and their flooding, and for the same reason India is likened to Egypt and Ethiopia: in this respect, it is sufficient to recall Strabo's account on India, which draws information from Aristobulus, Nearchus, Onesicritus and Megasthenes⁷¹. As for the other rivers, Cosmas states that the Geon flows through Ethiopia and Egypt into our gulf, i.e. the Mediterranean, the Tigris and the Euphrates flow from Persarmenia to the Persian Gulf⁷². In another passage we read that the Indus, which corresponds to the Phison, flows into the Persian Gulf and divides Persia from India⁷³. Finally, in a third passage, Cosmas maintains that the Phison separates India from the land of the Huns, and that in the Holy Scripture India is called the land of Evilat⁷⁴. Soon after, Cosmas explains that Evilat is of the race of Cham, for Genesis 10, 6 states that *the sons of Cham are Chous,*

⁶⁸ Cf. n. 20.

⁶⁹ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTÈS, *Topographie chrétienne*, vol. I, ed. W. WOLSKA-CONUS, Paris 1968 [= SC, 141] (cetera: COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES).

⁷⁰ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, II, 81: Καὶ οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ κιβώρια ἔχει καὶ τὰ καλούμενα νειλαγαθία καὶ φύλλα καὶ λωτάρια καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ἕτερα, ἃ ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος. See the English translation in COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, ed. J.W. McCRINDLE, Cambridge 1897, p. 75.

⁷¹ On the comparison of the Nile with the Indus and the Ganges see the numerous passages of Book XV (1, 16; 19; 22; 23; 25–26; 35; 45) in STRABO, *Geography*, vol. VII, trans. H.L. JONES, Cambridge Mass. 1930 [= LCL] (cetera: STRABO). For example, STRABO, XV, 1, 45 relates Aristobulus' news that there are crocodiles in the Nile and Indus (*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 139 F 38, vol. I–III, ed. F. JACOBY, Berlin–Leiden 1923–1958).

⁷² COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, II, 81.

⁷³ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, XI, 16.

⁷⁴ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, XI, 24. In this passage Cosmas quotes word for word Gn 2: 11.

*Mesraeim, Phoud and Chanaan, and the sons of Chous are Sheba and Evilat*⁷⁵. Cosmas' complex interpretation is based on a conceptual model – already implicit in the Genesis text – that is rooted in mythical tales where genealogies contain names of superhuman characters that also embody geographical or natural elements. To give just one example among many, in Hesiod's *Theogony* Gaia, which corresponds to the earth, is the primordial being that generates numerous other beings, including Ocean⁷⁶.

The Greek interpretations on the geographical position of Eden and the four rivers of paradise is also confirmed by some passages of Christian Latin authors. The first worthy of mention here is from Ambrose of Milan's *On Paradise*⁷⁷. In his comments to Genesis 2, 10–14, Ambrose applies an allegorical model. First, we read that paradise is a fertile land in Eden, namely a fertile soul⁷⁸; the fountain in Eden from which a river flows corresponds to the well-cultivated human soul from which all the virtues originate⁷⁹. Then, Ambrose focuses on the four rivers flowing from that fountain: the Phison, as the Jews called it, but Ganges according to Greeks, runs towards India; the Geon, which is the Nile, crosses Egypt and Ethiopia; the Tigris and the Euphrates surround Mesopotamia⁸⁰. Later, Ambrose further clarifies his allegorical interpretation adding that the Wisdom of God corresponds to the fountain of life, and of spiritual grace; the stream that irrigates paradise springs from the fertile soul, which give rise to the four virtues leading to eternal life: prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice⁸¹, represented by the Phison, the Geon, the Tigris and the Euphrates⁸². As can be seen, the same list of virtues is in Philo's works. The connection between the cultural backgrounds of the two authors can be grasped in Ambrose's statement that *The wise men of this world have adopted this division from us and transferred it to their writings*⁸³. Here, one may presume an allusion to the indebtedness of the Greek philosophers to the Bible and the Jewish tradition.

⁷⁵ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, XI, 24: υἱοὶ δὲ Χάμ Χοῦς καὶ Μεσραεῖμ Φοῦδ καὶ Χαναάν· υἱοὶ δὲ Χοῦς Σαβᾶ καὶ Εὐλάτ.

⁷⁶ HESIOD, *Theogony*, v. 126–138, ed. M.L. WEST, Oxford 1966.

⁷⁷ See S. Ambrosii Opera, pars I, *Exameron, De Paradiso, De Cain et Abel, De Noe*, ed. C. SCHENKL, Lipsiae 1886 (cetera: AMBROSIUS, *De Paradiso*).

⁷⁸ AMBROSIUS, *De Paradiso*, 3, 12.

⁷⁹ AMBROSIUS, *De Paradiso*, 3, 13.

⁸⁰ AMBROSIUS, *De Paradiso*, 3, 14.

⁸¹ AMBROSIUS, *De Paradiso*, 3, 14.

⁸² AMBROSIUS, *De Paradiso*, 3, 15–18. In this section, Ambrosius explains at length the allegorical meaning of the four virtues represented by the four rivers of paradise.

⁸³ AMBROSIUS, *De Paradiso*, 3, 14: *Quae etiam sapientes istius mundi ex nostris adsumpta in suorum scripta librorum transtulerunt*. The English translation is by J.J. SAVAGE in St. AMBROSE, *Exameron, Paradise and Cain and Abel*, trans. J.J. SAVAGE, New York 1961 [= FC, 42].

Contrary to Ambrose's interpretation is Augustine's viewpoint. In his *The Literal Meaning of the Genesis* (VIII, 7)⁸⁴, he comments on the same passage from Genesis and shares Epiphanius' opinion by defending the literal truth of the biblical account. Indeed, Augustine believes that the rivers of paradise are real and that their names are not figurative expressions, because they are known to the inhabitants of the lands that they cross. Moreover, two of them had their names changed in the past, because the Phison is now called Ganges, while the Geon is named Nile. In Augustine's perspective, this demonstrates the primacy of a literal over a figurative interpretation of the biblical text. Given that the position of heaven is unknown, Augustine – following Philo's conjecture in *Questions and Answers on Genesis* – supposes that these rivers reach their well-known springs only after an underground course⁸⁵. Augustine's explanation of the real existence of these rivers presents a rationalistic and pragmatic exegetical model that seeks to reconcile mythical and historical data⁸⁶.

Further interesting information on the river Phison can be found in a letter by Jerome (CXXV, 3)⁸⁷:

Felix cursus est, si post sex menses supra dictae urbis portum teneant, a quo se incipit aperire Oceanus, per quem vix anno perpetuo ad Indiam pervenitur et ad Gangem fluvium – quem Phison sancta scriptura cognominat – qui circuit omnem terram Evilat et multa genera pigmentorum de paradisi dicitur fonte evehere. Ibi nascitur carburiculus et zmaragdus et margarita candentia et uniones, quibus nobilium feminarum ardet ambitio, montesque aurei, quos adire propter dracones et gryphas et inensorum corporum monstra hominibus impossibile est, ut ostendatur nobis, quales custodes habeat avaritia.

It is a successful trip if the harbour of the abovenamed city [Aksum] is reached in six months. At that point begins the ocean, which takes nearly a year to cross before you come to India and the river Ganges – called Phison in the Scriptures – which compasses the whole land of Evilat, and is said to carry down from its source in Paradise many kinds of bright pigments. This land is the home of the carbuncle and the emerald, and those gleaming pearls which our great ladies so ardently desire. There are also in it mountains of gold which men cannot approach because of the dragons and griffins and other huge monsters, set there to show us what sort of guardians avarice employs.

⁸⁴ See AUGUSTINUS, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim. De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus. Locutiones in Heptateuchum libri septem*, ed. J. ZYCHA, Lipsiae 1894.

⁸⁵ On this explanation in Philo and Augustine, see the commentary in St. AUGUSTIN, *La Genèse au sens littéral in douze livres. De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, vol. II, trans., praef. et note P. AGAËSSE, A. SOLIGNAC, Paris 1972 [= OsA, 49], p. 501.

⁸⁶ On the fact that Augustine dwells on the observation of the reality of things, see the observations of L. FLADERER, *Augustinus als Exeget. Zu seinen Kommentaren des Galaterbriefes und der Genesis*, Wien 2010, p. 201–202.

⁸⁷ JEROME, *Select Letters*, trans. F.A. WRIGHT, London 1933 [= LCL, 262].

This passage provides several clues on the location of the Phison. Besides mentioning India and the Ganges, identified with the Phison, here Jerome also provides useful information on the products coming from the land of Evilat. It is a country full of wonders, following the codified patterns of Greco-Roman descriptions of India. The ancient motif recurring in Herodotus' account on giant ants digging gold from the Indian sand⁸⁸, and in Ctesias' tale about griffins guarding gold in the mountains of India⁸⁹, reappears. The same theme is reused here as a moralistic metaphor for avarice. Moreover, in another letter (LIII, 1)⁹⁰ Jerome mentions the journey of Apollonius of Tyana, who is said to have arrived in India, and then by crossing the river Phison, namely the Ganges, reached the Brahmans. This last detail is duplicated in Palladius' *On the Races of India and the Brahmans*. Finally, the river Phison flowing from paradise and commonly called Ganges is also mentioned in Jerome's *De situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum liber*⁹¹.

In addition to all this, it is worth recalling a passage in the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (IV–VII), which has many common elements with the *Journey from the Paradise of Eden to the Romans*. Here, we read that in the easterly land of the Camarini⁹² – called Eden by Moses – a large river flows that then branches into four rivers called *Geon*, *Phison*, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*⁹³. The population of the Camarini is then described as an ideal, utopian and perfectly orderly society: they do not cultivate, they eat bread that rains from above, they do not get sick, they live long, they are absolutely honest, and they rule themselves without an overriding authority⁹⁴. In the *Expositio* immediately after the Camarini are placed the Brahmans, also very honest and lacking a supreme authority like their neighbours⁹⁵. As can be seen, many connections on the same themes recur between Palladius' treatise, the *Expositio*, the *Journey*, and Jerome's Letter 53.

To conclude this overview of the Latin sources dealing with the river Phison, we should mention a passage from the *Etymologies* by Isidore of Seville (XIII, 21, 8)⁹⁶, who, paraphrasing the text of the Genesis, writes that the Ganges is called Phison

⁸⁸ HERODOTUS, III, 102.

⁸⁹ CTÉSIAS DE CNIDE, *La Perse. L'Inde. Autres fragments*, F 45, 26, ed. D. LENFANT, Paris 2004 [= CUF. SG, 435] (cetera: CTESIAS, *Indica*).

⁹⁰ Cf. SAINT JÉRÔME, *Correspondance. Lettres LIII–LXX*, ed. J. LABOURT, Paris 1953, p. 9.

⁹¹ *Onomastica sacra*, ed. P. DE LAGARDE, Gottingae 1870, p. 117, s.v. *Evila*.

⁹² In the *Journey* they are referred to as *Macarinoi* (see above).

⁹³ *Expositio totius mundi*, IV.

⁹⁴ *Expositio totius mundi*, V–VII.

⁹⁵ *Expositio totius mundi*, VIII. On the connection between the Camarini with the Brahmans, see R. STONEMAN, *Tales of Utopia: Alexander, Cynics and Christian Ascetics*, [in:] *Philosophy and the Ancient Novel*, ed. M.P. FUTRE PINHEIRO, S. MONTIGLIO, Groningen 2015, p. 51–63, in particular p. 55–56. On the analysis of the description of the Camarini in the *Expositio*, see my article *The Brahmans' Utopia from the Greek Sources to John of Salisbury's Policraticus*, IGR 15, 2021, p. 97–113, mainly p. 101–103.

⁹⁶ ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS, *Etimologiae*, vol. XIII, trans. G. GASPAROTTO, Paris 2004 (cetera: ISIDORUS).

in the Holy Script, it flows from paradise and crosses India. The Phison is called “throng” (*caterva*) because it receives ten streams, while the Ganges is called thus from the Indian king Gangarus, it rises like the Nile and floods the easterly lands. As observed by F. Delpech⁹⁷, it seems that Isidore’s etymology of the name Ganges leads back to a mythical tale from Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, according to which a king called Ganges, son of the river Ganges, once reigned over India⁹⁸. Furthermore, the motif of the assimilation of the Indian fluvial waters of those of the Nile reappears.

If we consider the above-mentioned sources as a whole, there are some important elements that deserve closer analysis. First of all, it is interesting to note that Genesis already places paradise in the East (2, 8). If we then compare this passage with the comments provided by the hellenised Jewish writers as well as by the Christian ones, we see that also the territories crossed by the four rivers are in the East: the Phison flows in the land of Evilat, which corresponds to India⁹⁹; the Geon in Ethiopia¹⁰⁰, that is considered – as seen – a marginal land and often mistaken for India both in Greco-Roman and Christian sources; the Tigris reaches the Assyrian territory¹⁰¹ and together with the Euphrates delimits Mesopotamia¹⁰² to finally flow into the Eritrean Sea¹⁰³, or into the Persian Gulf¹⁰⁴, or into the Dead Sea, according to the different versions¹⁰⁵.

Another point of interest that emerges from the sources collected above on the Phison, is its variable identification with the Ganges, with the Indus, with the Hyphasis, or with the Ister or Danube. This shows not only the uncertainty of the authors’ actual geographical knowledge, but also and above all the absence of the need to verify their information. The authors infer geographical details largely from reading previous texts, generating a transmission of data that are not real, but codified as recurring *topoi*. Emblematic is the case of the reworking of Epiphanius’ *Ancoratus* passage in Pseudo-Caesarius’ *Quaestiones et responsiones*, where the same literal interpretation of the Genesis passage is given, but the geographical location of the Phison is even more uncertain and muddled. Indeed,

⁹⁷ F. DELPECH, *Remarques sur la légende du roi Gangès, fils du gange (Philostrate, Vie d’Apollonios de Tyane III, 20–21): imaginaire grec et mythes indiens*, [in:] *Fleuves d’Asie. Centres de civilisation*, ed. P.-S. FILIOZAT, M. ZINK, Paris 2020, p. 111–157, in particular p. 132.

⁹⁸ PHILOSTRATUS OF ATHENS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, III, 20–21, vol. I, trans. C.P. JONES, Cambridge Mass. 2005 [= LCL, 16].

⁹⁹ JOSEPHUS, I, 1, 3; PALLADIUS, *Gentibus Indiae*, I, 1; COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, II, 81; PSEUDO-CAESARIUS, QR, 163; ISIDORUS, XIII, 21, 8.

¹⁰⁰ PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, 21, 68; PHILOSTORGIUS, III, 10; COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, II, 81; PSEUDO-CAESARIUS, QR, 164; ISIDORUS, XIII, 21, 7.

¹⁰¹ PHILO, *Legum Allegoriae*, I, XXI, 69; PSEUDO-CAESARIUS, QR, 165.

¹⁰² PHILOSTORGIUS, III, 8; ISIDORUS, XIII, 21, 10.

¹⁰³ JOSEPHUS, I, 1, 3.

¹⁰⁴ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, II, 81.

¹⁰⁵ ISIDORUS, XIII, 21, 10.

the only common element is that this river is placed in a marginal Eastern area – or in the North-East if we comply with the mention of the Danube and the Ripians by Pseudo-Caesarius –, in any case distant from the *oikoumene*, known first to the Greeks and the Romans, and then to the Christians.

In addition, more attention should be paid to the Genesis words on the Phison crossing the land of Evilat where there are gold, onyx and aromatic resin (2, 11–12). To this end, if we examine the classical tradition, we can verify that the presence of gold¹⁰⁶, precious stones¹⁰⁷ and uncommon fragrances¹⁰⁸ is a feature of the Indian territory and one of the most widespread *topoi* in the descriptions of India given by Greco-Roman authors¹⁰⁹. These sources represent India as a land of marvels, where extraordinary events occur, where natural laws are subverted, where enormous riches are to be found and fabulous peoples live. All these traits have contributed to the image of a utopian land, remote in both space and time.

One example among many is enough to clarify the topical motifs in the narrations produced by classical antiquity on India¹¹⁰. It is the synthesis of the *Indika* by Ctesias as reported in the *Bibliotheca* by Photius¹¹¹, where we find all the stereotypes used by Greek culture to define India as a sort of geographical *elsewhere* placed at the easternmost boundary of the *oikoumene*¹¹². Two factors should be considered when evaluating this document. Firstly, Lucian already regarded the information from Ctesias' *Indika* to be mendacious since the author had never seen India nor heard of it¹¹³. Thus, a well-known codified tradition about India, described with paradoxical elements, was already established in the 2nd century. Secondly, Lucian's statement is confirmed by the fact that Photius himself at the end of his summary of the *Indika* claims that Ctesias told paradoxical stories but passed them off as true¹¹⁴. We can therefore assume that this aspect already

¹⁰⁶ See the above-mentioned account by Herodotus (III, 102): cf. K. KARTTUNEN, *India in Early Greek Literature*, Helsinki 1989 [= SO.SOF, 65], p. 171–176.

¹⁰⁷ K. KARTTUNEN, *India and...*, p. 233–252; G. PARKER, *The Making of Roman India*, Cambridge 2008 [= GCRW], p. 154–156.

¹⁰⁸ G. PARKER, *The Making...*, p. 150–154.

¹⁰⁹ On stereotyped descriptions of India, see J.S. ROMM, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought. Geography, Exploration, and Fiction*, Princeton NJ 1992, p. 82–120.

¹¹⁰ A full list of the Greco-Roman sources would be too long. However, it is useful to mention the collections of B. BRELOER, F. BÖMER, *Fontes historiae religionum Indicarum*, Bonn 1939 [= FHR, 7] and *L'Inde vue de Rome. Textes latins de l'Antiquité relatifs à l'Inde*, ed. J. ANDRÉ, J. FILLIOZAT, Paris 1986.

¹¹¹ See the edition CTESIAS, *Indica*, F 45.

¹¹² On Ctesias' *Indika*, see J.S. ROMM, *The Edges...*, p. 86–88; G. PARKER, *The Making...*, p. 28–33. Cf. M. ALBALADEJO VIVERO, *La India en la literatura griega. Uno estudio etnográfico*, Alcalá 2005, p. 43–54.

¹¹³ LUCIANUS, *Historiae Verae*, I, 3. It should be noted that Lucian in *The Lover of Lies* (ch. 2) maintains both Herodotus and Ctesias as untruthful, cf. LUCIAN, *The Lover of Lies, or the Doubter*, vol. III, trans. H. HARMON, Cambridge Mass. 1921 [= LCL].

¹¹⁴ CTESIAS, *Indica*, F 45, 51.

appeared in the original version of the work. Nonetheless, it is also possible that Photius' account reflects the layering of paradoxical elements that overlapped over the centuries and became *topoi*¹¹⁵. However things stand, Ctesias' *Indika* constituted a source much exploited by later authors¹¹⁶.

If we examine Photius' exposition, we find a detailed description of several prodigies and incredible events happening in India. Among others, we read that: a) India's population is larger than that of the whole world¹¹⁷; b) farther East there are no countries inhabited by men¹¹⁸; c) there is neither thunder, lightning, nor rain¹¹⁹; d) the climate is so hot that the sun looks much larger than usual and many die of the heat¹²⁰; e) the surface of the sea is so hot that fish keep to the bottom¹²¹; f) there are huge golden mountains¹²²; g) there are several miraculous fountains in different areas: one fills with liquid gold every year¹²³, one produces honey¹²⁴, another discharges everything that is plunged into it except iron, silver, gold, and copper¹²⁵. The information attributed to Ctesias on the Indian vegetation is equally extraordinary. On that land huge reeds¹²⁶ and palms¹²⁷ grow, and there are very strange trees, like the *parebum* that attracts everything that comes closer to its roots¹²⁸, the *siptachora* from which the inhabitants gather amber¹²⁹, and the *carpion* that produces extremely fragrant oily drops¹³⁰. The human beings living there are also given very unusual characteristics. Among the information that Photius attributes to Ctesias we find monstrous beings¹³¹ – like the *martichora*¹³²,

¹¹⁵ J.M. BIGWOOD, *Ctesias' Indica and Photius*, *Phoenix* 43, 1989, p. 302–316, supposes that Photius' synthesis of Ctesias' *Indika* could have been affected by the Photius' interest for fantastic narrations. Cf. A. NICHOLS, *Ctesias' Indica and the Origins of Paradoxography*, [in:] *Recognizing Miracles in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. M. GEROLEMOU, Berlin–Boston 2018, p. 3–16.

¹¹⁶ For instance, Pliny describes the fabulous peoples of India by quoting Ctesias (PLINIUS, VII, 2, 27–30).

¹¹⁷ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 2.

¹¹⁸ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 4.

¹¹⁹ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 5; F 45, 18.

¹²⁰ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 12.

¹²¹ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 13.

¹²² CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 26.

¹²³ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 9.

¹²⁴ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 29.

¹²⁵ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 49.

¹²⁶ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 14.

¹²⁷ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 28.

¹²⁸ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 35.

¹²⁹ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 36.

¹³⁰ CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 47.

¹³¹ On the fantastic creatures inhabiting India, see R. WITTKOWER, *Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters*, *JWCI* 5, 1942, p. 159–197. See G.L. CAMPBELL, *Strange Creatures...*, p. 114–120.

¹³² CTESIUS, *Indica*, F 45, 15. On the *martichora*, see P. LI CAUSI, *Sulle tracce del mantichora. La zoologia dei confini del mondo in Grecia e a Roma*, Palermo 2003.

the gryphons¹³³, worms that live in the Indus¹³⁴, asses with a horn on their forehead¹³⁵ – and a variety of huge¹³⁶ or very tiny animals¹³⁷. In addition, we read of a number of legendary peoples¹³⁸, whose features are mostly aberrant, like the ‘dogheaded’ men (Κυνοκέφαλοι)¹³⁹, the Pygmies¹⁴⁰, human beings born with white hair that turns black as they age, those with eight fingers and those with huge ears¹⁴¹.

If we reflect on Ctesias’ narration, we realize that it shares several motifs with the above-mentioned sources on the river Phison and its geographical position. From this perspective, Philostorgius’ passage is especially relevant – as we have seen – but Cosmas Indicopleustes’ *Christian Topography* and the Letter 125 by Jerome are also worth recalling, as they replicate already codified *topoi* about India. Cosmas mentions the unique herbs and crocodiles of the Indus, according to the motif of the Indian rivers-Nile assimilation. And for his part, Jerome – despite having knowledge of the reality of commercial travels to India – borrows the paradoxical tales on India’s perfumes, precious stones, golden mountains, and monsters for a moralistic purpose.

Summarizing what we have so far observed, it is possible to trace a history of the interpretations of the Genesis passage on the four rivers of paradise. The first fact is that the descriptions of India provided by Greek authors, starting with Scylax¹⁴², Ctesias, and Herodotus¹⁴³, go back to the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. It would not be difficult to say that their model of representation is the one on which the Genesis narration was shaped, where Eden is in the East, the river Phison flows in the land of Evilat, full of gold and treasures, and also the remaining three rivers that originate from paradise flow across Eastern lands. This is what appears in the translation of the Septuagint which was produced in the Hellenistic Jewish cultural *milieu* of the 3rd century BCE¹⁴⁴. Later, in the notes of Flavius Josephus and in the commentaries of Philo – both belonging to the same hellenised Jewish

¹³³ CTESIAs, *Indica*, F 45, 26. See K. KARTTUNEN, *India in Early...*, p. 177–179.

¹³⁴ CTESIAs, *Indica*, F 45, 46.

¹³⁵ CTESIAs, *Indica*, F 45, 45.

¹³⁶ Giant roosters (CTESIAs, *Indica*, F 45, 8), dogs that can attack lions (F 45, 10), sheep and goats larger than asses (F 45, 27).

¹³⁷ The bird called *dicairon* is the size of a partridge’s egg (CTESIAs, *Indica*, F 45, 34).

¹³⁸ Cf. K. KARTTUNEN, *India in Early...*, p. 127–133.

¹³⁹ CTESIAs, *Indica*, F 45, 40–43. On the *Cynocephali*, see K. KARTTUNEN, *India in Early...*, p. 180–185.

¹⁴⁰ CTESIAs, *Indica* F 45, 21. A copious study of the sources mentioning Pygmies is in P. JANNI, *Etnografia e mito. La storia dei Pigmei*, Roma 1978.

¹⁴¹ CTESIAs, *Indica* F 45, 50.

¹⁴² On Scylax’s account on India see K. KARTTUNEN, *India in Early...*, p. 65–68; J.S. ROMM, *The Edges...*, p. 84–85; M. ALBALADEJO VIVERO, *La India...*, p. 15–20; G. PARKER, *The Making...*, p. 14–18.

¹⁴³ On Herodotus’ passages on India, see K. KARTTUNEN, *India in Early...*, p. 73–79; M. ALBALADEJO VIVERO, *La India...*, p. 27–41.

¹⁴⁴ See M. HENGEL, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture. Its Prehistory and the Problem of its Canon*, London–New York 2002 [= OTS].

environment of the 1st century – the Genesis passage was reinterpreted allegorically in order to highlight its moral meaning, but traces of a re-elaboration of Greek accounts on Eastern countries, and India in particular, are visible. A third and yet later layer was constituted by the comments of the Christian authors who present both the allegorical interpretation of the text – as is the case of Ambrose – and the literal one – as regarding Epiphanius, Pseudo-Caesarius and Augustine. Even among Christian writers, such as Philostorgius, Cosmas, Jerome and Isidore, the reproduction of stereotypes about a remote, and sometimes deliberately unknown, *elsewhere* emerges. Finally, in a context of Christian-eschatological works, such as that of the *Journey from the Paradise of Eden to the Romans*, the *Expositio totius mundi*, and Palladius' *On the Peoples of India and the Brahmans*, India and the Indian river flowing out of paradise are connected to the lands inhabited by blessed peoples, such as the Macarinoi, the Camarini and the Brahmans: they have no need of civilisation and technological innovations, since their life is characterised by a temporal removal, a sort of remote *elsewhen* outside of history. In any case, the common element in the whole sequence of these texts is the reproduction of ancient ideas, originally conceived by the Greeks and then echoed by the Romans. Ultimately, the sources analysed show that India, imagined as a *utopian* land by the Greco-Roman world¹⁴⁵, was later identified as a land close to paradise, in both hellenised Jewish and Christian circles.

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¹⁴⁵ Bibliographical references to the theme of Utopia in the ancient world are numerous. We may mention here: M. WINIARCZYK, *Die hellenistischen Utopien*, Berlin–Boston 2011 [= Balt, 293]; *Utopias in Ancient Thought*, ed. P. DESTRÉE, J. OPSOMER, G. ROSKAM, Berlin–Boston 2021 [= Balt, 395], and in particular in the same volume, I. SULIMANI, *All Over the World: The Utopian Idea in Diodorus Siculus*. Specifically referring to India: J.D.M. DERRETT, *Thomas More and Joseph the Indian*, JRS 94.1–2, 1962, p. 18–34; C. JOUANNO, *Des Gymnosophistes aux Réchabites: une utopie antique et sa christianisation*, AC 79, 2010, p. 53–76; R. STONEMAN, *Tales of Utopia...*, p. 51–63.

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BYZANTINE INCUBATION LITERATURE BETWEEN RELIGION AND MEDICINE: FOOD AS MEDICAMENT IN THE COLLECTION OF HEALING MIRACLES PERFORMED BY SAINTS COSMAS AND DAMIAN (*BHG 373B*)

Abstract. Byzantine incubation literature is the term used in research to denote early Byzantine collections of healing miracles (5th–7th century) in which the saint's miraculous intervention is related to the incubation experience. Despite the centrality of the concepts of disease and healing in such literature, the relationship between medicine and Christian religion needs to be further explored. Based on the Egyptian collection of *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian* contained in manuscript *Lond. Add. 37534 (BHG 373b)* as a case study, this paper intends to: (1) present those miraculous accounts where food is treated as medicament, starting from a close reading of the relevant passages; (2) looking at the (Byzantine) medical knowledge integrated in these narratives.

Keywords: Byzantine incubation literature, *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian*, material culture, food as medicament, Byzantine history of food

1. Introduction

Among the Byzantine hagiographical works there is a specific group of miracle collections that, considering the richness of their content, have not been studied properly. They constitute so-called Byzantine incubation literature, i.e., collections of healing miracles performed by saints during the incubation experience of patient-devotees, who received messages or healings through the medium of the dream while sleeping inside a shrine¹.

Incubation, as a religious practice, was definitely not an original phenomenon of early Byzantium, but rather it had a long-standing tradition. As far as the Christian phenomenon of incubation is concerned, the Graeco-Roman one was

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¹ J.-M. HUSSER, *Dreams and Dream Narrative in the Biblical World*, London 1999, p. 21.

a particularly inconvenient precedent². Indeed, at the end of the 4th century the institutional Byzantine church showed hesitancy towards incubation, due to both the long preceding Graeco-Roman tradition and a theological scepticism towards dreams as bearers of divine truths because they might be sent by demons. As a consequence, even if laity probably believed in dreams nonetheless, the sources about incubation appeared only after the cult of the martyrs had been officially approved³. This aspect is of paramount importance in order to correctly evaluate the relationship between the Graeco-Roman precedents and the Christian phenomenon of incubation.

In earlier research, Christian incubation is considered to have been directly adapted from earlier practices, for the final purpose of eradicating pagan cults⁴. More recently, after the essays of Wiśniewski and Graf⁵, some scholars have been trying to argue against this interpretation⁶, but further research on the topic is still needed. In any case, Christian healing dreams have their own cultural rationale as an expression of Byzantine religiosity, just as Byzantine incubation literature shows that healing dream narratives acquired a major (and more complex) literary status in Byzantine culture in comparison to the Graeco-Roman world.

Indeed, even if the ritual practice of recording brief registrations about the experienced miraculous healings was probably shared by both the pagan and the Christian devotees, it cannot be denied that the textual development underwent by such early records in Byzantium was unparalleled. Quite differently from the Graeco-Roman epigraphic documents that are our sources on ancient incubation practices, the genesis of the said type of hagiographical literature is peculiar. Born from the ritual practice of collecting brief registrations written on real *libelli* by the recipients of the prodigious healings at the place of worship⁷, these works

² Especially the cult of Asklepios. Among the numerous Greek shrines of Asklepios, the most famous was certainly that of Epidauros, about whose activity important pieces of epigraphic evidence inform us. L.R. LIDONNICI, *The Epidaurian Miracle Inscriptions. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Atlanta 1995. See also the recent F. STEGER, *Asklepios. Medizin und Kult*, Stuttgart 2016.

³ R. WIŚNIEWSKI, *Looking for Dreams and Talking to Martyrs: the Internal Roots of Christian Incubation*, [in:] *SP*, vol. LXIII, Leuven 2013, p. 205.

⁴ L. DEUBNER, *De Incubatione capita quattuor*, Leipzig 1900 (esp. p. 57, 97–98); M. HAMILTON, *Incubation. The Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, London 1906 (esp. p. 110–111); M. DORATI, G. GUIDORIZZI, *La letteratura incubatoria*, [in:] *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino. Atti del convegno internazionale (Cassino, 14–17 settembre 1994)*, ed. O. PECERE, A. STRAMAGLIA, Cassino 1996, p. 345–371, esp. p. 347. On Christian incubation see also L. CANETTI, *L'incubazione cristiana tra antichità e medioevo*, *RSCr* 7.1, 2010, p. 149–180.

⁵ R. WIŚNIEWSKI, *Looking...* and F. GRAF, *Dangerous Dreaming: The Christian Transformation of Dream Incubation*, *ARg* 15, 2014, p. 117–144 respectively.

⁶ H. VON EHRENHEIM, *Pilgrimage for Dreams in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium: Continuity of the Pagan Ritual or Development within Christian Miracle Tradition?*, *SJBMGS* 2, 2016, p. 53–95 and G. RENBERG, *Where Dreams May Come. Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World*, Leiden 2016 [= RGRW], esp. p. 745–807.

⁷ H. DELEHAYE, *Les premiers Libelli Miraculorum*, *AB* 29, 2010, p. 427–434.

developed as a stratified textual tradition formed by continuous additions, until becoming compositionally structured miracle collections.

The *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian* are among the most representative examples of Byzantine incubation literature⁸. There are two existing versions of this work: the more well-known *Versio Asiatica* (BHG 372) edited by Deubner⁹ and the singular “Egyptian version” (BHG 373B) contained in manuscript *Lond. Add. 37534* (*Londinensis* henceforth), which was edited by Rupprecht in 1935¹⁰. Contrary to the scarce attention devoted to it by previous scholars, it is very likely that the Egyptian collection witnesses a much more ancient – and allegedly “authentic”¹¹ – stratum of the tradition¹². Furthermore, out of the total number of 38 miracles, it has 14 original miracles which do not have any equivalent in the *Versio Asiatica*. Therefore, for the present I will base on the *Londinensis* as a case study.

2. Food as medicament in the healing dream miracles performed by Cosmas and Damian

Cosmas and Damian are the main proponents of the so-called *Anargyroi*, namely those saints who heal without asking any payment (μηδένα παρὰ τῶν ἰασθέντων δεχόμενοι μισθόν)¹³, according to the evangelical precept *gratis accipistis, gratis*

⁸ The others are: *Miracula Theclae*, [in:] *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle*, rec. G. DAGRON, Bruxelles 1978; *Miracula Cyri et Ioannis*, [in:] *Los thaumata de Sofronio. Contribución al estudio de la “Incubatio” cristiana*, rec. N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, Madrid 1975, and see also SOPHRONE DE JÉRUSALEM, *Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean: BHG I 477–479*, trans. J. GASCOU, Paris 2006 and V. DÉROCHE, *Un recueil inédit de miracles de Cyr et Jean dans le Koutloumousiou 37*, RSBN 49, 2012, p. 199–220; *Miracula Artemii*, [in:] *Varia graeca sacra*, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 1–75 and see also V.S. CRISAFULLI, J.W. NESBITT, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-century Byzantium. Supplemented by a Reprinted Greek Text and an Essay by John F. Haldon*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= Mme, 13].

⁹ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, [in:] *Kosmas und Damian. Texte und Einleitung*, rec. L. DEUBNER, Leipzig–Berlin 1907.

¹⁰ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, [in:] *Cosmae et Damiani sanctorum medicorum vitam et miracula e codice Londinensi*, rec. E. RUPPRECHT, Berlin 1935 (cetera: *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT).

¹¹ While the *Versio Asiatica* served an official project of imperial propaganda of saints Cosmas and Damian’s cult. See Ph. BOOTH, *Orthodox and Heretic in the Early Byzantine Cult(s) of Saints Cosmas and Damian*, [in:] *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, ed. P. SARRIS, M. DAL SANTO, Ph. BOOTH, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= BSEMA, 20], p. 114–128 (esp. p. 124).

¹² I. CSEPREGI, *The Compositional History of Greek Christian Incubation Miracle Collections: Saint Thecla, Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Cyrus and John, Saint Artemios* [PhD Dissertation: Central European University, Budapest 2007] (esp. p. 238). On the relationship between the Egyptian and Asian collection(s) see also Ph. BOOTH, *Between Texts and Shrines in the Greek Cult of Saints (5th–7th Centuries)*, [in:] *Culte des saints et littérature hagiographique: accords et désaccords*, ed. V. DÉROCHE, B. WARD-PERKINS, R. WIŚNIEWSKI, Paris 2020, p. 23–38.

¹³ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 2, 17–18.

date (Mt 10: 8)¹⁴. These holy healers act within, and at the same time contribute to redefine, the complex relationship between medicine and Christianity. Some scholars even interpreted the *anargyroi* as the necessary answer of the Church to defeat the Christians' mistrust of medicine. In fact, medicine was evaluated positively as a gift of God, but *with all the drawbacks derived from being an art performed by humans*¹⁵. For this reason, free medical service was a meaningful requirement and, together with the constant references to doctors' avidity and to money waste of patients, contributes to represent Cosmas and Damian – and all the saints-physicians more in general – as the alternative model to secular doctors.

The recurring invectives against physicians in hagiographical literature appear to be centred on their (im)morality, rather than on the medical art itself and its tools¹⁶. As a confirmation of that, Christian holy healers often resort to the methods of secular medicine, as well as it is not rare to find the "occult" to be used by the saints. The apparently contradictory hostility towards doctors' cures (τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων φαρμάκων¹⁷) and magical practices (ἐπωδὴν καὶ τὰ περιάμμα-τα¹⁸) can actually be attributed to the attempt of building a unitary and monopolised concept of "healing". As explicitly stated in the *Life* that prefaces the *Miracles* in the *Londinensis*, the activity as holy healers of Cosmas and Damian is founded on the principle of subordination of human to celestial knowledge. Only if within the same cultural expression, based on shared concepts, ideas and beliefs, also the instruments borrowed from the repertoire of the (medical and magical) opponents acquire an official status and can be used by Christians. The magical, scientific and miraculous-religious approaches to medicine thus coexisted and operated simultaneously on the basis of the cultural representation of disease shared by the sick and the healer¹⁹.

As compared to healing miracles collections more in general, another typical feature characterized Byzantine incubation literature: the saints who are depicted

¹⁴ Actually, already in HIPPOCRATES, *Praeceptiones*, 6, 2–6, [in:] *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. IX, ed. É. LITTRÉ, Paris 1861 [repr. Amsterdam, 1962], p. 258. Despite being pagan, the way Hippocratic medicine devoted attention to patients complied with Christianity. See O. TEMKIN, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians*, Baltimore–London 1991 and A. TOUWAIDE, *Medicine and Pharmacy*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, ed. S. LAZARIS, Leiden–Boston 2020 [= BCBW, 6], p. 354–403 (esp. p. 367–368).

¹⁵ My translation of E. GIANNARELLI, *I cristiani, la medicina, Cosma e Damiano*, [in:] *Cosma e Damiano dall'Oriente a Firenze*, ed. EADEM, Firenze 2002, p. 29.

¹⁶ On the topic, the essay A. KAHZDAN, *The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, DOP 38, 1984, p. 43–51 still remains unsurpassed. See also A. KAHZDAN, A.W. EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkley–Los Angeles–London 1985, p. 155–158.

¹⁷ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 2, 3.

¹⁸ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 2, 4–5.

¹⁹ J.H. NEYREY, *Miracles, in Other Words: Social Science Perspectives on Healings*, [in:] *Miracles in Jewish and Christian Antiquity. Imagining Truth*, ed. J.C. CAVADINI, Notre Dame 1999, p. 20.

administrating healing through incubation are not just wonderworkers (*thaumaturgoi*) whose actions are modelled after the gestures of Christ, but they are out-and-out men of medicine. Indeed, the most recurring type of healing dreams is that of “medical dreams”²⁰, where patients are healed by resorting to scientific cures. Many miracles – the so-called *surgical* medical dreams, according to the classification provided by S. Constantinou²¹ – are solved through a real operation performed by the saints, providing us with valuable insights into the tools of the trade, such as razors (μάχαιρα, ξυρὸν), sponges (σπόγγος) and pots (σκύφος, ξέστα)²². Likewise numerous are the so-called *pharmacological*²³, where the cure consists in consuming or applying a medicine brought or suggested by the saint(s), and the *prescriptive* medical dreams²⁴, where the holy healers order the patient-devotee to behave in a certain way in order to be healed. Especially Cosmas and Damian’s healing miracles collection is deemed to be the one with the most leading scientific matrix²⁵, reflecting the increasing medical-scientific awareness which characterizes the Byzantine world starting from the 4th–5th centuries.

Looking into the medical knowledge integrated in these narratives is an approach that has not been yet systematically applied to research on Christian incubation literature. Next to drawing attention to a text which was for a long time neglected, this article aims to demonstrate the potential of such interpretative approach to the study of the history of medicine and food in Byzantium, encouraging further research on the topic. For this purpose, starting from a close reading of the relevant passages, I will focus on those miraculous accounts of the collection where food is treated as medicament.

²⁰ Healing dreams, as divine responses to the patient-devotee’s prayers for help, can be of three kinds according to the way of healing: corporeal, allegorical and medical. If the cure is obtained through the saint’s miraculous body, we refer to “corporeal dreams”. If the cure takes place in an allegorical way, the healing dream is specifically defined as “allegorical dream”. See S. CONSTANTINOU, *The Morphology of Healing Dreams: Dream and Therapy in Byzantine Collections of Miracle Stories*, [in:] *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. C. ANGELIDI, G.T. CALOFONOS, London–New York 2014, p. 21–34, esp. p. 25, 33.

²¹ S. CONSTANTINOU, *The Morphology...*

²² For example: *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 50–52, 56–57. For an updated list of Byzantine surgical instruments classified according to the operations see St. GEROULANOS, Ch.V. PANARETOS, E. LYBEROPOULOU, *Surgery in Byzantium*, [in:] *Medicine and Healing in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. D. MICHAELIDES, G. ANDROUTSOS, Oxford–Philadelphia 2014, p. 149–154.

²³ For example: *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 60–61.

²⁴ For example: *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 25–27, 68–72.

²⁵ On the Byzantines’ understanding of “science” see S. LAZARIS, *Introduction*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine...*, p. 1–26, esp. p. 21–22. For the *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian* as the most medicine-friendly text (in comparison, for example, to Sophronius in the *Miracles of Cyrus and John*, where the author, knows medicine and polemicizes against it) see J. LASCARATOS, *Miraculous Ophthalmological Therapies in Byzantium*, DOph 81, 1992, p. 151.

2.1. Dietary habits

The most ordinary cases are those of the so-called prescriptive dreams, where dietary habits are often part of such prescriptions.

In the ninth miracle of the collection, an old man, who vomits blood mixed with pus (ἄμα μετὰ πύου μειγμένον ἀνέφερεν²⁶) over and over again, reaches the holy shrine in his search to be healed. While staying there, since he does not see any improvement, he soon starts swearing against the saints and he does not respect the Lenten fast. Appearing in dream to him, Cosmas and Damian prescribe him to eat only bread, salt and vegetables:

“παῦσαι καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀπρεπεῖς λόγους· εἰπεῖν παῦσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐσθίειν ὀρνίθια, μάλιστα ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις [...] φάγε δὲ ἄρτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ὅσα λαχανώδη. Καὶ ἐὰν φυλάξης τὰς δύο ταύτας ἐντολάς, δυνήσῃ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἰάσεως τυχεῖν”²⁷.

“Stop pronouncing improper words against us and also stop eating birds, especially during these days [...] rather, do eat bread, salt and vegetables. And if you respect these two provisions, we will be able to heal you”²⁸.

Obviously, this account deals with the huge topic of food prohibition on religious grounds, in particular related to the practice of abstaining from all meat²⁹, which in Byzantium was the first and foremost fasting practice. The story is set during the “holy forty days” (ἡμερῶν οὐσῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἁγίων³⁰) of the Easter season. Nevertheless, the combination – and more precisely the formulation – of food prescribed by the saints is not so common as one might expect³¹. In the Byzantine monastic tradition fasting is usually associated with bread and water; if anything, salt – as allowed or not allowed seasoning – and wine are mentioned in addition to bread and water, which remain the staples of the meal(s)³².

²⁶ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 25, 21–22.

²⁷ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 26, 11–13, 17–20.

²⁸ All the translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

²⁹ See A.N.J. LOUVARIS, *Fast and Abstinence in Byzantium*, [in:] *Feast, Fast or Famine. Food and Drink in Byzantium*, ed. W. MAYER, S. TRZCIONKA, Leiden–Boston 2007, p. 189–198.

³⁰ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 26, 14–15.

³¹ Even the equivalent miracle of the *Versio Asiatica* (i.e., the sixth) does not display the same formula. Here, the dietary prescription of the saints is expressed in a very different way, through a sort of riddle. We indeed read: *eat only food starting with alpha* (*Kosmas und Damian...*, ed. L. DEUBNER, p. 110, 20). Festugière, in his translation of the Deubnerian edition, wrote that the solution of the riddle was *alphita* (see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Saint Thècle, Saints Come et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), Saint Georges*, Paris 1971, p. 107, no. 21). He clearly did not have in mind the Egyptian collection. The comparison with the ninth miracle of the latter indeed suggests that the *alpha* possibly refers to both *artos* and *alas*, as confirmed by the plural expression *en tois edésmasin*.

³² K. PARRY, *Vegetarianism in Late Antiquity and Byzantium. The Transmission of a Regimen*, [in:] *Feast, Fast or Famine...*, p. 171–187 (esp. p. 178–184).

In the miracle water might certainly be implied, also because here the saints specifically take position against the fact that the man eats birds, therefore they insist on food rather than beverage. In this sense, a passage from the *Acts of Thomas* constitutes a first useful comparison, even if there string olive oil appears too³³. Taking into account the absence of the reference to oil – which clearly characterizes a higher degree of austerity in fasting diet – and the specific combination of the dietary prescription (bread–salt–vegetables), one might risk the opinion that this passage – despite dealing with a layman – recalls xerophagy, i.e., *a more severe fast [...] which permits eating of dry bread and fruits or vegetables prepared raw or sometimes with water, vinegar and salt*³⁴.

The same dietary list recurs identical only in another source³⁵, namely a passage from the *Vita brevior Ioannis Chrysostomi* (BHG 874d) – which is repeated in the spurious *Letters to Eudoxia* (CPG 4709)³⁶. In the future it may be useful to delve into the connections between the *Vita brevior* and the *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian*, since in the same manuscript that contains the abridged life of John Chrysostom (i.e., Sin. gr. 504 from the 10th c.³⁷) we find also the *Miracles of Cosmas and Damian*³⁸.

2.2. *Rofema* for a liquid diet

Among the patients of saints Cosmas and Damian a handful of female patients is enumerated too. The twenty-sixth miracle of the Egyptian collection gives the story of a woman who suffers from facial deformity – παραστρέφω is the verb to indicate that the face is crooked –, since the maxillary bones (σιαγόνα) are dislocated (μετατίθημι). The first part of the account lingers over the description of the woman's appearance, which was disgusting:

γυνή θεράπεινα κληρικού σεπτοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Βλαχέρναις Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ τῶν ἁγίων πάθος ἔσχε δεινόν· τῶν γὰρ σιαγόνων αὐτῆς μετατεθέντων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τόπων ἄφνω παρεστρέφετο εἰς ἓν μέρος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἕως τῶν ὀμμάτων ἄνω, τὸ δὲ στόμα ὡσπερ καὶ

³³ *Acta Thomae*, 29, 5, [in:] *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. II.2, ed. M. BONNET, Leipzig 1903, p. 99–288. Quite curiously, also the verb εὐλογέω is present in this passage, but it is used with another meaning, namely that of “to speak a blessing over” the food before eating.

³⁴ “Xerophagy” in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, ed. K. PARRY, D.J. MELLING, D. BRADY, S.H. GRIFFITH, J.F. HEALEY, Oxford–Malden 2017, p. 521–522.

³⁵ Except for the fact that the noun λάχανον substitutes for the adjectivizing expression employed in the miracle.

³⁶ Ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐπαρκεῖ πρὸς ἀποτροφήν ὀλίγος ἄρτος σὺν ἄλατι καὶ λαχάνοις οἰκτροῖς διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν in *Vita brevior Ioannis Chrysostomi*, 28, 108–110, [in:] *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome*, ed. F. HALKIN, Bruxelles 1977, p. 335 and IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Ad Eudoxiam*, [in:] *Αἱ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί*, ed. P.G. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Athens 1973, p. 287, 18–19.

³⁷ Diktyon: 58879.

³⁸ According to the *Versio Asiatica*'s version (BHG 372) and the collection *Miracula XIV* (BHG 389a).

τὸ πρόσωπον στρεβλὸν ὑπῆρχεν, τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους φυγόν. φοβερὸν ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ πάθος· τὸ γὰρ στόμα χανὸν ἦν³⁹.

[...] a servant of a clergy man of the Cosmas and Damian's Reverend sanctuary of the Blachernai was afflicted by a dreadful disease: indeed, because the jawbones had moved from their locations, suddenly her face remained turned by one side up to above the eyes, and the mouth and the face as well remained crooked, because it had come out of its locations. The disease was horrible at sight: indeed, the mouth stayed wide open.

In order to heal the woman, Cosmas and Damian will appear in dream to her and perform an (invasive) orthopaedic intervention, one (Cosmas) holding the feet tight, while the other (Damian) gripping with his left hand her head and with the right making the jawbones come back to their locations⁴⁰. Beyond that, this miracle reports an interesting detail, which is worthy of more attention. When describing the crooked face of the woman, it is said that *It was not possible to close or to open it* [= the mouth], *nor to emit an articulated sound or eat food, only salted thin oat stock was given to her* (ρόφημα δὲ μόνον ὕφαλμον ἐδίδετο αὐτῇ)⁴¹.

The combined expression *ρόφημα ὕφαλμον* found in this passage seems to be unparalleled. As for the lemma *ὕφαλμος*, -ον, only five instances are known, in addition to that of the miracle, but they are all unrelated to oats or other crops. *Rofema* is one of the terms under which thin liquid food made of oats is known⁴². In particular, it refers to “a sort of thin oat stock”⁴³.

Next to confirming that this dish was drunk, the miracle in question provides more information concerning its therapeutic use and of oats more in general. Indeed, oats was applied either externally – as a component of cataplasms – or internally. This case clearly belongs to the latter: the stock given to the woman seems to be akin to our modern liquid diet. In this sense, the administration of *rofema* as a foodstuff to those patients who are not able to eat shall be added to the already known treatment of sicknesses accompanied by high temperatures, of ailments of the alimentary tract, of liver fundus inflammation and of persons coming out of lethargy⁴⁴.

³⁹ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 40, 21–25; 41, 1–6.

⁴⁰ This intervention (to heal temporomandibular disfunction due to mandibular dislocation) is ascribable to the field now recognised as Oral and Cranio-maxillofacial Surgery and Pathology, which was not distinguished from General Surgery by Byzantine physicians. See A.I. MYLONAS, E.-F. POU-LAKOU-REBELAKOU, G.I. ANDROUTSOS, et al., *Oral and Cranio-maxillofacial Surgery in Byzantium*, JCMS 2, 2014, p. 159–168, esp. p. 163.

⁴¹ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 41, 7–10.

⁴² M. KOKOSZKO, *The Common Oat as Food and Medicament in Greek Medical Treatises of Antiquity and Byzantium, II–VII C. AD.*, [in:] *Tasting Cultures. Thoughts for Food*, ed. M.J. PIRES, Oxford 2015, p. 99–113 (esp. p. 101–102).

⁴³ M. KOKOSZKO, *The Common...*, p. 102. Oribasius – reporting a passage of Dieuches – explains the exact proportion of oats and water (i.e., 1:10) to prepare it. See *Oribasii Collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, IV, 7, 20, vol. I, rec. I. RAEDER, Leipzig 1933 [= CMG, 6.1–4], p. 103, 27–30.

⁴⁴ See M. KOKOSZKO, *The Common...*, p. 103–104.

2.3. Cedar oil: a nasty-tasting medicine

The twenty-second miracle is perhaps the longest of the whole Egyptian collection and, as a consequence, one with a more sophisticated narrative structure. It indeed contains four prescriptive dreams, of which the two dreams that follow the first one are repetitions, while the fourth dream has a different content.

This miracle displays a so-called ‘punishment miracle’: God inflicts on the main character a jowl abscess as punishment, because he assiduously attends the chariot races. Once he has reached the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian, the saints appear in dream to him:

καὶ ἀποστήσαι τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος βουληθέντος, τὸ λεγόμενον ἀπόστημα κατὰ τῆς γνάθου ἀνενέγκας οὗτος δεινῶς εἶχεν. κατέφυγεν εἰς τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἰατροὺς τῶν δυσκόλων νοσημάτων Κοσμᾶν καὶ Δαμιανόν. ἔκειτο οὖν ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ νεῷ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοὺς ἀξίων ἰάσεως τυχεῖν [...] οἵτινες αὐτῷ φανέντες ἐν μέσῃ νυκτὶ προθύμως ἐμήνυσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἰατροῖαν οὕτω φάσκοντες πρὸς αὐτόν. “εἰ σὺ θέλεις τῆς νόσου τὴν ὑγίαιαν λαβεῖν, ἐκ κεδραίας κρᾶσιν λαβὼν ἀπόπιε τοῦτο καὶ ταχέως ἰαθήσῃ”⁴⁵.

He felt ill seriously, having developed the so-called jowl abscess. Then, he rushed to the real healers of the incurable diseases, Cosmas and Damian. So, he laid sick in the holy shrine of saints Cosmas and Damian, asking them for the healing [...]. Having appeared to him at midnight, they benevolently revealed the cure for his ailment, saying to him: “If you want to be healed, after having taken one solution of cedar oil, drink it and you will immediately recover”.

The same dream will repeat for two more times – except for the increasing quantity of the liquid the patient is ordered to drink, which becomes two and eventually three solutions –, but the man’s reaction is always the same:

καὶ διεγερθεὶς ἀπὸ ὕπνου παίγνιον τι οἶεται εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ φαντασίαν τινά, “μηδέποτε” λέγων “οἱ ἅγιοί τινι τοιοῦτο πιεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσιν”⁴⁶.

And having woken up from the dream, he thought that it was a joke and an illusion, telling himself: “The saints never order to anyone to drink such a liquid”.

After these three unsuccessful dreams, a fourth dream unblocks the story: he would recover, only after going at night to the hippodrome and burying a pot with inside the cedar oil he refused to drink. Except that, while it has given the impression that the patient could avoid to drink the cedar oil, the fourth dream will reveal to be a trap, leading the character to follow the saints’ original order⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, 30, 18–22; 31, 1–4.

⁴⁶ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, 31, 5–7.

⁴⁷ For the narratological analysis of this miracle see S. CONSTANTINOU, *The Morphology...*, p. 32–33.

Beyond the fascinating narrative structure of this miracle, what pertains to the topic of the present article is the (incredulous) reaction of the man when the saints order him to drink the cedar oil: his refusal is so firm that he doubts the dreams' authenticity. In view of the scarce instances of the term *κεδραία*, this is a precious source: indeed, it seems to witness the *communis opinio* about the nasty taste of the liquid⁴⁸.

Commonly available in the small stores of Constantinople⁴⁹, cedar oil is mentioned by Nicholas Myrepsos (end of 13th c.) in three recipes of his *Dynameron*⁵⁰. Quite interestingly, the third one is suggested for several diseases, among which there is also the abscess (*ἀποστήματα*)⁵¹. Taking into account the compiling character of the *Dynameron*, the miracle in question contributes to the hypothesis that such (or similar) recipe circulated also earlier.

2.4. Fava beans mush for the treatment of pleurisy

In the twenty-eight miracle a man is affected from pleurisy (*πλευριτικός*) and, because of a bloody abscess in the chest, he constantly spews blood mixed with pus. Appearing in dream to him, the saints order:

“ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν Κοσμάς καὶ Δαμιανὸς οἱ μέλλοντές σοι ποιήσαντι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὀρθῶς, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ δοῦναι τὴν σωτηρίαν· τοιγαροῦν φάβατος πολταρίου μεταλαμβάνων ταχέως ἰαθήσῃ”. ποιήσας οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς προσετάγη, ταχέειαν εὔρε τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν⁵².

“We are Cosmas and Damian, those who, sent by Christ, will provide with salvation you who have made a right profession of faith: therefore, if you eat fava beans mush, you will be quickly healed”. So, the man, having done as he had been ordered to, found a quick recovery from the disease.

⁴⁸ Speaking of the dangerous double effect of its properties, Dioscorides reports that *some called it also 'life of the death'*. See *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque*, I, 77, vol. I, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berlin 1907 [repr. 1958] (cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*), p. 76, 11 – 78, 4; translation: PEDANIUS DIOSCORIDES OF ANAZARBUS, *De materia medica*, trans. L.Y. BECK, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 2005 [= ATS, 38], p. 60.

⁴⁹ *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, 13, 1, 1–7, rec. J. KODER, Vienna 1991 [= CFHB.SV, 33], p. 118.

⁵⁰ *Das Dynameron des Nikolaos Myrepsos*, 38, 77 (p. 942); 47, 5a (p. 1111), rec. I. VALIAKOS, Heidelberg 2019 (cetera: NICOLAUS MYREPSUS).

⁵¹ NICOLAUS MYREPSUS, 10, 18, 1–4, 11–19, p. 436. As far as I am concerned, we are acquainted with just two more cases in which drinking the cedar oil was prescribed, namely to heal the diseases elephantiasis and sea-hare. See DIOSCORIDES, *Euporista vel De simplicibus medicinis*, I, 195 (p. 224, 26 – 225, 6); II, 160 (p. 314, 7–18), [in:] *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia...*, vol. III. Contrary to what is written in DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 77, 3, where cedar oil in lozenge form or through smearing is suggested for elephantiasis.

⁵² *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 49, 1–7.

Here, it is precisely the fava beans mush (φάβατος πολτάριος) that guarantees the healing of the sick. As in other cases, to contextualize the medical information provided by this passage is not easy, but this makes the source even more precious.

Indeed, as for the term *poltarios*, only sixteen instances can be counted and they all pertain to medical literature. In particular, a decent number are from Oribasius' works, while none is from Aetius Amidenus', who instead seems to be recalled in other passages of the collection: this might suggest that, as far as the medical terminology of the Egyptian collection is concerned, Oribasius represents a more relevant source⁵³. Regarding the term *faba*, the instances are few (around one hundred). Lastly, the combined use of *poltarios* and *faba* is not attested elsewhere. For this reason, it does not seem inappropriate to mention that Symeon Seth (second half of the 11th c.) in his monography on dietetics writes that fava beans decoctions (ἀπόζεμα) can purify the chest (λεαίνει τὸν θώρακα)⁵⁴, in addition to other properties.

According to the information provided in the miracle about diagnosis and therapy, I believe that the *fabatos poltarios* of the miracle coincides with the *apozema* mentioned by Symeon Seth.

2.5. Hot olive oil

As already written above, physicians are always present in Byzantine incubation literature because they are necessary to build by negation the identity of Christian healer saints. From a narrative point of view, secular doctors can hold several roles. The twenty-ninth miracle is the only one of the whole Egyptian collection where a doctor, called Μηνάς, appears as a patient⁵⁵.

In the opening, as usual, the patient is introduced. In this specific case, the expertise and the knowledge of the doctor are mentioned: nevertheless, the praise should not be misleading, since it results in making the saints' intervention appear even more prodigious. The name of the disease from which Menas is affected is unknown and generically addressed as a serious disease (νόσω βαρεία συνεσχέθη) causing haemoptysis.

After having experimented many cures in vain, he decides to go to the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian:

⁵³ Particularly relevant and surely worthy of more attention is also the occurrence in Aelius Promotus' *Dunameron*: ELIO PROMOTO ALESSANDRINO, *Manuale della salute (Δυναμερόν)*, 107, 7, rec. D. CRISMANI, Alessandria 2002 [= Hel], p. 212.

⁵⁴ *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ad vocem περι φαβάρτων, rec. B. LANGKAVEL, Leipzig 1868, p. 115, 3–4.

⁵⁵ A doctor called Menas and performing his cures in Egypt (Latopolis, to be precised) is known from an inscription published in J. BAILLET, *Les Inscriptions grecques des Tombeaux des Roi sous syringes à Thèbes*, Le Caire 1926, p. 140–141, n. 658 and E. SAMAMA, *Les médecins dans le monde grec: sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical*, Genève 2003, p. 491.

[...] ἤτει τῆς ἰάσεως τυχεῖν [...] αὐτῶν ἀνέμενε τὴν ἴασιν. μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ φανέντες αὐτῶ οἱ ἄγιοι ἔλεγον τάδε· “τὸ λεγόμενον χίδρον φάγε καὶ τὸν θώρακα θερμῶ ἐλαίῳ χρίε, καὶ μὴ καταψυγῆς ἐν τῇ νόσῳ· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ προσταχθέντα σοι παρ’ ἡμῶν ποιήσας τάχιον εὐρήσεις τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν”. ποιήσας οὖν, ὡς προσέταξαν ἰάθη συντόμως⁵⁶.

[...] he asked for the healing [...] He waited for the cure. Having appeared to him shortly after, the saints said: “Eat the so-called cooked wheat and rub the hot oil into the chest, and don’t get cold while being sick: indeed, if you carry out these orders, you will recover more quickly”. So, after having done as he had been ordered to, he recovered in a short time.

The application of hot olive oil (ἔλαιον θερμόν) to the chest (θώραξ) is not so common as one might expect in medical literature, but two sources are particularly relevant to prove that anointing the chest with oil was considered by physicians in relation to chest pains.

The first one is a passage from the anonymous work *De morbis acutis et chronicis*⁵⁷, written by a nameless physician of the imperial age. Here, while explaining the therapy for phthisis, it is said: *Soothe pains in any part of the chest with fomentations of oil [...]*⁵⁸. This therapeutic prescription is perfectly compatible with the therapy described in the miracle, even if the symptoms to be healed are different: blood-spitting in the case of the miracle, *expectoration of pus towards daybreak*⁵⁹ – listed among the symptoms of phthisis in the anonymous work on acute and chronic diseases. Anyway, both of them – blood-spitting and phthisis – are part of the typical chest physiopathology of chronic diseases.

Secondly, in a passage from the *Liber medicus* by Paul of Nicaea (uncertain, 7th–10th c.) *embrocation made of marjoram and olive oil*⁶⁰ are mentioned among the therapies suggested to heal chest abscesses (ἐμπυϊκοί).

2.6. Broom millet for the treatment of surgery wounds

Among the various diseases that women suffer from in the Egyptian collection, breast pain is the most recurring one. The forty-fifth miracle of the collection is an interesting example, since it connects the ailment to the fact that the young woman does not breastfeed her son, a maternal behaviour that the Church condemned harshly⁶¹.

⁵⁶ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 50, 1–2, 3–9.

⁵⁷ *Anonymi medici De morbis acutis et chronicis*, 27, 3, 32, rec. I. GAROFALO, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= SAM], p. 154, 2–4.

⁵⁸ Adapted translation from that provided by Garofalo (p. 155). I do not agree with translating “fomentations of oil poultices” the Greek ταῖς δι’ ἐλαίου πυρτιας, I think that here they refer to liquid medicinal treatment.

⁵⁹ Translation of Garofalo (p. 151).

⁶⁰ PAOLO DI NICEA, *Manuale medico*, 43, 11–12, ed. et trans. A.M. IERACI BIO, Naples 1996 [= HByN, 16], p. 112.

⁶¹ See G. GOLLO, *Female Presence in the Incubation Miracles of Saints Cosmas and Damian: MS Londinensis Addendum 37534 and the Representation of Women* [in manuscript].

Refusing to be cut by the doctors, the woman goes to the sanctuary of Cosmas and Damian to be healed. This is how the story continues:

καὶ τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ πάλιν οἱ ἅγιοι φανέντες τάδε ἔφασαν· [...] “εἰ σὺ τῆς ἰατρείας βούλει τυχεῖν, κέγχρον λαβοῦσα καὶ τρίψασα τῷ πάθει τοῦ μαζοῦ ἐπίχρισον καὶ ράϊση ἐξ αὐτοῦ”. γενομένης ἡμέρας τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν διηγεῖτο τὸ πρὸς αὐτὴν λεχθέν. οἱ δὲ ταχέως κέγχρον προσήνεγκαν αὐτῇ· καὶ τρίψασα ἐπαλείψασα τοῦτο, ὡς προσετάγη, ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας παρελθούσης ἔκοιμήθη. μέσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς εὐχὴν ἐγερθεῖσα διαρραγέντα τὸν μαστὸν ἤυρεν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξέθλιβεν ὄλον τὸ πῦον, καὶ τῇ αὐτομάτῃ τομῇ κηρωτὴν ἐπιβαλοῦσα τελείαν ἔσχε τὴν ὑγίειαν⁶².

And appearing again to the wife, (the saints) said these words: [...] “If you want to recover, after having taken some broom millet and having ground it, rub it into the affected part of your breasts, and in this way you will be healed from the disease”. When it was day, she told her relatives what had been said to her. And they immediately gave her the broom millet; after having minced and rubbed it, as she was ordered to, when the day was over, she fell asleep. Waken up to pray in the middle of the night, she found her breasts split. So, she made all the pus pour out right away, and, having applied the wax-salve on the spontaneous cut, she definitively recovered.

A key-element in this prodigious healing is broom millet (κέγχρον). According to the narrative, its therapeutic use consists of causing a cut, through which the infected fluids can pour out, as a result of rubbing (ἐπιχρίω) ground (τρίβω) broom millet into the affected part. It is clear that the use of broom millet replaces the real incision that secular doctors intended to perform on the woman and she fearfully refused to undergo. From this point of view, the account appears to be much more focused on describing the female patient as fearful of facing the surgery and at the same time in promoting the image of the saints as capable of painless healings, rather than in showing off demonstrated medical knowledge.

Acknowledging the marked fictional character of this healing, actually a kernel of truth is present. The use of broom millet in medical procedures is indeed attested in medical literature. Millet pottage, warming poultices and cataplasms with drying effect are definitely more common⁶³, but flour ground from broom millet to be applied as powder on surgery wounds and head injuries is envisaged by Galen⁶⁴.

⁶² *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 77, 3–15.

⁶³ M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Common and Foxtail Millet in Dietetics, Culinary Art and Therapeutic Procedures of the Antiquity and Early Byzantium*, LSE 54, 2015, p. 71–104 (esp. p. 91–100).

⁶⁴ GALENUS, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, II, 2, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XII, ed. D.C.G. KÜHN, Leipzig 1826, p. 577, 8–10. Probably this passage comes from Archigenes.

2.7. Honey as antiseptic

The main character of the forty-sixth miracle is a man who has been suffered from a scrofula (χοιράς) in his butt (πρὸς τὸ κάθισμα τοῦ μέρους ἐνὸς) for five years. After having received an invitation dream, he goes to the shrine of Cosmas and Damian. There, the saints appear in dream to him and operate the man, performing a surgery. It is to be noted that this scene happens *in the hospital standing near the sanctuary* (ἐν τῷ πρὸς τῷ νεῶ νοσοκομείῳ). This is the first and only one reference of the whole collection to the hospital of the *Kosmidion* shrine⁶⁵, where all the miraculous accounts are set⁶⁶.

The description of the surgery, which acquires a grotesque tone, ends with the line of the patient, who advises the saints to rub honey on the incision before bandaging (μέλιτι χρίετε τὴν τομὴν πρὸ τοῦ καταδησαί με⁶⁷). The saints do not appreciate the suggestion, and prefer to use a gauze soaked in medicine (ῥάκος {ἐπίδεσμον} φαρμάκων πληρώσαντας)⁶⁸.

Even if Cosmas and Damian do not follow their patient's suggestion, we know that honey was used to cicatrize a wound, because, thanks to its antibacterial properties, it was an efficient antiseptic, being able to disinfect and inhibit bacteria at the same time⁶⁹.

3. Conclusive remarks

As the previous examples have shown, the medical component in Byzantine incubation literature is particularly obvious. Moving away from authoritative medical literature, healing dreams narratives provide us with an access to the process itself of development of the rational and scientific medicine, which benefited from the contribution of popular traditions and beliefs too⁷⁰.

⁶⁵ It was the most important holy sanctuary devoted to the healing saints Cosmas and Damian and made of a church, a monastery and a neighbouring hospital. See R. JANIN, *La Géographie Eclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantine*, vol. III, *Les églises et les Monastères*, Paris 1969, p. 284–89. In this passage of the Egyptian collection the *Kosmidion* as a philanthropic institution is addressed as *nosokomeion*, while the Asian collection selected *xenon* (*Kosmas und Damian...*, ed. L. DEUBNER, p. 174, 29). To be added to T. MILLER, *Philanthropic Institutions*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion to Constantinople*, ed. S. BASSETT, Cambridge 2022 [= CCAW], p. 246.

⁶⁶ Except for the first two stories that take place in Pheréman (Φερεμᾶν), Syria.

⁶⁷ *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 79, 10–11.

⁶⁸ My revision of the Greek text in *Miracula Cosmae et Damiani*, ed. E. RUPPRECHT, p. 79, 28–29.

⁶⁹ See J.P. ALCOCK, *Food in the Ancient World*, Westport Conn.–London 2006, p. 85 and C. BALANDER, *Production et usages du miel dans l'antiquité Gréco-Romaine*, [in:] *Des hommes et des plantes. Plantes méditerranéennes, vocabulaire et usages anciens. Table ronde Aix-en-Provence Mai 1992*, ed. M.-C. AMOURETTI, G. COMET, Aix-en-Provence 1993, p. 93–125 (esp. p. 107–110).

⁷⁰ I. ANDORLINI, A. MARCONE, *Medicina, medico e società nel mondo antico*, Firenze 2004, p. 10. On the importance of investigating the presence of medicine in non-medical literature in order to expand our knowledge of the Byzantine medical culture see A. TOUWAIDE, *Medicine...*, p. 402.

The literary description of the so-called incubatory medicine sheds light on a mixed reality, which was separated from and in competition with scientific medicine but where traditional healing methods coexist with (more or less) contemporary medical knowledge nonetheless. Furthermore, since the corpus of Byzantine incubation literature is mostly datable to the period between the 5th and the 7th century – and very often the compositional nucleus of these works has an earlier origin –, these narratives witness a transition period in the development of Byzantine medicine. In this sense, medicament in healing miracles collections does not only serve the purpose of constructing a devotional story, by showing off the saints' healing powers. The medical procedures described in such literature are the result of a long-standing tradition and at the same time contribute to the preservation of this cultural memory.

For the present, the use of food as medicament – clearly indebted to traditional Hippocratic medicine that considered food and diet as (usually) the most important medical treatment⁷¹ – should be addressed as one of the components that contributed to make up the field of Byzantine pharmacological therapeutics⁷², which had a clear development of its own in Byzantium as compared to the classical heritages⁷³. The recurring presence of foodstuffs among the medicaments suggests that in the (both chronological and cultural) context where this collection was conceived for the first time the boundary between food and drug (and that between dietetics and pharmacology) was rather blurred⁷⁴, so that we can speak of a food-drug continuum⁷⁵. At the same time, as the forty-sixth miracle – where the holy healers prefer a gauze soaked with medicine to honey – and the presence of more “innovative” medical procedures suggest that the difference between traditional and rational medicine was perceived.

To conclude, Byzantine incubation literature has a lot to offer to researchers interested in the relationship between religion and medicine in Byzantium and in the history of Byzantine medicine more in general, therefore I hope that this paper – which constitutes only a preliminary study on the topic – will pave the way for further studies of this kind.

⁷¹ See V. DÉROCHE, *La médecine hippocratique dans la littérature hagiographique byzantine*, [in:] *Hippocrate et les hippocratismes. Médecine, religion, société*, ed. J. JOUANNA, M. ZINK, Paris 2015, p. 437–460.

⁷² A. TOUWAIDE, E. APPETITI, *Food and Medicines in the Mediterranean Tradition. A Systematic Analysis of the Earliest Extant Body of Textual Evidence*, *JEpH* 167, 2015, p. 11–29, esp. p. 12.

⁷³ J. SCARBOROUGH, *Early Byzantine Pharmacology*, *DOP* 38, 1984, p. 213–232, esp. p. 213.

⁷⁴ L. TOTELIN, *When Foods Become Remedies in Ancient Greece: The Curious Case of Garlic and Other Substances*, *JEpH* 167, 2015, p. 30–37, esp. p. 34.

⁷⁵ M. VALUSSI, A.S. SCIRÈ, *Quantitative Ethnobotany and Traditional Functional Foods*, *NutF* 11, 2012, p. 73–81, esp. p. 73–74.

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DISEASE, HEALING AND MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE IN AN OLD BULGARIAN COLLECTION OF MIRACLE STORIES

Abstract. The Old Bulgarian hagiographical collection of miracle stories, named *A Tale of the Iron Cross*, is relatively well known among the scholars, but a sufficient number of its details still has not been studied properly. In fact, such a peculiarity seems somehow strange, especially if we take into consideration that the mixture of translated and original strata in the present *Tale's* version does not hinder its significance as a valuable primary source of historical information. There can be no doubt that the religious aspect in the hagiographical collection in question is the leading one in the foreground. On the other hand, however, the records of the daily life activities should not be underestimated either. Their presence within the frames of the *Tale* helps a lot in the scholars' attempts to reconstruct the knowledge, skills, habits or principles of social behaviour in the Bulgarian society in the late 9th – early 10th century.

Keywords: hagiography, healing dreams, Old Bulgarian collection of miracle stories, health problems, disease, medical knowledge, treatment

Introduction

In the concluding section of a relatively voluminous collection of miracle stories, known among the scholars as *A Tale of the Iron Cross* (hereinafter referred as *Tale*), one can read:

Brother Christodoulos, he told us about this cross, given to him by George [, a man of] the Bulgarian [origin]. All these are the miracles of healing, performed through the power of Christ and with the help of the great glorious martyr George, which he confessed to us. That is why I have asked these brethren and senior monks to come – he told me this in front of them, so that you too would believe and not be tempted. And here with this cross he has already healed about 15 people from various diseases. When we heard this, we all glorified God and St. George, the great helper in troubles and sufferings. And we took the monk who had brought the cross to the grave, and we buried him with honor and Christian religious

chants. We celebrated the Holy Cross and St. George for three days, glorifying the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.¹

A few lines below, with the inherent manner of a medieval author in the Orthodox world, the hagiographer added that he described only a small part of what was heard and seen. In fact, beyond the claim of modesty and incompetence, it must be acknowledged that his creative approach is impressive in performance and culminates in a literary work for the St. George's cult in the recently Christianized Bulgarian society. It must be pointed out that it is not just a matter of skillfully compiling translated and edited Byzantine texts in the first three of the ten miracle stories and thematically linking them to the Tale's original fragments (miracles from the fourth to the tenth), putting them together in a common framework of extensive introductory and concluding parts². What is important is the development of a complete and full of characters and events narrative, intertwined with many details with diverse information about daily life of the low society strata. Some of these details allow a close look at the voluminous and compelling topic of health problems in the early medieval Bulgaria. However, studying the collection of miracles, as we have already emphasized, must be performed cautiously, because the religious aspect is the leading one and the miraculous is dominant, while data with specific historical information are in a minor position of the necessary background³. On the other hand, one cannot ignore the text as a source of information about diseases, healing practices and the level of medical knowledge in the late ninth – early tenth century Bulgarian society, since, as Peregrine Horden noted wisely, hagiography is open windows onto therapeutic landscape of the early Middle Ages, regardless of the fact that the specified group of literary works offers only a partial view of illness and handicap⁴.

¹ The authors of the present article make all enclosed English translations of the *Tale's* fragments [Y.H., D.K.]. Cf. Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст*, СЛ 1, 1971, р. 153 [Ое же, брате Хѣдѣе, сповѣда намъ ѿ крѣтѣ сѣ, иже далъ Геворгѣнъ Българинъ, и си вса ѹюдеса цѣлѣвы, таже сътъ сътворилъ (sic), исповѣда намъ силою Хѣою и помошю стѣго и великаго и славнаго Хѣа стѣрототръпца Геворгѣа. Ое же ти того дѣла призвахъ братю сѣю и ѿцѣкѣ при нихъ же ми исповѣда, да вѣрѣши ли и да са не влазниши. И садѣ оуже исцѣлѣна сѣмъ крѣтомъ до .ѣт. ѹлѣкъ ѿ разлунны недѣстѣ. Все же мы слышавше, прославихомъ Бѣга и великаго вѣдѣахъ и в болѣзніе помошника Геворгѣа. И проводихомъ врата до гроба, приняаго крѣтѣ, и вложихомъ его съ ѹтѣю и съ пѣли дѣховныли, и празновахемъ три дѣни ѹтѣномъ крѣтѣ и стѣахъ Геворгѣю, славаще стѣю трѣцю, ѿца, и сѣна, и стѣго дѣха].

² The *Tale of the Iron Cross* is a particularly remarkable work in the Old Bulgarian literature from the epoch of Tsar Simeon I (893–927). Cf. А. АНГУШЕВА, Н. ГАГОВА, АН. МИЛТЕНОВА, Т. СЛАВОВА, А. СТОЙКОВА, *Книжовността по времето на цар Симеон*, [in:] *Българският Златен век. Сборник в чест на цар Симеон Велики (893–927)*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, ИЛ.Г. ИЛИЕВ, К. НЕНОВ, Пловдив 2015, р. 242–243.

³ Cf. Y. HRISTOV, *Travelling and Travellers: Persons, Reasons and Destinations According to "A Tale of the Iron Cross"*, [in:] *Voyages and Travel Accounts in Historiography and Literature*, vol. I, ed. В. СТОЈКОВСКИ, Budapest 2021, р. 33–54.

⁴ P. HORDEN, *Sickness and Healing [in the Christian World, c. 600–c. 1100]*, [in:] IDEM, *Cultures of Healing. Medieval and After*, London–New York 2019, р. 91. For the sake of objectivity, it must be

Tale's examples of the hagiographical model of healing dreams

Due to the interest in the *Tale* and its use as a source of specific type of information, it might be helpful to note that the presence of compiled fragments in the extant version of this work, which according to modern (and not quite applicable to medieval texts) criteria for originality is considered a weakness, brings significant advantages. The influence of proven models in the Eastern Christian world allows us a much smoother approach through the prism of productive research solutions applied to such Byzantine hagiography. For example, eight of all ten stories in the Old Bulgarian hagiographical collection in question are for healing. Five of these eight miracle stories are about treatment and healing, and reproduced the motif of a healing dream, which is frequently used in Byzantine hagiography. It is significant that the passages from the text of the *Tale*, which reveal such a creative decision, fit into the classification of healing dreams of Byzantine miracle collections. This classification, as is well known, covers three main large groups – the corporal dreams, the medical dreams as well as the allegorical dreams, the differentiation of which depends on the described way in which healing is achieved⁵.

admitted that few years ago the entire text of the *Tale of the Iron Cross* has been taken into consideration through the prism of the topic of health problems and the challenges of seeking treatment and medical help in the Bulgarian medieval society. Cf. Я. ХРИСТОВ, *За болестите и лечителските практики в старобългарския цикъл разкази “Сказание за железния кръст”*, ИБ 1–2, 2011, p. 178–191. (Cf. also ИДЕМ, *Щрихи към разкази “Сказание за железния кръст”*, Благоевград 2012, p. 73–97). However, the study in question bears somehow a general overview and characteristics. In addition, it is published in Bulgarian and is accessible for a narrow audience.

⁵ S. CONSTANTINOU, *The Morphology of Healing Dreams: Dream and Therapy in Byzantine Collections of Miracle Stories*, [in:] *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Ch. ANGELIDI, G. T. CALOFOFONOS, Farnham 2016, p. 25. For some important specifics of the genre as well as for the significance of the collections of miracle stories, see: R. LENNART, *Fiction and Reality in the Hagiographer's Self-Presentation*, TM 14, 2002, p. 547–552; M. HINTERBERGER, *Byzantine Hagiography and its Literary Genres. Some Critical Observations*, [in:] *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. II, *Genres and Contexts*, ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS, Farnham 2014, p. 25–60; St. EFTHYMIADIS, *Greek Byzantine Collections of Miracles. A Chronological and Bibliographical Survey*, SO 74.1, 1999, p. 195–211; ИДЕМ, *Collections of Miracles (Fifth–Fifteenth Centuries)*, [in:] *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. II..., p. 103–142; A. ALWIS, *The Hagiographer's Craft: Narrators and Focalisation in Byzantine Hagiography*, [in:] *The Hagiographical Experiment. Developing Discourses of Sainthood*, ed. Ch. GRAY, J. CORKE-WEBSTER, Leiden–Boston 2020 [= VC.S, 158], p. 300–332. It must be strongly emphasized that the present study does not aim at correcting the well-known classification of healing dreams in the Byzantine (Orthodox) hagiography. In addition, it is also far from the ambition for certain type of an overview of the bibliography on the matter. On the other hand, even a cursory glance at the text of the *Tale of the Iron Cross* makes it possible to highlight that in many of its fragments the hagiographer's approach is accomplished precisely through the motif of healing dreams. A characteristic that requires some additional explanations and clarifications, quite intentionally placed in the enclosed footnotes when it comes to the aspects that would burden the main text of the article if they were presented in it.

Whether it is a coincidence or not, the first example of a healing dream described in the *Tale* is in *The Miracle with the Monk* (the third story in the collection), which is considered as part of the compiled Byzantine parts in the work⁶. In this fragment, healing is instantaneous, and a description of healed monk's actions is used to reveal the St. George's intervention. The text reads:

And immediately brother Theodore got up, as if he had never been ill. He went to church and bowed three times in front of the altar. He turned, bowed to the hegumenos and to all the brethren. He embraced the feet (of the hegumenos) and said, "Servant of the Great God, through your prayers the Lord has healed me". The Archimandrite replied: "No, child, not my prayer, but the help of St. George". [...] And he said: "During the night St. George appeared to me in a dream and told me everything about you and your unbelief". And he ordered me all this again: "Lay my cross on him, that he may see the power of Christ and the help of St. George"⁷.

And if in the third miracle of the *Tale* we come across a relatively recognizable variant of the subcategory of medical pharmacological healing dream, according to the classifications derived from the Byzantine collections of miracle stories referring to a consummation or applying over the diseased body *the miraculous medicine provided by the saint*⁸, the original parts of the work consists of various

⁶ This is the opinion of the Russian scholar Anatoliy A. Turilov, whose efforts regarding the *Tale* still remain unsurpassed and are a solid basis for any research. Cf. with the enclosed bibliography: А. Турилов, *Византийский и славянский пласты в „Сказание инока Христодула“*. (К вопросу происхождения памятника), [in:] *Славяне и их соседи. Греческий и славянский мир в средние века и новое время*, vol. VI, Москва 1996, p. 81–99. Cf. also: ИДЕМ, *Сказание о железном кресте как источник по истории и общественно-политической мысли Болгарии конца IX – начала X вв.*, [in:] *Идеология и общественно-политическая мысль в странах Центральной и Юго-Восточной Европы в период Средневековья: Сборник материалов и тезисов IV чтений памяти В.Д. Королюка*, ed. В.Н. Виноградов et al., Москва 1986, p. 36–37; ИДЕМ, *Данные «Сказания о железном кресте» о христианизации Болгарии*, [in:] *Введение христианства у народов Центральной и Восточной Европы. Крещение Руси: Сборник тезисов*, ed. Н.И. Толстой et al., Москва 1987, p. 53–54; ИДЕМ, *Новосибирский список Сказания инока Христодула*, [in:] *Общественное сознание, книжность, литература периода феодализма*, ed. Д.С. Лихачев et al., Новосибирск 1990, p. 220–222; ИДЕМ, *К изучению Сказания инока Христодула: датировка цикла и имя автора*, [in:] *Florilegium. К 60-летию Б.Н. Флори: Сб. статей*, ed. ИДЕМ, Москва 2000, p. 412–427; ИДЕМ, *Мъдра Пльсковская и Мъдра Дръсторская – две Мундраги первой болгаро-венгерской войны (география чудес Вмч. Георгия в Сказании инока Христодула)*, [in:] *Славяне и их соседи. Славяне и кочевой мир*, vol. X, ed. Б.Н. Флоря et al., Москва 2001, p. 40–58; ИДЕМ, *Не где князь живет но вне (Болгарское общество конца IX века «Сказании о железном кресте»)*, *Слав* 2, 2005, p. 20–27.

⁷ Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, p. 140 [И абіе вѣрѣ Февдорѣ вѣста, тако не имѣ болѣзни на собѣ. И идѣ въ црѣвъ и поклони сѣ прѣ вѣтаремѣ трижды. И вѣратн сѣ, поклони сѣ имѣменѣ и вси братїи. И имѣ за ногѣ, глаше: Раке бѣа вышнаго, твоими мѣтвѣми мене исцѣли бѣ. И рѣ архїмандритѣ: Ни, ѹадо, не мож мѣтва, но помощь стѣго Гевургїа. ... И рѣ: В сію ношь гави ми сѣ стѣни Гевургїи въ снѣ и рѣ ми все, еже ѡ тоѣѣ и ѡ невѣрованїе твоѣмѣ. И пакты рече ми все: Положи на неагѣ крѣтъ мои, да види силѣ Хѣѣ и помощь стѣго Гевургїа].

⁸ Cf. S. CONSTANTINOY, *The Morphology of Healing Dreams...*, p. 28.

author's decisions. For instance, taken together, the fourth and the fifth fragments of the collection appearing under the titles *The Miracle with the Cross and the Bulgarian* (also known as *The Miracle of Saint George with a Bulgarian Warrior*) and *The Miracle with the Woman*, reveal another case of a medical pharmacological healing dream. The first of these two texts is without a doubt the *Tale's* best-known part in the scholars' milieu. The reasons are more than understandable: it consists of information about the Bulgarian conversion to Christianity, the establishment of the church hierarchy, the overthrow of Knyaz Vladimir (889–893) and the accession of his brother Simeon (893–927) to the throne, the hints of the military actions against the Magyars during the war of 894–896⁹. Against the background of a number of important details about the last decades of the ninth century, the hagiographer describes how St. George in a dream gave instructions to an ordinary warrior, named George, who was going to take part in a Bulgarian counter-offensive against the Magyars in the late 895 – early 896. The hagiographer unequivocally highlights the Saint's specific orders that three iron hoops would be obtained and should be used only for forging a cross¹⁰. The story *The Miracle with the Woman* describes that the warrior George, who had returned from the campaign against the Magyars, found his wife ill. After two weeks of failing to alleviate her suffering, he offered prayers, afterwards according to the well-known hagiographic motif, he puts the saintly provided iron objects on the body of his wife, and she heals instantly¹¹.

⁹ Using this story as a historical source started as early as the middle of 19th century. Cf. Епископъ Филаретъ Рижскій, *Кирилъ и Методій, славянскіе просвѣтителі*, Москва 1846, р. 5, п. 10; Архiepископъ Евгеній Астраханскій, *Внѣшнее состояніе церкви Восточной Православной, с половины IX-го вѣка до начало XIII-го*, ХЧ 1, 1848, р. 249–250; О. Бодянский, *О времени происхождения славянскихъ письменъ*, Москва 1855, р. 357–358, СХІV–СХV; С. Палаузовъ, *Вѣкъ болгарского царя Симеона*, Санкт-Петербург 1852, р. 23–24, п. 34; Е. Голубинскій, *Краткій очеркъ исторіи православныхъ церквей: Болгарской, сербской и румынской или молдо-валаиской*, Москва 1871, р. 34, 256; Хр. Лопарев, *Чудо святого Георгия о болгарине*, ПДП 100, 1894, р. 19–21; М. Дринов, *Исторически преглед на Българската църква от самото ѝ начало до днес*, [in:] *ИДЕМ, Избрани съчинения*, vol. II, София 1971, р. 34.

¹⁰ Б. Ангелов, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, р. 142 [И лежашю ми в ношѣ въ клѣти свои с подръжїѣ, прииде ко мнѣ во снѣ мѣжѣ голоуцѣстѣ, свѣтелѣ. И не можѣ на лице его възрѣти. И рѣ ми: Ити ти, Георгіе, на воинѣ, кѣпи совѣ инѣ конь. Ты во конь. шѣ с тобою .ї. дѣи и напрасно оумреть. Нѣ заповѣдаю ти да удѣреш и еиѣ ногѣ, юже вѣ преломилѣ, да видиши силѣ пресѣтълѣ тѣрца и помощь стѣго Георгіа. И еже тѣ вѣрлещи на ногѣ тои, не можи никакѣю же сътворити потребѣ, развѣк ѣтѣнаго крѣта, и мѣлѣи доидѣже оузриши славу бѣю. И рекѣ: Ги, кто еси ии же не могѣ възрѣти на лице твое? И рѣ ми: Язѣ есмѣ рабѣ Хѣвъ, егоже мола, призываеши Георгіа].

¹¹ Б. Ангелов, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, р. 143 [И егда прїдохѣ в домѣ свои, вѣѣ, видѣхѣ женѣ свою волашю, огиѣ лютеѣ дръжилаѣ, вѣо тѣрлсавицею. И тако прѣвѣ за неделю и дръгѣю и видѣ ю лютеѣ стражюшю, и помыслихѣ и рекѣ: Ги Ісѣ Хѣ, помилѣи мѣ, и стѣго своего оугодника Георгіа, и положи моѣмѣ невѣрїю, и сътвори со мною мѣтъ и на рабѣ твоѣи Мѣрин. И положи на неи вѣрѣчѣ, и паки дръгѣи, и тако третїи, и вѣнѣсти во мѣкъзнь томѣ удѣѣ. И вѣста и прослави бѣ и великого мѣника Георгіа. И азѣ, развѣмѣтъ мѣрдїю и ѣлѣколюбію прѣтълѣ тѣрца, и призвак кѣзѣнца и рекѣ еиѣ, показавѣ

In the text of the last tenth story of the Old Bulgarian collection under review, the subcategory medical pharmacological healing dream is combined with another popular technique in the hagiographic literature, namely, sick people traveling to Constantinople in searching for a cure. Following this well-known creative approaches in the Byzantine literature, *The Miracle with the Woman Having a Breast Wound* describes a sick woman who spent the night at the gates of the Byzantine capital and her surprising miraculous healing. The text reads as follows:

As I was approaching Constantinople, a man and a sick woman with a severe wound on her right breast who was sitting on a donkey's back overtook me. As we walked, it got dark and we could not get through the city gates because it was too late. We veered off the road and lay down next to each other. As I stuck my cross over my head, I lay down and fell asleep. As I was sleeping, suddenly at midnight the woman jumped up, saying, "Hey you Monk, give me the cross so I can put it on the wound. During the night, a young man on a white horse told me, "Woman, why do you scream and suffer like this? Take the monk's cross and place it on the wound. God's grace the power of Christ and the prayer of St. George will help you".¹²

In view of the use of the hagiographic motif for a healing dream, perhaps the most impressive and quite illustrative is the hagiographer's creativity in *The Miracle with the Furious Adolescent*, which is the sixth miracle of the present version of the *Tale's* macro-composition. The very first lines of the fragment bear multifaceted meaning:

Three days after the cross was forged, an impious spirit settled in a man from the village. Those who looked after him had immense trouble with him, because he broke the chains, and many times this evil spirit made him either burn like fire, or sweat profusely as if a water¹³.

вѣрѣхъ ты: Сѣкъши ми крѣтъ. Много же мене въпраша, что сѣ^н желѣза си, азъ же не дръзихъ еми повѣдати. И скованъ крѣтъ, такоже вѣ оуказалъ въ снѣ стѣни].

¹² Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, р. 151–152 [Походацию ми ис Константиноу града, постиже ма мѣжъ, носѣ на веслати женѣ, илѣши на деснѣмъ сесѣкъ вредѣ лютъ. Нѣдше же, шеве-верѣхѣм са и не задохомъ вратѣ града. Бѣ во дже позда. И съвратихом са съ пѣти, и легахомъ близъ сѣвѣ. Язъ же, потокъ крѣтъ на главою, легѣ и оуенѣхъ. И се напрасно, спашю ми, полнощи въскоуи жена глѣощи: Калѣгерѣ, дажъ ми крѣтъ, да приложю къ вредѣ. Глѣ во сѣи ноши мѣжъ оуиъ, на вѣлкѣ конѣ: Жено, что вопѣши тако и болишь? Вѣзми оу калѣгера того крѣтъ и положи на вредѣ, и уболюеи бѣки и сила Хѣба, и мѣтва стѣо Георгіа поможетъ ти].

¹³ Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, р. 143 [Ико вѣ скованъ (крѣтъ) потомъ въ третѣи днѣ въ веси тои впаде въ уелѣвѣка дѣхъ неустын и много вѣдѣ нагѣлахъ, держащи его, изламаше во желѣза и на огнь многожды, помѣташе и и въ вода]. Vide: A.-M. TALBOT, *Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: the Evidence of Miracle Accounts*, DOP 56, 2002, p. 153–173; P. HORDEN, *Travel Sickness: Medicine and Mobility in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, [in:] *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. W. V. HARRIS, Oxford 2005, p. 179–199; G. SIMEONOV, *Crossing the Straits in the Search for a Cure. Travelling to Constantinople in Miracles of its Healer Saints*, [in:] *Constantinople as Center and Crossroad*, ed. O. HEILO, I. NILSSON, Istanbul 2019 p. 34–54.

The following lines of the story describe that the healing was achieved by placing the miraculous iron cross on the body of the sick young man, however he did not receive an instant healing, but fainted for a while and people there even believed he was dead. In fact, the differences go beyond the “instant – delayed” healing dichotomy. For example, it can be said that there are two dreams in the story, not one. The first is of the already miraculously healed wife of the owner of the iron cross. She encourages him to help because she dreamed of a young man holding a cross while beating four other men and driving them away. The second dream is of the unconscious sick man. After being healed, he felt an incentive to share his experience, he described being tortured by “four black men with scary faces” who, however, left him alone after the appearance of a young horseman on a white horse carrying a cross. At first glance, there is an undoubted similarity between the two healing dreams within the sixth miracle of the collection. However, the Saint’s intervention seems different. In the woman’s dream, the young man, unrecognized as St. George, is presented unequivocally as participating in a bodily contact. On the contrary, to the healed young man the saint appears on a horseback and only his words and presence with the cross in his hand are sufficient¹⁴. The direct bodily contact with the saint is a key feature in the category of corporal healing dream. According to the dream of the sick young man, only the appearance of the saint is sufficient for healing. A feature that corresponds more to the so-called speech healing dream. However, if it is assumed that for the hagiographer the “the four with evil faces” are the personification of the disease that occurs after the mother’s curse, then some more features are added, which seem to point to the category of the so-called allegorical healing dream¹⁵. It is in the young man’s dream that it becomes clear that the reason for his suffering is his own attitude towards his mother and her curse on him. The author reinforces the suggestions towards his audience by putting in his text a Saint’s guideline with an addressed insist to obey the Old Testament order “Honor your father and your mother” (Ex 20: 12)¹⁶.

¹⁴ Б. Ангелов, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, р. 144 [И въставъ, поклони сѧ попъ и всѣмъ намъ. И не бы емѧ никого же зла. И въпраша и попъ: Видиши ли что? И рѣ: Уерни, зловерзани мѡжъ ꙗ. Ъгда же мѡтръ прогнѣвахъ и науа ма клати, и авіе похитиша ма. И великѡ вѣдѡ творѡхъ, въметахъ ма въ огнь и въ водѡ. И се ннѣ хотѡхът' ма въ пропасть вринѡти. И приѣха мѡжъ оунъ на вѣли конѣ, крѣтъ дръжа. И тако оузрѣша и, пѡстиша ма и повѣроша ѿ мене, глше: Насиленъ еси, Геворгіе, поучто ѡгониши ны ѿ штрока сего, а нашъ естъ, предала ны естъ мѡти его. И слышѡ глѡуца, держа крѣтъ: И развонникъ, иже распаша жидове, вашъ вѣ соседъ, но понеже възпи изъ глѡвини сѡци къ снѡ бжжѡ, тъ ннѣ раискыа житель пави сѧ. И мѡти сего, кого ради слезы прольѡ. Васъ же заклинаю, ѡидѣте ѿ създаніа бжжѡ, идѣте въ пѡсто мѡесто, идѣже не ходитъ родъ улѡв. И не видахъ ихъ камо сѧ дѣша].

¹⁵ Cf. S. CONSTANTINOY, *The Morphology of Healing Dreams...*, р. 28–34.

¹⁶ Б. Ангелов, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, р. 144 [И къ мнѣ рѣ: Блюди сѧ да пакы не предастьтѡ тѡ намъ, да не въверѡтътѡ въ пропасть. Писано во естъ ѿ бга: Ути ѡца и мѡтръ].

Sickness and miraculous healing (and medical knowledge)

Noteworthy, within the original parts of the Old Bulgarian miracle collection, there are descriptions of healings with the help of the miraculous iron cross, obtained with the assistance of St. George that are beyond the hagiographic motif of a healing dream. In *The Miracle with the Shepherd Bitten by a Snake* (the *Tale's* seventh miracle story), the thief shepherd is healed after drinking water with which the cross was doused¹⁷. The hagiographer also writes about the use of water, which is poured over the iron cross in *The Miracle with the Man with a Leg Wound* (the *Tale's* eighth miracle story). However, in the eighth miracle a suffering traveler was healed after washing the wound on his leg, following the instructions of the old monk Sophronius, in whose cell he spent the night¹⁸. As a matter of fact, despite the relatively short text of the *Tale's* eighth miracle story in question, it provides an opportunity to further comment on the phrase *this is a scab called panukā* [се есть стрѣпъ (строупъ), зовемын панѣкъ (панѣкъ)]. The word стрѣпъ – scab, a wound with dry crust (often inflamed and festering). Стрѣпъ, synonymous with ulcer – язва, is attested at a very early stage in the Old Bulgarian narratives. Its presence in the early translations of the Gospel texts, as well as in the *Codex Supraliensis* and the *Euchologium Sinaicum* (there is also the adjective стрѣпивъ – festering/septic) is undoubted and is used for translation of the Greek

¹⁷ In contrast, the rescue of the shepherd bitten by a snake takes place after St. George appears to Sophronius (but not in a dream), gives him the appropriate instructions and sends him to meet the former Bulgarian warrior George, who rejected the secular life and carries the iron cross and to whom the old monk must be a spiritual mentor during his novitiate. Vide: Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, p. 146 [И глѣ пастѣхъ: Си, ѿѹе, тако есть. Како ты оубѣделъ? Рѣ старецъ: Уадо, сѣдащю ми оу кѣлѣи своеа, прииде мѣжъ на конѣ вѣлѣ и рѣ: Софроніе, въстани, иди воздо къ истоуникѣ, иже воденю твѣѣ на оуѣтъ, и вижъ ѿлка ѿ змаѣ оубѣдена. И ѿ толѣ иди на сѣверьскын пѣтъ, и сѣрѣши уерница, носѣща крѣтъ желѣзнын на дрѣвѣ]. Cf. Appendix 1.

¹⁸ Cf. Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, p. 147. The eighth miracle in the *Tale* is among the shortest. The text is as follows: УЮДО .И. ѿ МЪЖИ, ИМЪЩИ ВРЕДЪ НА НОУЪ. И в' тѣ ноцѣ наѹа единъ ѿ нихъ стонати и тѣжити. Реѹе ми старецъ: Призови ми того сѣлю. И рѣ: Уто имашн, да тако тѣжиши? ѿнъ же ѿвѣща: Гѹе утѣнын, вре ми ѣ на ноге. И реѹе старецъ: Сади, изѣи са. И не можаше сѣвати уерѣа, нъ ножкына разрѣза и показа ногѣ старѣцю при сѣщн. И реѹе, видѣвъ старецъ: Се есть стрѣпъ, зовемын панѣкъ. И въпроси его, давно ли ѣ. ѿнъ же реѹе: .лѣ. мѣцъ. Глѣ мнѣ старецъ: Геургіе, иди възми крѣтъ, иже еси принесе и шѣлѣи водо (sic) на вредомъ силмъ и шлѣын, и сила Хѣа и помоцъ стго Геургіа исцѣлѣти имать. И сотвори хъ тако же повелѣ. И авіе легъ ѿлкъ и оупе. Заоутра въставъ и не видѣ вреда на ногѣ, но чѣлѣ тако дрѣгѣю. И пришедъ, покони са до земли. И еанъ старѣца за ногѣ, глѣше: Гѹе утѣнын, твоими мѣтѣлами бѣтъ исцѣлѣи ногѣ. ѿвѣща старецъ: Уадо, сила Хѣа и мѣтѣа Геургіа. И видѣвши же дрѣжина его уюдо, не хотѣхъ ѿити, глѣше: Помиаши ны, да сѣе сконѹаеми днѣи своа. Старецъ же не да, ни повелѣ имъ. Блѣхѣтъ же ѿ мыдрьпѣсковьскѣа .лѣ., ѿ дрѣскерьскыа же .б., .д. влѣгари, а единъ грѣѹеска родѣ, емоу же реѹе старецъ: Гдѣ хотѣше ѿити вола ѿфреме? Како единъ изѣѣдаше трапѣзѣ стго Геургіа оу Климентѣ?]. As far as we are concerned, there is no other translation into English of this text, except our translation, enclosed in the Appendix 2.

τραῦμα. For example, [...] *went to him and bandaged his wounds, pouring on oil and wine* (Lc 10: 34) is rendered as follows:

...пристапъ оваѣа стругъгы его възливаа олъѣи (масло) и вино...¹⁹

Pouring liquids on the wound, according to what the hagiographer writes in the miracle in question, brings his text closer to the Old Slavonic Gospel translations not only in lexical terms. On the other hand, the additional clarification that it is not about any scab, but one called a *панѣкѣ* seems to point to quite specific sources of medical knowledge. Recently Petros Bouras-Vallianatos noted that the term *πανούκλα* (from Latin *panus, panacula*) was enclosed in a particularly interesting manuscript, the so-called *Holkham Gr. 112*, as a synonym for *bubo* (*βούβουνες/βούβονες/βούβωνες*). In his commentaries, the scholar emphasizes that in some variations *πανούκλα* appears in the medical work of Metrodora as well as in the medical handbook by Alexander of Tralles. However, despite its presence in the early Byzantine medical vocabulary it seems that the term is not connected with the plague of the Justinian era. This took place afterwards, in the fourteenth century, at the time of the Black Death and since then has been used to denote the plague²⁰. Without excluding the possibility that the use of the specific *панѣкѣ* within the Old Bulgarian collection of miracle stories is related to the hagiographer's knowledge of Byzantine works on medical topics (or at least of part of the vocabulary in them), it seems more likely that it was the result of the influence of emblematic literary works written in honor of famous saints in the Orthodox world such as Symeon the Stylite (the Elder). Moreover, in his *Vita*, the term *πανούκλα* refers precisely to a festering wound on the leg, which tormented the saint for a long time²¹.

¹⁹ Cf. *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, ed. F. MIKLOŠIČIČ, Vindobonae 1864–1816, p. 892; *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. III, ed. И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, Санкт-Петербург 1912, p. 560; *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského / Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*, ed. J. KURZ et al., Praha 1958, С, p. 185–186; *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)*, ed. Р.М. ЦЕЙЛИН, Р. ВЕЧЕРКА, Э. БЛАГОВА, Москва 1994, p. 630; *Старобългарски речник*, vol. II, ed. Д. ИВАНОВА-МИРЧЕВА et al., София 2009, p. 754.

²⁰ P. BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, *Enrichment of the Medical Vocabulary in the Greek-Speaking Medieval Communities of Southern Italy: The Lexica of Plant Names*, [in:] *Life is Short, Art is Long. The Art of Healing in Byzantium. New Perspectives*, ed. G. TANMAN, Br. PITARAKIS, Istanbul 2018, p. 177–178.

²¹ *Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites*, ed. H. LIETZMANN, Leipzig 1908, p. 43–44. It is a curious fact that in the Southwestern parts of the Bulgarian ethnic space – Bitola and Kastoria area (present-day Republic of North Macedonia, and present-day Northwestern Greece), in the local dialects *панούκλα/панουκλα* means a contagious deadly disease, plague. Cf. *Етнолингвистичен речник на българската народна медицина*, ed. М. ВИТАНОВА, В. МИЧЕВА, София 2021, p. 45. We would like to express our gratitude for the productive suggestions of the reviewer of the present text, who brought to our attention the very recently published edition in question.

The vocabulary in other fragments of the *Tale* used by the Old Bulgarian hagiographer to denote diseases and health ailments, and the description of their symptoms, is also a reason to continue in the attempts to trace his familiarity with some healing practices of the epoch²². In this connection, attention should be paid to the second miracle of the *Tale*, and in particular to the description of a child suffering from a disease that causes wheezing and excreting bloody foam through the nose and mouth.

While we were sitting, Strategos my lord, there came a woman of our kin named Theodosia, carrying a child in her arms, who had suffered from evil eye for four years, tormented by an impious spirit. As she greeted me, she sat down and shed many tears. Suddenly the demon snatched the child from her and threw him down, and he began writhing in front of all of us and bloody foam was pouring from his nostrils and mouth, so we all thought he was dead²³.

The text emphasizes that the child *suffered from evil eye for four years, tormented by an impious spirit* [Ѡ. лѣ ѡчима болно, ѡ дѣла нечѣта мѡчимѡ]. Bearing in mind supposedly the compilative character of this particular part of the *Tale*, it must be acknowledged that the existence of such information is highly likely due to a Byzantine protograph²⁴. The belief in evil spirits, nefarious demonic possession, so-called “evil eye” and the accompanying specifics were well-known in the Eastern Mediterranean. Popular beliefs in this direction were so strong that the clergy paid special attention to them²⁵. Undoubtedly, the second miracle of the *Tale* also does provide sufficiently clear hints in this direction. The text reads:

²² This is also a well-known inherent specificity of the hagiographic literature in Byzantium. Cf. for the well know studies H. MAGOULIAS, *The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, BZ 57, 1964, p. 127–150; J. DUFFY, *Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries. Aspects of Teaching and Practice*, DOP 38, 1984, p. 21–27; A. KAZHDAN, *The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries*, DOP 38, 1984, p. 43–51; S. CONSTANTINOVA, *Healing Dreams in Early Byzantine Miracle Collections*, [in:] *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. S.M. OBERHELMAN, Farnham 2013, p. 189–197. Judging by the abstract as well as by the cross-references, the article *When Medicine is Powerless: Illness and Healing Viewed by the Byzantine Hagiographers in the 8th–12th Centuries*, written by the Russian scholar Irina Okhlopina, would be useful here. Unfortunately, our attempts for access to the journal “*История*” (issue 10 [74], year 2018) are not successful. Due to the current situation with sanctions against Russia, even the payment of such insignificant amount of 200 RUR has been blocked. Meanwhile, a personal request to the author remain unanswered (and disregarded for some reason).

²³ Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, p. 138 [И сѣдѡщиѡ на мѡкъ, гнѣ стратиже, се жена приидѣ ѡ роженѡа нашего, именѣ Феѡдѡѡа, носѡщи на рѡцѣ ѡтроуѡа, Ѡ. лѣ ѡчима болно, ѡ дѣла нечѣта мѡчимѡ. Ико сѣде, цѣловаше ма и много слезы пѡстнеши изъ ѡчию. Явѣ исторже оу неѡ ѡтроуѡа вѣкъ и повѣрже, и прѣ вѣкъ наѡа прѣгати са и пѣны тоути кровавы ноуѡрѡли и оусты, тако мнѣти вѣкъѡ на мѡкъ оуѡре].

²⁴ А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Византийский и славянский пласты...*, p. 92–94.

²⁵ M.W. DICKIE, *The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye*, [in:] *Byzantine Magic*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington DC 1995, p. 9–34; P. HORDEN, *Responses to Possession and Insanity in the Earlier Byz-*

[...] Oh, Saint, you know that I have no other **opsim** in my home but only the Saracen one in the glass bottle. And he said, “In the name of the Holy Trinity”. And when he made a cross sign, he gave the child to drink, and he poured out some of the liquid onto the child’s head and eyes. And again the demon threw him down shaking. And many heard the voice of the demon shouting, “Oh, I must flee! George, it is not you who drives us away, but you blessed a small drop of the Saracen drink and you turned it into a fire. Burning us with it, you drive us away [...]”²⁶.

The hagiographer clearly points out that an alcoholic beverage was used for the healing (it is unequivocally noted that the liquid in question have been obtained by the St. George’s miraculous intervention). Unfortunately, the lack of clarification (or at least a hint) that this is considered a medical solution based on the prevailing medical concepts of the balance in the human body of blood, mucus, black bile, yellow (red) bile is quite limiting for further comments in the outlined topic. On the contrary, the text emphasizes the miraculous healing power of St. George.

antine World, [in:] IDEM, *Hospitals and Healing from Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages*, Aldershot 2008, p. 177–194. Cf. also: H. MAGUIRE, *From the Evil Eye to Eye of Justice: The Saints, Art and Justice in Byzantium*, [in:] *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth–Twelfth Centuries*, ed. A. LAIOU, D. SIMON, Washington DC 1994, p. 217–239; P. HORDEN, *Afterword: Pandaemonium*, [in:] *Demons and Illness from Antiquity to the Early-Modern Period*, ed. S. BHAYRO, C. RIDER, Leiden–Boston 2017 [= MRL-LA, 5], p. 412–418; A. KUZNETSOVA, *Demons versus Saints in the Early Eastern Orthodox Monastic Literature*, [in:] *Universum Hagiographicum: Mémorial R.P. Michel van Esbroeck, s. j. (1934–2003)*, ed. A. MOURAVIEV, Piscataway NJ 2009, p. 136–143; H. BJÖRKLUND, *Protecting against Child-killing Daemons: Uterus Amulets in the Late Antiquity and Byzantine Magical World* [PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki, Helsinki 2017]. It must be specified that the *Tale*’s second miracle story dependence on a compiled text, as well as on well-known literary models in the Byzantine hagiography, does not mean that “evil eye” superstitions were not also inherent to the Bulgarian society in the Middle Ages. For example, the existence of a special prayer against “evil eye” in the South Slavic euchography, which has an archaic origin and registers a stable tradition, is sufficiently indicative. Cf. *Стара българска литература*, vol. V, *Естествознание*, ed. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, София 1992, p. 260–261, 465. Regarding specifically nosebleed, there is clear evidence of the translation of earlier Old Bulgarian medical treatises. See Ц. КРИСТАНОВ, ИВ. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Естествознанието в средновековна България*, София 1954, p. 153–155.

²⁶ Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, p. 139 [Ты вѣси, стѣе, яко не имамъ в домѣ своемъ шпсма развѣ сего срауиньскаго въ стекланици. И рѣ: Въ имѣ прѣтѣмъ трѣца, и прекрѣтивъ, дасть штроуати пити, и възлѣдѣ еиѣ на главѣ и на ушѣ. И пакы поврѣже и вѣсѣ. И слышахѣ мнозѣ гла ѿ дѣмона, еже възпѣаше: Бѣжа, влѣ, нѣжа Геворгѣ, не самъ на прогонниши, но малѣ каплю пива срауиньскаго шѣтиль еси, и на огнь преложивъ, и тѣмъ пала прогонниши ны]. Such descriptions in the quoted *Tale*’s fragment are interesting, however, hardly can be specified as surprising. It is worth remembering the well-known peculiarity that according to the concepts concerning diseases and ailments these ones caused by demons were similar to these of “natural origin” and have the same symptoms as fever, high temperature, fatigue, etc. Cf. For example: J. KROLL, B.S. WACHRACH, *Sin and the Etiology of Disease in Pre-Crusade Europe*, JHM 41.4, 1986, p. 395–414; A. CRISLIP, *From Monastery to Hospital. Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity*, Michigan 2005, p. 19, 99; K. KELLY, *The History of Medicine. The Middle Ages, 500–1450*, New York 2009, p. 51; P. HORDEN, *Sickness and Healing...*, p. 91–112.

It seems that all doubts and ambiguities concerning the references to high temperature are quite fewer or at least are of different character. In purely quantitative terms, these are the largest number of symptoms registered by the hagiographer within the frames of the Old Bulgarian collection. There are mentions of physical fatigue or profuse sweating in some of the records. References of this kind can be seen in the third, fifth, sixth and ninth of the miracle stories in today's version of the *Tale*. What stands out is that the phrases *волицъ огньемъ люто* (*be seriously ill with fever*), *тажккъ огнь* (literally *heavy fire*, i.e. *high temperature*), and *огнемъ жегомъ лютъ* (literally *burned with fierce fire*, i.e. *suffered by fever and high temperature*), which are often found in the various Old Bulgarian texts²⁷. The single use of the word *трѣсавица* in *The Miracle with the Woman* also points to fever, a disease with high temperature and chills over the body²⁸. Anyone interested in the topic of health issues and medical practices in Slavia Orthodoxa in the Middle Ages finds it tempting to accept these pieces of information as a reflection of the then inherent beliefs about the so-called diseases of the excessive heat²⁹. Not in each of the mentions, however, do we come across a description of an attempt at treatment, and surprisingly, not even a miraculous cure. For example, according to what is written in the ninth miracle, the sick old monk Sophronius was not treated, and accordingly the outcome of the fever and high temperature was lethal³⁰. No treatment was applied in the above-mentioned *Tale's* third and fifth miracle stories. Both of the fragments (*The Miracle with the Monk* and *The Miracle with the Woman*) describe miraculous healings, not treatments based on medical knowledge³¹.

²⁷ Maria Spasova emphasizes this aspect in describing the linguistic specifics of the Old Bulgarian collection of miracle stories. See М. СПАСОВА, *Езикови особености на "Сказание за железния кръст"*, [in:] А. КАЛОЯНОВ, М. СПАСОВА, Т. МОЛЛОВ, "Сказание за железния кръст" и епохата на цар Симеон, Велико Търново 2007, p. 144. An interesting example with recent comments in К. ПОПКОНСТАНТИНОВ, *Заклинателни молитви против трѣсавици в епиграфски паметници от X век*, ГИФВУКМ 2 (34), 2018, p. 407–415.

²⁸ М. СПАСОВА, *Езикови особености...*, p. 143. Cf. *Старобългарски речник...*, p. 975.

²⁹ As is well known, a wide range of diseases have been referred to as fever, with the inherent symptom of high temperature. In fact, according to the notions of health problems during the era in question, diseases were divided into two types – fever and all sorts of other diseases. М. ГЕОРГИЕВ, К. ГИТОВ, С. ТОНЕВ, Н. ЦАНКОВ, *История на българската медицина*, vol. I, Велико Търново 2009, p. 48–49. Cf. also. Ц. КРИСТАНОВ, Ив. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Естествознанието...*, p. 199.

³⁰ Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, p. 151 [И тако поидѣ въ грѣ и сказахъ емѣ, еже ли реуе старецъ, и въздохъ се все, еже въ на потребѣ. И шербѣтоховѣ старѣца, лежаща въ волѣзни, огнемъ жгома лютъ. И ре ли старецъ: Подвигни прозвнтера литоургисати. Ико съврѣши са слѣжеа, старецъ причасти са стѣхъ танинъ и реуе: Нитѣ шпоуцаеши раба своего, вѣдо. И ре къ прозвнтерѣ: Блѣви, шѣ. И то рекъ шдасть дѣ свои с лиромѣ].

³¹ As for the third miracle, according to the mentioned Russian scholar Anatolij A. Turilov, when considering that particular part of the *Tale*, scholars' efforts should always take into account the influence of the Byzantine source, which he believes is probably subject to mechanical reduction when compiling it. See: А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Византийский и славянский пласты...*, p. 93. Cf. also: I. LUNDE,

The sixth miracle (*The Miracle with the Furious Adolescent*), along with the complex motif of healing dreams, seems to provide a bigger chance to seek reflections on healing practices (whether successful or not) and medical knowledge to diagnose the disease. Such a statement, of course, can be made only taking into account that in the very first lines of the story the disease is presented as a result of the intervention of demonic evil forces. It is well known that in the Old Bulgarian texts *вѣцъ* has the meaning of an impious evil spirit, devil, demon, demonic force and even an idol, but it can also be used for a reference of a disease. Certainly, it is assumed that an evil force most often causes the latter. However, in addition to the meaning of being obsessed, *вѣсьнъ* and *вѣсьновати* [сѧ] (*вѣсьноуѣти* [сѧ]) also denote to those suffering from rabies or mentally ill³². Some more nuances related to alternating profuse sweating and fever, and the notice of violent behavior of these persons and using shackles to stop them, suggest that *вѣцъ* was deliberately used in the broadest sense by the author of the text in question. Moreover, in the Middle Ages, shackles were a well-known practice in the care of the mentally ill and in attempts to treat rabies in humans³³. The reasons exist insofar as what the hagiographer said coincides with the only effective preventive measure known in the Byzantine medical practice to limit rabies infection – supervised quarantine and shackles. So that the person suffering from rabies could not bite someone around him “like a beast” during a violent crisis. In Byzantium, treatment attempts ranged from herbal ointments, extracts and decoctions, through cutting and burning of the bitten areas, to the use of manure and eating the causative dog’s liver³⁴. It is difficult to say which of the listed measures were known in the early medieval Bulgarian society after the Christianization, but judging by the section named *Cures of St. Cosmas* in the Glagolitic Old Church Slavonic manuscript of the 10th–11th century known as *Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, attempts to deal with the disease were fact. The specified part of the Psalter in question refers to about twenty diseases among which rabies is mentioned. The use (no information how) of the roots of *Chelidonium majus* is recommended³⁵. In view of the efforts to highlight the medical knowledge and

Slavic Hagiography, [in:] *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. I, *Periods and Places*, ed. St. ЕФТΥΜΙΑΔΙΣ, Farnham 2014, p. 369–383.

³² *Старобългарски речник*, vol. I, ed. Д. ИВАНОВА-МИРЧЕВА et al., София 1999, p. 134–135.

³³ M. FOUCAULT, *History of Madness*, trans. J. МУРФУ, J. КНАЛФА, London 2006, p. 146–147. Of course, the heartless measure of chain shackles is far from the only therapeutic technique. Vide: C. TRENER, P. HORDEN, *Madness in the Middle Ages*, [in:] *The Routledge History of Madness and Mental Health*, ed. G. EGHIGIAN, London–New York 2017, p. 62–80. Cf. also: S. KOTSOPoulos, *Treatment of Mental Illness in Post-Hippocratic Ancient Medicine*, Enc 55.4, 2018, p. 36–41.

³⁴ J. THEODORIDES, *Rabies in Byzantine Medicine*, DOP 38, 1984, p. 149–158. The effectiveness of the prescriptions in question is more than debatable. Until the modern age and the discovery of the vaccine, rabies was still a serious health problem with fatalities in humans. See: *The Cambridge Historical Dictionary of Disease*, ed. K. KIPLE, Cambridge 2003, p. 270–272.

³⁵ H. ΜΙΚΛΑΣ, *The Slavonic Manuscripts discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai*, Thessaloniki 1988, p. 99; Б. ВЕЛЧЕВА, *Новооткрит лекарственник, написан с глаголица*,

the healing practices within the Old Bulgarian collection of miracle stories, it is necessary to recognize that if we exclude the shackles, the details presented in that particular part of hagiographer's text are also rendered in the direction of miraculous healing with the intervention of St. George. This again deprives of certainty the attempts to speak about the registration of rabies, despite the availability of the respective grounds.

Four decades ago, at the Second National Congress devoted to the History of Medicine in Bulgaria, held in Veliko Tŕrnovo in 1985, one of the distinguished talks was dedicated to the records in the most popular of the stories within the *Tale – The Miracle of St. George with the Bulgarian warrior*. The focus is on the healing of the horse with which the Bulgarian warrior George managed to escape after the unsuccessful first battle with the Magyars during the war of 894–896³⁶. At the background of the above-mentioned complex rendering of the hagiographic motif for healing dream, uniting the fourth and fifth miracles of the Old Bulgarian collection, it is specified that the longitudinally broken bone of the horse's leg was tightened with iron rings, from which the miraculous cross was forged³⁷. Without disregarding some possible echo of a knowledge in the field of veterinary medicine, the detail of tightening with metal hoops is a reason to ask whether the hagiographer did not refer to a practice, concerning treatment of fractures of the humans' lower extremity and used it in the narrative of another miracle story within the framework of his collection. In fact, the desire to see the registration of an achievement in the humanitarian medicine is comprehensible, especially given that the treatment of severe fractures with metal hoops and plates has been practiced since the medieval world. It is understandable why this method became known in medieval Christian Europe as well³⁸. For the sake of objectivity, it should be noted that only on the basis of studies of medieval necropolises in the Bulgarian lands the existence of the mentioned medical practice cannot be confirmed with certainty. Treatments of fractures with metal hoops and plates are not attested in the studied sites, which does not mean that one should be supercritical and skeptical about the detail in question from the narrative in *The Miracle of St. George with the Bulgarian*. Moreover, it is possible that future finds

СЛ 25–26, 1991, p. 95–97. Cf. also: H. MIKLAS, M. GAU, D. HÜRNER, *Preliminary Remarks on the Old Church Slavonic Psalterium Demetrii Sinaitici*, [in:] *The Bible in Slavic Tradition*, ed. A. KULIK et al., Leiden–Boston 2016 [= Sjsl, 9], p. 21–88.

³⁶ М. Попов, *За състоянието на ветеринарната медицина в епохата на цар Симеон*, [in:] *Втори национален конгрес по история на медицината, Велико Търново, 1–4. XI. 1985 г. Доклади*, София 1985, p. 213–214.

³⁷ Б. Ангелов, *Сказание за железния кръст...*, p. 141–143. Interestingly, such a practice is not found in Byzantium. Vide: A. McCABE, *A Byzantine Encyclopedia of Horse Medicine*, Oxford 2007.

³⁸ E. SAVAGE-SMITH, *Europe and Islam*, [in:] *Western Medicine. An Illustrated History*, ed. I. LOUDON, Oxford–New York 1997, p. 40–53; К. Зудгоф, *Медицина средних веков и эпохи Возрождения*, Москва 2007, p. 7–18.

on the territory of modern Bulgaria may show not only the “usual” skills to deal with fractures of the lower extremity bones, but also examples of the use of metal plates, brackets and hoops³⁹.

Conclusion

To sum up, it is worth emphasizing at least two aspects of high importance. The first one is related to the application at a very early stage of the development of the original Old Bulgarian literature of the emblematic hagiographic model of healing dream, inherent for the Byzantine hagiography of the epoch. Secondly, but of no less importance, due to the mentions of the various health problems within the frames of the *Tale*, this literary work certainly can and must be used as a source of information while dealing with the topic of diseases and medical knowledge in medieval Bulgaria. Beyond any doubt, it seemingly poses considerable challenges to the scholars. A large group of the difficulties stems from the fact that the text of miracles usually does not provide detailed descriptions of the diseases or details about the symptoms. In addition, the records of the miraculous healings in the collection of miracles in question do not coincide (at least not in full) with the prescriptions in the preserved Old Bulgarian texts on medical topics, which is largely understandable if is taken into consideration that the *Tale* is a hagiographic work with completely different aims and purpose. On the other hand, those interested in the aspects of everyday life in early medieval Southeastern Europe should not neglect the very important fact that number of the health

³⁹ Cf. С. Чолаков, П. Боев, Н. Кондова, *Палеоантропологични данни за средновековното българско население*, ИИАИМ 2, 1978, p. 16–26; П. Боев, С. Чолаков, *Антропологично проучване на некропола при с. Крагулово*, ИИМВ 20 (35), 1984, p. 59–64; Н. Кондова, С. Чолаков, *Антропологични данни за физическия тип продължителността на живота и заболяемостта на една средновековна популация от Добруджа*, БЕ 3, 1993, p. 45–54; П. Боев, С. Чолаков, *Антропологично и палеоантропологично проучване на скелетите от некропол в северния сектор на Западната крепостна стена на Плиска*, [in:] *Плиска-Преслав*, vol. V, Шумен 1992, p. 302–311; С. Чолаков, *Антропологично изследване на средновековен некропол от Дръстър*, ГСУИФ 86 (1993), 1995, p. 105–133. It may be worth pointing to the fact that in the similar ethnic and/or cultural milieu on the Northern Black Sea coast, in the well-known necropolis near the village of Zholtoe (Southeastern Ukraine), dated ca. 850s – early 10th century, graves № 3 and № 15 reveal an interesting picture. In the grave № 15 was buried a warrior who had a round cutting fragment of the skull due to an attempt of surgical procedure. The treatment, as far as can be judged from the excavations, was not completed. In the mentioned grave № 3, along with the rest of the grave objects, a round silver plate corresponding to the size of the cut on the skull of grave № 15 was found. This leads archaeologists to believe that both graves belonged to the deceased due to serious trauma on the head, of the patient and his doctor. К.И. Красильников, А.А. Руженко, *Погребение хирурга на древнеболгарском могилинике у с. Жёлтое*, САрх 2, 1981, p. 283–289; Р. Рашев, *Единство и различие в ямния (български) погребален обред на Салтово-Маяцката култура*, [in:] *Българи и хазари през ранното средновековие*, ed. Цв. Степанов, София 2003 [= ББВ, 43], p. 19.

problems referred in the collection cannot be traced unless they have not been described in the narratives⁴⁰. Due to the peculiarities in most parts of the Balkans, the soft tissues cannot stay preserved in the soil, and after the great chronological distance there is no way to find out about scabs as, e.g., in the *The Miracle with the Man with a Leg Wound* through archeological work. The situation is similar with the rest of the diseases mentioned in the fragments of the *Tale* – infections (accompanied by bleeding) of the upper respiratory tract, faints and seizures, fever and fatigue from colds, бѣзъ (whether mentally ill or infected with rabies), poisoning, sepsis and wound and breast problems in women. All or most of them cannot be traced with the methods and means of the archeology.

At the end, beyond any fictitious attempt for an academic modesty, it must be acknowledged that the comments enclosed in the present paper cannot be claimed to be the only correct and useful ones, and they might obtain well-deserved reasoned criticism and commentaries. Hopefully, after the newly added details, the research interest will increase as widely as possible and thus revealing more aspects of concerning this astonishing Old Bulgarian collection of miracle stories.

Appendix 1

*The Shepherd Bitten by a Snake*⁴¹

And this is what the same monk George told us. “When I went deep into this mountain, a monk met me and said: “Come, child, you are late”. And taking the cross from me, he went ahead. After walking for a while, he turned off the road following a path. And I followed him. And here was a flock of sheep, and the shepherd was lying and already dying, bitten by a snake. There was a spring nearby. The old monk told me: “Take some water from the spring and bring it here, pour the water onto this cross over the cup you are carrying”. As we opened the shepherd’s mouth, we poured the water in it. The old man said: “In the name of the

⁴⁰ The new methods and the diverse approach only partially help to overcome the outlined problem. Cf. S. MAYS, *The Archaeology of Human Bones*, London–New York 1998, p. 122–145, 162–181; T. WALDRON, *Paleopathology*, Cambridge 2009.

⁴¹ The text enclosed in the Appendix 1 is a translation of the copy of the miracle story from a 14th-century manuscript kept in the Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, so-called manuscript N 73 (BAS). Three separate parts are clearly distinctive in the manuscript N 73. *The Miracle with the Shepherd, Bitten by a Snake* is in the third part (folia 346–413) and its text is written on folia 358a–359b. Among the scholars, the copy in question has been known for years. Vide: Хр. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Българската академия на науките*, София 1969, p. 143–145; Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Старославянски текстове: 2. Разказ за пастира, ухапан от змия*, ИИБЛ 2, 1955, p. 174–177.

Holy Trinity, through the power of Christ, the servant of Christ, St. George, heals you. Get up and take the sheep to their place". As soon as he got up, the young man began swearing so nastily that even the old monk himself was astounded. And he swore for a long time, then got up, trying to take the sheep away to the pastures.

The old monk asked: "Tell me how you swore yesterday to the poor widow who gave you a male lamb to look after it in the flock, and you sold it for three pieces of silver, and you told her that the wolf ate it?". The shepherd replied: "Yes, Father, that's right! How did you find out?". The old monk said: "Child, as I was sitting in my cell, a man on a white horse came and said: "Sophronius, get up quickly and go to the spring to the south, to your right, and find the man, who was bitten by a snake. From there, go to the northern road and you will meet a monk carrying an iron cross on a wooden pole. When you take it, pour water over it and give this water to the bitten shepherd to drink. And then tell him: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, by the power of Christ, the servant of God, George heals now. From now on, do not swear by God's name, nor by His Saints. Don't lie for the sake of lie, and give a male lamb to the poor widow, so that you will not suffer a much bitter fate".

When he heard this from the old monk, the young man fell at his feet, saying: "Forgive me, Father, this is true. Yes, I sold the male lamb for three pieces of silver yesterday; I lied to the widow by telling her that a wolf had eaten it. The widow told me: "Is it true or are you lying?". I said: "Oh my God, it's true". The widow told me: "You know I'm poor. Do as you wish. If you lie, God and St. George will hold you accountable, because I had sworn to St. George to slaughter the lamb for him on His holy day". I told her again: "This is it. St. George, whom you mention, knows that a wolf ate a lamb". Now, Father, pray to God and to St. George to forgive my sin, and to the widow I will give three instead of one lamb, and on the day of St. George I will give to the poor one tenth of the sheep of my flocks until my last day".

And the old monk prayed and let him go, saying: "Child, be careful not to fall worse, and give to the widow according to your promise".

When I heard him say his own name, Sophronius, I glorified God greatly and secretly told myself: "Here is the one to whom St. George sent me". The old monk took me with him to his cell, where I spent 40 days with him, wondering and marveling at his strict way of life. A presbyter named Sava came from the city. He served the holy service and clothed me in this holy attire. In the third year, as the old monk and I were once sitting and making ropes, because that is how he made a living – when people came from the city or from somewhere else, he gave them the ropes and received food from them. Even then, his hands worked, and his lips and tongue did not cease to praise God with psalms and hymns. And one day, as we were sitting and making ropes, the old monk told me: "George, get up, prepare some food, because guests from your homeland are coming to us".

As the old monk said this, five men arrived and asked for a blessing. The old monk told them: "You are welcome, but you have left your homes with evil, without peace". They began to pray and bow down to allow them to dwell near him and clothe them in monastic garments. The old monk told each of them what their personal reason to leave home was. And he did not allow them to dwell here, but he made them swear, saying: "Go home and arrange all your affairs and then accept an angelic image" [the monastic vow – Y.H., D.K.]. And the old monk ordered me to give them to eat. It was evening and they stayed the night.

Appendix 2

The Miracle with the Man with a Leg Wound

During the night, one of them began moaning and suffering. The old monk told me: "Call him here". And he asked: "What's the matter with you that you are suffering like that?". He replied: "Honest Father, I have a wound on my leg". And the old man said: "Sit down and take off the boot". He could not take off his boot, so he cut it with a knife and showed it to the old monk on a candle light. As soon as the old monk looked, he said: "This is a scab, a wound that is called a **panukă**". And then he asked him how long he had had it. He replied: "For eleven months". The old man told me: "George, go and take the cross you brought, pour water over the cross onto the wound and wash the wound with this water, and the power of Christ and the help of St. George will heal him. I did as he told me. And immediately the man fell asleep. He woke up in the morning and saw no wound on his leg, which was already as healthy as his other leg. When he came, he bowed to the ground. And he embraced the old monk's feet and said: "Honest Father, through your prayers the Lord has healed my leg". The old monk replied: "Child, the power of Christ and the prayer of (St.) George". When his fellow companions saw the miracle, they did not want to leave, saying: "Have mercy on us, so that here (near you) we can end our days". The old monk did not agree or forbid them. Three were from Mădra P(li)skovska, two from Drăstarska, four Bulgarians and one native Greek, to whom the old monk said: "Where are you going, oh my bull Ephraim? How did you use to eat all St. George's dishes on the table [during the feast – Y.H., D.K.] at Clement's house?"

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ACONITE – A POISON, OR A MEDICINE? ANCIENT AND EARLY BYZANTINE TESTIMONIES

Abstract. Aconite (*Aconitum napellus*) was one of the most notorious, poisonous plants in the ancient world. Its dangerous, lethal power – present in leaves, roots, stem, and tuber – was well known to the Greeks and the Romans from the earliest times. Evidence of this phenomenon is not only present in archaeological findings, but also in many writings – biographies, poems, legal codes, etc.

However, the most precise and detailed accounts come from treatises written by botanists, physicians and encyclopaedists, like Theophrastus, Nicander, Pliny the Elder, Dioscorides, or Galen, and by early Byzantine authors, Oribasius, Aetius of Amida, and Paul of Aegina. In their testimonies, one can find descriptions of aconite, its influence on the human body (and animals), and remedies for affected people.

In contrast, there are few passages from these sources that inform the readers about the healing properties of aconite. According to these fragments, carefully administered, aconite could be helpful in some therapies, but its use was extremely hazardous, as even a small part of the plant could kill a man.

Keywords: aconite, ancient medicine, Byzantine medicine, toxicology, Roman law, Byzantine law

Ever since prehistoric times people have been gathering knowledge about the influence of various substances on the human body. Unfortunately, many of these substances were harmful, some of them even fatal. Nevertheless (as Paracelsus, announced hundreds of years later, stating that, *Omnia sunt venena, nihil est sino veneno. Sola dosis facit venenum*¹), it was realised over time that proper

¹ This sentence was translated from the original German dialect used by Paracelsus into Latin by an anonymous translator in the 16th c., and is corrupted to some degree. However, it still keeps the original meaning of Paracelsus' thought. Cf. W.B. DEICHMANN, D. HENSCHLER, B. HOLMSTEDT, G. KEIL, *What is there that is not Poison? A Study of the Third Defense by Paracelsus*, *ATox* 58, 1986, p. 207–213.

handling of dangerous substances – and above all, their careful, precise dosage – could have beneficial effects (of course, it is now known that there are other factors that make a particular substance toxic in addition to just the dosage used/applied)².

Among the earliest known poisons were those produced by bacteria, fungi, plants and animals, all of which were in the natural environment surrounding human beings. Evidence of the intentional use of these substances by humans, especially against wild animals, goes back at least eight thousands years³.

Hemlock (*Conium maculatum* L.) is probably the best recognised of ancient poisonous plants. It was administered to Socrates (as well as other prisoners⁴) after he had been sentenced to death by the Athenians (399 BC)⁵. Given the fact that he was such a famous victim, as well as belonging to the most recognised and iconic scenes of classical history, it is regularly mentioned by specialists dealing with history or philosophy. However, researchers have given much less attention to another poisonous plant well-known to ancient peoples, aconite, which we would like to address here.

Aconite (*Aconitum napellus* L.), known in English under the names of monkshood and wolf's-bane, is a species belonging to the buttercup family (*Ranunculaceae*), and the aconite genus (*Aconitum*)⁶. It contains highly poisonous toxins, predominantly aconitine, which is present in its stem, roots, tubers, and leaves. According to modern studies, consumption of only 2mg of pure aconitine, or 1g of the plant itself, is enough to lead to a life-threatening condition. Moreover, the activation of aconitine poisoning appears not only after consumption, but also after dermal contact. In this case, it may impair the functioning of the nervous system, though this is unlikely to be fatal⁷.

We would like to focus analysis on the testimonies coming from the Graeco-Roman and early Byzantine culture (up to 7th c. AD) that consider the use of aconite, covering fields such as medicine and botany.

² A. NADLEWSKA, J.R. ŁADNY, M. WOJEWÓDZKA-ŻELEZNIKOWICZ, S.L. CZABAN, W. KOSIERKIEWICZ, A. SZYMAŃSKA, M. ŁUKASIK-GŁĘBOCKA, M. NASKRĘT, J. GÓRNY, *Trucizny – definicja, rodzaje, mechanizm działania*, PNM 9, 2010, p. 704–708. Cf. M. JONES-LEWIS, *Pharmacy*, [in:] *A Companion to Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Greece and Rome*, vol. I, ed. G.L. IRBY, Malden-Oxford 2016 [= BCAW], p. 403.

³ E. NEPOVIMOVA, K. KUČA, *The History of Poisoning: from Ancient Times until Modern Era*, ATox 93, 2019, p. 11–12.

⁴ Cf. ANDOCIDES, *Orationes*, III, 10, ed. F. BLASS, C. FUHR, Stuttgartiae 1966.

⁵ DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Vitae philosophorum*, II, 5, 42, vol. I, ed. M. MARCOVICH, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1999 [= BSGR].

⁶ A. SZWEYKOWSKA, J. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Botanika. Systematyka*, vol. II, Warszawa 2012, p. 366–368; T. LEWKOWICZ-MOSIEJ, *Rośliny lecznicze*, Warszawa 2012, p. 325–326.

⁷ T.Y.K. CHAN, *Aconite Poisoning*, CTox 47, 2009, p. 279–285; F. MORITZ, P. COMPAGNON, I. GUERY KALISZCZAK, Y. KALISZCZAK, V. CALISKAN, C. GIRAULT, *Severe Acute Poisoning with Homemade Aconitum napellus Capsules: Toxicokinetic and Clinical Data*, CTox 43, 2005, p. 873, 875.

Before coming to the core of our article, we will briefly depict the general role of aconite in the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine societies of the time. Our knowledge of how this plant's dangerous properties were applied in this cultural circle has been lost in the mists of time⁸, and modern researchers just assume that it was widespread in the Mediterranean area, and commonly used in practice⁹. It is well known that aconite was grown in the famous garden of King Attalus III of Pergamum (who reigned from 138 to 133 BC), who was extremely interested in toxicology, and became an expert in this matter¹⁰. Aconite was most often mentioned by the authors of our sources when the topic of poisoning was raised and the attempts to prevent it. Today, it is impossible to assess (not even approximately) how often Greeks and Romans attempted to commit poisoning, but it seems reasonable to conclude that, when they did, aconite was one of the most frequently used substances¹¹.

⁸ According to Greek mythology (well-known in Rome), aconite was created by foam from the mouth of the furious Cerberus, when he was forcibly driven out of the underworld by Heracles, cf. OVID, *Metamorphoses. Books 1–8*, VII, 406–419, trans. F.J. MILLER, rev. G.P. GOOLD, Cambridge Mass. 1977 [= LCL] (cetera: OVIDIUS, *Metamorphoses*); *Servii Grammatici in Vergili Bucolica et Georgica commentarii*, II, 152, rec. G. THILO, Lipsiae 1887. However, according to a different and less popular version, aconite was created from Prometheus' blood, cf. AUSONIUS, *Technopaegnion*, 8, 9–11, [in:] AUSONIUS, vol. I, trans. H.G.E. WHITE, Cambridge Mass. 1919 [= LCL, 96].

⁹ This was similar to other healing and poisonous plants. Ancient populations had very strong connections with nature and their environment. As a result, they had great awareness of the power of local plants, minerals and the substances produced by animals. The markets of ancient cities, in turn, abounded in plants (and the substances made from them) imported not only from nearby areas but also from distant lands. These substances were carefully prepared by experienced specialists (*rhizotómoi*, ριζοτόμοι), including poisonous (in controlled doses) species. In the Byzantine period, educated physicians also used many of these plants. Cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Drugs and Medicines in the Roman World*, Ex 38.2, 1996, p. 38–51; IDEM, *Herbs of the Field and Herbs of the Garden in Byzantine Medicinal Pharmacy*, [in:] *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. A. LITTLEWOOD, H. MAGUIRE, J. WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, Washington DC 2002, p. 187; IDEM, *Drugs for an Emperor*, A.PAPhA 3.1, 2004, p. 4–5, 17; M. JONES-LEWIS, *Pharmacy...*, p. 410–411. It was related to aconite too, cf. H.S. PURI, *Uses of Aconites*, JATBA 21.7, 1974, p. 239.

¹⁰ PLUTARCH, *Demetrius*, 20, 2, [in:] PLUTARCH, *Lives*, vol. IX, trans. B. PERRIN, Cambridge Mass. 1920 [= LCL, 101]; cf. L. TOTELIN, *Botanizing Rulers and their Herbal Subjects: Plants and Political Power in Greek and Roman Literature*, Phoe 66.1–2, 2012, p. 126–131 (esp. 128); A. MAYOR, *Mithridates of Pontus and his Universal Antidote*, [in:] *History of Toxicology and Environmental Health. Toxicology in Antiquity*, vol. I, ed. P. WEXLER, Amsterdam 2014, p. 21; A. TOUWAIDE, *Murder, Execution, and Suicide in Ancient Greece and Rome*, [in:] *History of Toxicology and Environmental Health. Toxicology in Antiquity*, vol. II, ed. P. WEXLER, Amsterdam 2015, p. 3.

¹¹ D.B. KAUFMAN, *Poisons and Poisoning among the Romans*, CP 27.2, 1932, p. 162; L. CILLIERS, F. RETIEF, *Poisons, Poisoners, and Poisoning in Ancient Rome*, [in:] *History of Toxicology...*, vol. I, p. 128. Gregory TSOUCALAS and Markos SGANTZOS (*The Death of Cleopatra: Suicide by Snakebite or Poisoned by her Enemies?*, [in:] *History of Toxicology...*, vol. I, p. 19) speculate that aconite was one of the ingredients administered in 30 BC to Cleopatra VII, after her defeat by Octavian.

Aconite must have been used for criminal purposes (or, at least, people suspected its use) commonly enough that details of this phenomenon made their way into ancient literature. Ovid, for example, wrote in his *Metamorphoses* about stepmothers preparing it to kill their foster children¹². In one of Juvenal's *Satires* we can read, in turn, that aconite was employed as a substance to obtain an inheritance¹³. Obviously, in both cases we are dealing with literary hyperbole, but we can also hear the echoes of real incidents.

The actual threat of being poisoned by aconite is confirmed by the actions of legislators, which shows that they realized the danger and tried to prevent it. In Roman law, according to the *Digestae*, administration of *aconitum*, was punishable by death, even when it was not administered to intentionally murder a man:

Alio senatus consulto effectum est, ut pigmentarii, si cui temere cicutam salamandram aconitum pituocampas aut bubrostim mandragoram et id, quod lustramenti causa dederit cantharidas, poena teneantur huius legis¹⁴.

It is laid down by another *senatus consultum* that dealers in cosmetics are liable to the penalty of this law if they recklessly hand over to anyone hemlock, salamander, monkshood, pinegrubs, or a venomous beetle, mandragora, or, except for the purpose of purification, Spanish fly¹⁵.

The appetite to use aconite was subsequently seen in Byzantine legal collections, starting from *Eclogae*¹⁶. This suggests that the threat was still considered real in the centuries that followed¹⁷.

As for the testimonies of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine authors active in the fields of botany, toxicology, and medicine, the first one to describe aconite in a more detailed way (or at least the earliest whose words have survived to the present day) was Theophrastus (4th c. BC). As his description of this plant is the oldest known in the Greek language¹⁸, and had a strong influence on later descriptions,

¹² OVIDIUS, *Metamorphoses*, I, 147.

¹³ JUVENAL, *Satirae*, VI, 639, [in:] JUVENAL and PERSIUS, ed. S. MORTON BRAUND, Cambridge Mass. 2004 [= LCL, 91].

¹⁴ *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, 48, 8, 3, 3, rec. T. MOMMSEN, Berolini 1870.

¹⁵ English translation by Alan WATSON from *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. IV, ed. T. MOMMSEN, P. KRUEGER, trans. A. WATSON, Philadelphia 1985, p. 819.

¹⁶ *Appendix Eclogae*, 6, 22, [in:] *Fontes Minores III*, ed. L. BURGMANN, S. TROIANOS, Frankfurt am Main 1974.

¹⁷ Cf. *Prochiron Auctum*, 39, 219, ed. P. ZEPOS, Athens 1931; *Prochiron Legum vel Prochiron Calabriae*, 40, 13, ed. F. BRANDILEONE, V. PUNTONI, Roma 1895; *Basilica*, 60, 39, 3, vol. VIII, ed. H.J. SCHELTEMA, N. VAN DER WAL, Groningen 1988; *Synopsis basilicorum sive synopsis major*, 21, 2, 1, ed. P. ZEPOS, Athens 1931; *Nomocanon 2*, 1, 91, [in:] *Collectio Tripartita: Justinian on Religious and Ecclesiastical Affairs*, ed. B.H. STOLTE, N. VAN DER WAL, Groningen 1994.

¹⁸ It should be mentioned that there is no information dedicated to aconite in the whole *Corpus Hippocraticum*. The plant is not mentioned by the authors of Hippocratic treatises under the name

it is worth taking a closer look. According to Theophrastus, aconite¹⁹ grew on Crete and Zakynthos, but especially in the neighbourhood of Heraclea Pontica, where it had the strongest properties. In giving a more detailed description of this plant's characteristics (including its etymology), Theophrastus wrote that it prefers to grow on rocky terrain, has leaves similar to chicory, and roots the shape and colour of a shrimp. As for the toxic aspect of the plant, Theophrastus believed that it was present exclusively in the roots, and that the leaves and other parts of the plant were not dangerous. He also added that animals would not eat aconite²⁰. In (graphically) describing the effects of aconite and some of the methods of its use for criminal purposes²¹, Theophrastus interspersed the passages about its poisonous impact with poorly detailed information about its possible use in healing²². He concluded that it was difficult to understand the properties of aconite enough to use it effectively in therapy²³.

The first known Greek author who not only stated that aconite was poisonous, but also described how it affected the human body in detail was Nicander (2nd c. BC)²⁴. Although the beginning of his account is in an artful, literary style, in further verses the narration becomes factual and full of details, while the style becomes more reminiscent of modern clinical reports. Moreover, it must be emphasized that it is the most precise description of the effects of aconitine made in ancient and Byzantine times.

of *akóniton*, or under any other, synonymic, term familiar to us. While, in our opinion, this is very surprising, as there are many botanical substances present in the *Corpus*, and aconite was a common plant in Greece and its environs, Hippocratic medicine was primarily focused on helping patients in a non-invasive way, in accordance with the Latin sentence: *Primum non nocere*. It is possible that aconite, which has a very strong impact on the human body, was acknowledged to be too dangerous to use in any therapy.

¹⁹ In her commentary to Theophrastus' description of *akóniton*, Suzanne AMIGUES (*Commentaire*, [in:] THÉOPHRASTE, *Recherches sur les plantes*, vol. V, *Livre IX*, trans. S. AMIGUES, Paris 2006, p. 199–200) wrote that *L'identification de l'akoniton présente des difficultés multiples et si graves que l'on ne peut pas prétendre à une certitude sur tous les points*. According to the Author the term *akóniton* should be translated as *jusquiame blanche* or *jusquiame dorée*, which means that she identifies it as white henbane (*Hyoscyamus albus* L.) or golden henbane (*Hyoscyamus aureus* L.).

²⁰ THEOPHRASTUS, *Enquiry into Plants*, IX, 16, 4, [in:] THEOPHRASTUS, *Enquiry into Plants and Minor Works*, ed. A. HORT, Cambridge Mass. 1926 (cetera: THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum*). One may find a very similar description in PLINY THE ELDER (*Natural History*, VI, 1, 4; XXVII, 2, 4; 9, vol. I–IX, trans. H. RACKHAM, W.H.S. JONES, D.E. EICHHOLZ, Cambridge Mass. 1938–1963 [= LCL] [cetera: PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*]). Cf. *Strabonis geographica*, XII, 3, 7, vol. I–III, ed. A. MEINEKE, Graz 1969.

²¹ Alain TOUWAIDE (*Murder, Execution...*, p. 5) doubts that it is possible to prepare the poison in such a way that it kills a certain time after its administration.

²² THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum*, IX, 16, 5.

²³ THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum*, IX, 16, 7.

²⁴ It is worth noticing some possible connections between Nicander and King Attalus III, cf. J.-M. JACQUES, *Notice*, [in:] NICANDRE, *Oeuvres*, vol. II, trans. J.-M. JACQUES, Paris 2002, p. XIX.

According to Nicander's words, consumption of aconite (which he also, balefully, described as a "woman killer", τὸ θηλυφόνον²⁵) firstly produces a feeling of bitterness and astringency in the oral cavity²⁶. Then a person feels a shortness of breath and pain in the upper part of the abdomen²⁷ and their eyes start watering²⁸, with gases accumulating in the abdomen²⁹. They feel hard throbbing in their temples³⁰ and a severe pain in the head occurs³¹; eyesight deteriorates and the person starts to see double³², before losing consciousness³³.

In a further part of Nicander's account, he gives a long list of antidotes for aconite, from which we may gather that the situation of a person who consumes it is not altogether hopeless. One recommended measure is a mixture of lime³⁴, yellowish wine³⁵ and a sprig of silvermound (*Artemisia schmidtiana* Maxim.), or horehound (*Marrubium vulgare* L.)³⁶. Another one blends a sprout of *Daphne* (L.) with rue (*Ruta graveolens* L.)³⁷ and honey, in which one should put a piece of burning iron or slag, or, alternatively, gold or silver³⁸. Another mixes the leaves of yellow bugle (*Ajuga chamaepitys* Schreb.) – or a shrivelled branch of oregano (*Origanum*

²⁵ NICANDRE, *Les alexipharmques*, 41, [in:] NICANDRE, *Oeuvres*, vol. III, trans. J.-M. JACQUES, Paris 2007 (cetera: NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*).

²⁶ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 16–17.

²⁷ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 17–22.

²⁸ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 24–25.

²⁹ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 25–26.

³⁰ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 27–28.

³¹ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 27.

³² NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 28–29.

³³ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 30–35. The accuracy of Nicander's stated symptoms is worth comparing with contemporary medical case reports, cf. F. MORITZ, P. COMPAGNON, I. GUERY KALISZCZAK, Y. KALISZCZAK, V. CALISKAN, C. GIRAULT, *Severe Acute Poisoning...*, p. 874–875.

³⁴ Not the fruit, but the calcium-containing inorganic mineral.

³⁵ Yellow wines could be either sweet, or dry. Due to the method of production (e.g., the method of maturation), some of them, were rather expensive. They were employed in certain medical treatments, but, according to Galen, white (not yellow) dry ones remained the most therapeutically useful wines. Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, *Galen on Wine, or Some Traces of Preference*, PZH 2020, special issue, p. 18–20.

³⁶ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 43–47.

³⁷ Rue was widely regarded as an antidote to aconite. Cf. ATHENAEUS, *The Learned Banqueters*, III, 85 a–b, vol. I–VIII, ed. S. DOUGLAS OLSON, Cambridge Mass. 2006–2012 [= LCL] where an anecdote about Clearchus, the tyrant of Heraclea Pontica (5th/4th c. BC) is quoted. He is said to have poisoned people using aconite. Eventually, his remaining subjects started to eat rue as a protection against the poison.

³⁸ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 49 c–54. This is an interesting case of a remedy combining the organic components of plant origin with metals. A similar (although general) formulation concerning the healing properties of drinks in which heated iron was immersed, can be found e.g. in PLINIUS (*Historia naturalis*, XXXIV, 44, 151). Cf. J. LASKARIS, *Metals in Medicine: from Telephus to Galen*, [in:] *Popular Medicine in Graeco-Roman Antiquity: Explorations*, ed. W.V. HARRIS, Leiden–Boston 2016 [= CSCT, 42], p. 147–160.

vulgare L.), or a fresh branch of *Polycnemum* L. – to a very sweet wine³⁹. According to Nicander, the ground root of red mulberry (*Morus rubra* L.) mixed with wine, and cooked with honey is also helpful⁴⁰. Another effective remedy is a greasy broth made from chicken or beef, boiled until the meat is overcooked⁴¹.

The majority of antidotes recommend either sweet wine or honey or both together. This corresponds with the information given earlier by Theophrastus, who had written that peasants attempted to heal someone who had eaten aconite with honey and wine⁴². However, the manner in which he described it shows that he did not believe in the effectiveness of this folk remedy, and informed his readers about it only to show that this behaviour existed in his time. This tradition has, even if not well-regarded by scientists like Theophrastus, survived the centuries, and was probably widely known, and not just among specialists. We can find clear evidence of this in a fragment from Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, written in the 5th c. AD⁴³. Perhaps, the explanation of this is very simple, as sweet substances were used to cover the bitterness of the medicine, as was done in many different mixtures commonly employed in ancient therapies.

Scribonius Largus (1st c. AD), who is chronologically the next author to describe aconite, and the first known to have written about it in Latin, followed closely Nicander's testimony. He also highlighted the bitter and astringent taste of the plant⁴⁴ and discussed the reaction of the human body after its consumption in detail. Among the symptoms he lists there are: sweating, headache and vertigo, stomach ache, and flatulence⁴⁵. Scribonius Largus also noticed bruising on the joints and even on whole limbs⁴⁶. As for the remedies recommended after eating aconite, in line with Nicander, he wrote about drinking wine with a large amount of rue, or a greasy chicken broth, but also wine boiled with St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum* L.)⁴⁷. Finally, he advised drinking a liquid in which one had put iron slag, but, unlike Nicander, he wrote about vinegar mixed with honey⁴⁸.

³⁹ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 55–58.

⁴⁰ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 69–71.

⁴¹ NICANDER, *Alexipharmaca*, 59–63. Nicander's testimony was discussed by H. SKALTSIA, S. PHILIANOS, G. PAPAPHILIPPOU (*L'aconit chez Nicandre et de nos jours*, RHP 85.316, 1997, p. 405–410).

⁴² THEOPHRASTUS, *Historia plantarum*, IX, 16, 5; J. SCARBOROUGH, *Theophrastus on Herbs and Herbal Remedies*, JHB 11.2, 1978, p. 375–376.

⁴³ MACROBIUS, *Saturnalia*, VII, 6, 5, vol. I–III, ed. R.A. KASTER, Cambridge Mass. 2011 [= LCL, 510–512].

⁴⁴ SCRIBONIO LARGO, *Ricette mediche*, 188, trans. S. SCONOCCHIA, Berlin 2020 [= CMLat] (cetera: SCRIBONIO LARGUS, *Compositiones*).

⁴⁵ SCRIBONIO LARGUS, *Compositiones*, 188.

⁴⁶ SCRIBONIO LARGUS, *Compositiones*, 188.

⁴⁷ SCRIBONIO LARGUS, *Compositiones*, 188.

⁴⁸ SCRIBONIO LARGUS, *Compositiones*, 188.

A number of dubious remedies for aconite poisoning – on whose lethal impact he informed clearly and vividly⁴⁹ – were given by Pliny the Elder (1st c. AD). We can find among them, for example, simple garlic (*Allium sativum* L.)⁵⁰, ground leaves of rue in wine⁵¹, milk (without specifying what kind exactly) blended with balsamic oil⁵², a plant called *aizoum*, which can be identified as goldmoss stonecrop (*Sedum acre* L.)⁵³, and a broth made from old cockerel⁵⁴, a broth made from tripe⁵⁵, and warm sheep's milk⁵⁶. The information is short and without many important details, such as the method of preparation, or dosage.

Although, as we mentioned above, Theophrastus made some undetailed observation about the therapeutic use of this plant in folk medicine, there is no (similarly or more detailed) information in preserved Graeco-Roman texts over the next four centuries until Pliny's testimony. Here one can also find fragments devoted to the beneficial action of aconite. In Pliny's work we read that it had long been known that aconite in heated wine can neutralize the effects of scorpion venom⁵⁷, and that it is used in (once again unspecified) treating eye diseases⁵⁸.

A little later in the same century, Dioscorides gave us another description of aconite. He was the first known Greek author to use the term *akóniton* (ἀκόνιτον) for two different plants, clearly explaining that they should not be mistaken for each other⁵⁹. The first of them he called *akóniton pardalianchés* (παρδαλιαγχές), while the second – *akóniton lykoktónon* (λυκοκτόνον). One can observe that the author of *De materia medica* stayed very close to earlier description of *akóniton/aconitum*, and the origins of his information on the structure of both plants⁶⁰ date back to Theophrastus' times. Despite these features being described in a very similar way by Dioscorides, he surprisingly differentiated two species. This strongly influenced later authors, as he was held in high regard in the field of botany. Until then, authors writing about the plant known under the name of *akóniton* were not aware – or do not appear to have been aware – that they might be describing

⁴⁹ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, VI, 1, 4; XXVII, 2, 4–5.

⁵⁰ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XX, 23, 50.

⁵¹ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XX, 51, 132.

⁵² PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XXIII, 47, 92. Oils were considered a good antidote and, more broadly, a beneficial substance for the digestive system, cf. J. DYBAŁA, M. KOKOSZKO, *Lecznice działanie olei roślinnych na podstawie De materia medica Dioskuridesa*, [in:] *Lek roślinny*, vol. VI, red. B. PŁONKA-SYROKA, A. SYROKA, Wrocław 2017, p. 86–87.

⁵³ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XXV, 103, 162.

⁵⁴ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XXIX, 33, 103.

⁵⁵ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XXVIII, 45, 161.

⁵⁶ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XXIX, 33, 105.

⁵⁷ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XXVII, 2, 5.

⁵⁸ PLINIUS, *Historia naturalis*, XXVII, 2, 9.

⁵⁹ *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri V*, IV, 77, vol. I–III, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berolini 1906–1914 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*).

⁶⁰ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 76–77.

more than one species, even when its description looks different in two or more passages of their treatises⁶¹.

Dioscorides did not mention the extremely dangerous impact of aconite on humans, but he did mention that it kills animals. On the other hand, he did supply interesting information about the use of one aconite (identified today as yellow monkshood, or healing wolfsbane, *Aconitum anthora* L., or leopard's bane, a representative of a genus of plants called *Doronicum* L., probably *Doronicum pardalianches* L., or *Doronicum orientale* Hoffm.) in healing. Interestingly, he focused mainly on that species, devoting very little space to wolf's-bane. According to his words, *akóniton*-leopard's bane is used in ophthalmology, acting as a painkiller⁶². This statement is similar to that of Pliny's, but clearly explains the reason for the use of the plant described. Unfortunately, apart from this one short fragment, Dioscorides did not provide any other, more detailed, information on therapies with aconite as a medicine⁶³.

⁶¹ Cf., for example, PLINY's long description (*Historia naturalis*, XXVII, 1, 1 – 2, 10), in which some details are similar to Theophrastus', while other (especially about the appearance of the plant) are completely different.

⁶² DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 76.

⁶³ On the characteristics of *akóniton* given by Dioscorides cf. J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine*, Austin 1985, p. 65–66. The Author attempts to identify the plant from the 77th chapter of the 4th book of *De materia medica* as *Aconitum lycoctonum* Auct., but with some uncertainty. In their translation of the treatise, Tess A. OSBALDESTON and Robert P.A. WOOD are cautious, and use the term *aconitum* in both the 76th and 77th chapters. However, at the same time, they suggest that the species from the former chapter could be identified as *Aconitum pardalianches* Fuchs, *Solanum quadrifolium bacciferum* Bauhin, *Paris quadrifolia* L., *Aconitum napellus* L., *Aconitum variable*, and *Aconitum pyramidale*, while the species from the latter could be identified as *Aconitum luteum*, *Aconitum lycoctonum* Fuchs, L., *Aconitum pyrenaicum*, and *Aconitum vulparia* (cf. DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica: being an Herbal with Many Other Medicinal Materials. Written in Greek in the First Century of the Common Era*, ed., trans. T.A. OSBALDESTON, R.P.A. WOOD, Johannesburg 2000, p. 628). The Spanish translator of *De materia medica* (DIOSCORIDES, *Plantas y remedios medicinales*, vol. IV–V, trans. M.G. VALDÉS, Madrid 1998, p. 61), translates the term from the 76th chapter as *acónite amarillo*, and identifies it as *Aconitum anthora* L., while the plant from 77th chapter, *otro acónito*, is identified as *Aconitum napellus* L. Cf. *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. I, ed. F.R. ADRA-DOS, Madrid 1989, p. 121; *LSJ*, p. 52. In the new, revisited translation of Dioscorides' treatise by Lily Y. BECK (PEDANIUS DIOSCORIDES OF ANAZARBUS, *De materia medica*, trans. L.Y. BECK, Hildesheim 2020, p. 280–281), the plant from the 77th chapter is identified as “*Aconitum napellus* L. (*Another kind of leopard's bane*) *Wolfsbane*”, while the plant from the 76th chapter as “*Doronicum pardalianches* Jacq., *Leopard's bane*”. L.Y. BECK consistently translates the term *akóniton* as leopard's bane, for example in the cases described by us in the following paragraph and in footnotes 63, 64, 65, and 66. However, in the Greek text, only the term *akóniton* exists, without specification. The taxonomic name of this plant is *Doronicum pardalianches* L., which is not synonymic with *Doronicum pardalianches* Jacq. Cf. also D. FAUSTI, *La botanica medica di età imperiale. Piante narcotiche dal quarto libro di Dioscoride*, [in:] *Περί φαρτῶν Trattati greci di botanica in Occidente e in Oriente*, ed. M.F. FERRINI, G. GIGLIONI, Macerata 2020, p. 56, where the author writes about *Doronicum pardalianches* (*aconito*), and *Aconitum napellus* (*aconito napello*).

In his *De materia medica*, he provided more information about antidotes to *akóniton*. Unfortunately, this time he was less precise, and he did not write about which species he had in mind. He wrote that people who have consumed the plant should take (not in one treatment, but separately) Mecca balsam (*Alhagi mauro-rum* L.)⁶⁴; the bark of mulberry tree root boiled with water⁶⁵; fresh milk⁶⁶; and some wine⁶⁷.

If we omit the overly general passage of Plutarch (1st–2nd c. AD), who mentioned a man healed of unspecified oedema through the use of aconite⁶⁸, chronologically, the next author writing on our plant in detail was Galen (2nd–3rd c. AD). Like Dioscorides, he believed that there were two different species known as *akóniton*, which he named in the same way as Dioscorides⁶⁹. Therefore, Galen's description of these plants is not original and remains very similar to earlier ones known from *De materia medica* and other treatises. What is important though is that, save two passages in his works where he does clearly distinguish these two species of *akóniton*, most of the time when he mentioned this name he did not specify which one he was describing⁷⁰.

As for the details of Galen's testimony, he noted that *akóniton pardalianchés* had astringent properties⁷¹ and that the plant (without specifying, which species exactly) is one of the ingredients in an ointment used against hair loss⁷². Moreover, *akóniton* was, according to Galen, an ingredient of a medicine helpful in healing wounds, and a substance with cleansing properties⁷³. These remarks are original contributions on the subject. The rest of his remarks follow those of his predecessors. Namely, he wrote, for example, that after eating *akóniton* one must drink

⁶⁴ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 19.

⁶⁵ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, I, 126.

⁶⁶ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 70.

⁶⁷ DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, V, 6.

⁶⁸ PLUTARCH, *Crassus*, 33, 8–9, [in:] PLUTARCH, *Lives*, vol. III, trans. B. PERRIN, Cambridge Mass. 1916 [= LCL, 65].

⁶⁹ *Galenii de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus libri XI*, 820, 9–17, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XI–XII, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1826–1827 (cetera: GALENUS, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*). Cf. *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, XI, 25–26, vol. I–IV, ed. I. RAEDER, Lipsiae–Berolini 1928–1933 [= CMG] (cetera: ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*).

⁷⁰ For example, *Galenii In Hippocratis sextum librum epidemiarum commentaria I–VI*, 337, 11, ed. E. WENKEBACH, Leipzig 1940; *Galenii De antidotis libri II*, 139, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XIV, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1827 (cetera: GALENUS, *De antidotis*).

⁷¹ GALENUS, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 820, 9 (XI KÜHN). Cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XV, 1:1, 38–39.

⁷² *Galenii De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 740, 13 – 741, 2, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XII–XIII, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1826–1827 (cetera: GALENUS, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*).

⁷³ GALENUS, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*, 755, 16 – 756, 3 (XI KÜHN). Cf. ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XIV, 57.

a large quantity of wine with rue, or a greasy chicken broth⁷⁴, and he also wrote that *akóniton* was used in certain therapies, recommending it in the treatment of gout, and joint pain⁷⁵.

Early Byzantine physicians Oribasius (4th c.), Aetius of Amida (6th c.), and Paul of Aegina (7th c.)⁷⁶ remained strongly under the influence of Hippocratic and Galenic tradition and usually composed their medical treatises based on previous works when writing about aconite. They also followed the descriptions of their predecessors, that is Dioscorides and Galen. Therefore they described *akóniton* as two different species, and provided information on its toxicity⁷⁷. They also wrote that wine with rue is a good remedy for people poisoned by aconitine⁷⁸; that the plant is used in medicine as a painkiller⁷⁹, and that the juice of the plant is an ingredient of a medicine used in preventing hair loss⁸⁰.

To summarise, since ancient Greek, Roman, and early Byzantine sources, medical, botanical, encyclopaedic, legal and those belonging to belles-lettres contain numerous fragments devoted to *akóniton/aconitum*, its strength and the effects of its consumption, it is reasonable to place *akóniton/aconitum* among the best known and most often used poisonous plants in ancient and medieval times, and – in a broader sense – among the best known and the most notoriously toxic substances in general.

Nevertheless, both folk remedies and professional medicine considered the beneficial effects of aconite on the human body. Some are vague from our perspective and seems unrealistic, but others, especially analgesic, are recognised by modern medicine as one of the effects of aconitine contained in aconite (though it must be stressed that 20th-century medicine eschewed the use of this plant, as it was considered too dangerous and powerful⁸¹). Unfortunately, the descriptions

⁷⁴ GALENUS, *De antidotis*, 139 (XIV KÜHN).

⁷⁵ GALENUS, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 359, 9–18 (XIII KÜHN).

⁷⁶ Another early Byzantine medical author, Alexander of Tralles (6th/7th c. AD), did not mention aconite at all.

⁷⁷ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XI, 25–26; *Oribasii eclogae medicamentorum*, 127, [in:] *Oribasii Collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, vol. IV, *Libri XLIX–L, libri incerti, eclogae medicamentorum*, ed. J. RAEDER, Leipzig–Berlin 1933 [= CMG]; *Aetii Amideni libri medicinales I–VIII*, I, 18, ed. A. OLIVIERI, Lipsiae–Berolini 1935–1950 [= CMG, 8] (cetera: AETIUS AMIDENUS, *Iatricorum libri*); PAULUS AEGINETA, V, 46, vol. I–II, ed. I.L. HEIBERG, Lipsiae–Berolini 1921–1924.

⁷⁸ AETIUS AMIDENUS, *Iatricorum libri*, I, 321.

⁷⁹ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, XIV, 57.

⁸⁰ AETIUS AMIDENUS, *Iatricorum libri*, VI, 64.

⁸¹ During the 19th century, aconite became a valued drug in pharmacy in the Western world. One of the most popular forms of aconite-based medicine was a tincture acting as a painkiller. During this period, however, other drugs proved more effective with fewer problems of extraction, preparation, quantification, and potential risk of overdose. Because of all these difficulties and the serious danger of a fatal overdose, 20th century Western medicine (but not folk remedies!) has gradually rejected its use. Cf. M.G. JAUREGUI, *The Biological Assay of Aconite*, JAPhA 16.11, 1927, p. 1045; A. BEEN, *Aconitum: Genus of Powerful and Sensational Plants*, PhH 34.1, 1992, p. 37–38. However, during

found in the sources do not give us many details about the methods of therapeutic use of aconite, its dosage, and the precise results of such therapies. Moreover, in the analysed sources, the authors failed to specify one very important aspect, namely, what part of the plant they recommended exactly. This is especially disappointing as we do know that different parts of the plant have different properties and influences on the human body.

Excellent descriptions of the role of aconite in ancient and Byzantine societies were given by Chi-Jung Tai from Kaohsiung Medical University, Taiwan, and his international team. They wrote that *it has been and will remain a mysterious herb. It is like Janus in Greek mythology with two faces, one supports healing and the other leads to death. Its long history of use did not eliminate suspicion and confusion about its true nature*⁸².

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the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century, interest in use of aconite in therapies has grown. Some of the pharmacological activities of aconite and aconitine, such as aconitine-induced arrhythmias, neuroprotective properties, or anti-inflammatory activity have been studied in research works by scientists from many scientific centers. Among the latest research was an unsuccessful experiment with aconite as a potential medicine for patients with COVID-19. Cf. M.K. SINGH, M. VINOD, S.K. IYER, G. KHARE, G. SHARWAN, Y.K. LAROKAR, *Aconite: a Pharmacological Update*, *IJRPhS* 3.2, 2012, p. 242–246; A. SHOAB, H.H. SIDDIQUI, R.K. DIXIT, S. SIDDIQUI, B. DEEN, A. KHAN, S.H. ALROKAYAN, H.A. KHAN, P. AHMAD, *Neuroprotective Effects of Dried Tubers of Aconitum napellus*, *PI* 9.3, 2020, art. 356; M. TAKACS, M. FRASS, G. WALDERF, P. FIBERT, M. ROTTENSTEINER, W. GLÜCK, P. LECHLEITNER, M. OBERBAUM, I. LEISSERI, K. CHANDAK, P. PANHOFFER, P. WEIERMAYER, *Adjunctive Homeopathic Treatment of Hospitalized COVID-19 Patients (COVIHOM): A Retrospective Case Series*, *CTCP* 44, 2021, p. 1–11.

⁸² C.-J. TAI, M. EL-SHAZLY, T.-Y. WU, K.-T. LEE, D. CSUPOR, J. HOHMANN, F.-R. CHANG, Y.-C. WU, *Clinical Aspects of Aconitum Preparations*, *PIM* 81, 2015, p. 1025.

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Τέρνοβος, ἐν ἧ τὰ βασιλεια ἦν τῶν Βουλγάρων: THE ROLE OF THE BULGARIAN CAPITAL CITY ACCORDING ΤΟ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία BY NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS

Abstract. The paper is devoted to a detailed analysis of direct and indirect references to Tǎrnovo, the capital of the so-called Second Bulgarian Tsardom (12th–14th centuries) in *Roman history* of Nikephoros Gregoras, an outstanding Byzantine scholar of the first half of the fourteenth century. An analysis of the passages devoted to this city leads to a conclusion that the status of the city was fully obvious to the Byzantine historian – this was the main, capital city of the Bulgarian state, in which its rulers permanently resided, without holding which one could not be a fully legitimate tsar of the Bulgarians and exercise real power of the northern neighbours of Byzantium. Thus the conflicts over power in contemporary Bulgaria focused primarily on taking Tǎrnovo. The Bulgarian tsar departed with military expeditions most often from this city, having gathered in its vicinity armed forces, and to this city Byzantines and rulers of other neighbouring countries sent their envoys to meet with the Bulgarian autocrat.

Keywords: Nikephoros Gregoras, Tǎrnovo, Tǎrnovgrad, Veliko Tǎrnovo, Byzantium and Bulgaria, medieval Bulgaria, medieval Balkans, medieval capitals, Byzantine historiography, the others in Byzantine sources, Bulgaria in Byzantine sources

Introduction

Between the late twelfth century and until the end of the fourteenth century Tǎrnovo, a stronghold and an urban centre, served as the capital of the then Bulgaria. It was located in the area of the so-called Tǎrnovo Hills (the two main ones being Tsarevets and Trapezitsa), which formed part of the of the northern area of the Stara Planina forelands, and therefore in the area between the Lower Danube valley and the Stara Planina massif; it was there that the nucleus of the medieval Bulgarian state was located. The city was the most important centre of the state, which had been restored near the end of the twelfth century, and which for the following two hundred years played an important role in the history

of the Balkans, as a political partner of the Eastern Roman Empire¹. Insight into the history of the capital, the centre of the Bulgarians' political life, plays therefore a considerable role in understanding the so-called Second Bulgarian Tsardom. In this context it is worth reminding that the sources of Byzantine provenance, especially those of narrative nature, have a fundamental significance for recreating Bulgarian history, including the history of Tǎrnovo itself. This is a result of either a poor state of preservation of mediaeval Bulgarian historiography, or of a lack of developed tradition in this area altogether, resulting from the dependence and reliance on the relatively abundant Byzantine literary legacy. Either way, the latter sources appear to be the basis in the process of reconstructing both the late mediaeval history of Bulgaria, and of the relations with its southern neighbour.

Among the Byzantine works which provide us with information about the capital centre of the Bulgarians, an important place is occupied by the Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία of Nikephoros Gregoras (1295 – ca. 1360), an outstanding Constantinopolitan scholar of the first half of the fourteenth century, who wrote down the history of Byzantium for the years 1204–1359 in 37 books. His narrative is fundamental especially for the fourteenth century, and next to the memoirs of John Kantakouzenos it is the main historical text which allows us a glimpse into the contemporary history of the empire and its relations with its neighbouring countries. The work is most valuable for examining the events after 1320 (from book eight onwards), when its author was introduced to the imperial court as a scholar (in 1322). From that time he was describing the events as a discerning witness, able to highlight what was important and of greatest interest. Undoubtedly for the earlier period, especially for the entirety of the thirteenth century, he mainly relied on the historical works of his predecessors: of Niketas Choniates, but primarily those of George Akropolites, and of George Pachymeres, on whose style he modelled his own. It is possible that he also made use of the historical work by Theodore Skoutariotes, but even if that had been the case, it is most likely that this author's work has only been of secondary importance. It is pointed out after all that while describing the same events as the earlier authors, Nikephoros does not include their descriptions

¹ On the subject of Tǎrnovo, *vide e.g.* *История на Велико Търново*, vol. I, *Праистория, античност и средновековие*, ed. П. ПЕТРОВ, София 1986; Р. ПАНОВА, *Столичният град в културата на средновековна България*, София 1995, p. 141–186; К. МАРИНОВ, *Търново като свещен град през късното средновековие*, [in:] *ТКШ*, vol. X, *Търновската държава на Духа. Десети юбилеен международен симпозиум Велико Търново, 17–19 октомври 2013 г.*, ed. Д. КЕНАНОВ, Велико Търново 2015, p. 697–722; К. ТОТЕВ, Д. КОСЕВА, *Столичният Търнов в християнската култура на Балканския свят*, [in:] *Великите Асеневици. Сборник с доклади от конференция, посветена на 830 години от въстанието на братята Петър и Асен, началото на Второто българско царство и обявяването на Търново за столица на България и 780 години от легитимното възобновяване на Българската патриаршия*, ed. П. ПАВЛОВ, Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2016, p. 364–376.

verbatim, but usually summarises them in his own words and expresses his own, independent opinions about the events and the persons who participated in them². Let us add that these views are not uncommonly contrary to those which he might have found in the works of the other authors, which may attest to the independence and critical approach to their texts, a tendency to expressing his own opinion and highlighting his own erudition, but also to using sources other than those by the aforementioned authors. Gregoras is therefore an important historian, even in the context of the period of which he could not have had personal recollections. He allows supplementing the data recorded by his predecessors and balancing their opinions on given subjects. His work however is invaluable as a source for learning about the Byzantines' perception of their own past³. The indicated discrepancies between his text and the descriptions by his predecessors are also apparent in the passages about the capital city of the late mediaeval Bulgarians.

The present considerations are therefore a detailed analysis of direct and indirect references to Tärnovο which were included in the historical study of this Byzantine erudite. I need to stress however that I am primarily focusing not so much on recreating the real history of the city, based on confronting the account of Nikephoros Gregoras with other sources from this epoch, but rather on the portrayal of the Bulgarian capital which emerges from the works of Gregoras. In other words, on the internal critique of the account, with the aim of analysing the author's knowledge about Tärnovο, the sources behind it, the portrayal of the centre which he wanted to convey in his work, as well as on the place the information about the Bulgarian capital had in the *Roman history*.

² I am using the edition *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, vol. I, *Lib. I–XI*, ed. L. SCHOPEN; vol. II, *Lib. XII–XXIV/2*, ed. L. SCHOPEN; vol. III, *Lib. XXII/3–XXXVII*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonnæ 1829, 1830, 1855 (cetera: GREGORAS, *Historia*). On the subject of Nikephoros Gregoras and his historical work vide e.g. R. GULLAND, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras. L'homme et l'oeuvre*, Paris 1926; H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. I, *Philosophie – Rhetorik – Epistolographie – Gesschichtsschreibung – Geographie*, München 1978, p. 453–465; ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ ΓΡΕΓΟΡΑΣ, *Rhomäische Geschichte / Historia Romaike*, vol. I, (*Kapitel I–VII*), trans. et comm. J.-L. VAN DIETEN, Stuttgart 1973, p. 1–62; J.-L. VAN DIETEN, *Entstehung und Überlieferung der Historia Rhomaike des Nikephoros Gregoras, insbesondere des ersten Teiles: Lib. I–XI*, Köln 1975; H.-V. BEYER, *Eine Chronologie des Lebensgeschichte des Nikephoros Gregoras*, JÖB 27, 1978, p. 127–155; М.Б. БИБИКОВ, С.К. КРАСАВИНА, *Некоторые особенности исторической мысли поздней Византии*, [in:] *Культура Византии (XIII – первая половина XV в.)*, ed. Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, Москва 1991, p. 282–286; Н. СІНОСКА, *Gregoras Nicefor*, [in:] *Encyklopedia kultury bizantyńskiej*, ed. O. JUREWICZ, Warszawa 2002, p. 190; V. VAVŘÍNEK, *Encyklopedie Byzance*, Praha 2011, p. 175–177; F. KOLOVOU, *Der gefangene Gelehrte und sein nächstlicher Gast. Geschichtskonzeption und Phantasie in Nikephoros Gregoras' „Rhomaïke Historia“*, Leipzig 2016; B. PAVLOVIĆ, *Nikephoros Gregoras und das Nikänische Reich*, [in:] *Byzanz und das Abendland IV. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*, ed. E. JUHÁSZ, Budapest 2016, p. 205–209, 223–224; L. NEVILLE, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, Cambridge 2018, p. 243–248.

³ B. PAVLOVIĆ, *Nikephoros Gregoras...*, p. 206, 215, 224.

Argument

The name of Tărnovo appears four times in Gregoras' substantial work. For the first time in relation to the conclusion of peace treaty between the rulers of Bulgaria and the Empire of Nicaea, John Assen II (1218–1241) and John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–1254) in year 1235, which was sealed by the marriage of Helena, the daughter of the former, with Theodore, the son and heir of the latter. Gregoras adds that under the agreement the bishop of Tărnovo (ὁ τοῦ Τερνόβου ἐπίσκοπος) simultaneously received full autonomy, as until then he was subordinated to the archbishop of Justiniana Prima because of the ancient ancestral ties with the local population⁴. The proposal for an agreement was made by the Bulgarian ruler, who sent envoys to John Vatatzes, then conducting military activities on the Thracian Chersonesos. Having received a positive reply from the Emperor, met with him in person, as Nikephoros related somewhere in the vicinity of Chersonesos, to formally conclude a peace treaty with him⁵. One may suppose that for both parties, of the Bulgarian legation and the Tsar's retinue, the journey began in the Bulgarian capital and subsequently concluded there as well. From Gregoras' remark we learn that Tărnovo had its own clerical hierarch, who was the leader of the Bulgarian Church. He undoubtedly permanently resided in the capital, which is evidenced by the archaeological remains of his seat on the peak of Tsarevets⁶. His position was important enough for John Assen to have demanded that he be given full autonomy, which meant independence from other Orthodox hierarchs, in this particular case from the archbishop of Justiniana Prima (here: Ohrid), who had indeed been the highest clerical hierarch in Bulgaria since the time of the Komatopouloi, back in the day as a patriarch, and before the Byzantine conquest from the beginning of the eleventh century. The status of Ohrid, with the now diminished rank of an archbishopric, was maintained during the time of Byzantine rule in the eleventh and twelfth centuries⁷. An account by George Akropolites, the main narrative source for these events, clearly states that by an imperial and synodic decision the chief priest of Tărnovo, until now subordinated to his counterpart in Constantinople, was to be honoured with autonomy and called a patriarch⁸.

⁴ GREGORAS, *Historia*, II, 3, p. 29, 15 – 30, 6.

⁵ GREGORAS, *Historia*, II, 3, p. 29, 4 – 30, 3.

⁶ Н. АНГЕЛОВ, *Царевград Търнов*, vol. III, *Патриаршеският комплекс на Царевец през XII–XIV век*, София 1980.

⁷ И. СНЕГАРОВ, *История на Охридската архиепископия*, vol. I, *От основаването ѝ до завладяването на Балканския полуостров от турците*, София 1995, p. 16–88; Δ. Β. ΓΟΝΗΣ, *Ιστορία των Ορθόδοξων Εκκλησιών Βουλγαρίας και Σερβίας*, Αθήνα 1999, p. 48–53; Т. СЪБЕВ, *Самостояйна народностна църква в средновековна България. Християнизаторски процес, основаване и възход, автокефалия и междуцърковно положение. Църква и държава, роля и значение*, Велико Търново 2003, p. 264–275, 279–282.

⁸ *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, 33, [in:] *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, rec. A. HEISENBERG, corr. cura. P. WIRTH, vol. I, *Continens Historiam, Breviarium historiae, Theodori Scutariotae additamenta*,

As can be seen, Gregoras shortened the narrative, and additionally introduced a difference, the one relating to the relations and dependence of the Tǎrnovian bishop's see from the hierarch in Ohrid, rather than in Constantinople (who in 1235 was residing in Nicaea). The essence of the information however had not been changed – the spiritual head of Tǎrnovo and of the entire Bulgaria gained full independence. In this place of the narrative the most important for the Byzantine historian appears to have been the peace between Byzantium and its northern neighbour and in its context the two elements necessary for its conclusion, the marriage between the children of the two imperial couples and the status of the head of the Bulgarian church.

Of further interest in Nikephoros' account is the statement about the past ancestral ties, shared origins, between the inhabitants of the thirteenth-century Bulgarian state and the population of geographic-historic Macedonia. This indicates historic knowledge and awareness of the Byzantine author about the fact that these territories formerly belonged to the early mediaeval Bulgarian state, and about the uninterrupted presence of the Bulgarian population in these areas up to the late Byzantine period. The efforts of the Bulgarian Tsar to elevate the capital's bishop to the patriarchal dignity and obtaining for him full autonomy from the other hierarch of the Orthodox world constituted the ultimate realisation of the idea of an independent state, headed by two authorities – monarchical and clerical – independent from external entities. This also restored the situation from before the collapse of the Bulgarian statehood in 1018 and embodied the famous formula expressed by Tsar Kaloyan (1197–1207) in one of his letters to Pope Innocent III: *imperium sine patriarcha non stare*⁹. Thus Tǎrnovo, as a capital of independent Bulgaria, the place of permanent residence of the head of state and of the most important Church hierarch, as the capital of the empire, must have boasted the full autonomy of the latter. Just like the tsar, who like the Byzantine basileus was an autocrat, so did the bishop of Tǎrnovo had to have been autocephalous, and be counted among the respectable patriarchs.

In Gregoras' account the name of Tǎrnovo appears for the second time in the context of the change on the Bulgarian throne, which happened after the death of the tsar (in the text literally the *archon of the Bulgarians* – τῶν Βουλγάρων

Stutgardiae 1978 [Editio stereotypa editionis anni MCMIII correctior] (cetera: AKROPOLITES, *Historia*), p. 50, 25 – 51, 1.

⁹ *Innocentii PP. III Epistolae ad Bulgariae historiam spectantes, Ep. IX*, ed. I. ДУЖЕВ, Sofia 1942, p. 31, 24. More on the renewal of the Bulgarian Patriarchate and its relations with the Bulgarian Archbishopric in Ohrid vide Δ. Β. ΓΟΝΗΣ, *Ιστορία...*, p. 66–69; Т. СЪБЕВ, *Самостояйна народностна църква...*, p. 292–294, 304–320; И. ТЮТЮНДЖИЕВ, *Търновският епископат XII–XXI в.*, Велико Търново 2007, p. 37–38; В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Възобновяването на Българската патриаршия през 1235 година в светлината на историческите извори*, [in:] *Великите Асеневици...*, p. 155–169; Б. НИКОЛОВА, *Устройство и управление на Българската православна църква (IX–XIV век)*, ²София 2017, p. 220–232.

ἄρχων) Michael II Assen (1246–1256), a brother-in-law of Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (1254–1258)¹⁰. The author noted only the fact of this ruler's death, which may suggest to the readers that it had been a natural occurrence. He knew nothing about the ruler's murder by his cousin, Kaliman, which was reported by George Akropolites¹¹, a Byzantine diplomat and historian who lived during the times when the described events happened. Nikephoros, interestingly, not knowing of Kaliman, informed that because Michael did not have male offspring who could inherit power (τὴν ἀρχήν), the second method of inheritance had to be applied, specifically, it was to be handed to Mitso, the husband of the deceased Tsar's sister¹². This is important information, as the aforementioned Akropolites did not know of Mitso, which causes some confusion in attempts of reconstructing the succession of power in Bulgaria at the time. Doubts were raised about both Kaliman and Mitso, or about whether they ever exercised their power in the capital city¹³. Without going into the details of this issue, as it is not the essence of my

¹⁰ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 60, 4–6.

¹¹ АКРОПОЛИТЕС, *Historia*, 73, p. 152, 1–12. Kaliman is also not known to George Pachymeres, a Byzantine scholar and historian describing history of the Empire in the second half of the thirteenth and the very beginning of the fourteenth century. In his narrative the direct successor of Michael II Assen also appears to be Mitso – GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relationes historiquae*, V, 4–5, vol. II, *Livres IV–VI*, ed. et notes A. FAILLER, trans. V. LAURENT, Paris 1984 [= *CFHB*, 24.2] (cetera: PACHYMERES, *Relationes historicas*), p. 449, 12 – 451, 23.

¹² GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 60, 6–9. Scholars variously attribute the Bulgarian version of the name Mitso (Byz. Μιτσίης), which appears in Byzantine sources, seeing in it a diminutive version of either Dimităr (П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения от 1257 до 1277 г.*, СбБАН 11, 1920, p. 52–53; В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. III, *Второ българско царство. България при Асеневици (1187–1280)*, София 1940, p. 471, n. 6; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, ²София 1994, p. 111), or Michael (possibly Miho or Milets) or even Simeon (К. ДОСЧЕВ, *Catalogue of the Bulgarian Medieval Coins of the 13th–14th Centuries. Types, Variants, Prices*, Veliko Tărnovo 2009, p. 47; В. СТАНКОВ, *Имената на българските владетели от XIII–XIV век според православната и българската именна традиция. Приносът на нумизматиката и сфрагистиката*, [in:] *България в Европейската култура, наука, образование, религия. Материали от четвъртата национална конференция по история, археология и културен туризъм „Пътуване към България”* (Шумен, 14–16.05.2014), ed. И. ЙОРДАНОВ, Шумен 2015, p. 365; А. MADGEARU, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)*, Leiden–Boston 2017 [= *ECEEMA*, 41], p. 246, n. 76). Only Yordan Andreev (Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *Мицо Асен*, [in:] ИДЕМ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е в Средновековна България (Трето допълнено и основно преработено издание)*, София 2012, p. 494) assumed that since on the coins minted by this ruler (И. ЙОРДАНОВ, *Монети и монетно обръщение в Средновековна България 1081–1261*, София 1984, p. 91; К. ДОСЧЕВ, *Монети и парично обръщение в Търново XII–XIV в.*, Велико Търново 1992, p. 76–78, 226 (tabl. XXV, 2), 269 (tabl. 9, 11–12), 281 (tabl. 9, 11–12); ИДЕМ, *Catalogue...*, p. 47–58) it is possible to read, as was sometimes thought, Mitso, then undoubtedly that was simply his name. Recently however the identification of these coin issues with the person of Mitso was strongly challenged; the coins are linked instead to Tsar Michael II Assen – Т. ПОПОВ, *Студии върху българското средновековно монетосечене с изводи за историята*, София 2020, p. 30–45.

¹³ П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 51–56; В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 466–475, 492–495. On both of these rulers *vide* И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 110–112 (no. I, 20), 113–114

considerations, it needs to be said that in the light of Gregoras' account Mitso took the throne. After a remark about the necessity of handing over the power to Michael II's brother-in-law, the historian laconically stated that this had taken place (τοιγαροῦν καὶ ξυνεῖρρύηκεν)¹⁴. Thanks to this we learn about the customary and peaceful manner of transition of power in the Tsardom. Firstly, that the throne was passed from father to son. When the ruler did not have male offspring, an appropriate candidate was sought among the closest family, or persons related to the ruling house. In other words, as the Byzantine stated quoting a well-known nautical saying: *out of necessity, as they say, the second way of sailing remained* (ὡς ἀνάγκην εἶναι λοιπὸν κατὰ δεύτερον, τὸ λεγόμενον, πλοῦν)¹⁵. The idiomatic expression used here meant that this was not the preferable version of events (after all this was the *second*, and therefore a somewhat worse way of *sailing*), but in this case what mattered was Mitso's connection, through his marriage with the daughter of John Assen II and sister of Michael II Assen, with the Assenid dynasty. A question arises here about who was responsible for the adoption and realisation of this solution. It cannot be ruled out that even before Michael II's death it was expected that Mitso may be one of the candidates to the throne. Kaliman likely had precedence ahead of him, but he apparently did not want to wait too long and decided to take the matter into his own hands. Undoubtedly in the case of a childless death of ruler the responsibility for ensuring the continuity of power on the Bulgarian throne rested on the highest state dignitaries who were supposed to ensure its smooth transition, preferably into the hands of someone from the Assenid dynasty, or someone connected to it. The dowager Tsarina may also have had a say in the matter. Of course while the Tsar still lived it was expected that he would sire a male heir.

Nikephoros characterised Mitso as a slothful man (another version – dull – is also possible), as well as effeminate and timid (ὁ ἀνὴρ νωθρός τις καὶ ἀνανδρός), who gradually lost respect and whose decrees had no effect whatsoever on the people (τὸ πλῆθος), that is, the subjects. In this place of Gregoras' narrative one Constantine, with the eponym of Tih (Τοῖχος), makes an appearance. He was a powerful man among the Bulgarians, who greatly surpassed others with his common sense (prudence in governance) and physical might (φρονήσεως ἐμβριθεία καὶ ῥώμη σώματος), and who seeing that the Bulgarians' rulership (τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων) was bad, moved against it. He drew to his side the common people and all of the powerful and distinguished within the nation (τε δημοτικὸν, καὶ

(no. I, 22); IDEM, *Българите във Византийската империя*, София 1995, p. 332–333 (no. 405); Й. АНДРЕЕВ, М. ЛАЛКОВ, *Българските ханове и царе. От хан Кубрат до цар Борис III. Исторически справочник*, Велико Търново 1996, p. 207–211; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *Коломан II Асен*, [in:] IDEM, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 377–378; IDEM, *Мицо Асен...*, p. 494–495.

¹⁴ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 60, 9.

¹⁵ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 60, 7–8. To say δεύτερος πλόος meant *the next best way* for those who were attempting a different course of action once the first had failed. In the naval context it refers to the use of oars, when the wind, the best option, failed – LSJ, p. 1422 (s.v. πλόος).

ὄσον ἐν ἐπισημοῖς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ ἔκκριτον) and after he freely received the power (τοῦ κράτους) from them, he *besieged Tărnovo, in which* – as Nikephoros specified – *there was the palace complex of the Bulgarians* (ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Τέρνοβον, ἐν ἧ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν τῶν Βουλγάρων). As result of this Mitso, against his wishes, was forced to flee to Mesembria, a fortified seaside stronghold, along with his wife and children¹⁶. It is only at this point that we have reached the second of the aforementioned direct remarks about Tărnovo. The rather precise summary of Gregoras' text preceding it, however, provides very important context, without which considerations about this brief characterisation of the city would not have been complete. Thus, what do we learn from the Byzantine historian's text?

Primo, the concise description of the city is limited to the most important, namely, that within it was the palace of the Bulgarians, that is, the seat of the rulers of all of Bulgarians, at least during the mid-thirteenth century. The Greek form used

¹⁶ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 60, 9–22. Interestingly, the portrayals of Mitso and Constantine Tih in George Pachymeres' account differ significantly from those presented in Gregoras. In the light of the account of the former, Mitso appears as a highly active, independent and conflict-prone character. He entered into disputes with the Emperor and conducted frequent military activities against his troops, he antagonised and was in conflict with many of the Bulgarian potentates, likely primarily with those in the capital, but also with those in the provinces, as a result of which the latter supported Constantine Tih. The latter is presented as a representative of a rebelling group of potentates, effectively working towards formally gaining the same rights to the crown as his rival, and in consequence majestically bearing a tsar's insignia. For this reason he also married into the Assenid family, and also gaining family connections with the court in Nicea. Mitso's attitude towards the Bulgarian aristocrats attests to his independence from them. Pachymeres even states that they turned against him out of envy, which could mean that they thought that since he could take power while not being a member of the ruling dynasty, so could they. It seems that this was envy over success achieved by one of their own number. It may have been this backdrop against which the discussed conflicts with some of the potentates developed; the aristocrats did not respect him and did not want to become subordinated to his rule. In either case, some of them did not want him to continue his reign. Even after capturing Tărnovo and adopting the title of tsar by Tih, Mitso retained power over the neighbouring territories and shifted his attitude between accepting the situation and moving against the new ruler, at one point even forcing him to flee and sheltering in a Byzantine stronghold in Stenimachos. It was exclusively thanks to Byzantine military aid that the new tsar was saved from a possible disaster – PACHYMERES, *Relationes historicas*, V, 5, p. 449, 19 – 451, 13. Vassil Zlatarski thought that Pachymeres mixed up the characters of the events he was describing and was poorly informed about the contemporary events in Bulgaria, and Nikephoros' account devoted to these matters was his personal reflection and has no historic value. Given this, he gave priority to the account of Akropolis – В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 473, 474, n. 3. In turn, П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 19–38, in detail argues for the general credibility of Pachymeres' account and Gregoras' dependence on the former. *Vide* also additional remarks by И. ЛАЗАРОВ, *Управлението на Михаил II Асен и Ирина Комнина (1246–1256)*, Век 13.2, 1984, p. 18–19. I do not look into the question of the credibility of the sources brought up here, as this is not the subject of my considerations, I will only note that Gregoras undoubtedly knew Pachymeres' account, and therefore he either creatively reinterpreted it, or also referred to other sources, or both, hence the discrepancies in the evaluations of Mitso's character. It is certain however that he abbreviated it to some extent, in particular where it came to Mitso's activity after he lost power in Tărnovo.

in the text τὰ βασιλεία allows us to reject the understanding of the word in the sense of *capital, seat of the empire*, and the translation of the passage as *Tǎrnovo, which was the capital of the Bulgarians* – the version adopted by me above seems to be not only the most common (a capital or seat would rather have been given in the singular – τὸ βασιλείον)¹⁷, but also the more natural one¹⁸. In addition, it includes within itself capital city semantics, as undoubtedly it refers to the permanent seat of Bulgarian rulers. The use of *pluralis neutri* for the aforementioned residence of the monarch is tempting, as it could suggest the existence of at least two residences of the tsars, or more broadly of the municipal authorities within the capital. Especially so as the existence of a tsar's palace on the Tsarevets hill during the discussed period has been unequivocally confirmed by excavations, and the results of the recent archaeological research in the area of Trapezitsa evidence the functioning, probably since the 1230s, of another representative building, which its discoverers believe to have been a palace complex¹⁹. This however would have been a deceptive temptation, for the aforementioned plural (τὰ βασιλεία) in conjunction with the predicate relating to it in singular (ἦν) clearly attest that the correct translation is the one proposed by me above; that the passage referred to a complex of buildings constituting a single palace of Bulgarian rulers²⁰. In this situation the questions should be: which of the two archaeologically attested sites Gregoras could have been thinking of? Was he at all aware that there had been representative buildings on both of the central hills of the Bulgarian capital? It is difficult to say anything certain on this matter, although by the

¹⁷ Vide LSJ, p. 309 (s.v. βασιλεία); E.A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, Cambridge 1914, p. 301 (s.v. βασιλείον); G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 292 (s.v. βασιλείος).

¹⁸ Cf. the passage from the historical work by John Kantakouzenos – *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, I, 36, vol. I, ed. L. SCHOPEN, Bonn 1828, p. 175, 15–16: [... καὶ τὸν Τίρνοβον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ βασιλεία αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, παρέδοσαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχήν.

¹⁹ *Царевград Търново*, vol. I, *История на проучванията, архитектура, надписи, монети, културни пластове преди изграждането на двореца*, ed. К. МИЯТЕВ, Д. АНГЕЛОВ, С. ГЕОРГИЕВА, Т. ГЕРАСИМОВ, София 1973; М. ДОЛМОВА-ЛУКАНОВСКА, *Дворецът в Търново – функции и репрезентативност*, [in:] *Великотърновският Университет „Св. св. Кирил и Методий“ и българската археология*, vol. I, ed. Б. БОРИСОВ, Велико Търново 2010, p. 599–608; К. ТОТЕВ, *Археологически проучвания на средновековния град Трапезица – северна част (2007–2010)*, [in:] *Българско средновековие: общество, власт, история. Сборник в чест на проф. д-р Милияна Каймакова*, ed. Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2013, p. 578, 585–586; Д. РАБОВЯНОВ, *Крепостта Трапезица в развитието на Търновград като столица на Второто българско царство*, [in:] *Владетел, държава и църква на Балканите през Средновековието. Сборник с доклади от международната конференция, посветена на 60-годишнината на проф. д-р Пламен Павлов*, ed. Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2019, p. 384–385.

²⁰ This passage was similarly understood by Jan-Louis van Dieten – ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ GREGORAS, *Rhomäische Geschichte...*, p. 93. Cf. another proposal, indicating a number of palaces in the Bulgarian capital – *Nicephori Gregorae Historia byzantina*, trans. A. MILEV, comm. L. JONČEV, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. XI, ed. M. VOJNOV, V. TĀPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, L. JONČEV, Sofia 1983, p. 130.

time when Nikephoros was writing his work Tărnovo had acted as a capital for a long time, thus the knowledge about it may have been more common than we may now assume, and the historian, furthermore, as a member of the court of both Andronikos, may have had access to various state archives (including diplomatic correspondence), or to private libraries, such as the one that was left to him by his teacher, the Grand Logothete, Theodore Metochites²¹. It also cannot be ruled out that he simply obtained the knowledge about this centre from someone better versed on the subject. Of course, he drew knowledge on the topic of the Bulgarian capital from the historical works of his predecessors. It appears however that he was either unfamiliar with the details of the city's building layout, or knew that one of the palaces was the more important one and was the main residence of the tsars. One thing however is without a doubt – Gregoras' awareness that Tărnovo was the most important city in Bulgaria at the time, its seat of power. It was here that the throne of the Bulgarian rulers was located, it was this place that was referred to in the discussed above remarks about the inheritance of power after Michael II and its poor exercise by Mitso. Tărnovo was the sole appropriate place from which the legal authority over Bulgarians could be exercised. This was something that Constantine Tih was aware of – despite obtaining the support of the masses of the ordinary people as well as of the nobility, after accepting the power they offered him, he immediately began the siege of the capital, as it was there that the *palace complex of the Bulgarians* was located, without which he could not have become a truly rightful tsar. On the one hand, he had to remove from it the current ruler, and on the other, take up residence within himself. Indeed, Mitso, evidently staying in the capital with his family, was forced to abandon it and seek shelter first in Mesembria, and later with the Byzantine Emperor himself. His *career* as a tsar was over. What significance having Tărnovo had in exercising power over Bulgaria is shown by Gregoras' own conclusion who, after mentioning Mitso's escape and implied entry of Tih into the capital, related that after these events Tih became the ruler of the Bulgarian state (τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῆ)²². Thus taking control of Tărnovo was a *sine qua non* condition of ruling Bulgaria²³.

Secundo, I have mentioned earlier the customary system of inheritance of power in Bulgaria and/or of the throne in Tărnovo – its passing from father to son, or to another relative from the Assenid family²⁴. The case of transition of power

²¹ Cf. B. PAVLOVIĆ, *Nikephoros Gregoras...*, p. 224.

²² GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 61, 2–3; V, 3, p. 132, 6–15. On the subject of Constantine's rule *vide* И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 115–118 (no. I, 24); Й. АНДРЕЕВ, М. ЛАЛКОВ, *Българските ханове...*, p. 212–219; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *Константин Тих-Асен*, [in:] ИДЕМ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 396–400.

²³ Cf. K. MARINOW, *Rola Tyrnowa w procesie legalizacji władzy bułgarskich uzurpatorów (XII–XIV w.)*, [in:] *Zamach stanu w dawnych społecznościach*, ed. A. SOŁTYSIAK, Warszawa 2004, p. 299–313.

²⁴ This principle is clearly confirmed by George Pachymeres – PACHYMERES, *Relationes historicas*, V, 5, p. 449, 20 – 451, 8.

into Mitso's hands was the first departure from this rule, which had been in place unchanged since the dawn of the so-called Second Bulgarian Tsardom (with the exception of an unknown, regarding a former Rus prince, and at the time the ban of Mačva, Rostislav Mikhailovich, the father-in-law of Michael II Assen, who having heard of his son-in-law's death went to the Bulgarian capital to take Anna, his daughter and Michael's widow from there; it is not known whether he may have temporarily taken power in the city)²⁵. Admittedly, the link with the ruling dynasty was preserved, as the new Tsar had married into the Assenid dynasty, however it cannot be ruled out that the discussed departure from the previous practice may have encouraged Constantine Tih, who was unrelated to the ruling house, to put forward his own candidacy to the throne. In this context Gregoras painted a truly Byzantine scenario of events, thoroughly reminiscent of the classic usurpation of power carried out by a provincial pretender (prior to the coronation Constantine was one of the more powerful magnates in the south-western Bulgaria) in the time before the fall of the Byzantine capital in 1204. Thus we have the *demos* (modelled after the people of Constantinople), the nobles, who most likely constitute his armed forces (modelled after the Byzantine army), among whom are the most eminent (similar to the Roman and Constantinopolitan senators), who together proclaim him the tsar before he actually takes the throne. Only the religious element is lacking, that is the coronation by the head of the Church in a patriarchal temple, however it may be that fulfilling this was among the goals of the expedition to the capital city. Constantine thus sets out to Tärnovo, like a Byzantine usurper would to Constantinople²⁶. Regardless of whether this vision was real or not, one thing is certain – in the light of the Byzantine's account, the Bulgarian people and nobles appear to have been the stewards of the throne in Tärnovo. Paradoxically, this would not have been the people from outside the capital, but those within, the inhabitants of Tärnovo, as Nikephoros' text does not specify whether the people and aristocracy were from the provinces (which to some extent the chronology of the events and the expedition to the capital would have suggested), or those from the capital, who came over to his side, encouraged the expedition to the capital and allowed him entry therein. It is worth stressing here that

²⁵ П. НИКОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения...*, p. 64–81; Ъ. АНДРЕЕВ, *Ростислав Михайлович*, [in:] ИДЕМ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 580–582; Д. ПЕТРОВА, *Ростислав Михайлович (1229–1264): от Галички княз до „Imperator Bulgarorum”*, BMD 9, 2018, p. 406–416.

²⁶ On the subject of usurpation in Byzantium *vide* Κ. ΜΠΟΥΡΔΑΡΑ, *Καθολίσις και Τυραννίς κατά τους Μέσους Βυζαντινούς χρόνους*, vol. I, *Μακεδονική δυναστεία (867–1056)*; vol. II, *1056–1081*, Αθήνα 1980–1981; W.E. ΚΑΕΓΙ, *Byzantine Military Unrest 471–843. An Interpretation*, Amsterdam 1981; J.-C. СHEΥNET, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Paris 1990; D. OLSTER, *The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century. Rhetoric and Revolution in Byzantium*, Amsterdam 1993; M.J. LESZKA, *Usurpacje w Cesarstwie Bizantyńskim w okresie od IV do połowy IX wieku*, Łódź 1999 [= BL, 4]; J. HALDON, N. PANOU, *Tyrranos basileus: Imperial Legitimacy and Usurpation in Early Byzantium*, [in:] *Evil Lords. Theories and Representations of Tyranny from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. N. PANOU, H. SCHADEE, Oxford 2018, p. 99–118.

the mention of the siege of the city evokes its naturally fortified layout on the so-called Tărnovo Hills, and evidences the existence of fortifications guarding the access to it, which during the discussed period would have been definitely encircling both of the central hills of the city, Tsarevets and Trapezitsa²⁷. To enter the capital one would therefore have to starve it out, take it by force, or be let inside by the defenders. In Tih's case, the third of these scenarios had played out. Most likely Mitso either lost the support of the capital's people and aristocracy and began fearing them, or having seen the enemy's army lost faith in the possibility of holding the throne and escaped. The outcome of either of these possibilities, and perhaps of their correlation, was most likely the opening of the city's gates and Constantine's coronation as the Bulgarian Tsar.

At that time the throne of Bulgaria was in theory elective, similarly to that of Byzantium, although the successive rulers made attempts, much like their southern counterparts, to ensure the continuity of succession within the family. In practice however, in the case of Tărnovo, there was an additional factor in the form of belonging to the famed, founding dynasty of the Assenids, whose members, by custom that was obvious to all, were recognised as *natural rulers*. Aware that due to his origins (ἀπὸ γένους) he had no right to Bulgarian rulership (τὴν Βουλγαρικὴν ἀρχήν) and not wanting to be considered and called an illegitimate ruler, Constantine turned to the Nicaean Emperor with a proposal to marry one of his daughters, which he knew was a niece of Michael II Assen (who was once again described in the text as the *archon of the Bulgarians* – ἄρχων τῶν Βουλγάρων). He desired the match for the sake of his honour (τιμῆς) and for the sake of strengthening his rule (τῆς ἀρχῆς)²⁸. In this way he was joining the ruling family, following into the footsteps of the overthrown Mitso. To accomplish this he was prepared to dissolve his existing marriage with a woman who bore him children. He also promised the Emperor that he will be his friend and ally. This was undoubtedly intended to secure him peaceful relations with Nicaea, as well as to neutralise the possible influence of his recent rival, who found shelter in the empire and gained the favour of its ruler. Apparently he also counted on possible military support from the Byzantines, should the need arise – it was no accident that he was declaring himself to be a σύμμαχος of the Nicaean ruler. The Emperor agreed to this solution, and so Constantine divorced, married Theodora, and sent his first wife to Nicaea, as a guarantee of his love for the second spouse²⁹ and of his loyalty towards her father. Significantly, Gregoras emphasised that the new Bulgarian Tsar made the Byzantine princess his companion/collaborator (κοινωνόν) in ruling (τῆς ἀρχῆς)³⁰,

²⁷ On the subject of the city's system of fortifications in general *vide* A. Попов, *Крепостната система на средновековната столица Търновград*, BC 48.4, 1979, p. 124–143, although in certain aspects this work is now somewhat obsolete.

²⁸ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 61, 2–12.

²⁹ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 60, 19 – 61, 17; III, 3, p. 63, 6–9; IV, 6, p. 99, 21–22; V, 3, p. 130, 20–22.

³⁰ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 61, 14–15.

which may have resulted from a wish to emphasise his relationship with the Asseuids, to please Laskaris, or to point out the significance of having a Byzantine on Tärnovo's throne. He clearly considered the marriage with her to have been ennobling for him. The four remarks discussed above regarding the Bulgarian rulership which appeared in this part of Nikephoros' narrative are once again semantically linked with Tärnovo as a place from which the power was exercised.

It is also worth noting the way in which the Byzantine writer made use of the characterological comparison of Mitso and Constantine Tih, in connection with their predispositions to exercise power. Sloth, fearfulness and indecision contributed to the downfall of the former; while common sense and physical prowess advanced the latter's elevation. We thus have a confrontation of weakness and incapability with strength and decisiveness. Constantine therefore displayed two of several of the basic qualities required of a ruler – sober thinking, necessary to manage the state, and bodily fitness, which is a reference to military virtues. From Gregoras' account it follows that he was also marked by a sense of responsibility and civil courage, as having seen that Mitso's rule was bad, he acted against the ruler to overthrow him. He must have also been characterised by self-confidence and trust in his own ability to lead, since he decided to take the power for himself in order to enact changes for the better. Unlike Mitso, he was also able to bring to his side both the people, gaining support of the masses, as well as that of the Bulgarian nobles. One might say he was the right man at the right time. From the polyhistor's tale it follows that in Tärnovo attention was paid to these expected qualities of a good ruler, and possessing them ensured stable rule and support of the subject.

The discussed remark makes one realise that the Byzantines were interested in the turmoil surrounding the reigns and changes on the throne of the neighbouring countries, in this particular case, of Bulgaria. It was obvious that this event may have had a significant impact on the Byzantine-Bulgarian relations. This was especially so here, where through an appropriate marriage there was a possibility of tangibly influencing the policy of the Bulgarian court. Most importantly, the marriage was a guarantee of a peaceful co-existence of both countries.

Tärnovo appears in Gregoras' work for the third time in the context of political games of the supporters of the two conflicting Byzantine Emperors, Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) and his grandson Andronikos III (1328–1341), who started a civil war within the empire in the years 1321–1328³¹. Aware that the young Emperor's grandfather was in an alliance with the King of Serbia, Stephen

³¹ On the subject of these events cf. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Staates*, München 1963, p. 412–414; U.V. BOSCH, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos. Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321–1341*, Amsterdam 1965, p. 7–52; J.V.A. FINE, JR., *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 1987, p. 250–252; D.M. NICOL, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*,² Cambridge 1993, p. 151–166.

Uroš III Dečanski (1322–1331), which was strengthened by the marriage of the latter with the daughter of Caesar John Komnenos Palaiologos, the governor of Thessalonica and a supporter of the old Emperor, and worried that the King could thwart his plans, the young Andronikos proposed an alliance to Michael III Shishman Assen (1323–1330), who was the Tsar of Bulgaria at the time³². The pretext for this move was the marriage between the latter and the sister of Andronikos III, whom he found as a widow staying in Tărnovo (ἐν τῷ Τερνέβῳ χηρεύουσαν εὐρηκῶς εἰς γάμου κοινωνίαν ἠγάγετο). This took place when, following the death of his predecessor, Tsar Theodore Svetoslav (1299/1300–1322), Michael became the lord of the rulership of Bulgarians (ἐγκρατῆ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Βουλγάρων; a little earlier, the author related that he received the rulership over Bulgarians – διαδεξάμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν... Βουλγάρων) and at first desired a more prestigious marriage (καὶ πρὸς εὐγενεστέρους εὐθὺς ἀποβλέψαι γάμους συνεπεπτόκει), for this reason abandoning his first wife, the sister of the king of Serbia, with whom he had children³³. It clearly follows from the text that Theodore Svetoslav and his wife, as the Tsar and his spouse, lived in the capital city of Tărnovo. Thus it was there that, after the death of the previous Tsar, she was found, most likely residing in the palace of the Bulgarian rulers, by Michael Shishman³⁴. He himself had to arrive to the city from the outside to take the power over Bulgarians, which is mentioned twice by Gregoras. The association is once again unequivocal – to rule Bulgaria one had to take dominion in the capital city and make oneself at home in the palace buildings therein. Similarly, a marriage to the dowager tsarina strengthened and legitimised the new ruler's position. It also appears that an additional impetus for the marriage was the prestige of relationship with a sister of a Byzantine Emperor, the relationship which Michael valued higher than the existing relationship with the Serbian court. It does seem that in general the contemporary candidates to the throne in Tărnovo eagerly sought associations with the court in Constantinople, as it not only legitimised their position on the international arena and boosted their prestige, but could have also secured tangible support in the event of a threat of losing the crown. As a last resort, it also made it easier to seek refuge with the emperor. Undoubtedly, it could also provide some guarantee, albeit an unreliable

³² On the subject of this ruler *vide* A. БУРМОВ, *История на България през времето на Шишимановци (1323–1396 г.)*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Избрани произведения в три тома*, vol. I, ed. Ж. НАТАН, И. УНДЖИЕВ, П. ПЕТРОВ, София 1968, p. 222–264; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 119–134 (no. I, 26); Й. АНДРЕЕВ, М. ЛАЛКОВ, *Българските ханове...*, p. 255–265; Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *Михаил III Шишиман*, [in:] ИДЕМ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 484–492.

³³ GREGORAS, *Historia*, IX, 1, p. 390, 1 – 391, 7; IX, 12, p. 454, 7–11.

³⁴ The fate of Theodora, for this was the name of Andronikos III's sister, is followed by F. DÖLGER, *Einiges über Theodora, die Griechin, die Zarin der Bulgaren (1308–1330)*, [in:] *Paraspora: 30 Aufsätze zur Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache des byzantinischen Reiches*, ed. ИДЕМ, H.-G. BECK, Ettal 1961, p. 222–230.

one, of peaceful relations between the two neighbouring states. This is the image emerging from Gregoras' narrative. It should be emphasised however that the chronology of the events in the Byzantine's work has been disturbed, as he did not know of the direct successor of Theodore Svetoslav, the latter's son, Tsar George II Terter (1322–1323)³⁵. It is also noted that as a scion of the famed Assenid dynasty Michael II did not have to *additionally* legitimise his right to the throne, especially since the marriage with Andronikos III's sister took place in 1324, and so only sometime after he took power, in connection with the reorientation in the foreign policy, he attempted to counter a possible threat from the Byzantium and entered into an agreement with the younger Byzantine Emperor. One further advantage would have been marrying someone who was hypothetically a potential heir to the Constantinopolitan throne³⁶. Regardless of the validity of these remarks, it should be noted that none of this negated the prestige of marrying a representative of the Byzantine ruling house. In addition, even though he was an Assenid, Michael had to take into account the fact of the long absence of representatives of this family on the Bulgarian throne, and first and foremost the memory of the effective rule of the last two Terters³⁷. In this situation a marriage with the dowager tsarina could have further strengthened his position in the capital, even if in his case this was not the primary or indispensable advantage. Either way, the noted lapses in Gregoras' text do not affect the image of the capital city of the Bulgarians emerging from his narrative.

As Nikephoros informed, Michael and his new wife, on the invitation of the Emperor and empress-mother, embarked on a journey to Didymoteichon³⁸. They undoubtedly departed from Tärnovο. The alliance with Byzantium became a fact – Shishman has committed to supporting Andronikos II in fighting his grandfather, and the Emperor to assisting Michael in the fight against the Serbian king (the aforementioned συμμαχία). After spending many days at the imperial court and discussing details of the agreement, the Tsar and his wife returned to Bulgaria. Specifically, as Gregoras phrased it, *Michael with his spouse once again returned to his dominion* (ὁ Μιχαήλολος μετὰ τῆς συζύγου ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν αὐθις ἀπήει ἀρχήν)³⁹.

³⁵ The dates of deaths of Theodore Svetoslav and George II Terter have been established by Л. ЙОНЧЕВ, *О некоторых вопросах болгарско-византийских отношений в периоде с 1322 по 1324 гг.*, ЕНІ 10, 1980, p. 127–128, 130.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 136–137; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 128–129 (no. I, 26).

³⁷ A characterisation of their reigns: Й. АНДРЕЕВ, М. ЛАЛКОВ, *Българските ханове...*, p. 245–254; К. КРЪСТЕВ, *Българското царство при династията на Тертеревци (1280–1323)*, Пловдив 2011, p. 13–206 (information on them is scattered); Й. АНДРЕЕВ, *Георги II Тертер*, [in:] ИДЕМ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 147–148; ИДЕМ, *Теодор Светослав*, [in:] ИДЕМ, И. ЛАЗАРОВ, П. ПАВЛОВ, *Кой кой е...*, p. 646–651; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *История на Средновековна България*, vol. II, *Християнска България*, [s. l.] 2017, p. 420–437, 441–444.

³⁸ GREGORAS, *Historia*, IX, 1, p. 391, 7–22.

³⁹ GREGORAS, *Historia*, IX, 1, p. 391, 22 – 392, 4.

Undoubtedly the main place from which he exercised this dominion over his own, native country was the Bulgarian capital. The entire remark therefore portrays Tărnovo as a default place of permanent residence, inhabited by the tsar and his spouse, the most important seat of the Bulgarian rulers. The place to which envoys from other countries arrived (e.g. with an invitation to Didymoteichon), and from which the rulers departed and to which they returned after a journey.

For the fourth and final time the name of the Bulgarian capital city was mentioned in the context of the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict regarding the strategically key strongholds located in the eastern and central part of the Haimos Mountains, or directly at their southern foreland⁴⁰. According to Nikephoros' account, when diplomacy failed, John Alexander I (1331–1371), who was at the time the Bulgarian Tsar, gathered his army of 8000 men-at-arms, to which he added 2000 mercenary Scythians (here: Tartars). He then departed from Tărnovo (ἄραç οὐὐν ἐκ Τερνόβου) and on the fifth day arrived at and set up camp in the vicinity of the Rusokastro stronghold⁴¹. In this passage the Bulgarian capital was presented as a meeting point, a place of concentration for the Bulgarian army before it set off on a military expedition. Undoubtedly this was because the city served as a permanent residence of its commander-in-chief. It appears therefore that also in other instances when a tsar departed on military expeditions, of which Gregoras makes mentions, the armed forces gathered in Tărnovo as well, even though the city's name did not explicitly appear in the Byzantine polyhistor's text⁴². It was also here that the ruler or military units he had detached for a particular purpose, returned after the campaign was over⁴³.

Indirectly, as on those occasions the city's name was also not stated, a number of other remarks on Bulgarian matters should be associated with the capital. These relate to sending of envoys by the tsars to other countries, or to the aforementioned audiences of foreign envoys at the Bulgarian court⁴⁴. There are also

⁴⁰ On this subject vide Л. ЙОНЧЕВ, *Българо-византийски отношения около средата на XIV век (1331–1344 г.)*, ИП 12.3, 1956, p. 63–66; Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Българо-византийските отношения през периода 1331–1341 г. от царуването на Иван-Александър*, ВС 42.1, 1973, p. 37–49; Л. ЙОНЧЕВ, *Некоторые вопросы истории Болгарии и ее отношений с Сербией и Византией в XIV веке (1330–1332)*, ЕНІ 9, 1979, p. 26–33; Д. АНГЕЛОВ, Б. ЧОЛПАНОВ, *Българска военна история от втората четвърт на X до втората половина на XV в.*, София 1989, p. 139–143; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *История...*, p. 471.

⁴¹ GREGORAS, *Historia*, X, 4, p. 483, 21 – 484, 23.

⁴² GREGORAS, *Historia*, I, 2, p. 14, 23 – 15, 6; II, 2, p. 27, 20–23; II, 3, p. 28, 9–15; III, 1, p. 55, 23 – 56, 2; IV, 6, p. 100, 9–12; V, 3, p. 130, 22 – 131, 11. 14–17; V, 3, p. 132, 15–18; IX, 5, p. 415, 13 – 416, 6; IX, 5, p. 418, 4–13; IX, 8, p. 430, 4–10; IX, 12, p. 454, 14–18; IX, 12, p. 455, 25 – 456, 2; IX, 13, p. 458, 3–8.

⁴³ This most was most likely the case in regard to all of the expeditions which departed from the capital, but see specific remarks – GREGORAS, *Historia*, IX, 5, p. 419, 5–10; IX, 8, p. 431, 7–9; IX, 12, p. 455, 7–11; IX, 13, p. 458, 8–12.

⁴⁴ GREGORAS, *Historia*, II, 3, p. 29, 15–24; III, 2, p. 56, 13 – 57, 7; IV, 6, p. 99, 21 – 100, 8; IX, 1, p. 390, 8–11; IX, 5, p. 411, 15–20; IX, 12, p. 454, 11–14; X, 4, p. 484, 6–13; XII, 12, p. 616, 2–6; XV, 11, p. 787, 2–8.

mentions of marriages between members of the dynasties ruling in Tǎrnovo with representatives of other ruling families from the neighbouring countries – both of sending own daughters to foreign courts, as well as receiving representatives of other nations in the Bulgarian capital. It was similar in the case of the marriage with the dowager tsarina, a member of a dynasty, or another woman⁴⁵. Undoubtedly at least in some of these cases the marriage ceremony and nuptial festivities of the tsar and his spouse or heirs to the throne would have taken place in Tǎrnovo. Similarly these indirect references were made in regard to journeys by the Bulgarian ruler to meet the Byzantine emperor⁴⁶, escape or banishment of representatives of the ruling dynasty from the capital (including sending away of former spouses abroad or receiving members of own family sent back from a foreign court)⁴⁷, and more broadly with the internal conflicts for the Bulgarian throne⁴⁸ or expeditions of the Byzantine armies to the capital of Bulgaria⁴⁹. Tǎrnovo should also be most often associated with information about the deaths of the members of the ruling dynasty⁵⁰. Even if they met their deaths outside of the city, the funeral ceremonies and the burial itself usually took place in the capital city. Without a doubt, even though in the aforementioned cases Gregoras did not mention the Bulgarian capital by name, he must have had full knowledge that the events he was describing were directly linked with it.

In the discussed passages we find the name of the capital given three times in the version Τέρνοβος⁵¹. Only in one we find the alternate variant Τέρνεβος⁵², in which there most clearly has been a typo. To sum up the above considerations – the political games of the contemporary Bulgaria took place in the city, around the city and for the city.

Summary

Four direct mentions in the text. Is this too little? Not necessarily so. Comparisons with other cities which appear in Gregoras' narrative in the context of the Byzantine-Bulgarian relations, even those such as e.g. Mesembria (4 mentions)⁵³,

⁴⁵ GREGORAS, *Historia*, II, 3, p. 29, 15 – 30, 3; V, 3, p. 130, 16–20; V, 3, p. 131, 12–14; V, 3, p. 133, 1–7; VI, 9, p. 203, 4–11; VIII, 1, p. 283, 5–11; XI, 7, p. 546, 16–21; XXXVII, 51, p. 557, 15–19; XXXVII, 51, p. 557, 23 – 558, 4; XXXVII, 51, p. 558, 4–7.

⁴⁶ GREGORAS, *Historia*, II, 3, p. 29, 24 – 30, 3; V, 3, p. 133, 12–14; XI, 7, p. 546, 16–21.

⁴⁷ GREGORAS, *Historia*, V, 3, p. 132, 19–22; V, 3, p. 133, 12–17; VI, 9, p. 203, 4–6; IX, 1, p. 390, 8 – 391, 5; IX, 12, p. 454, 7–11; IX, 13, p. 457, 16–19; XXXVII, 51, p. 557, 19–23; XXXVII, 51, p. 558, 4–7.

⁴⁸ GREGORAS, *Historia*, V, 3, p. 130, 22 – 133, 18; IX, 13, p. 457, 16–23; IX, 13, p. 458, 3–8.

⁴⁹ GREGORAS, *Historia*, V, 3, p. 132, 6–19.

⁵⁰ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 60, 4–6; III, 2, p. 61, 9–11; VIII, 6, p. 318, 18–20; IX, 1, p. 390, 8–11.

⁵¹ GREGORAS, *Historia*, II, 3, p. 30, 3–4; III, 2, p. 60, 19; X, 4, p. 484, 22.

⁵² GREGORAS, *Historia*, IX, 1, p. 391, 6.

⁵³ GREGORAS, *Historia*, III, 2, p. 60, 21. 23; IX, 13, p. 457, 24; X, 4, p. 487, 22.

Anchialos (1 mention)⁵⁴, Sozopolis (1 mention)⁵⁵ or Vize (4 mentions)⁵⁶ which lay in the immediate orbit of the imperial interests, as they had a centuries-old tradition of belonging to the empire, do not appear in the text more often. Of course, he likely was thinking about these cities when he informed collectively of Thracian strongholds and *poleis*. What is interesting, Philippopolis itself, the largest *polis* of Northern Thrace, does not appear in Gregoras' text at all. The same is true of Thracian Beroe, another important city. Obviously Adrianople (also in the version Orestias)⁵⁷ appears many times in the text, but this was a result of the strategic significance of this Byzantine city for the empire, both in the military and economic context⁵⁸. We get interesting results by comparing the number of mentions of the Bulgarian capital with the Serbian capital cities of the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century. Thus, in Gregoras' text Skopje appears three times⁵⁹, Serres seven times⁶⁰, while Prizren does not appear at all. Considered separately, beside Serres, these cities have not appeared more frequently than Tărnovo. Taken together, they exceed the Bulgarian capital in this regard. Undoubtedly this may, to some extent, attest to Gregoras' greater interest in Serbian affairs, which resulted not only from the intensity of the Byzantine policy in this direction, dictated by the growing since the later thirteenth century might of the Nemanjić dynasty, which reached its apogee in the mid-fourteenth century⁶¹. Additionally, Nikephoros had the opportunity to traverse part of the northern Macedonia and visit Skopje, where he participated in the delegation to the Serbian king in 1327⁶², which undoubtedly increased his interest in this area. To sum up – even against this background the number of mentions of Tărnovo in the historical work of Gregoras does not pale in comparison.

⁵⁴ GREGORAS, *Historia*, X, 4, p. 487, 21.

⁵⁵ GREGORAS, *Historia*, XXVI, 16, p. 83, 21.

⁵⁶ GREGORAS, *Historia*, VII, 10, p. 265, 16; XXIX, 38, p. 249, 8; XXXVI, 18, p. 510, 16.

⁵⁷ GREGORAS, *Historia*, I, 2, p. 15, 9; VII, 3, p. 224, 4; VIII, 4, p. 302, 8; VIII, 6, p. 315, 22–23; VIII, 6, p. 319, 22; VIII, 6, p. 320, 22; VIII, 11, p. 359, 23; IX, 8, p. 430, 7; IX, 13, p. 458, 8; XI, 7, p. 546, 16; XII, 14, p. 620, 22; XII, 14, p. 621, 4, 6; XV, 5, p. 762, 11; XVI, 1, p. 797, 9; XVI, 2, p. 798, 19; XVI, 3, p. 805, 9, 13, 15; XVI, 7, p. 839, 20; XXVI, 31, p. 99, 1; XXVII, 22, p. 141, 11; XXVII, 29, p. 150, 14; XXVII, 2, p. 152, 18; XXVII, 32, p. 153, 17; XXVIII, 2, p. 178, 9.

⁵⁸ Cf. K. MARINOW, *Armed Forces and the Defence System of Peter's State*, [in:] *The Bulgarian State in 927–969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter I*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, Łódź 2018 [= BL, 34], p. 276.

⁵⁹ GREGORAS, *Historia*, VI, 14, p. 380, 13; XIII, 2, p. 639, 5; XV, 1, p. 747, 8.

⁶⁰ GREGORAS, *Historia*, VIII, 1, p. 288, 7; VIII, 14, p. 374, 6; IX, 4, p. 410, 17; XII, 15, p. 623, 4; XIII, 3, p. 647, 9–10; XIII, 5, p. 653, 12; XV, 1, p. 746, 14.

⁶¹ On this subject vide G.Ch. SOULIS, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355) and his Successors*, Washington D.C. 1984, p. 1–85; J.V.A. FINE, Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans...*, p. 217–224, 255–268, 270–275, 286–291, 296–307, 309–325, 334–337; S.M. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *The Serbs*, trans. V. Tošić, Malden–Oxford–Carlton 2004, p. 49–74.

⁶² GREGORAS, *Historia*, VIII, 14, p. 373, 14 – 381, 1; P. SCHREINER, *Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Nikephoros Gregoras nach Serbien (1326/1327)*, 3PBI 38, 1999/2000, p. 331–341; E. MALAMUT, *Le voyage en Serbie de Nicéphore Grégoras (1327)*, [in:] *Le voyage au Moyen Âge. Description du monde et quête individuelle*, ed. D. COULON, Ch. GADRAT-OUERFELLI, Aix-en-Provence 2014, p. 65–77.

It needs to be emphasised that Tărnovo is the only city in the northern Bulgaria, specifically in the area between the valley of Danube and the Haimos massif, which was directly named by the Byzantine (not appearing as might have been expected – Varna, Dristra, Cherven, Lovets, Bdin or Preslav). Against this background four direct mentions of Tărnovo and a much larger number of indirect ones (but obviously relating to it), increase the significance of the Bulgarian capital rather than diminish it. Of course the frequency with which the name of the city appeared depended on Nikephoros' interest in Bulgarian matters, and this most often occurred when they were in one way or another tied with Byzantine history, most often in military or diplomatic context. Tărnovo therefore entered into the scope of his observations when it had a direct relation to the empire's interests. An analysis of all of the remarks leads to the conclusion that the city's status was entirely obvious to the Byzantine historian – it was the main, capital city of the Bulgarian state, in which its rulers permanently resided, without which one could not be a fully legitimate tsar of the Bulgarians and exercise real power over the northern neighbours of Byzantium. It therefore played an analogous role for the Bulgarians as the capital on the Bosphorus for the Byzantines. At least from the formal point of view, as the capital city. For Gregoras himself, and likely for the Byzantine political and intellectual elites, it was simply the central city of the neighbouring country, in which its rulers resided and where the most important state decisions were made; the place in which one could as a rule, or most often, find the tsar of Bulgaria, to whom various Byzantine legations were sent.

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FUTURE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE MEDIEVAL SOUTH SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS OF *VITA ANTONII MAGNI*

Abstract. This paper aims at systemising the observations on the constructions used for expressing Future tense in the three known Old Slavonic translations of *Vita Antonii Magni* by Athanasius Alexandrinus. The text was first translated in the early Old Church Slavonic period, while two other (Middle Bulgarian) translations were written in ca. 14th century. This makes the text suitable for observing the different strategies for expressing Future tense, both regarding the translation technique and its dynamics on a synchronic level, i.e., vis-à-vis other translations from the period, and from a diachronic perspective, i.e., paying closer attention to the discrepancies between the three translations themselves. The paper focuses on the Future periphrastic constructions used in the three Slavonic translations of the Life of St Anthony the Great by Athanasius of Alexandria. The approach is based on the relation with the Greek *Vorlage*, thus analysing closely the situation attested in the Greek original. Observations are made regarding the usage of the periphrases in the Slavonic texts adducing comparative material for similar phenomena from other early (Preslavian) and Middle Bulgarian texts. Some examples provided, as well as those from other texts, might suggest that the Old Church Slavonic periphrases were used not only to express Future tense per se, but for every non-Indicative (or non-factual) Present.

Keywords: Anthony the Great, Hagiography, Old Church Slavonic translations, Future tense, Periphrastic Future, Conjunctive, Optative, Non-Indicative forms

Future tense and its expression with periphrastic constructions is a widely explored topic in the Paleoslavonic field¹. Nevertheless, focusing on specific authors or works could always provide a new perspective or extend our scope of understanding².

¹ As a point of reference and previous literature, cf. H. BIRNBAUM, *Untersuchungen zu den Zukunftsumschreibungen mit dem Infinitiv im Altkirchenslavischen. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Verbsyntax des Slavischen*, Stockholm 1958; cf. also A. ДАВИДОВ, *Бъдеще време*, [in:] *Граматика на старобългарски език*, ed. И. ДУРИДАНОВ, София 1991, p. 301–307; И. ХАРАЛАМПИЕВ, *Бъдеще време*, [in:] Д. ИВАНОВА-МИРЧЕВА, И. ХАРАЛАМПИЕВ, *История на българския език*, Велико Търново 1999, p. 140–147; К. МИРЧЕВ, *Историческа граматика на българския език*, София 1978, p. 221–230; Т. СЛАВОВА, *Старобългарски език*, София 2018, p. 288–296.

² Cf. for example the paper by T. Slavova on the Future tense constructions in the *Didactic Gospel* by Constantine of Preslav: Т. СЛАВОВА, *Изразяване на футур в Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски*, БРе 2, 2016, p. 50–58.

As generally accepted, Old Church Slavonic (OCS) did not have separately marked grammemes for expressing Future tense. Except probably for the relict *бѣшашцѣ/бѣшашцѣ*, nothing has been left from the (P)IE sigmatic future, thus nearing Slavic more to the situation of, say, the Germanic branch. This might explain grammatical development of periphrastic constructions with semantically close verbs (i.e., *werden* + inf. vs. *бѣуть* (*бѣдѣ*) + inf.) in some subbranches later. Such areal approach, though, is out of the scope of the present paper. The present text aims at presenting and systemising the different Future constructions attested in one specific text, that has undergone several translations in different periods. This would help both in drawing some diachronic observations about the development of future tense and understanding a bit more the translation techniques used in the researched texts. Furthermore, it could help us better understand the relations between the translations of this single text, as is the case study presented below.

The relations between Old Church Slavonic renderings of the Greek Future forms show a variability (especially in the earliest Slavic texts) that has been inspiring many suggestions about both the translation techniques in different diachronic layers and the very status of the Future tense in the system of the Old Church Slavonic verb. This is further fostered by the fact that all Slavic languages, their earliest attested relative making no difference, have additionally elaborated systems including the category of *aspect*. It is not the purpose of this paper to enter the field of the Slavic aspectology, but as a point of reference, I will follow the terminology more or less accepted traditionally by *communis opinio* in Slavistics and summarized by, e.g., B. Comrie³.

Multiple translations are one of the key characteristics of medieval South Slavonic literacy⁴. One of the many texts that have undergone several translations among the South Slavs is the Life of St Anthony the Great (BHG 140, PG XXVI: 835–978, SCR 400⁵, VA onwards). St Anthony's life is regarded as a foundational text of Christian ascetic literature and, in a way, the predecessor of the rich literary tradition that emerged after it. It was written towards the end of the 4th century, soon after the death of the 'father of all monks'.

³ B. COMRIE, *Aspect*, Cambridge 2001 (1st ed. 1976), p. 12. More about the *Slavic-style aspect*, cf. V.S. TOMELLERI, *Slavic-style Aspect in the Caucasus*, SuvL 69, 2010, p. 66sq with some discussion on previous scholarship. Cf. also J. LINDSTEDT, *Understanding Perfectivity, Understanding Bounds*, [in:] *Temporal Reference, Aspect and Actionality. Typological Perspectives*, vol. II, ed. P.M. BERTINETTO, V. BIANCHI, Ö. DAHL, M. SQUARTINI, Torino 1995, p. 95–103 with further literature. For Old Church Slavonic aspect and summary of the previous literature on the topic, cf. J. КАМРХУИС, *Verbal Aspect in Old Church Slavonic. A Corpus-Based Approach*, Leiden–Boston 2020 [= SSGL, 45].

⁴ Cf. *Многократните преводи в южнославянското средновековие. Доклади от международната конференция София, 7–9 юли 2005 г.*, ed. Л. ТАСЕВА, Р. МАРТИ, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, Т. ПЕНТРОВСКАЯ, София 2006.

⁵ ATHANASE D'ALEXANDRIE, *Vie d'Antoine*, praef., trans. G.J.M. BARTELINK, Paris 1994 [= SC, 400].

As one of the foundational text for the Christian monastic movement, the *Vita* was translated into most of the languages of the Christian Orient. Among the Slavs, it is known in three independent translations. The **First translation** was accomplished in the Preslav school during the First Bulgarian Empire (ca. 10th century, based on a pre-metaphrastic version of the Greek text)⁶. One of the main characteristics of this translation is the omission of chapters 51–60. The other two that followed are Middle Bulgarian, exemplifying the specific traits of translations from this epoch (both are congruent with 14th century literary production). The **Second translation** is attributed to the Tărnovo school; this is the most widespread version of the *Vita* in the Middle Ages. The last one discovered⁷, so-called **Third translation**, is extant in just one manuscript in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church (МСПЦ 43). Although peripheral⁸, this translation seems to be the most accurate, remaining true both to the Greek text while keeping a high degree of smoothness and comprehensibility in the Slavonic text. A. Dimitrova supposes that there might be a certain relation between the Second and the Third translation as certain passages and phrases are the same. The Third one, moreover, follows a different branch of the Greek tradition, namely the “metaphrastic vulgate” (as per Bartelink)⁹. Additionally, P. Petkov¹⁰ adduces two more Slavonic versions of VA (version B¹¹ and C¹² in his terminology) close to the First translation. In this

⁶ A. SANTOS OTERO, *Die altslavische Überlieferung der Vita Antonii des Athanasius*, ZKg 90, 1979, p. 98; З. ВИТИГ, *Житие светог Антонија Великог према српским средњовековним рукописима*, Београд 2015, p. 9–15; Кр. КОСТОВА, *Правопис и фонетика на преславските текстове*, Велико Търново–София 2000. Cf. an overview of this and the other translations in I.P. ПЕТРОВ, *Theoria and Optasia in the Old Church Slavonic Translations of the Life of St Anthony the Great*, SCer 11, 2021, p. 681sq. For a detailed study on some syntactical structures in this translation together with couple of other vitae translated in Preslav cf. А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Синтактичната структура на преводната агиография*, София 2012.

⁷ Кл. ИВАНОВА, *Археографски бележки от книгохранилища на Югославия*, ЕЛ 27.4, 1972, p. 51–57; ЕАДЕМ, *Житие на Антоний Велики*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, ed. Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, София 2003, p. 174–175; T. HELLAND, *The Greek Archetypes of the Old and Middle Bulgarian Translations of the Life of Saint Anthony the Great*, Pbg 28.4, 2004, p. 14. For a more detailed study of the language of this translation, cf. А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Третият превод на житието св. Антоний Велики*, СЛ 47, 2013, p. 92–107.

⁸ Here the term ‘peripheral’ (cf. also А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Третият...*) is used with regard to the fact that this translation is attested in only one copy in comparison with the widespread and the overall popularity of the Second (most probably accomplished in Tărnovo) translation.

⁹ T. HELLAND, *The Greek Archetypes...*, p. 17.

¹⁰ П. ПЕТКОВ, *Славянските преводи на Житие на св. Антоний Велики от св. Атанасий Александрийски*, [in:] *Трети международен конгрес по българистика 23–26 май, 2013 г., София. Кръгла маса „Кирилотодиевистика”*, София 2014, p. 126–140.

¹¹ This version encompasses the copies transmitted among the Eastern Slavs, cf. П. ПЕТКОВ, *Славянските...*, p. 130–131. T. Helland attributes this version to Nil Sorskij (T. HELLAND, *The Greek Archetypes...*). The text of this version used here is from TSL 648, 342r ff.

¹² Attested in only one witness – TSL 763 – and only in its first half (310–340b), after which the text continues to follow the Second translation (П. ПЕТКОВ, *Славянските...*, p. 131–132). According to

paper, due to the need for further elaboration on their place in VA transmission among the South Slavs, they are used cautiously and only when they provide some different material.

The language of the three principal translations has been an object of partial scholarly interest, mainly focused on specific aspects such as the infinitive constructions¹³ or some lexical features regarding some monastic lexemes¹⁴. This paper is dedicated to examining the future constructions attested in the three Slavonic translations of VA, juxtaposing the translation techniques among them while keeping in mind the diachronic perspective of the researched problematic. Furthermore, the situation attested in the early period of the Old Church Slavonic literacy and the tendencies observed in the texts of the Middle Bulgarian period are also examined. VA, with its three translations, provides a chance to have a closer look at different processes of the language development, thus its choice for a focus of the present study. Moreover, the data from these text would be of use, I believe, for any future more general research endeavour in the diachrony of the (Old) Slavonic Future constructions.

The linguistic features of the three translations and their lexical relations remain an open and fluid field for research. One of the reasons for this is the lack of a critical edition of the (South) Slavonic translations, or at least a diplomatic one with parallels from each branch. When this task is accomplished, the observations shared in this article may (or, hopefully, not) need modifications. Nevertheless, until then, I shall use the texts of the translations attested in the witnesses available to me¹⁵. Additionally, I have checked the transcription of the passages when this is possible¹⁶. Regarding the First translation, I also use as a point of reference

P. PETKOV, the form of the saint's name here – *Ѧндѡннѣ* – testifies to a South Slavonic provenance with closeness to the popular Greek form of the name (*ibidem*).

¹³ Mostly the First translations, cf. А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Синтактичната...* Regarding the Third one: ЕАДЕМ, *Третият...*

¹⁴ Cf. И.П. ПЕТРОВ, *L'horreur de la vie et l'extase de la vie: първоначални бележки върху екстатичната терминология в Житието на св. Антоний Велики и славянските му преводи*, [in:] *Sapere aude. Сборник в чест на проф. дфн Искра Христова-Шомова*, ed. И. ТРИФОНОВА, В. САВОВА, П. ПЕТКОВ, И.П. ПЕТРОВ, София 2019, p. 115–128; ИДЕМ, *Ноѡс и воерѡс в Житието на св. Антоний Велики и в старобългарската книжнина*, *Sla* 89.4, 2020, p. 406–415; ИДЕМ, *Помислите (λογισμοί) в Житието на св. Антоний Велики и славянските му преводи*, ФФ 13.1, 2021, p. 19–36; ИДЕМ, *Два термина за духовни видения в Житието на св. Антоний Велики и старобългарските му преводи*, *Pbg* 45.1, 2021, p. 93–110. I.P. PETROV, *Theoria and Optasia...*

¹⁵ The texts were kindly provided to me by P. Petkov, for which I express my gratitude.

¹⁶ The earliest copy of the First translation can be found in the Zographou Monastery collection, N. 19 (dated to the 80s of the 14th century). I thank the brotherhood of the monastery for providing me with digitalized copies of this witness. For the Second translation this is the manuscript N. 4/8 from the Rila Monastery collection (Panegericum Vladislavi from 1479), ff. 323r – 396. I could

the edition by Kr. Kostova¹⁷ (based on another witness, Chlud 195, close to the one used in this paper).

It should be noted that, of course, the Slavonic translation would have undoubtedly been influenced by the style and linguistic peculiarities of the Greek text. This is methodologically an important point in working with the medieval Slavonic translations – what were the linguistic and stylistic features of the Greek *Vorlage*, and how far could their traces be found in the translated version? I believe this question should be considered in dealing with each translated work, so below I briefly summarize the situation attested in the Life of Anthony.

VA was written in the 4th century by Athanasius of Alexandria, who demonstrates a high literary culture, keeping closer to the Attic patterns, rather than reflecting the *Koine* tendencies. On the other hand, his language in VA reflects some features of the current state of the Greek language, such as the emerging use of the μέλλω-constructions for future-oriented verbal periphrases and the rise of periphrastic constructions of εἰμί and ἔχω with infinitives or participles. In VA, the synthetic/simple future is still the most common one in the Greek text with 28 attestations (70% of all future forms in VA, cf. Chart 1)¹⁸, in two occasions Present tense forms seem to have been understood (by the Slavonic translators) as carrying a future reference (here referred as *Praesens pro Futuro*). The μέλλω-constructions are the second most used means of expressing future (22.5%), although in 3 occasions the auxiliary is in Imperfect, thus rendering the whole action in the past as *Futurum Secundum*. In this ratio, the occasions where μέλλω is used as attributive participle (i.e. πρὸς τοὺς μελλόντας αἰώννας 16.4) and thus, rather as a full-meaning verb, are not included¹⁹. There is one occasion where ἔχω is used in a phrase with a future meaning. The overall situation with the means of expressing Future tense is presented in Chart 1 below.

also examine the digital copy of the *Vita* in this manuscript thanks to the *Digital Archive 'Bulgarian Manuscript Book'* of the Faculty of Slavic Studies of Sofia University and thanks to the brotherhood of the Rila Monastery. The Third translation is consulted via its publication in an online corpus by A. ΔΙΜΙΤΡΟΒΑ: https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_55. Pictures of this manuscript are not available to me.

¹⁷ Кр. КОСТОВА, *Правопис и фонетика...*

¹⁸ Intr., 7 (x2), 9, 10 (x2), 11, 17, 18, 19 (x6), 28, 31, 35 (x5), 40, 55 (x2), 71, 80 (x2). All attestations were excerpted without the help of electronic tools.

¹⁹ Of all μέλλω-constructions (25 in VA), 9 were found to express a Future meaning, i.e. 36% – in 24, 28, 40, 54, 57, 59, 82, 86.

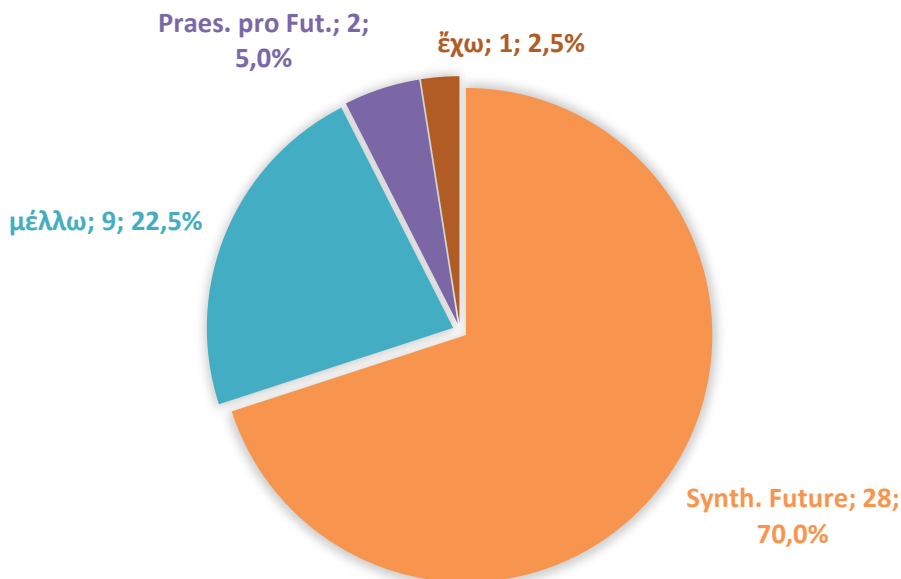


Chart 1. Expressing Future in VA

In the following, the three translations of the Life of St Anthony the Great are regarded primarily in those passages where all three texts are preserved²⁰. The Biblical quotations in the Slavonic text 1. have still not been an object of the needed scholarly attention and 2., as per my observations, present more or less firm stability in the tradition; therefore, they are not included in this study. Just as an example (one of the few cases in VA where the future *нмѣтън*-constructions are attested), here is what we encounter in chapter 2:

- (0) καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς. [2] Mt 19: 21
 Tr.1. Ѡ нмѣтън Ѡ машн скрѡвнцѣ на нѣсеχъ. 113г
 Tr.2. Ѡ нмѣтън (sic!) Ѡ машн скрѡвнцѣ на нѣсеχъ. 316г
 Tr.3. Ѡ нмѣтън Ѡ машн скрѡвнцѣ на нѣсѣн 3v

Here most of the early OCS monuments present a stable tradition with just a few exceptions: with *χοτѣтън* as a *verbum regens* in *Supr* 338.3 and *вѣчѡдѣтън* in *Cloz* I.400 (id.) and I.725 (in a similar expression), but in Con. Aor. *δειξѣн*; (*нмѡдѣтън* as an auxiliary in *Mih*) against a Con. Praes. *ѣχѣн*²¹. This exact rendering of this

²⁰ Tr.1 is characterized by a long omission of chapters mid. 51 – mid. 61, v. *supra*.

²¹ H. BIRNBAUM, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 69.

synthetic Greek Future is also encountered in *Euch* 83b4, 91a19. In *Sav*, though, the synthetic form πρηνημιση is attested.

The Greek (synthetic) Future tense is rendered chiefly with the simple synthetic Slavic Future, i.e., the perfective (by aspect), often prefixed, form of the verb. In time, this tends to become a marker of the literary style, so we find such prefixed verbs more often in the Middle Bulgarian period where the literary language is marked with stiffer constructions reflecting more formally the Greek structures and also striving for a greater quantitative correspondence with the *Vorlage*. In contrast, periphrases are encountered in monuments that possess more features of the living language of the epoch. As stated by scholars elsewhere, the simple forms were also the grammatical means of rendering the Greek Subjunctive Aorist and sometimes the Optative Aorist. The other usual constructions of expressing Future found in the Old Church Slavonic texts, i.e., with $\text{НАЧЕТИ} + \text{Inf.}$, $\text{ХОТИТИ} + \text{Inf.}$, $\text{НАЧАТИ}/\text{ВЪЧАТИ} + \text{Inf.}$, $\text{МОЩИ} + \text{Inf.}$ ²² – the last two attested either in specific contexts or quite sporadically. They are also encountered in other early translations, such as the *Didactic Gospel* by Constantine of Preslav, where T. Slavova²³ finds two other modal constructions used for rendering future forms – МОЩИ ²⁴ and $\text{ВЪИТИ} + \text{Inf.}$ The $\text{НАЧАТИ}/\text{ВЪЧАТИ}$ -construction is attested just on few occasions in the earliest translation of VA (*v. infra*). The situation in the Middle Bulgarian text shows an already unified approach of translating those constructions. The periphrases that were less attested in the older texts have already been substituted in the language, aligning as well with the tendency of keeping formal closeness with the original as much as possible.

Below, each of these constructions in VA is approached separately.

1. Simple Future (synthetic, Present perfective verb forms)

As mentioned above, this is the most commonly attested form in all three translations and the only one attested in the later Second and Third translations (i.e., without having an auxiliary verb or periphrastic construction in the Greek *Vorlage*).

- (1) Ταῦτα κτώμενοι, εὐρήσομεν αὐτὰ πρὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐκεῖ ποιοῦντα ἡμῖν ξενίαν ἐν τῇ γῆ τῶν πραέων. [17]
 Tr.1. сѣ прѣдѣрѣтаѣше тѣмо. прѣд нами творѣща ѡбѣтѣаницѣхъ намиъ на земни кротѣкыѣхъ. 120v
 Tr.2. сѣ стѣжѣвши, ѡбрѣщѣмъ тѣ прѣд нами тѣмо мѡлѣща се ѡ ѡна на земни кроткыѣхъ. 320v

²² Т. СЛАВОВА, *Тенденции в (не)граматикализацията на старобългарския глагол мощи 'мога, в състояние съм'*, БРФ 3, 2015, p. 68–75.

²³ Т. СЛАВОВА, *Изразяване на футур...*

²⁴ In the parts assumingly written by Constantine of Preslav himself, i.e. having no Greek original for now. In some of those places, though, reading without prescribing a future meaning to those constructions is, in my opinion, not impossible.

- Tr.3. снѧ о҃ѣвѣ стѣжѣвше, ѿбращениѣ ѡнѧ прѣк сѡболѣ тамо. творѣшаа намѣ гостинициѣ въ землѣи кроткихиѣхъ. 10v
- (2) καὶ ὄψεσθε αὐτοὺς καὶ γινομένους ἀφανείς. [35]
 Tr.1. ѡ о҃ѣзрѣте снѧ вышѧ ѡ безъ вѣстѣи. 127v
 Tr.2. ѡ о҃ѣзрѣте снѣхъ безъ вѣстѣи со҃ѣше. 324v
 Tr.3. ѡ вѣдѣте тѣхъ выважшиѣ, невѣдѣни. 19г
- (3) Οὐκ ἐρίσει γάρ, οὔτε κραυγᾶσει, οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν. [35]
 Tr.1. не речѣтъ ни въскрѣнѣтъ ни слышнѣтъ кто глѣ ѡ хъ 127v
 Tr.2. не въззѡветъ ѡ нн въззѣпѣтъ. ниже о҃слѣшнѣтъ кто глѣса ѣго 324v
 Tr.3. не възгѣлетъ вѡ ни въззѣпнѣтъ. ниже слѣшнѣтъ ктѡ глѣ ѣго. 19г
- (4) Καὶ γὰρ πόθος τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτῆ ἐπεισέρχεται, καὶ θελήσει πάντως συναφθῆναι τοῦτοις, εἰ ἀπῆρχετο μετ' αὐτῶν. [35]
 Tr.1. не во любви бѣжестѡа по вѣдѣшиѣхъ ѡ вѣнѣдѣтъ. ѡ въсхошѣтъ въскѡ съвъкоупнѣши сѧ съ нѣни да вѣ ѡтнѣша (sic!). 127v
 Tr.2. желѧнѣе вѡ вѣтѣвнѣе ѡ вѡ҃дѣше тѡн прнѣтѣхѡднѣтъ. ѡ хѡшѣтъ въсѡко съвѣтѣтъ се снѣмъ ѡнѣ ѡ ѡнѣтъ съ нѣни. 324v
 Tr.3. желѧнѣе вѡ вѣтѣвнѣѣ, ѡ вѣдѣшиѣхъ ѣн въхѡднѣтъ. ѡ хѡтѣнѣемъ пѡвѣ въвѣстнѣтъ сѧ нѣмъ, ѡше поѣтъ съ нѣмъ. 19v
- (5) ὅτι, ὄντος τοῦ Κυρίου μεθ' ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ποιήσουσιν. [42]
 Tr.1. ѡко сѣши гѣн съ намн. ниуѡже вѣрѣн не сътворѣтъ намѣ 130г
 Tr.2. ѡко въ ѣстнѣѣ гѡѣ съ намн, ниуѡже нѣмъ вѣсѡвѣ сътворѣтъ. 326г
 Tr.3. ѡко вѣшѡѣ гѡѣ съ намн, ниуѡ во нѣмъ вѣрѣн сътворѣтъ. 22v
- (6) Καὶ τίς δεῖξει μοι τὴν ὁδόν; [49]
 Tr.1. да ктѡ мн покажетъ пѣтъ 133г
 Tr.2. ѡ ктѡ покажетъ мн по҃тъ 327v
 Tr.3. ктѡ покажетъ мн пѣтъ 26г

In VA, the perfective verbs are also used in translating the Conj. and Opt. of the Aorist. This is a common situation in the oldest monuments, although there are instances where the Conjunctive and Optative are translated using periphrastic structures (same as the ones for Fut.). The older and the more recent translations do not present strong discrepancies in rendering the Greek Future in the examples above. It could be noted that in some instances (3, 4) the Middle Bulgarian translations use an additionally prefixed verb, probably as a marker of the perfective aspect. This ‘Simple Future’ is assumed to be in the process of disappearing in the Middle Bulgarian period²⁵. It is notable that periphrastic Future constructions translating Greek Conj. and Opt. were found neither in the Preslav translation (Tr.1), nor the other two Middle Bulgarian ones (Tr.2 and Tr.3). In comparison with other texts from the period, this situation is closer to the one found in the later periods of the language.

²⁵ К. Мирчев, *Историческа...*, p. 222.

Example (4) is illustrative for translating τὸ μέλλον / τὰ μέλλοντα with the participle form the stem *вжд-*.²⁶ Similarly, the same morphological base is employed for rendering various non-Indicative forms of γίγνομαι, such as:

- (7) ἀλλ' ἵνα συνεργὸς ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου νίκην ὁ Κύριος γένηται [34]
 Tr.1. нж помощникъ да вждеть намъ гъ. на повѣждениѣ днѣволе. 127r
 Tr.2. нъ ѡко да поспѣшникъ намъ на ѡже на дѣвола повѣдъ гъ воудѣ. 324v
 Tr.3. нж да помощникъ намъ ѡже на дѣвола повѣда 18v

2. *χοτѣти* + *Inf.*

a. corresponding to Greek μέλλω + *Inf.*

i. In Participle construction

- (8) Καὶ γὰρ μέλλων ἐσθίειν καὶ κοιμᾶσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀνάγκαις τοῦ σώματος ἔρχεσθαι, ἤσχυνετο, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς λογιζόμενος νοερόν. Πολλάκις γοῦν μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων μοναχῶν μέλλων ἐσθίειν, ἀναμνηθεὶς τῆς πνευματικῆς τροφῆς [45]
 Tr.1. не во нж χοτѣ ѡстн ѡ спати. ѡ ѡ непотрѣбахъ тѣлесныхъ. ѡ нжжнихъ разоумѣ многаши. шедъ съ иноуѣни ѡнокы χοτѣ ѡстн. въспомѣнжвъ дшевнжл пнцж 131r
 Tr.2. ѡвѡ ѡ хотѣ ѡстн ѡ спати ѡ ѡ ѡны ѡуѣдѣ тѣлесныѣ, стѣдѣше се помышлѣе дшн мыслѣноѣ. мнѡжнцѣю дѣвѡ съ мнѡсѣни ѡныни мнѡхы хотѣ ѡстн. въспомѣнжвъ дхѡвногю пнцѣ 326v
 Tr.3. ѡев χοτѣ ѡстн ѡ спати. ѡ ѡ ѡнон нжжн пакѣстѣн прнхѡднти тѣмаше сѣ. дшевнын сѣмыслѣ въспомннжл. мнѡгажн еѡ съ мнѡгыни ѡнѣни мнѡхы χοτѣ ѡстн. въспомѣнжвъ дхѡвнжж пнцж 24r
- (9) εὐθὺς εἰδειξεν αὐτῷ Σαρακηνοῦς μέλλοντας ὀδεύειν τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην. [49]
 Tr.1. въ скорѣ показа ѣмоу срацнны χοτѣще ѡти пакѣмъ тѣмъ. 133r
 Tr.2. ѡвѣе покѡза ѣмѡ срацнны хотѣще шѣстѣговати поутѣмъ ѡнѣмъ. 327v
 Tr.3. ѡвѣе покѡза ѣмоу саракнны, χοτѣщѣл шѣстѣговати пакѣмъ ѡнѣмъ 26r
- (10) Ἐκαστος τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς μέλλοντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπαγγέλλειν, σημειώμεθα καὶ γράφωμεν. [55]
 Tr.1. -
 Tr.2. кѣждѡ дѣкѡнѣ ѡ дѡвжѣнѣ дшн ѡко хотѣще дроугъ дроугѣ възвѣщивати, назнѣменоуныѣ ѡ напѣсѣныѣ. 329v
 Tr.3. кѣждѡ дѣкѡнѣ ѡ дѡвжѣнѣ дшевнѡд. ѡко хотѣще дроугъ дроугѡу въщивати. знѣменѣемъ ѡ пншемъ. 29v
- (11) Μέλλων γὰρ ἐσθίειν ποτέ [65]
 Tr.1. χοτѣ во ѡстн нѣколн 135r
 Tr.2. Хотѣ вѡ ѡстн ѡногдѡ 331r
 Tr.3. χοτѣ вѡ ѡстн 32v

²⁶ Similarly in 14.7, 16.4, 24.9, 35.1, 5, 42.7, 44.2, 81.5.

ii. In Impf. construction

- (12) ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ κοπιᾶν [53]
 Tr.1. -
 Tr.2. хѠтѣше вѠ нѣ сѧмѣ нѣ трѠгѣднѣти се 328v
 Tr.3. вѣше ево трѠмогѣ трѠгѣднѣти сѧ. 27v
- (13) πάντες ἔμελλον κινδυνεύειν. [54]
 Tr.1. -
 Tr.2. вѣснѣ хѠтѣхѣсѣ кѠпнѣно оѣмѣрѣтнѣ. 328v
 Tr.3. вѣснѣ хѠтѣхѣшѣ погѣбенѣтнѣ. 28г
- (14) καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔμελλε βλέπτεσθαι [57]
 Tr.1. -
 Tr.2. нѣ Ѡнѣ сѧоѣ хѠтѣкше вѣрѣднѣти 328v
 Tr.3. нѣ Ѡнѣ сѧоѣ хѠтѣкше погѣбенѣтнѣ 28г

Most of the correspondences above cover the constructions of μέλλω (Impf.) + Inf. and μέλλω (Part. Praes.) + Inf. The first is typical for rendering Fut. II (i.e., Future in the Past). Unfortunately, the examples of this usage (13, 14) are from the chapters omitted in the First translation, which does not allow us to see how they were translated in the Preslav period²⁷. As for the other two Middle Bulgarian translations, it could be observed that both perfective and imperfective verbs could have followed the imperf. of хѠтѣтнѣ. Here it is worth noting that the combination with a perfective verb is more common in the earlier period of the Old Church Slavonic monuments²⁸. It is often stated that the хѠтѣтнѣ-construction preserved its lexical nuance for a long time and its actual desemantisation started first in the Middle Bulgarian period²⁹. In the instances above, it is hard to determine the degree of delexicalisation both of μέλλω and хѠтѣтнѣ. No future forms with this auxiliary were found for rendering Simple Future tense from the Greek text (ex. 16 presents a small exception, cf. below).

Here an interesting case is presented in (12) where Tr.2 shows a literal rendering of the Greek construction (Aor. of μέλω ‘to be an object of care or thought’³⁰; to set one’s thoughts on’ + Inf.) with misreading μέλω as μέλλω already used mainly as an auxiliary for Future constructions. The Third translation presents a slightly different understanding of the phrase by rendering the meaning (*car il avait soin de prendre de la peine* in Bartelink’s translation)³¹ with a *Dativus cum Infinitivo* construction with вѣтнѣ. This could also be accepted as evidence of a relatively

²⁷ Cf. with another Preslav monument – the Chrysorrhoeas, where A. Dimitrova finds that most of the time ἔμελλε + Inf. is translated with вѣкаше + Dat. Cum Inf. (A. ДИМИТРОВА, *Златоструята в преводаческата дейност на старобългарските книжовници*, София 2016, p. 94).

²⁸ *Грамматика...*, p. 305.

²⁹ *Ibidem*; Т. СЛАВОВА, *Старобългарски...*, p. 291–293.

³⁰ *LSJ*. Online edition: https://lsj.gr/wiki/Main_Page [1 V 2022].

³¹ Trans. G.J.M. BARTELINK, p. 277.

earlier time of the Third translation when the tendency of *ad litteram* closeness with the Greek *Vorlage* was not as strong and almost petrified as we usually find it in the texts of the 14th century³².

Similar misreading is also found in the following example:

- (15) Εἰ δὲ ἅπασι καὶ τοῦ προγινώσκειν ἡμῖν μέλει, καθαρεύομεν τῇ διανοίᾳ. [34]
 Tr.1. ἀμε λη же ѿ вѣдѣти се намъ хощетъ, о҃φνηстѣмъ сѧ о҃φноимъ. 127r
 Tr.2. -
 Tr.3. ἀμε λη, како се провазѡмѣвати намъ вѣдетъ. да о҃νнѣамъ сѣмьислѣ. 19r

Here in Tr.3, the phrase was rendered similarly to (12) but with a Future form of the auxiliary copula, thus: 1. keeping closer semantic connection with the Greek μέλω, and 2. keeping a clear lexical difference in translating μέλλω and μέλω.

b. Corresponding to synthetic Greek Future

- (16) οὐκ ἴσασιν εἰ περιπατήσει [31]
 Tr.1. не разοумѣтъ поѡде лн. 126v
 Tr.2. не вѣдѣ ἀμε шѣствовати хощѣ. 324r
 Tr.3. не вѣд(а) ἀμε хощетъ понтѣ. 17v
- (17) Ἐπειδὴ χθὲς εἰργασάμην, οὐκ ἐργάζομαι σήμερον· οὐδὲ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον μετρῶν, παύσεται τῶν ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν [18]
 Tr.1. понеже вѣра дѣлаχъ не дѣлаѡ днѣ нн лннѣваго днѣ вѣты. прѣстанетъ во сѣ провннн днѣ. 120v
 Tr.2. ѡнеλн вѣра рабоѡдѣ, не хощѣ работати днѣ. ннжѣ прѣѡше вѣне мѣре прѣстанетъ 320v
 Tr.3. понеже вѣра работачъ, не работѡх днѣ. ннже лнннѣваго лѣта навннати станетъ. ѡ нахо дѡщѡж днн. 10v

In the examples above (16, 17) the later translations render the Simple Future form in Greek with a periphrastic construction. In ex. (17), only the Second translation uses a χοπѣти-construction to render a Greek Praes. (*pro Futuro*). A possible explanation would be that the Greek *Vorlage* of the translator, unknown to the critical edition of Bartelink, might have already replaced the Future form here. Such correspondences, where a periphrastic construction is used to render a Greek simple Future form, are not unknown in the classical corpus of text, where the translation technique did not strive for such a literal and formal closeness with the original, as is characteristic of the later period. This example also presents the already advanced tendency in the 14th century of eliminating all other periphrastic constructions in favour of those with χοпѣти³³. Here, we might

³² This observation was expressed earlier by A. Dimitrova, cf. A. ДИМИТРОВА, *Третият...*

³³ К. МИРЧЕВ, *Историческа...*, p. 224.

observe a rare occasion where the living language has gained over the literary norm of *ad litteram* correspondence with the source text.

The $\chi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -expansion reaches even to the substantivised participles as could be observed in the following example where a Greek Part. Praes. (with a clear contextual future connotation) is rendered with a periphrastic construction only in the Second translation:

- (18) Καὶ προσποιοῦνται μαντεύεσθαι, καὶ προλέγειν τὰ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἐρχόμενα [23]
 Tr.1. Ѡ творѡтъ сѡ вѡхвоуѡще. Ѡ прорѡиѡще по днѣхъ прѡхѡдѡщаѡ. 123r
 Tr.2. Ѡ протвѡрают се вѡхвоѡтъ Ѡ прѡхвѡствоватѡ, ѡже по днѣхъ ѡлѡуѡат се
хѡтѡщаѡ. 321v
 Tr.3. Ѡ твѡрѡт сѡ вѡхвѡствоватѡ. Ѡ прорѡцѡт по днѣхъ прѡхѡдѡщаѡ. 13r

Once again, only the Second translation presents a periphrastic Future against the Greek Present [*pro futuro?*].

The current texts that is the focus of this research and the manuscripts it is attested in seem to indicate that $\chi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -constructions were used mostly as corresponding to Greek phrases with μέλλω and only on few occasions in the later Middle Bulgarian translations as correspondences to the Greek Future. As mentioned above (cf. 1. Simple Future), in the Slavic translations of VA, no $\chi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -constructions were found for rendering Greek Conjunctives or Optatives. However, this situation is diversified, should data from other texts be considered. For example, in other texts of Preslav origin, the situation is more varying: e.g., in the translation of *Vita Niphontis* (BGH 1371z) A. Dimitrova finds occasions when $\chi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -constructions are used for translating Conj., final sentences with ἵνα (ἵνα λέγω τὸ ψευδὸς да хѡшоу лъжю рѡши), and πρὸς τὸ + Inf. construction (πρὸς τὸ μηδένα θεάσασθαι не хѡтѡ вѡдѣти)³⁴. This type of usage is probably the most interesting, as it reveals a translation that transmits Greek morphological features expressed in the Slavonic text with lexical means, cf. the following example for Constantine of Preslav's *Didactic Gospel* where OCS translation follows Chrysostom's Homily³⁵: τί ἂν τις εἴποι λοιδορίας κτῶτο можетъ ѡчиствѡти ѡклеветѡнѡ 96c11–13³⁶; ἴδοι τίς ἂν οὐδὲν ѡетъ... вѣдѣтѡ 187b12–13³⁷.

³⁴ А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Синтактичната...*, p. 61.

³⁵ Д. КОТОВА, *Слово 19 от Учителното евангелие и неговите гръцки източници*, Pbg 46.1, 2022, p. 13. The exact correspondence here needs a longer explanation that could be provided on another occasion, because the translator is freely combining and mixing the Greek construction on several occasions in the passage.

³⁶ М. ТИХОВА, *Старобългарското Учително евангелие от Константин Преславски. С детайлното описание от Елена Уханова на най-стария препис (ГИМ Син. 262)*, Freiburg i. Br. 2012 [= MLSDV, 58], p. 202.

³⁷ I express my gratitude to D. Kotova for providing me with these two examples.

Those instances could lead to the preliminary, cautious and slightly generalised conclusion that the so-called periphrastic Future(s) in OCS might have been perceived rather as non-indicative or non-factual presents, rather than pure, future-oriented grammemes. As for the history of the VA translations, the lack of such Optative and Conjunctive renderings might be regarded as a specific marker of the unknown translator of Tr.1 or as a sign of a relatively later time of provenance.

3. **НАКЪТН + Inf.**

- (19) Οὕτω δὲ διακείμενοι, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν οὕτω ζῶντες, οὕτε ἀμαρτήσομεν, οὕτε τινὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχομεν, οὕτε μηνιοῦμέν τι, οὕτε θησαυρίσομεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. [19]
 Tr.1. снѣ же жнвж ѡ не съгрѣшнѣ. нж нн ѡ ѡвесомъ же помысла ѡмашей ѡмакѣтн. [мноуше накѣтн Chlud 195 218d] нн клатвы чнннтн ннкакоѡже. нн богатѣнѣ на земн. 121г
 Tr.2. Снѣ же налѣжше, ѡ на въсѡкъ днѣ снѣ жнтелствоуѡше, нжкѣ съгрѣшнѣ. нжкѣ коѡ желѡнїе ѡмакѣтн въсхѡше. нжкѣ запнѡемн ѡ нѣвесого боудѣмѣ. нжкѣ скрѡвншѣствоуѡше на земнѣ 320v
 Tr.3. тако въ прилѣжше. ѡ на въсѡкъ днѣ томѡ жнвжше не съгрѣшнѣ. нжкѣ коѡ похѡтн ѡбрѡщѣтѣ, нжкѣ на кого прогнѣваем сѡ. нн скрѡвншѣ сътворѣнѣ на земн. 11г
- (20) ἄνθρωπος εἶ καὶ σύ, καὶ μέλλεις ἀσθενεῖν. [40]
 Tr.1. ѡлѣкѡ во ѣсн. ѡ волѣтн машн навѣнѣ волѣзнн. (sic!) 129v [н волѣтн машн навѣнѣ волѣзнн Chlud 195 225c 8–9]
 Versio B: ѡлѣкѡ во ѣсн ѡ ѡмашн волѣтн. 373v
 Versio C: ѡлѣкѡ ѣсн, ѡ ты хѡшешн волѣтн 338г
 Tr.2. ѡлѣкѡ во ѣсн ѡ ты ѡ хѡшешн въ неѡѡгѣ въпѡстн. 325v
 Tr.3. ѡлѣкѡ ѣсн ѡ ты ѡ хѡшешн волѣтн. 21v

In example (19), the only deviance in translating the Greek synthetic form is found in Tr.2, where the translator rendered Gr (οὕτε τινὸς) ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχομεν ‘neither will we have any desire about anything’ as *нжкѣ коѡ желѡнїе ѡмакѣтн въсхѡше* ‘neither will we have (or: will we want to have) whatsoever desire’. The prefixed perfective form of the auxiliary in the Slavic text allows no clear interpretation of its function – as a modal or as an auxiliary verb.

In example (20), the Greek μέλλω-phrase is rendered with an *накѣтн*-construction in the Preslav translation which could testify for the desemanticisation of μέλλω in the original. What is interesting is the continuations of the phrase in the earliest translation with *навѣнѣ волѣзнн*, which remains a *locus obscurus* to me. Moreover, the Greek tradition does not supply a reading that would support such a translation. It seems that the common protograph of the Zographou and Chludov witnesses had already had this phrase, which for now I will assume as a mistake. However, it is tempting to search for a translation intention with

something like a phrase with **начѧти**³⁸. We see this phrase appearing in a somewhat corrected form (i.e., without the unclear extension) in only one of the versions of Tr.1. In the later translations, it is already replaced by a **хотѣти**-construction, which in my view is a full auxiliarisation of **хотѣти**.

On another occasion, the **имѣти**-construction corresponds formally with the one (i.e. with ἔχω) in the Greek text:

- (21) πλειὸ καὶ διπλασίονα τὸν κάματον ἔχεις ὑπομένειν. [49]
Tr.1. мнѡжайшїи соугубѣ ѡмашн трѡдѣ поднеманѣ 132v
Tr.2. мнѡжаншїи ѡ пространнѣншїи трѡдѣ ѡмашн трѡпѣти. 327v
Tr.3. вѧщїиш соугубѣ трѡдѣ ѡмашн трѡпѣти. 26r

In this case, though, it might be understood as a debitive construction and not purely future-orientated. Combining ἔχω with an Inf. is a periphrasis attested since the early stages of Greek; its future connotations, though, are to be found in the later development of the language³⁹. These nuances are sometimes preserved even in the later texts that were of interest for the early Slavic translators who were rendering them *ad sensum* with different grammatical devices, e.g., Conj. Aor. again with **имѣти**-construction (cf. *Vita Niphontis*⁴⁰: εἰς κρίσιν πορευθῆναι **на соудѣ имашн нти** and in some parts of the long *Zlatostry*: τί δὲ ἄν εἴποις **ѡ имашн рѣши**⁴¹). This fluidity is also partially attested in one of the later translations of VA where an **имѣти**-construction stands for a Greek Optative:

- (22) Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς πολλὸς ἄν εἴη λόγος. [21]
Tr.1. ѡ ѡ ѣствѣтвѣ же тѣхъ ѡ разлннїи мнѡга рѣкѡ вѣдѣть. ѡ ѡнѣхъ
вѡлшнхъ. 122r
Tr.2. ѡ ѡгвѡ ѡ ѣствѣтѣ ѡхъ ѡ ѡ разлннїи, вѣ дльготѣ прѡнзвѣти ѡматѣ слово
Tr.3. ѡ ѣже ѡ сжщѣствѣтѣ ѡхъ ѡ разлннїи мнѡгѡ ѡгвѡ ѣствѣ слово. 12r

The Optative has already been a disappeared morphological feature in the *spoken* Greek language of the time when the earliest Slavonic translations were being accomplished. However, it was still a *highly vivid* feature used in the *literary* language (which aimed at imitating the Classical pre-*Koine* models) and since the first (and generally *all* early) Slavonic translations were made exclusively from works pertaining to the high literary genres, it is not irrelevant to have in mind how this grammatical feature fits in the translation paradigms. Its Old Slavonic correspondences included constructions with **имѣти**, e.g., in different parts of

³⁸ Cf. the next paragraph (4.) about the **начѧти**-constructions.

³⁹ А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Синтактичната...*, p. 62, cf. note 79 for literature.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Златоструят...*, p. 224.

the long *Chrysorroas* (*Zlatostruy*) where this was also the preferred way of translating both simple and μέλλω-Future⁴². It could be claimed that the translators were perceiving it as a non-indicative and, therefore, the same as the Conjunctive, non-present-oriented verbal action, which at the same time was markedly differentiated in its semantics from the past-oriented verbal forms.

4. НАЧАЛТИ + Inf.

(23) καὶ ὄψεσθε, ὅτι οὐ τέχνη λόγων τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐνεργουμένης· ἦντινα ἐὰν σχοίητε καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὐκέτι τὰς διὰ λόγων ἀποδείξεις ζητήσετε· ἀλλ' αὐτάρκη τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστιν ἠγύσεσθε. [80]

Tr.1. Ѡ да оѡзрѣте ꙗко не хытрость словеснаа въ насъ есть. нж вѣра любовнаа къ Хѡѡ дѣнствѡуѡщи. ꙗже аще Ѡ вы ѠМАТИ Ѡ НАУНѢТЕ, к томоу же ѡ словесъ оѡказъ не НАУНѢ ꙗскати. нж доволна ꙗже въ Хѡ вѣрж НАУНѢТЕ ѠНѢТИ СИ 139v

Versio B: Ѡ оѡзрѣте. ꙗко не хитрость словѣнаа в насъ есть но вѣра любви ради къ Хѡ дѣнствѡущи. ꙗже аще Ѡ вы НАУНѢТЕ ѠНѢТИ, к томоу оѡже не ѡ словесъ оѡказаніи ВѢДЕТЕ ѠНѢТИ. но доволно СЪДЕРЖАТИ ѠМАТЕ 391r

Tr.2. Ѡ оѡзрѣте ꙗко не хоѡдожество словесное оѡ на Ѡ. Ѡ вѣра любовію Ѡже въ Хѡ дѣнствѡема. ꙗже нѣкако аще ПРІИМАТЕ Ѡ ВИ, не к томоу же ѡ слова покѡзаніе ВЪЗЫЩЕТЕ. Ѡ доволнаѡ ѡже въ Хѡ вѣрѡ ВЪЗНѢЩЕТЕ. 334v

Tr.3. Ѡ оѡзрѣте. ꙗко не хытросѡтъж словесъ, ꙗже ѡ насъ сжтъ. нж вѣра любви ради ꙗже въ Хѡ || дѣемаа. ꙗже аще Ѡ вы ПРІИМАТЕ, к томоу не ѡ словесъ скѡзаніа ВЪЗЫЩЕТЕ. нж Ѡ доволнаѡ, ѡже ѡ Хѡ вѣрѡ ВЪНѢЩЕТЕ. 40r-40v

This type is less attested in the classical Old Church Slavonic corpus, though findable as well in other early translations such as the *Scete Patericon*⁴³, cf. E:23 тако во мощи начьнемъ на небо възлетѣти оутѡ γὰρ δυνησόμεθα прѡт τὸν οὐρανὸν στῆναι; 3:4B:6 и жнѡти начьнемъ съ товоиѡ доухъ свѡтъи и оикѣи τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν σοί. In Constantine of Preslav's *Didactic Gospel*, T. Slavova identifies only 4 such constructions (among 60 periphrastic Futures in total) in the translated parts alone⁴⁴. In Symeon's *Miscellanea*⁴⁵ (*Izbornik*) of 1073, those forms are also attested, cf. 71a10ff и мощи начьнешн большое прѡнати отъ раждѣннѣ и дунаѡшн плѣионос тухѣи анѣсеѡс; as rendering an Opt. 47c8ff прѡншьдъ до вѣльнѡиимъ сы

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 310; for specific parts of the *Zlatostruy*, cf. *ibidem*, p. 89, 95, 102, 110, 115, 123, 134, 142, 151, 161, 176, 180, 184, 188, 196, 200, 204, 214, 220, 224, 228, 239, 242, 247, 259, 264, 271, 280, 286, 290, 296, 310.

⁴³ Used through the edition of W. Veder: *The Scete Patericon. Introduction, maps and indices* by W.R. VEDER. *Patericon Sceticum. Greek text. Latin translations of the 6th c. English translation of the Slavonic textus receptus*, ed. J.G. VAN DER TAK, W.R. VEDER. *Skitskij paterik. Slavjanskij perevod v prinjatom tekste i v rekonstrukcii glagoličeskogo archetipa izdal W.R. VEDER*, Amsterdam 2012.

⁴⁴ Т. СЛАВОВА, *Старобългарски...*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия прѣпис от 1073 г.), vol. III, Гръцки извори. Гръцки текст и изследване П. ЯНЕВА. *Славянски текст, прегледан и сверен допълнително* А. Минчева, Цв. РАЛЕВА, Ц. ДОСЕВА, П. ЯНЕВА, София 2015.

САМЪ МЪНЪТН НАЧЪНЕТЪ КЪ БОГОНАЧАЛЪНОГОУМЪ ΠΡΗΒΛΗΚΕΝΗΚ ἑλληθως ἱκανὸν ἑαυτὸν οἰηθεῖη πρὸς θεαρχικὴν ὀμιλίαν; 55b8ff и ПЪРАТН СА НЕ МОЩН НАЧЪНЕТЪ οὐδὲ πλυθῆναι δύναται.

It is often claimed that in this construction, the ‘auxiliary’ *НАЧАТН* always preserved its lexical meaning⁴⁶. In the example above (23), the reading of Tr.1 could be understandable: using *НАЧАТН*-constructions in this context might instead be expressing an action starting from the moment of speaking and continuing further. This semantical hue is not so clear in the examples from other early texts, though (cf. *supra*). It is noticeable that the same construction is used in rendering ἑάν + Opt. Aor. (ἑάν σχοίητε)⁴⁷. Version *B* of Tr.1, on the other hand, already replaces this periphrasis, using the primarily Northern Slavic *БЪТН* + Inf. construction in the ἑάν-phrase, i.e., again a Slavic Future-periphrasis is rendering a Greek non-indicative verbal form.

5. БЪТН (БЖДЖ) + Part.

- (24) ἀλλ’ ὡς καθ’ ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀκτῆμονες ἐσόμεθα [19]
 Tr.1. иж ꙗко по вса днѣ ѡдѡшеиѣ оумрѣти. не верже илѣкниа бждѣиѣ. 121r
 Tr.2. иѣ ꙗкоже на вѣсакѣ днѣ ѡиоше ѡмрѣти нестеркѣтелие боуде 320v
 Tr.3. иж ꙗко на вѣсѣкѣ днѣ ѡажше оумрѣти, вѣзѣ съмнѣниа бждеиѣ. 11r

This construction is usually regarded as a literal calque from Greek⁴⁸ and is sporadically attested in the classical corpus. In the phrase above, it is the adjective ἀκτῆμων that actually triggers the use of a (present) participle. It is attested just once in the classical corpus, in *codex Suprasliensis* (432:24), again translated with a Part. Praes. phrase – *НЕВРЪГЪТЪ НМЪКНИА*⁴⁹. The translation in Tr.3 is probably due to an erroneous reading.

In the Third translation, there is an occasion where the Third Future (*Futurum exactum*) in its usual form of *БЪТН* + *l*-participium appears to be translating a Greek conditional period, possibly keeping some grammatical closeness with the Perfect form in the original:

- (25) ἀλλ’ ἐν τούτοις ἕκαστος ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν, εἰ τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκε, καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς γνησίως ἐφύλαξεν. [33]
 Tr.1. ѡ семѣ и мѡтѣ сждѣ ѡше вѣрж съвѡуде. и заповѣди вѣсты съхранн. 127r

⁴⁶ Д. Иванова-Мирчева, *История на българския език*, Велико Търново 1999, p. 141.

⁴⁷ We could only guess whether this Optative in the Greek text was recognizable for the translator who might have as well hear/perceived it as the Conj. Aor. σχοίτε.

⁴⁸ *Грамматика...*, p. 308.

⁴⁹ *Řecko-statoslověnský Index. Index verborum graeco-palaeoslovenicus*, vol. I, Fasc. 5, Praha 2011, p. 290.

Tr.2. нѣ въ снхъ кѣждо ѿматъ соудъ, аще вѣроу съхранн ѿ заповѣдн ѿкрѣноу съблюде. 324r

Tr.3. нж въ снхъ кѣждо ѿматъ сждъ. аще вѣрж съблюатъ блдетъ. ѿ заповѣдн о҃срѣдно съхраннатъ. 18v

Concluding remarks

As a conclusion, it seems useful to assemble the general data and present the ratios between the Greek Future forms and their Slavonic correspondences.

Of all 28 occasions of simple (synthetic) Future forms in the Greek text, two are of the verb εἰμί⁵⁰, they are not going to be considered below as they are consequently translated with the corresponding form in Old Church Slavonic from the stem вѣд-. There is one single occasion where the Greek synthetical form is rendered with $\chi\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\tau\eta$ -construction (ex. 16 *supra*) in the two Middle Bulgarian translations and one where a Present (*pro Futuro*) form is rendered in the same way in Tr.2 (ex. 17). Moreover, there is a slight tendency that could be observed on some occasions in rendering the simple Greek Future with a perfective verb in Slavonic – namely, some of those verb forms are perfectivised with the prefix вѣз-. The exact data is as follows: of all 23 translated Future forms in Tr.1, excluding the two examples of εἰμί, 2 verbs were perfectivised with вѣз- (ca. 9.5%). In Tr.2, all 27 Greek synthetic forms were translated, from which, excluding the two of εἰμί – 7 were with вѣз-perfectives (28%), whereas in Tr.3 those were 5 out of the 22 translated forms (without εἰμί), or ca. 23%. The ratios of the three translations are presented in comparison below in Chart 2. This might be interpreted as a confirmation of the overall tendency of connecting futurity with the prefixed perfective verbs in Slavic⁵¹.

Not surprisingly, the earliest translation of VA in Preslav presents the widest variety of Future constructions rendering the Greek Future. This translation does not show many occasions with such periphrastic constructions in the hypotaxis, despite other early texts. The most attested way of rendering the Greek Future (and Conjunctives and Optatives) is the perfective present form of the verbs. In only two occasions is the Greek simple Future rendered with a periphrasis using the verb $\eta\alpha\chi\lambda\omega$, a construction which diachronically never met further development among the South Slavs. From the other ways of conveying Future, besides the μέλλω- $\chi\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\tau\eta$ strict parallelism (all 9 occasions in all the three translations), once an ἔχω-construction and, similarly, once a μέλλω-construction were translated with $\eta\eta\iota\kappa\tau\eta$ (cf. Chart 3 *infra*).

⁵⁰ In chapter 10 and 28.

⁵¹ Cf. J. KAMPHUIS, *Verbal Aspect...*, p. 151sqq.

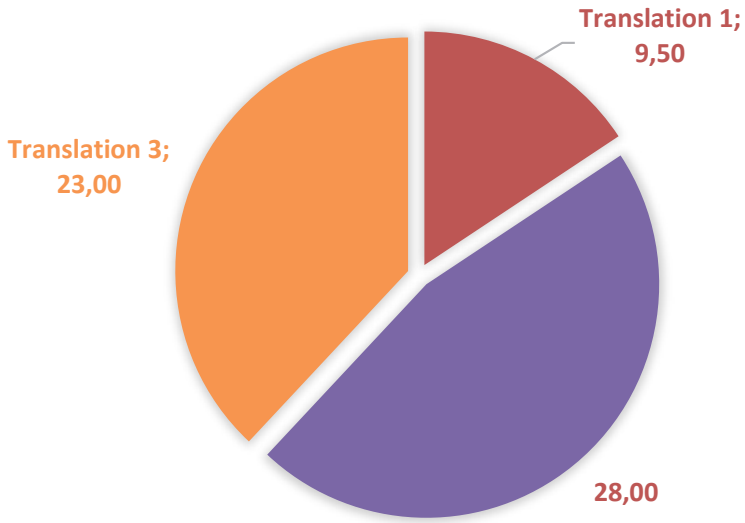


Chart 2. ΕΉΖ-perfectives rendering Future (in %)

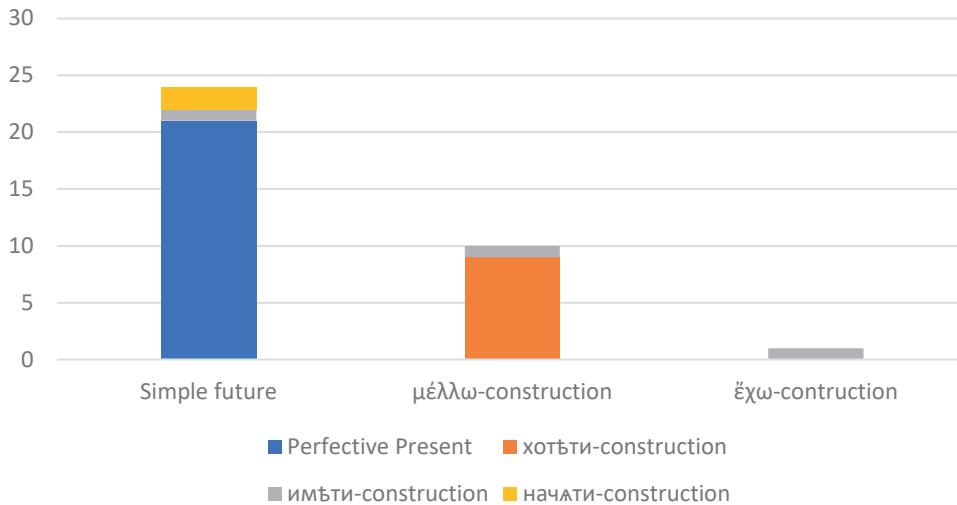


Chart 3. Future constructions in Tr.1 in correspondence with the Greek text

The next most commonly attested construction is the one with the verb $\chi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$, which almost always corresponds to Greek periphrastic constructions with $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$. This is especially true for the Second and Third Middle Bulgarian translations, where this construction has already completely replaced the other periphrases with auxiliary verbs. This construction appears exclusively rendering the Greek $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ -periphrases with the auxiliary in Impf. and Participle. Only the Second translation of VA shows one occasion where the $\chi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -construction corresponds to a simple Future tense form in the Greek *Vorlage* and one for *Praes. pro Fut.* (see above and ex. 16, 17). The data for Tr.2 is presented in Chart 4. This also applies to Tr.3 where the situation is similar (with exception of very few occasions due to omissions in the Slavonic text).

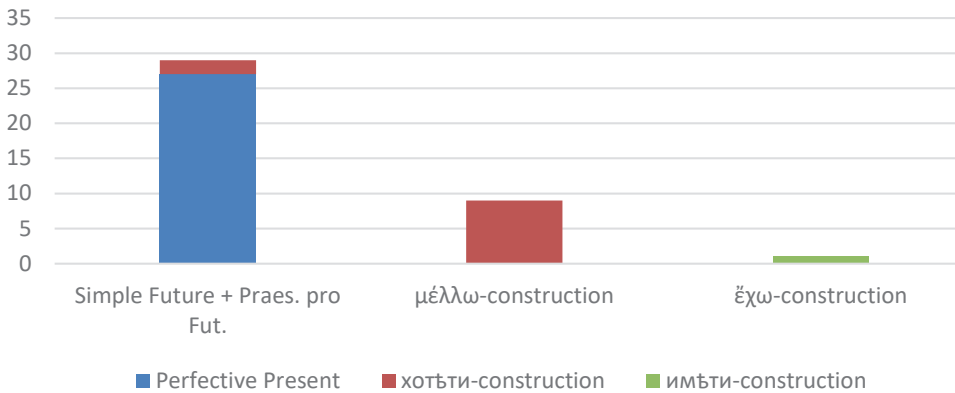


Chart 4. Future constructions in Tr.2 in correspondence with the Greek text

In addition to the data presented above, it could also be observed that only the Third translation keeps a clear distinction between the $\chi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\tau\eta$ -construction and $\beta\upsilon\tau\tau\eta$ + Dat. c. Inf., using the former for translating the most frequently attested $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ -Futures and the latter for phrases with the almost homonymous verb $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$. This closely retained lexical discrepancy could speak of 1. a deep understanding of the Greek text and language, as well as 2. the tendency to stay as close as possible to the Greek original. It could be cautiously supposed that this translation was of an Athonite origin. On a morphological level, the texts of the Athonite redaction tend to distance themselves from some typical features of the Cyrillo-Methodian translation techniques, especially regarding the Future tense. The analytical forms are replaced with syntactic ones derived from verbs in a perfective

aspect, so that the quantitative symmetry with the Greek original may remain the same⁵². This is also partly applicable to the Tărnovo literary school.

The influence of the Greek periphrastic means in expressing the Future tense is clear, while remaining debatable: we cannot claim for sure whether the Slavonic constructions are calques or have emerged independently, though the data from translations later than those of Cyrill and Methodius tend to show a tight formal closeness between the Greek and Slavonic ways of expressing Future. Another possibility is that both languages present the influence from a third trigger, such as some Balkanic substrate or popular Latin (Future was rendered with *habeo* + Inf.), and so on. Again, what the data from VA presents, though, is a tight formal closeness in translating the constructions.

In a further and more general perspective, the Old Church Slavonic Future periphrases notably covered not only the Greek Indicative Futures but were actually employed for all others (mostly Aorist) non-Indicatives, i.e., Conjunctions and Optatives. Thus, the widespread use of perfective verb forms could be explained by the formal aspectual closeness of the aorist and the perfective aspect in Slavic, insofar as both cover a finished action regardless of its position in time (the Greek Aorist has a temporal value only in the Indicative). In time, this has become a technique characteristic of the literary language.

A further reason for this fusion would be the modality expressed in the Greek non-Indicatives, which seems to be transferable only through lexical means into Old Church Slavonic and later in the following literary tradition among the South Slavs. Those periphrases could have risen through language contact with the non-literary Greek language of the period or independently coined in the proto-Slavic language. In any case, the earliest monuments show a somewhat fluid variety of phrasal verbs that could be used for expressing verbal action more or less oriented in the future. What is particularly interesting is that this 'primordial soup' of periphrases developed differently in the subsequent periods and (Slavonic) branches.

In the translations of VA, though, this diversity of periphrases is rather diminished even in the First translation, usually assumed to be accomplished in Preslav, e.g., the small number of *нѣкѣн*-constructions which are more numerous attested in other monuments of this circle. This could have at least two explanations: 1. The translation was done later in time, when the Future constructions employed in the language started to differentiate and thus some have started undergoing a grammaticalisation replacing the others that retained more of the initial lexical/modal meaning. 2. The copies that have reached us have an archetype of a later provenance where the more archaic (and presumably, diverse) constructions were replaced.

⁵² Л. ТАСЕВА, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, *Езиковите образци на атонските редактори*, [in:] *Българска филологическа медиевистика. Научни изследвания в чест на проф. дфн Иван Харалампиев*, ed. А. ДАВИДОВ, Велико Търново 2006, p. 221–240.

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THE DISTANT ORIGINS OF “FAT SHAMING” OR WHY THE PEOPLE OF ANTIQUITY DID NOT RIDICULE FAT WOMEN

Abstract. The phenomenon of “fat shaming” (in particular with its aspect of the especially harsh criticism of the corpulence in young adult women) seems nearly non-existent in the ancient Classical literature. The extant satirical depictions of fatness are uncommon and aimed, almost exclusively, at overweight men. The author of the paper analyses this satirical description, its background in the ancient moral philosophy, as well as comments on plumpness and gluttony in the context of assessments of the female physical beauty. He also attempts to explain how some ancient ideas may have evolved in the attitudes of today, showing some examples from the 19th-century prose as a step in the reshaping of the ancient ideas. Eventually, the author makes an attempt to offer a better understanding of this contemporary phenomenon, which only in some of its elements may be seen as rooted in Antiquity.

Keywords: fat shaming, history of mentalities, ancient literature, 19th-century literature, Prodikos, *tryphé*

We are all children of Hellas – and the influence of the Greco-Roman culture on our mentality is so profound that attempting to trace the origins of various attitudes in our modern culture to Antiquity seems to be justified in every respect. The aim of the present text is slightly different, however, as it is to show why the people of Antiquity had not been familiar with one of the currently very common phenomena, namely the derogatory, humiliating comments aimed at fatter people (in particular, young adult women), made often even with no reflection¹, and also why it is that in such rare instances when the ancient

¹ The phenomenon of “fat shaming” cannot be reduced to the derogatory language only as it also encompasses all the other forms of discrimination affecting those who are considered to be “too fat”. Conceptually, two aspects can be distinguished here: 1) negative value judgements and the degrading ridicule of corpulent individuals regardless of their gender, 2) particularly harsh assessment of the women transgressing the ideal of the slender figure even in a slight degree (where we can see some strong connection between “fat shaming” and the phenomenon of anorexia). It seems that if at the early stage of the research (and the critical evaluation) of this phenomenon, the focus was on the latter (sexist) aspect (cf. K. CHERNIN, *The Obsession. Reflections on the Tyranny of Slenderness*,

satire refers to more corpulent figures, one could discern – at the most – some very remote origins of the modern-day attitude. At the same time, it attempts to reveal the difference between the convictions of Greco-Roman Antiquity and those which we often hold as obvious and timeless, thus indirectly allowing us to understand which factors may have influenced their formation and development.

A timeless phenomenon?

The subject of the article is related to the issues of the ancient cuisine and ancient medicine in a way which is obvious only upon a very superficial glance. The presently common knowledge that obesity is (also) conditioned on a person's eating habits and it is (frequently) a significant factor affecting their health condition was not unfamiliar in the ancient medicine². Even if we suspend all the objections which might be raised – from the medical perspective – because of the simplifications inherent in this widespread belief, such a statement can be claimed as scientifically objective for only as long as they would refer to the “obesity” understood

New York–San Francisco–Toronto 1981; S. BORDO, *Unbearable Weight. Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*, Berkely 1993), it is given a more marginal treatment in more recent publications – at most, with some additional reasons being provided for the fact why a fat woman is criticized more stringently than a similarly overweight man (cf. A.E. FARRELL, *Fat Shame. Stigma and the Fat Body in American Culture*, New York–London 2011; K. LEBESCO, *Neoliberalism, Public Health and the Moral Perils of Fatness*, [in:] *Alcohol, Tobacco and Obesity. Morality, Mortality, and the New Public Health*, ed. K. BELL, D. McNAUGHTON, A. SALMON, London–New York 2011, p. 33–46). Just as evident is the shift in attention from the interest in the subjective sense of shame (also peculiar to those who are quite far from the actual excessive weight) to the social mechanisms of the discrimination against the individuals with a more noticeable above-average weight. Such a distinction is essential here, because my own research – as the title suggests – has been focused more on this inordinately harsh approach to the female “transgressions” in this regard, even though the context for such critical attitudes is, of course, the negative judgemental treatment of fat people in general, regardless of gender. My principal objective here is to complement the research results on the ancient perception of corpulence as found in S.E. HILL, *Eating to Excess. The Meaning of Gluttony and The Fat Body in The Ancient World*, Santa Barbara 2011 and in the following articles and papers: D. GOUREVITCH, *L'obésité et son traitement dans le monde romain*, HPLS 7, 1985, p. 195–215; M. BRADLEY, *Obesity, Corpulence and Emaciation in Roman Art*, PBSR 79, 2011, p. 1–41; K. KARILA-COHEN, *Les gourmands grecs sont-ils bien en chair?*, [in:] *Le corps du gourmand. D'Héraclès à Alexandre le Bienheureux*, ed. EADEM, F. QUELLIER, François-Rabelais de Tours–Rennes 2012, p. 109–132; Ch. LAES, *Writing the History of Fatness and Thinness in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, MS.AS 28.2, 2016, p. 583–658. Quite naturally, I have analyzed the material which has been featured, at least in part, in the above-mentioned publications, yet I have done it in search of answers to a different research question.

² K. GUGGENHEIM, *Soranos of Ephesos on Obesity*, IJO 1, 1977, p. 245–246; D. GOUREVITCH, *L'obésité...*, p. 198–215; K. GUGGENHEIM, *Galen of Pergamon on Obesity*, Kor 9, 1988, p. 555–556; N. PAPAHRAMIDOU, H. CHRISTOPOULOU-ALETRA, *Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Views on Obesity*, OSur 17, 2007, p. 112–116; S.E. HILL, *Eating to Excess...*, p. 63–80; Ch. LAES, *Writing the History...*, p. 619–629. Susan Hill is the only author to take notice of the marginal place of digressions about this medical condition in ancient medical sources.

as a certain objective condition of the human body, as defined and described by the natural sciences. However, it is just as obvious that "obesity" (or rather, the variously described fatness perceived as "more than permissible" in a given observer's eyes) functions in a much more complex way in our modern cultural reality – as a state which is associated with many very negative value judgements, and as such is the cause for feeling shame and putting others to shame, stigmatization, and ridicule. But, as a matter of fact, expressing value judgements, esthetical or ethical, is already beyond the range of the natural sciences³. It is also easy to notice that this pseudo-medical and culture-related category is expressed in an exceptionally arbitrary way. An anorexic girl may have a more serious problem with her imagined "obesity" than a person objectively in such a condition, a woman who puts on even a little weight is harshly criticized by a "well-built" man, compared with whom she is still a relatively slim-looking person. Judgements (and self-judgements) in this particular field are especially harsh in regard to adolescent girls and young adult women, which cannot be justified in any way with the use of various medical statistics so eagerly quoted by many self-proclaimed judges⁴.

"Fat shaming" is so very well entrenched in our modern culture that even the critics of this phenomenon seem to agree on its underlying axioms. The feminists, contesting the requirement of conforming to the elevated ideal of the feminine beauty as prevalent in our culture and unmasking therein yet another embodiment of the male need for domination, recognize at the same time that – at least in our culture – the excess fat cannot be reconciled not only with the female beauty, but even with the "stereotypically feminine" features of character⁵. Every excess, it

³ For obesity distinguished in terms of two categories: medical and cultural, cf. G. VIGARELLO, *The Metamorphoses of Fat. A History of Obesity*, trans. C.J. DELOGU, New York 2013, p. 188–189.

⁴ Without taking up a discussion on the adequacy of objections raised against the exaggerated accusations of obesity as the origin of every kind of disease (cf. K. CHERNIN, *The Obsession...*, p. 30–42; D. McNAUGHTON, *From the Womb to the Tomb: Obesity and Maternal Responsibility*, [in:] *Alcohol, Tobacco and Obesity...*, p. 164–165, but see also M. GARD, *Between Alarmists and Sceptics: on the Cultural Politics of Obesity Scholarship and Public Policy*, [in:] *Alcohol, Tobacco and Obesity...*, p. 59–72 for the ideological entanglement of the criticism), I would like to take note (in a more common-sense way) of the universality of the potential harmfulness of this health condition, regardless of gender, sex and age. If anything, the particular harmfulness of the abdominal fatness should be a cause for concern for the obese individuals with the "typically male" rather than "typically female" type of figure. In addition, the risk of suffering from the obesity-related diseases such as diabetes or cardiovascular diseases would become quite likely higher with a person's age, in inverse proportion to the harshness of many opinions expressed on more corpulent women.

⁵ For an outline of this position, cf. C. HARTLEY, *Letting Ourselves go. Making Room for the Fat Body in Feminist Scholarship*, [in:] *Bodies out of Bounds. Fatness and Transgression*, ed. J.E. BRAZIEL, K. LEBESCO, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2001, p. 60–73. The arguments used in the discussion can be divided into two categories: certainly correct observations of this phenomenon and disputable explanations, in particular those presented in Naomi WOLF, *The Beauty Myth. How Images of Beauty Are Used against Women*, New York 1992. If the "slimness trend" is actually procured by the male need to preserve the dominance in terms of physical size and strength, the tall stature and taking care

should be added, as the historian of mentality George Vigarello has observed, the specific phenomenon of the modern-day approach to overweight is the recognition of the homogeneous nature of this category, beginning from the first kilogram (or pound) after crossing the frequently very subjectively defined line⁶. Also in an article intended as “body positive”, Venus of Willendorf and Venus of Milo can be found side by side as representations of “fat” women⁷, (in consequence, the both figures are treated as different only in a degree of transgressing the ideal – even if the ideal itself may be contested by the author). This all-or-nothing approach gives a fairly clear indication that we are confronted here with a transgression which is not so much esthetical or health-related as moral or even quasi-religious: there are various levels of sin, but even the smallest one stands in contradiction to the absolute Good. Also the line of defence pointing to the multitude of the causes for the condition represented as “not culpable” recognizes – in a humble manner – the legitimacy of condemning all kinds of “faults” of the conscious choices or the neglect resulting in even a very minor deviation from the “perfect figure”. Condemnations are also directed at the “fault” itself rather than at the outcome; the signs of plumpness (even if it is very distant from the actual obesity) turn out to be shameful as they expose the reprehensible lifestyle which leads up to this deplorable condition. As it is unnecessary to look for more drastic examples here, it is enough to point to such a peculiar literary genre as “personal” diet guidebooks of women who succeeded in achieving and keeping their slim figures – the guidebooks’ inalienable fragments are apparently the expiatory confessions of dietary faults that once led the authors to the state where going on a diet was required.

This complex phenomenon of “fat shaming” is present in our culture in such a pervasive way that we can hardly imagine it could be absent⁸ – at best, we tend to perceive the periods not overwhelmed with the modern-day obsession as the

of physical fitness should be likewise in the negative spotlight (along with excess weight). At least equally convincing are, it seems to me, the claims that the current appeal of the slim figure is fueled by the wish to negate the “traditionally female social roles”, normally associated with the more curvaceous shapes (cf. W. VANDEREYCKEN, R. VAN DETH, *From Fasting Saints to Anorexic Girls. The History of Self-Starvation*, London 1994, p. 212–213, but also A.E. FARRELL, *Fat Shame...*, p. 95–113 on the negative attitudes of suffragists to women’s corpulence and S. BORDO, *Unbearable Weight...*, p. 206–208 on today’s attitudes). And even if the largeness of a more rotund female body may be associated with domination, its plumpness may as well indicate the stereotypically feminine features such as softness and mildness (Latin: *molitia*). On the complexity of meanings connected specifically with the female fatness and thinness, cf. especially K. CHERNIN, *The Obsession...*, p. 45–95; S. BORDO, *Unbearable Weight...*, p. 185–212.

⁶ G. VIGARELLO, *The Metamorphoses of Fat...*, p. 189–190.

⁷ R. KLEIN, *Fat Beauty*, [in:] *Bodies out of Bounds...*, p. 26. Admittedly, the author points out that Venus of Milo is fat, “by our standard”, but later on he himself seems to share this “standard” view without any further reservations.

⁸ I mean the thoughtless attitude of those who make similar judgements; the researchers of this phenomenon are well aware of its historical character and have used a variety of ways to explain

world *a rebours*, where – for a change – the slim ones were held in contempt, they passed *onto the unpainted side of the canvas*, as the Polish Noble Prize-winning poet Wisława Szymborska puts it in her poem dedicated to Rubens’ painting⁹. One way or another, the first thing to be judged in a woman’s appearance would be apparently her corpulence. To make it easy to see how not obvious is this perspective, it is enough to reach back into the past – at this moment, only 150 years ago.

In the gloomy winter of 1870/1871, a group of citizens from Rouen attempts to flee Prussian-occupied Normandy by coach. Three wealthy married couples, more or less representative of the contemporary provincial elite (a nouveau riche profiteer, a respectable merchant, and a nobleman), two nuns, and two other people travelling alone: a fairly grotesque revolutionary radical named Cornudet and a wealthy prostitute Elisabeth Rousset, young woman whose remarkable beauty goes hand in hand with the excessive weight unusual for her young age (for which she was nicknamed *Boule le Suif*, variously translated as “Dumpling”, “Butterball” or “Ball of fat”).

Initially, the passengers treat the “woman of ill repute” with silent contempt, but when they become hungry during an unexpected stop-over in their journey, unfortunately without any food of their own, Dumpling apparently wins over their hearts by giving away all of her own ample provisions to her fellow-travellers. The situation becomes more complicated at a tavern where they decide to stay for the night – a Prussian officer stationed there demands spending the night with the nice-looking prostitute, but when she says no to his advances, he has the rest of the travellers arrested. First, they approve of the young woman’s resistance (motivated by her sense of dignity as much as by her patriotism), but when the arrest is still not lifted, all of them – except for Cornudet – join forces in persuading her into changing her mind. Finally, it is achieved thanks to the morally perverse argumentation used by one of the nuns, who makes the woman feel guilty because of the patients waiting for the nun’s assistance at the hospital of Le Havre, which is the travellers’ destination. Dumpling yields to the pressure and the less decent passengers take great delight in listening to and commenting on the sounds coming from her bedroom. When they resume their journey, their attitude to the courtesan is changed completely as they show the depth of their moral indignation in frozen silence and begin feasting on their victuals in front of the hungry girl, eventually left with no food amid all the confusion of the unfolding events. Cornudet, as if in an attempt to distance himself from the group, can only make an empty gesture of spitefully whistling the *Marcellieuse* and the story ends with this whistled melody and the helpless crying of a morally abused and humiliated woman.

its origin (cf. the last two chapters of this paper). I hope that the present article may be a minor contribution to the research.

⁹ W. SZYMBORSKA, *Rubens’ Women*, trans. J. TRZECIAK, VQR 77.2, 2001, p. 267.

This dismal story, which brought literary fame to Guy de Maupassant¹⁰, is rightly not included on any list of works dealing with problems of “plus size” women. Despite the fact that the title protagonist is humiliated in many ways in the course of the story, none of the other characters would even think that she could be also taunted about her weight. It is true that when the passengers become hungry during the stop-over early in their journey, the uncouth parvenu Loiseau makes a “witty” proposal of eating the fattest traveller, but both the whole company and the object of his remark herself clearly take this distasteful joke as a crude allusion to the sexual attractiveness of the protagonist, not a nasty remark about a flaw in her physical appearance¹¹. Her beauty is noticed and recognized by all the members of the travelling party, and even if she is plump in a degree to justify calling her *Boule le Suif*, none of the not very kind-hearted fellow-travellers comes up with an idea to try to find any physical flaw here – and even more so, any possible moral defect behind it. In the modern scholar’s eyes, there may be a parallel between the title protagonist’s permissive lifestyle and her ample shapes¹², but neither the fellow travellers nor the narrator express such associations – we do not even hear any sarcastic remarks about her appetite, neither in the face of the abundance of her provisions nor when they refuse to repay her generosity later on.

The questions

This stopover in our time travel appears to be necessary as by entering the realm of Greco-Roman literature, we now immerse in a period where it is hard to find similar (full of psychological depth and insight) descriptions of interpersonal relations and common situations – where also a number of various taunting remarks referring to a person’s physical appearance can be provoked. However, we have plenty of instances of satire and derision here to be able to expect the ridiculing of each particular human vice; we have the moralistic criticism of succumbing to desires, where gluttony is among the most prominently featured vices; and we also have the medical knowledge, with its awareness of the adverse consequences of the excess weight. Still, those elements would not make up any coherent whole and the mockery of fat individuals appears to be more of an incidental phenomenon. Moreover, it would be directed, almost exclusively, at male figures.

¹⁰ G. DE MAUPASSANT, *Boule le Suif, The Dumpling*, parallel text, trans. T. CHILCOTT, 2008, www.tclt.org.uk/maupassant/Boule_de_Suif_2011.pdf, access [14 VI 2022]; the story was first published in 1880.

¹¹ G. DE MAUPASSANT, *Boule le Suif...*, p. 23.

¹² L. CRATON, *The Victorian Freak Show. The Significance of Disability and Physical Differences in 19th-Century Fiction*, Amherst NY 2009, p. 115–119 – the author also argues that Dumpling’s weight corresponds to her self-reliance and freedom in projecting her own sexuality, thus symbolically setting her apart from the bourgeois society confined in the strict moral corset. It seems to me that such a view offers an unduly optimistic vision of the social status of a prostitute (even if relatively well-off) in France in the 19th-century.

Attempting to examine something that does not exist may seem to be, in itself, a melancholic – or at least somewhat perverse – activity, but the (nearly total) non-existence of the phenomenon of “fat shaming” in Antiquity suggests a couple of interesting questions here. How is this possible that the common condemnation of gluttony is not accompanied with the parallel stigmatization of fat individuals as those who yielded to such a weakness? Or why, vice versa, does not the health condition, or the appearance of a fat person, become an extra argument levelled at the vice itself? Or why, ultimately, in spite of the fairly common belief in the weakness of the female character, the rare instances of such a criticism are not addressed particularly at women, let alone judging them according to some stricter criteria of appraisal?

The cases of fat people in Antiquity

We must remember that the world of Antiquity cannot be, of course, observed through the lens of our modern perspective. In this particular matter, the overall result would be no less than satirical. The author of the most comprehensive (and in most aspects, excellent) study on the signs of fatness in ancient images Mark Bradley has devoted an extensive passage to representations of female figures, with a notable example of... a statue of the Crouching Aphrodite (specifically, one of the versions of this particular representation known from the emperor Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli)¹³. The British scholar is absolutely serious in placing this statue next to the imagery of corpulent emperors or large-bellied Silenus, mercilessly pointing to the “no less than six fleshly folds” on the stomach of the goddess, whose crouching position allegedly serves to exaggerate this detail. He suggest that the “voluptuous” shapes of many different representations of female figures have their origin in the belief in the significance of a “proper” amount of fat tissue to the female fertility¹⁴. At the same time, he does not ask if the people of Antiquity would even perceive the silhouettes of their goddesses as “ample” or if this is only a realization of the particularly restrictive modern observer. The ancient medic Galen defines the excess and the shortage of the body mass exactly through a criterion peculiar to art, i.e., the canon of Polikletos¹⁵ – as a matter of fact, we do not possess any more precise criterion to indicate what kind of bodies were deemed as too thin or too fat in Antiquity. Even if the female representations, such as of the

¹³ M. BRADLEY, *Obesity...*, p. 12–13.

¹⁴ SORANOS EPHEPINUS, *Gynaecology*, I, 34–35, [in:] SORANOS D’ÉPHÈSE, *Maladies des femmes*, vol. I–IV, ed., trans. D. GOUREVITCH, Paris 2003 – but it should be noted that, on the other hand, this author considers the excess weight as harmful to fertility.

¹⁵ GALEN, *Ars Medica*, XIV, 1–6, [in:] GALEN, *On the Constitution of the Art of Medicine. The Art of Medicine. A Method of Medicine to Glaucon*, ed., trans. I. JOHNSTON, Cambridge Mass. 2016 [= LCL, 523]. For an overview of the ancient notions on *eusarkia* as the norm of the body size, cf. K. KARILA-COHEN, *Les gourmands...*, p. 121–127, cf. also Ch. LAES, *Writing the History...*, p. 594.

Crouching Aphrodite or Ceres from the “Ara Pacis”, should depart from such a canon, it is difficult to presume that the creators of ancient Classical sculptures may have wished to depict the figures of the goddesses as imperfect or excessively overweight. Therefore, they are not “obese” according to either ancient criteria or modern medicine and they would be “voluptuously fat”, at the most in the face of our modern-day cultural norms which call for revealing and stigmatizing the slightest traces of plumpness in a young woman.

Another way of yielding to the modern-day patterns takes place when behind the accounts of the actual obesity of various historical figures, we tend to construe a peculiar didactic parable in which the ugliness, disability, or a disease are seen as a sort of a punishment for the sin of overindulgence. Indeed, the emperor Galerius, a persecutor of Christians, was reported to have his body bloated into a shapeless mass as a result of his gluttony, but his suffering and death were ultimately caused by an “ulcer”, usually identified as a form of cancer, not by his obesity¹⁶. The more frequently cited examples from Suetonius are even more problematic. The corpulence of Nero and Domitian are not associated with the excesses of greediness at all¹⁷, while in the case of Galba, a mention about his sagging side comes just before the sentence concerning his appetite, but no direct connection is indicated here and the two facts are only incidentally meaningful in the emperor’s biography¹⁸. Only in the instance of Vitellius is gluttony depicted as a foremost feature of his character. The nature of his vice is two-fold: on the one hand, the emperor has the most exquisite dishes served to him, while – on the other – losing control of his greediness to such an extent that he would even nibble at animal entrails during his presiding over the officially performed offerings¹⁹. There is nothing on the physical effects of his overindulgence in the relevant passage, and it is only in the account of the lynching that the author makes a mention of the crowd sneering at his physical defects, including his large belly and the face turned purple as a result of his drinking in excess²⁰. Nonetheless, the emperor’s embarrassing appearance remains something of secondary importance, while his huge weight is not even indirectly responsible for his downfall. Vitellius’ fatness is, at the most, the external expression of his inner ugliness, not a punishment.

¹⁶ EUSEBIUS, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, VIII, 16, 4, [in:] EUSEBIUS, *Werke*, vol. II, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Th. MOMMSEN, Lipsiae 1902–1909 [= GCS, 9]. The huge body of Galerius is also mentioned by Lactantius (L. CAELIUS FIRMIANUS LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 9, ed. et trans. J.L. CREED, Oxford 1984, cetera: LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*), but this detail is completely insignificant in his account of the emperor’s illness and death (LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 33).

¹⁷ SÜETONIUS, *Nero*, 51; *Domitian*, 18, [in:] C. *Suetonii Tranquilli De vita Caesarum libri VIII*, rec. M. IHM, Lipsiae 1907 (cetera: SÜETONIUS). Domitian’s large belly and gaunt legs would have been signs of his premature aging rather than obesity.

¹⁸ SÜETONIUS, *Galba*, 21–22.

¹⁹ SÜETONIUS, *Vitellius*, 13.

²⁰ SÜETONIUS, *Vitellius*, 17.

The most spectacular instance of an ancient ruler who brought himself to the condition of being enormously fat on account of his overeating, even consciously choosing it as a sort of a specific method of suicidal death from taking delight in eating to excess is the tyrant Dionysios of Heraklea. He was reportedly so obese that his physicians had to awaken him by using a special needle inserted in the body, piercing through the mass of the insensitive layer of fat to reach the innervated tissue²¹. The weight of the further evidence is diminished by the fact that it comes from the comedy of Menander, while the whole account has clearly the characteristics of a mocking exaggeration. And even if the quoting author defends Menander against the possible accusation of being spiteful here, at the same time he also provides an account of this particular tyrant’s unusually positive character²², which – in the moralistic context of the setting of those anecdotes – appears to express at least a sense of distancing oneself from the mockery.

The description of Dionysios’ complaint opens a peculiar catalogue of the “notorious fat men”, which is unique in the extant ancient literature. Thus, some broader context is certainly given to a number of individual mentions in the sources, allowing us to understand the nature of the derisive remarks contained therein. In addition, it gives us an idea of the scale of this “problem” in ancient minds. In an extensive work recounting an erudite conversation between the sophists, who exchange anecdotes on many possible subjects, this specific brief excerpt²³ is inserted just before the examples of the abnormally thin individuals and following the tens of examples of notorious historical figures who indulged in many different kinds of pleasures and luxury.

As for the realism of the accounts provided by Athenaios, it is sufficient to recall the example of the notorious skinny man Kynesias, who was forced to carry a specially designed wooden frame around him for supporting his frail body structure²⁴. The description of the obese ruler Ptolemy X Alexander is no less grotesque as the king was reputedly too fat to be able to move on his own, but when he heard the sound of the flute playing during a feast, he could dance barefoot longer than the most skilled dancers²⁵.

²¹ ATHENAEUS, *The Deipnosophists*, XII, 72 = 549A-D, ed., trans. Ch. BURTON GULICK, London–New York 1927–1941 (cetera: ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*).

²² ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 72 = 549C-D.

²³ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 72–74 = 549A–550F. The author also mentions Ptolemy VIII and X (cf. further on), the tyrant Megas of Kyrene, the publicly ridiculed Spartan Naukleides, and the resolute Byzantine Python, who made a reference to his corpulent wife for didactic reasons (vividly informing his fellow-citizens that when they both live in harmony, they can fit themselves under a small blanket even despite their own size).

²⁴ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 76 = 551D.

²⁵ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 73 = 550B. The author mixes up the numbers of the Ptolemeian rulers, referring to Ptolemy X as the “ninth” and to Ptolemy VIII as the “seventh” monarch of Egypt.

This anecdote is not as paradoxical as it may seem at first glance as the target of the ridicule therein is the decadent ruler's effeminacy, not his physical disability. The behaviour of Ptolemy X is considered as unworthy of a male, just as the attire of his father, Ptolemy VIII Physkos (Potbellied), to whom Athenaios refers in the previous sentence²⁶. Likewise, the well-known narrative (barely mentioned and distorted by Athenaios²⁷) about a Roman legate who made this Egyptian monarch walk through the streets of his city instead of being carried in a litter is aimed at the obese ruler's love of comfort rather than at his fatness (even if the latter was still considerable as he would be too fat to be embraced around the waist). As regards the causes for the extra-large obesity, gluttony is mentioned explicitly in the cases of the tyrants Dionysios and Megas²⁸, but a more general diagnosis is brought to the forefront: the love of luxury (ἡ τρυφή) and pleasure²⁹. This association between fatness and luxury or effeminacy is evident in the selection of two anecdotes drawn from Agatharchidas (both concerning the customs of Sparta – the Antique paragon of tough masculinity, also reflected in the strict supervision over ephebes and any possible signs of their excess weight)³⁰. The first anecdote refers to a public shaming of Naukleides, a Spartan whose fat figure showed the signs of neglecting the care for his physical fitness, while the other one tells the story of King Agesileaos ordering the disrobing of some Persian captives, all of them dressed in soft clothes, before his soldiers to reveal the "little worth" of their enemies' bodies. There is a suggestion here of the inadequate muscle mass, not the excess weight. The inclusion of the latter anecdote in the catalogue indicates that the fat man would arouse the feelings of contempt because of his weakness and disability rather than due to the body mass itself³¹. It seems that several analogical examples found in some other sources can be appraised likewise, even if the disability may

²⁶ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII 73 549D-E, cf. Ch. LAES, *Writing the History...*, p. 596–597.

²⁷ Cf. H. HEINEN, *Die Tryphè von Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II. Beobachtungen zum ptolomäischen Herrscherideal und zu einer römischen Gesandtschaft in Ägypten (140/139 v. Chr.)*, [in:] *Althistorische Studien Hermann Bengtson zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. IDEM, K. STROHEKER, G. WALSER, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 117–119.

²⁸ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 72 549A (Dionysios); XII, 74 550 C (Megas – in this case, his lack of physical activity is mentioned as well). Those two tyrants would have been the only examples of ancient rulers whose fatness reportedly brought them to death. However, Dionysios died at the age of 55 and Megas at 57 (at least), which is not premature at all, according to the standards of the contemporary period – thus, in contradiction to this particular detail from Athenaios.

²⁹ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 72 549A, C-D (Dionysios); XII, 73 549E (Ptolemy VIII); 550 B (Ptolemy X); XII, 74 550 C (Megas); 550D (Naukleides).

³⁰ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 74 550 C-E. Cf. AGATHARCHIDES VON KNIDOS, *Fragm.* 10–11, [in:] *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, vol. II.1, *Zeitgeschichte. A. Universalgeschichte und Hellenika. Texte*, ed. F. JACOBY, Berlin 1926 (a longer version of the first anecdote is preserved in CLAUDIUS AELIANUS, *Varia Historia*, XIV, 7, [in:] *Claudii Aeliani De natura animalium libri XVII, varia historia, epistolae, fragmenta*, vol. II, rec. R. HERCHER, Lipsiae 1866).

³¹ Let us note that the passage on the notorious thin men is included in Book XII as well, which in general is concerned with the harmful effects of *tryphè*.

be clearly connected with the body size³². Although the “luxury” would also suggest (indirectly) the greediness and sloth, it is noteworthy that Athenaios does not insert those anecdotes next to the much more extensive passage enumerating the notorious excesses of gluttony³³, but exactly in Book XII – focused on multiple examples of *tryphé*.

Tryphé and gluttony

It is only the Latin equivalent *effeminatio* that invested this luxurious and vulgarly extravagant lifestyle, devoted to the satisfaction of the low and hedonistic pleasures, with a clear stigma of unmanly conduct (the Greek term *tryphé* should denote frailty or fragility). The moralistic criticism was at least partially of political and cultural character here, aimed at not only the personal way of life, but possibly also the conscious self-projection of some ancient Greek tyrants and Hellenistic monarchs, who would make every effort to portray themselves as splendid in their luxury, generous in handing the “crumbs from the table” to the people, and effectively promoting the joyful and unrestrained worship of Dionysus³⁴. The most adept in this particular area were some members of the Ptolemeian dynasty, with a notable example of Ptolemy VIII. He was one of the rulers who had assumed the cognomen Tryphon³⁵, with the name Tryphaina given to his daughter, and it seems that he would even proudly present his corpulence on his coinage in token of prosperity that accompanied his reign³⁶. Unfortunately to him, he became embroiled

³² Cf. the practice of prohibiting the equites from mounting a horse, if they were deemed too fat for horse-riding (Ch. LAES, *Writing the History...*, p. 69), and a very similar story (to that of Naukleides) of how a fat soldier was shamed by Epaminondas (PSEUDO-PLUTARCHUS, *Regum et imperatorum apophtegmata*, 192c-d = *Epaminondas* 3, [in:] PLUTARCHUS, *Moralia*, vol. II, ed. W. NACHSTÄDT, W. SIEVERKING, J.B. TITCHENER, Leipzig 1971 [= BSGR]). Likewise, Cato the Elder's derisive remark, *What use will the state have of the body in which everything between the throat and the legs is nothing but the belly* (PLUTARCHUS, *Cato Maior*, 9, 6, [in:] PLUTARCHUS, *Vitae Parallelae*, rec. K. ZIEGLER, Leipzig 1969–1980 (Μάρκος Κάτων, I.1, 1969, 287–331), cetera: PLUTARCHUS), appears to assess the fat body in terms of the military ability.

³³ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, X, 1–13 = 411A–418F; also, sneering at a cynic showing his greediness during a feast – ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, III 51–52 = 96F–97C, III, 56 = 99F–100B, cf. S.E. HILL, *Eating to Excess...*, p. 96–101.

³⁴ J. TONDRIAU, *La tryphé: philosophie royale ptolémaïque*, REA 50, 1948, p. 49–54; H. HEINEN, *Die Tryphè...*, p. 119–124; S.L. AGER, *Familiarity Breeds: Incest and the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, JHS 125, 2005, p. 22–26; T. GRABOWSKI, *Tryphé w ideologii Ptolomeusza*, [in:] *Spółczesność i religia w świecie antycznym. Materiały z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej (Toruń 20–22 września 2007)*, ed. S. OLSZANIEC, P. WOJCIECHOWSKI, Toruń 2010, p. 100–103.

³⁵ Like his predecessor, Ptolemy III and perhaps also Ptolemy IV; cf. T. GRABOWSKI, *Tryphé w ideologii Ptolomeusza...*, p. 100. Similar ideals (to the dismay of the austere Romans) were probably followed by the Seleucid ruler Antioch VIII (R. FLEISCHER, *Hellenistic Royal Iconography on Coins*, [in:] *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship. Studies in Hellenistic civilisation*, vol. VII, ed. P. BILDE, T. ENGBERG-PETERSEN, L. HANNESTAD, J. ZAHLE, Aarhus 1996, p. 36).

³⁶ S.L. AGER, *Familiarity Breeds...*, p. 13, n. 71.

in a conflict with the intellectual elite of Alexandria, who would do everything they could to smear or tarnish his public image. However, their criticism had a much broader context – the aristocratic claims to moral superiority and the contempt for the low needs of the populace followed and pandered to by the destroyers of the established order: tyrants, “bad” monarchs, or populist politicians, while in terms of the Roman authors’ reception, also the sense of superiority felt by the conquerors towards the “degenerate” rulers of the Hellenistic East³⁷.

The critical treatment of *tryphé* appears to be varied in its provenance and, as such, it may follow a course different than the one followed by the criticism of gluttony. This could be, in fact, an explanation of the phenomenon already observed by Susan Hill. The author of the only book-size publication (to date) with a holistic treatment of the attitudes to gluttony and fatness in the ancient world³⁸ is compelled to note, at multiple times in her work, that the Greco-Latin literature offers the material suitable, almost exclusively, for analysis of the former issue. The genres such as the philosophical treatise, comedy, or satire each take aim at the vice of gluttony in their own ways, yet without perceiving the bodily condition as its outward expression. If anything, the model examples of gluttons are Heracles or the athlete Milon of Croton, both representing the excess of muscles rather than that of the fat tissue. This stereotype of the athlete-glutton is a recurring theme throughout Antiquity and the overweight (ἡ πολυσαρκία) of wrestlers is also criticized as a condition detrimental to physical fitness³⁹, but without this specifically modern-day, selective aversion to being fat⁴⁰.

³⁷ A. PASSERINI, *La ΤΡΥΦΗ nella storiografia ellenistica*, SIFC 11, 1934, p. 35–56; U. COZZOLI, *La τρυφή nella interpretazione delle crisi politiche*, [in:] *Tra Grecia e Roma. Temi antichi e metodologie moderne*, Roma 1980, p. 133–145; N. FISHER, *Hybris. A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece*, Warminster 1992, p. 111–117, 329–342, 350–352; T. GRABOWSKI, *Tryphé...*, p. 93–94; R.J. GORMAN, V.B. GORMAN, *ΤΡΥΦΗ and ΥΒΡΙΣ in the ΙΙΕΠΙ ΒΙΩΝ of Clearchus*, Phil 2, 2010, p. 187–208.

³⁸ Eventually, in conclusions to her study, Susan Hill states that associations between the vice of gluttony and the fat body had been very tenuous, at best, until the 15th century (S.E. HILL, *Eating to Excess...*, p. 147). A little more cautious conclusion is offered by Karine Karila-Cohen; although the more corpulent figures found in ancient Greek literature are also considered as gluttons, as if by default, this particular association is stressed only sporadically (K. KARILA-COHEN, *Les gourmands grecs...*, p. 132). The issue is complicated by the fact that the ancient physiognomy would tend to treat certain aspects of the fat person’s appearance not as the result, but the cause of gluttony regarded as a flaw in the human character cf. J. WILGAUX, *Gourmands et gloutons dans les sources physiognomoniques antiques*, [in:] *Le corps du gourmand...*, p. 34.

³⁹ K. KARILA-COHEN, *Les gourmands grecs...*, p. 114–117; Ch. LAES, *Writing the History...*, p. 606–607; more specifically on Heracles’ corpulence, cf. R. NADEAU, *Héraclès, ce gourmand*, [in:] *Le corps du gourmand...*, p. 93–108. However, we must interpret the sources with caution. In the same context, Laes refers to Lucianus’ sarcastic remark on the fat athlete Damasios’ post-mortem soul, unable to fit itself inside Hermes’ boat. Yet the actual cause for its size are the signs of the athlete’s former earthly triumphs, which the soul must leave behind upon entering the realm of the dead – all of them achieved by the wrestler on the strength of his superior physical ability, obviously not disability (LUCIANUS, *Dialogi Mortuorum*, X, 5, [in:] LUKIAN, *Werke*, vol. I–III, ed. J. WERNER, H. GREINER MAI, trans. Ch.M. WIELAND, Berlin 1981).

⁴⁰ Paradoxically, *polysarkia* is thus closer to the modern medical category of “obesity” with its reliance on the BMI, i.e., the proportion between the height and the body mass, regardless of the type of

Although the blame of gluttony was certainly an earlier phenomenon⁴¹, it seems that only the Platonic anthropology would set this particular vice in a context putting it closer to the stigmatized *tryphé*, all in relation to the theory of the hierarchical tripartite division of the soul, with its centralized localizations in the head, the chest, and the stomach: the reason, which should prevail over the spiritual part (responsible for the urges of aggression and ambition), and the lowest, appetitive part (dominated by greediness and sexual desires). Indulging in such cravings would turn the entire anthropological order upside down, turning a human being into a slave of not just those desires⁴². Plato compares such a condition of the soul with the political tyranny⁴³, associating the hedonistic lifestyle not so much with the good-natured sluggishness as the tyrannical cruelty, injustice, and perfidy – the ultimate degeneration of humanity.

In the proper criticism of *tryphé*, the themes of greediness and the love of comfort remain incidental, which is apparently similar to the identification of fatness as a deplorable effect of succumbing to such desires. On the other hand, the reverse correlation should be observed here as the historical figures whose fatness is mentioned in the sources are quite often wicked politicians, tyrants, “bad” kings, or the emperors condemned in the senatorial or Christian tradition⁴⁴. In most of those cases, nevertheless, a short glimpse on the appearance seems to be supplementary, at most, to the overall negative picture. The ancient critics of *tryphé* were much more concerned with the degradation of a person’s character than any potential physical ailments stemming from the hedonistic dissipation. This was, of course, the point of view of the moralists, not necessarily shared by the centurions responsible for the combat efficiency of their subordinates, but the ones who composed the literary works that have survived to our time were also the moralizing intellectuals, not the centurions⁴⁵.

tissue building that mass. For the notion, cf. K. KARILA-COHEN, *Les gourmands grecs...*, p. 127–131. A number of ancient Greco-Roman designations of fat individuals can be found listed in Ch. LAES, *Writing the History...*, p. 592, with only some of them explicitly referring to fatness (πιμελώδης, *pinguis*) or the characteristic features of a fat person’s appearance such as large belly (γαστροειδής, *μεγαλοκοίλος*, *ventriosus*).

⁴¹ For instance, a mockery of greediness can be observed in the satirical allusions to Heracles’ unrestrained gluttony, as found in Aristophanes’ comedy works (ARISTOPHANES, *Ranas*, 465–534; *Aves*, 1371–1373, 1446–1449, [in:] ARISTOPHANES, *Comoedias*, vol. I–II, ed. Th. BERGK, Lipsiae 1897–1900, cetera: ARISTOPHANES).

⁴² PLATO, *Timaios*, 82a–88b, rec. C.F. HERMANN, Lipsiae 1896, cf. S.E. HILL, *Eating to Excess...*, p. 45–52.

⁴³ PLATO, *The Republic*, 575C–580A, 588C–589E, ed. J. ADAM, Cambridge 1969.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cassius, a participant in Catilina’s conspiracy (MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, Fasc. 6, *In L. Sergium Catilinam orationes*, III, 16, ed. P. REIS, Lipsiae 1933), Mark Antony (MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, *Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, Fasc. 28, *In M. Antonium orationes Philippicae XIV*, II, 63, ed. P. FEDELI, Lipsiae 1986 [= BSGR]). To the instances of the “bad emperors”, we could add the chubby Justinian from the *Historia Arcana*, on whose face no traces of his (alleged?) fasting practices could be seen (PROCOPIUS, *Historia Arcana*, 8, 12, ed. J. HAURY, Lipsiae 1963). Nevertheless, it should be also observed that it is exclusively in a description of Vitellius where the anti-hero’s gluttony is shown alongside his cruelty (SUETONIUS, *Vitellius*, 13–14).

⁴⁵ Their view appears to be expressed in VEGETIUS, *Epitoma rei militaris*, I, 6, ed. M.D. REEVE, Oxford 2004; in his description of the preferred physical type of recruited soldiers, the author

Why are fat female rulers never mentioned in the ancient sources?

It could be argued that the association between fatness and *effeminatio* would account for the absence of the ridiculing of corpulent women in ancient Classical literature – after all, it is difficult to accuse a *femina* of effeminacy. But no simple wordplays can serve as an explanation here. The hedonistic lifestyle was indeed perceived as a betrayal of the prevalent model of manhood, but only in some secondary aspects may it have also relied on imitating women, e.g., by means of dressing up or assuming some “female” roles⁴⁶. This would not mean that the “wicked” female rulers had it easier⁴⁷. At most, their faults may have been reckoned as stemming from the weakness of character so “inherently peculiar” to women – as Cassius Dio puts it, explaining the reasons for the cruel and volatile behaviour of the Illyrian queen Teuta. Like a stereotypical tyrant, she would shift between the outbursts of mad arrogance and the equally mindless fear⁴⁸. The image of a tyrant as a slave of his own desires stays within the logic of the criticism of *tryphé*, but the author makes no mention of any physical defects of the queen related to the “tyrannical” styles of living, despite the fact that in the case of the positively appraised Sophonisba, her virtues are evidently corresponding with her beauty⁴⁹.

Yet it appears that ancient authors found it more difficult to build a parallel between the flaws in the feminine beauty and the ugly side of a woman’s character than to do the same thing for a male subject – thus, it was harder to lend a moralistic tone to a mention of a woman’s corpulence. Already back in the works of Homer and Hesiod, the feminine beauty was regarded in a far more ambivalent way than the male appearance: in a man his looks are unambiguously associated with virtue (*kalós kagathós*), while the beauty of the unfaithful Helen is right at the root of the later calamities of war and Pandora is even described as a “beautiful evil” (*kalós kakós*)⁵⁰. Among the “bad queens”, none was potentially more vulnerable to the

underscores the importance of the muscles and the “small stomach”, he believes also that height is less significant than physical strength.

⁴⁶ As collected in H. HERTER, *Effeminatus*, [in:] RAC, vol. IV, ed. Th. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1959, p. 619–650.

⁴⁷ It is only in the early 20th century that we can observe the transferring of this pattern on to the ground of the nascent “fat shaming”: the pseudo-scientific argumentation to the effect that obesity makes the male body acquire the characteristics reputedly peculiar to the female nature turns out, contrary to the logical obviousness, to be one-sided only as in no way can be seen an attempt to justify a more permissive approach to the female overweight with the tendencies that are (allegedly) natural to the female body – cf. A.E. FARRELL, *Fat Shame...*, p. 47–49.

⁴⁸ *Dio’s Roman History*, XII, 49, 3–4, ed., trans. E. CARY, London–Harvard 1954–1961 (cetera: CASSIUS DIO) = *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome Historiarum*, VIII, 19, ed. L. DINDORF, Lipsiae 1868–1875 (cetera: ZONARAS); on this bipolar aspect on the tyrant’s furor, see M. STACHURA, *Enemies of the Later Roman Order. A Study of the Phenomenon of Language Aggression in the Theodosian Code, Post-Theodosian Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, Kraków 2018, p. 166.

⁴⁹ CASSIUS DIO, LVII, 51 = ZONARAS, IX, 13; cf. B. JONES, *Teuta and Feminine Exemplarity in Cassius Dio’s Roman History*, [in:] *Cassius Dio the Historian. Methods and Approaches*, ed. J.M. MADSEN, C.H. LANGE, Leiden 2021, p. 406–425.

⁵⁰ R. BLONDELL, *Helen of Troy. Beauty, Myth, Devastation*, Oxford 2013, p. 3–26.

criticism of *tryphé* than Cleopatra VII. The great-granddaughter of Ptolemy VIII Physkos deliberately followed that controversial ideal by organizing the lavish celebrations with Mark Antony represented as Dionysius, in turn effectively fuelling the propaganda of Augustus in which the imminent war was depicted as a conflict between the strict Roman principles and the Oriental moral corruption⁵¹. Nevertheless, despite some minor imperfections in her physical appearance, Cleopatra would be eventually remembered by the Roman as an ideal of beauty⁵², probably because such a portrayal would fit in with the image of the stereotypical insidious seductress better than if her physical attraction had been diminished by her abuse of the Oriental life of pleasures. As it seems, the first literary representation of the famous monarch as an extra-ample and overfed allegory of *tryphé* can be found in a 19th-century novel (*Villette* by Charlotte Brontë): one of the scenes, where the narrator shows her disgust with the picture allegedly dedicated to the Egyptian Queen may be treated as an important testimony to the mental transformations leading to our modern-day mentality – to be discussed later in this paper⁵³.

It is of course possible to make a common-sense observation that Cleopatra is not represented in ancient accounts as a victim of *tryphé* simply because she did not display inclinations to put on weight in ways typical of some other members of her dynasty. If it is difficult to find a negative "heroine" of ancient history, whose weight would have been indicated as in the case of several negative male figures, the reason is also because this history has, generally speaking, definitely many more male protagonists than heroines, the public life of the period was basically a domain of men, while the list of ambitious female intriguers and "bad" queens is a relatively short one. Perhaps none of them had enough excess weight for any ancient Classical author to think it was worth writing about it as the slightly above-average corpulence would not be a personal feature exposed to critical commentary, either moralistic in nature or even in terms of appraising a woman's appeal.

Corpulence as a characteristic of the female beauty

The moralistic ambivalence in judging the feminine beauty does not mean that women in Antiquity did not take care of their good looks or attractiveness, and that such efforts would not be accompanied with sneering at some flaws in their appearance. Martialis and Juvenalis extend their incisively critical comments into the physical appearance of Roman women, the *hetaerae* of Lucan hold up their

⁵¹ G. MARASCO, *Marco Antonio « nuovo Dioniso » e il "De sua ebrietate"*, L 51, 1992, p. 538–548.

⁵² CASSIUS DIO, XLII, 34, 4–5; LUCAN, *The Civil War*, X, 138, ed., trans. J.D. DUFF, London–Cambridge Mass. 1977; PLUTARCHUS, *Antonius*, 25, 3 (Αντώνιος, III.1, 1971, 60–152).

⁵³ Cf. Ch. BRONTË, *Villette*, Ware 1999, p. 186–187 (Ch. XIX). Only as an anecdote, it could be added here that Elizabeth Taylor would also blame her time on the set of the film *Cleopatra* and her subsequent, carefree, overindulgent life at the time of her affair with Richard Burton starring as Mark Antony in the film, for her considerable weight gain. (E. TAYLOR, *Elisabeth Takes Off. On Weight Gain, Weight Loss, Self-Image & Self-Esteem*, London 1988, p. 83–88).

rivals to ridicule, while Ovid gives advice to seductresses on how to look more presentable. It is characteristic that none of the scholars has taken note of such evidence in their research on the fatness in the ancient world – even Susan Hill, subscribing with her research, at least to some extent, to the social trend of countering the “fat shaming”, a phenomenon so dominant in value judgements on the feminine beauty⁵⁴. On the other hand, such searching efforts would turn out to be unproductive to a considerable extent⁵⁵. As for questions of beauty care, the main point of concern for women in ancient Rome was focused on the signs of aging, not weight⁵⁶, with a particular obsession over hair and wigs – *vide* Ovid recalling his lover’s embarrassing blunder as she put on her own wig back to the front⁵⁷. And among more than a thousand, there is only one epigram by Martialis, incidentally aimed at women who are too thin – in the poet’s eyes – which ends with a brusque comment that he does not prefer the “thousand-pound” women either, as he would rather put meat over fat⁵⁸. Another epigram by the same author refers to a Roman woman with the exceptionally large breasts (expressed as a shameless compliment rather than as a derogatory remark)⁵⁹. It was rather a small bust which should be corrected (by means of brasserie)⁶⁰, as it is mentioned by Ovid among the physical characteristics requiring women to take suitable precautions⁶¹. It is noteworthy that the prescribed remedial measures in this passage are intended for retouching such defects as excessive thinness or short stature, but – on the other hand – there is only a humorous piece of advice for a girl “with fat fingers”: do not gesticulate too much⁶². The “precautions” against shortness or thinness as recommended by Ovid

⁵⁴ S.E. HILL, *Eating to Excess...*, p. 1–3, 9–10.

⁵⁵ It is all the more meaningful as in the satires of Juvenalis and Persius, but also in the *Epigrammata* by Martialis, there are examples of mocking remarks aimed at fat men; cf. M. BRADLEY, *Obesity...*, p. 9.

⁵⁶ M. Valerii Martialis *Epigrammaton Libri*, II, 24; III, 32; III, 93; VII, 75; X, 90, rec. W. HERAEUS, ed. corr. L. BOROVSKIJ, Leipzig 1976 (cetera: MARTIALIS, *Epigrammata*); D. Iunii Iuvenalis *Saturae*, VI, 144–145, ed. A. WEIDNER, Leipzig 1873 (cetera: IUVENALIS, *Satura*); LUCIANUS, *Dialogi Meretrici*, XI, 3, [in:] LUKIAN, *Werke...* (cetera: LUCIANUS, *Dialogi Meretrici*).

⁵⁷ OVIDIUS, *Ars Ama*, III, 161–168, 235–250, [in:] P. Ovidi Nasonis *Amores; Medicamina Faciei Femineae; Ars Amatoria; Remedia Amoris*, ed. E.J. KENNEY, Oxonii 1961 [= SCBO] (cetera: OVIDIUS, *Ars Ama*); MARTIALIS, *Epigrammata*, III, 43; VI, 12; IUVENALIS, *Satura*, VI, 490–496; LUCIANUS, *Dialogi Meretrici*, I, 1.

⁵⁸ MARTIALIS, *Epigrammata*, XI, 100, 5–6: *Sed idem amicam nollo mille librarum / Carnarius sum, pinguiarius non sum*. A weight of thousand Roman *libra* is equivalent to 327.45 kg, which is obviously a conspicuous exaggeration indicating an extremely large overweight rather than an “ordinary” plumpness.

⁵⁹ MARTIALIS, *Epigrammata*, II, 52. The cunning baths attendant charged her, for this reason, a triple admission fee, which she paid after hearing such a curious explanation (*Novit loturos Dasius numerare: poposcit / mammosam Spartalem pro tribus; illa dedit*).

⁶⁰ OVIDIUS, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 274.

⁶¹ OVIDIUS, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 263–277.

⁶² OVIDIUS, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 275–276.

are, by the way, confirmed by Juvenalis who ridicules a Roman woman attempting to conceal the both defects in an apparently unsuccessful way⁶³, but nowhere in ancient Classical literature have I found a single instance of a woman making an effort to lose her weight or at least make it seem she is slimmer than she really is.

At the same time, the same dossier would confirm the American scholar’s observation – as both Ovid and Lucan warn against the gluttony as a vice which is harmful also to a woman’s physical appearance⁶⁴, while Juvenalis makes it one of the elements of the misogynistic ridicule in *Satire* 6⁶⁵. Yet in each particular instance, the point is not the long-term effect reflected in unfavourable changes in a person’s figure, but the evidently intense aversion inspired by even simply showing the intemperance in this sphere of life. It can be seen how the patterns arising from the foundation of the moral teachings are transferred into the domains having so much in common with the morals as the mother’s quasi-moralizing advice ultimately with the intent of instructing her daughter on how to ensnare a wealthy client⁶⁶. The greediness or drunkenness are obviously so intensely associated with the ugliness of a person’s character that they can make people ugly in the physical sense as well, detracting from the attractiveness otherwise also employed for some morally nasty purposes. It is all the more intriguing in that the excessive weight is not perceived as an aspect of a person’s appearance revealing the vice of gluttony, thus especially objectionable.

On the other hand, the fatness or thinness are perceived as fairly neutral – as the features harmful to women when in excess, but have more in common with their individual charm when appearing in a moderate degree. Several verses in Ovid referring to the art of using euphemisms tell us how to flatter women who are too thin, too fat, too short, or with a very dark complexion⁶⁷. Each one of such characteristics is a defect in the feminine beauty only in extreme cases, but – for each – there is also a softer term suggesting the minor intensity of the feature’s presence. Essentially, in the latter case, such terms remain compliments: being meagre like death or bloated (*turgida*) are recognized as “vices”, but being slender (*gracilis*) as well as having full shapes (*plena*) are “virtues” in the words of the poet himself. The slight departing from the norm in any one of those aspects is most evidently in no way connected with a critical opinion or a sense of shame.

⁶³ IUVENALIS, *Satura*, VI, 503–507. A woman’s inordinate height would be an object of ridicule as well; cf. MARTIALIS, *Epigrammata*, VIII, 60.

⁶⁴ OVIDIUS, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 755–762; LUCIANUS, *Dialogi Meretrici*, VI, 3.

⁶⁵ IUVENALIS, *Satura*, VI, 426–433. It is very often that the mockery of the drunkenness itself can be found in the sources.

⁶⁶ LUCIANUS, *Dialogi Meretrici*, VI.

⁶⁷ OVIDIUS, *Ars Amatoria*, II, 657–662.

An example of the ancient “fat shaming”?

There is one Classical text which could be contrasted with the above observation as it seemingly ridicules a plump woman because of her weight caused by her lifestyle habits, namely a parable in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*, reportedly drawn from the sophist Prodikos⁶⁸. The protagonist is Heracles in his young age, standing at the crossroads and faced with the choice of his path in life. Two women of splendid appearance approach to meet him: one is tall and beautiful, dressed in a plain white garment, while the other is dressed up, with a make-up on her face, “overfed to obesity” (τεθραμμένη εἰς πολυσαρκίαν), and “very soft” (ἀπαλότητα, which may refer to plumpness but, at the same time, to a well-tended, delicate skin)⁶⁹. The latter one comes up in a rush to meet him first, trying to persuade him into taking the path leading to the carnal pleasures and luxuries – and if he ever ran short of the material resources, she would tell him how to get them. When asked what her name is, she answers: my friends call me Happiness (Εὐδαιμονία), but I am called Vice (Κακία) by my enemies⁷⁰. On the other hand, the woman introducing herself as Virtue (Ἄρετή) offers Heracles the life full of toil and effort, yet ultimately leading up to the pleasures which will be even greater for the fact that such an achievement is held in high esteem by everybody around⁷¹. Vice attempts to discourage Heracles by drawing his attention to how strenuous is the path proposed by Virtue and offering him – on the contrary – a short and easy path to the happiness⁷². And it is at this moment that her rival bursts out into a condemnatory speech beginning with the words as if taken from a dietary horror story: what sort of pleasure do you want to have without toil? You don’t even know a real desire, you eat before you feel hungry, you drink before you are thirsty, you employ cooks, you chill your wine with snow for feeling more pleasure (in spite of your constant satiety), you seek more and more comfortable beds to recline on – but your sleep comes only from boredom (not from a healthy tiredness)⁷³. The simple logic of the case is spoiled by the fact that the further mentioned offences of Vice and her pupils are lust, nightlife, and unnamed misdeeds. Those who were seduced by her in their old age are not described as fat; instead, they appear to be weak and dull, and what is more, held in contempt for their previous deeds⁷⁴. The Vice also, though immortal, would be despised by all the good people and banished by the

⁶⁸ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II, 1, 21–34, ed. W. GILBERT, Lipsiae 1949 (cetera: XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*). It is peculiar that in her search for the evidence of *corps du glouton* in ancient Greco-Latin literature, Karina Karila-Cohen has found only this one instance of a woman whose corpulence is associated with gluttony (K. KARILA-COHEN, *Les gourmands grecs...*, p. 129).

⁶⁹ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II, 1, 22.

⁷⁰ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II, 1, 23–26.

⁷¹ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II, 1, 27–28.

⁷² XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II, 1, 29.

⁷³ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II 1, 30.

⁷⁴ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II 1,31.

gods⁷⁵, but there is no suggestion that the well-rounded figure of the ex-goddess was even an additional cause for her disgrace. Nonetheless, the modern Readers cannot escape the overwhelming impression that they hear a well-known reprimand, where an overweight woman is scolded for the lifestyle by which she “got herself into” such a miserable condition⁷⁶.

It is fair to ask, however, how this text was interpreted by those who had not been marked yet by the modern obsession with the “slim figure”. The parable of Prodikos proved to be a long-lasting inspiration for the people of Antiquity as well as the later periods. Its moralistic message is used by Cicero⁷⁷ and Basil of Caesarea⁷⁸, Silius Italicus places the young P. Cornelius Scipio in a similar scene⁷⁹, and Lucan irreverently replaces the two goddesses with Sculpting and Rhetoric, showing these figures in an argument over his personal direction in life (contrary to the intuitive feeling, it is the refined Rhetoric, not the stern Sculpting – a profession which the parents wished to persuade the writer to take up – that who turns out to be the “good one” in this pastiche)⁸⁰.

The ancient representations of the scene are not preserved to our day, but in the modern time, it would have been one of the favourite themes in painting⁸¹. Vice clearly personifies *luxuria* here, depicted as nude⁸² or at least seductively exposing some of her body⁸³. The attributes of her rival (helmet, sword, or spear) identify her

⁷⁵ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II 1, 31.

⁷⁶ This is exactly the interpretation of (this particular aspect of) the parable as proposed by M. BRADLEY, *Obesity...*, p. 8.

⁷⁷ *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Officiis*, I, 118, ed. C. ATZERT, Lipsiae 1963.

⁷⁸ BASILIUS CAESAREAE CAPPADOCIAE EPISCOPUS, *Homilia de legendis gentilium libris*, 5, [in:] PG, vol. XXXI, ed. J.-P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1857. In his memory (the Church Father had heard the story a long time before writing those words), Vice personifies luxury and all sorts of pleasures, but there is nothing about her plumpness.

⁷⁹ *Silii Italici Punica*, XV, 18–128, vol. I–II, ed. L. BAUER, Lipsiae 1900–1902. Vice, who is called Voluptas here, is dressed up and perfumed with Oriental fragrances, but there is nothing about her physical appearance. She tempts the protagonist into spending an idle life in peace, while Virtue shows him the way to achieving his fame and glory as a war hero.

⁸⁰ LUCIANUS, *Somnium*, 6, 14, [in:] LUKIAN, *Werke...* On the reception of the parable in the ancient world, see E. STAFFORD, *Vice or Virtue? Herakles and the art of allegory*, [in:] *Herakles and Hercules. Exploring a Graeco-Roman Divinity*, ed. L. RAWLINGS, H. BOWDEN, Swansea 2005, p. 73–75.

⁸¹ The most comprehensive study on the topic is cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst*, Leipzig 1930.

⁸² A. DÜRER, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1498; L. CRANACH THE ELDER, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1537; P.P. RUBENS, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1610; G. BAGLIONE, *Hercules chooses between Good and Evil*, 1642; S. RICCI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1710–1720; P. DE MATTEIS, *The Choice of Hercules*, 1712; I. AKIMOVICH, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1801; P. BENVENUTI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1828.

⁸³ A. CARACCI, *The Choice of Hercules*, 1596; G. DI BENVENUTO, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, first half of the 16th century; G.B. ZELOTTI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1561; F. BOUCHER, *The Choice between Vice and Virtue*, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1567; P. VERONESE, *Young Man between Vice and Virtue*, c. 1581 (certainly inspired by the ancient anecdote, even though the boy on the painting is not Hercules); copper engraving J. SADALER I, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1590–1600 (King of Bavaria

more precisely as the Roman *virtus*, pointing a warrior's path to the young man⁸⁴; the laurel wreath on her hair can be understood as playing a similar role⁸⁵, while in some other images the covered head would be evocative of modesty, *pudicitia*⁸⁶. If the both female figures are contrasted also physically, then most often the difference is that Vice is portrayed as a blonde, while Virtue is dark-haired⁸⁷. Sometimes, the former figure is shown clearly as a younger person⁸⁸, and only Rubens depicts her also as a more well-rounded woman, but what is communicated by this particular painter may be simply "more attractive"⁸⁹. As it appears, no interpreter has noticed the detail in question, namely the overfed body of the Temptress. She is represented as an embodiment of carnal pleasures rather than as a "victim" of the pleasures experienced at the table.

In interpreting the original version of the parable, we should not limit ourselves, after all, to its ethical-philosophical dimension⁹⁰. In particular, we should not overlook one obvious parallel in a text contemporary to Prodikos himself. Ironically, this composition is *Clouds*, a comedy which mocks Socrates, who reportedly

Maximilian I shown as the hero making the right choice); J. HUNERBEIN, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1595; N. POUSSIN, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1636–1637; G. DE LAIRESSE, *Hercules Between Vice and Virtue*, 1675; Ch. DE LA FOSSE, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, early 18th century; F. VAN MIERIS THE YOUNGER, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1727; P. BATONI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1748; B. WEST, *Choice of Hercules between Virtue and Pleasure*, 1764; G. DE MIN, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1812; Th. SULY, *Choice of Hercules*, 1819. In N. SOGGI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, first half of the 16th century she is fully dressed, but more ornately than Virtue.

⁸⁴ A. DÜRER, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1498; G.B. ZELOTTI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1561; J. HUNERBEIN, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1595; P.P. RUBENS, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1610; G. BAGLIONE, *Hercules chooses between Good and Evil*, 1642; Ch. DE LA FOSSE, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, early 18th century; P. BATONI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1748; P. PALAGI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*; I. AKIMOVICH, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1801; G. DE MIN, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1812; P. BENVENUTI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1828.

⁸⁵ F. BOUCHER, *The Choice between Vice and Virtue, Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1567; P. DE MATTEIS, *The Choice of Hercules*, 1712; A. CARACCI, *The Choice of Hercules*, 1596; S. RICCI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1710–1720.

⁸⁶ N. SOGGI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, first half of the 16th century; J. HUNERBEIN, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1595; G. DE LAIRESSE, *Hercules Between Vice and Virtue*, 1675; F. VAN MIERIS THE YOUNGER, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1727; Th. SULY, *Choice of Hercules*, 1819.

⁸⁷ P. VERONESE, *Young Man between Vice and Virtue*, c. 1581; A. CARACCI, *The Choice of Hercules*, 1596; Ch. DE LA FOSSE, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, early 18th century; S. RICCI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1710–1720; P. BATONI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1748; B. WEST, *Choice of Hercules between Virtue and Pleasure*, 1764; G. DE MIN, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1812.

⁸⁸ M. BALDUCCI, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 15th century; G. DI BENVENUTO, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, first half of the 16th century; copper engraving J. SADALER I, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1590–1600; G. DE MIN, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1812.

⁸⁹ P.P. RUBENS, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, 1610.

⁹⁰ As for instance Stelio Zeppi, who made an attempt to read this narrative in the spirit of a dispute between the vulgar hedonism and the utilitarian Eudaimonism; cf. S. ZEPPI, *L'etica di Prodicco*, RCSF 11, 1956, p. 266–268.

passed Prodikos’ narrative, as it would agree with his own moral teachings, exactly as the one who would allegedly bring up the young people into the bad ways of life. The “Good” and the “Bad Argument” shown arguing in the interlude represent, respectively, the traditional and “newfangled” upbringing of young people, where the latter method is presented as leading to the immoral life in pursuit of pleasures (with more emphasis on the pleasures of the bed than on those experienced at the table), while the perversely employed rhetoric is a tool used to achieve it⁹¹ – most probably corresponding to those secretive measures that Vice promised to tell Heracles. It appears that in the both instances there is a simple contrast between, on the one hand, the urban life and the morally doubtful means of earning one’s living thanks to having the gift of speech and, on the other, the idealized labour of a peasant⁹² – which is exactly what would constitute the *pónos* (ὁ πόνος) as recommended by Virtue. The pleasures personified by Vice are the luxuries of the city life (which only later will grow into the tyrannical *tryphé*) contrasted with the rustic simplicity. This has nothing to do with a discussion on “a caloric balance”.

Why is it, then, that Vice is shown as “overfed to corpulence”? To put it more precisely, the term *polysarkía* denotes a large body, not necessarily with negative overtones; in any event, Vice is not described as clumsy or ugly because of her overweight as she is quite lively and enticingly well-rounded. It seems that this is one of the oppositions which characterize the appearance of the both female figures, where one makes some contrived efforts to measure up to or surpass the natural and simple beauty of the other: hence, Vice is dressed up, with a make-up on her face, but also well-fed in such a way as to look impressive – confronted with the natural magnificence of Virtue⁹³.

Fatness in the moral philosophy of the Church Fathers

It is worth noting that the researchers have found the chronologically first explicit mention specifically on the ugliness of women putting on weight as a result of their gluttony only in one of John Chrysostom’s homilies. However, the author condemns there such pleasures and illustrates their pernicious results for the beauty and health of men and women in general, regardless of sex⁹⁴. And even if the moral preaching of the Church Father is aimed against gluttony and luxury, his real concern is the health of the soul, its ability to be in control of the body. The plump

⁹¹ ARISTOPHANES, *Neves*, 955–1238. It should be noted, of course, that the image of the crossroads leading to Vice and Virtue derives from Hesiod; cf. M. KUNTZ, *The Prodikeyan “Choice of Herakles” a Reshaping of Myth*, CJ 89.2, 1993/1994, p. 165–166, 170.

⁹² V. EHRENBERG, *The People of Aristophanes*, New York 1962, p. 73–94.

⁹³ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*, II, 1, 22. R. BLONDELL, *Helen of Troy...*, p. 10 observes that unlike Virtue, Vice shows an acute awareness of her body as an object to be viewed.

⁹⁴ IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Homilia in epistulam I ad Corinthios*, 39, 9, [in:] PG, vol. LXI, ed. J.P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1962.

chariot horses from another one of his Homilies are a vivid picture of disobedience rather than of disability⁹⁵. The constant references to the passages of the Old Testament evoke the ambivalent fat symbolism, as found in the Bible: a symbol of God's blessing, but also – on the other hand – a manifestation of the rich man's arrogance and his illusory hopes in the material prosperity⁹⁶.

Nevertheless, we cannot deny John Chrysostom's concern, even if secondary, also for the health and beauty of the body. After all, he begins his Homily with the following rhetorical figure: God tells us to love our enemies, while Satan depraves us to hate even our own body⁹⁷. And if the condemnation of drunkenness and overeating is peculiar to the ancient moral thinking, concentrating on the negative long-term consequences of succumbing to the vices like the overweight seems to be a new feature. But this is not the only one or even the most common approach in the contemporary Christian moral teaching. Something opposite can be noticed in Jerome's complaining about the Christians so unaccustomed to the practice of fasting that they do not hesitate to identify an emaciated ascetic woman as a "Manichaeon"⁹⁸. There is no doubt that he considers such outward signs of asceticism as desirable, yet the spiritual beauty and health here is not parallel but – paradoxically – contrasted with the beauty and health of the body.

A similarity to the modern anorexic mentality suggests itself here⁹⁹, with the relevant works apparently showing the affinity between such attitudes, but not necessarily the clear-cut continuation¹⁰⁰. The use of the body aversion language by the 19th-century anorectics, even if derivative of Plato or Augustine¹⁰¹, does not have to be a manifestation of the ancient authors' influence as it is only indicative of employing their thought (well-known because of the classical education) for the purpose of expressing a new, not necessarily closely related, idea.

⁹⁵ IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Homilia in Acta Apostolorum*, 27, 3, [in:] PG, vol. LX, ed. J.P. MIGNE, Paris 1962.

⁹⁶ S.E. HILL, *Eating to Excess...*, p. 32–34; Ch. LAES, *Writing the History...*, p. 629.

⁹⁷ IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Homilia in epistulam I ad Corinthios*, 39, 1.

⁹⁸ *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ep. 22.13, vol. I, rec. I. HILBERG, Vindobonae–Lipsiae 1910 (cetera: HIERONYMUS).

⁹⁹ Even more, if we consider that one of the disciples of the Church Father, Blesilla, died because of her excessive fasting practices (HIERONYMUS, ep. 39, cf. A. CAMERON, *The Later Roman Empire A.D. 384–430*, London 1993, p. 81–82).

¹⁰⁰ W. VANDEREYCKEN, R. VAN DETH, *From Fasting Saints...*, *passim*. The essential difference between the ancient and Christian fasting practices and diets, which became a characteristic feature of our culture in the Victorian era, is the shift in their main object – as Susan Bordo put it briefly: from now on, a diet becomes the *project in service of the body rather than of soul*. *Fat, not appetite or desire, became the declared enemy* (S. BORDO, *Unbearable Weight...*, p. 185). But the simplicity of this difference may be complicated by the fact, that many features of character connected with the slim body are near to those, which the ancients wanted to achieve with their ascetical practices.

¹⁰¹ A. KRUGOVOY SILVER, *Victorian Literature and the Anorexic Body*, Cambridge 2004, p. 8–9, the similarities in the rhetoric of body shaming shown also in K. CHERNIN, *The Obsession...*, p. 42–44.

In spite of some isolated statements, the ancient Christian thought is far from judging the body corpulence as such. Even putting the gluttony at the top (or perhaps more precisely at the bottom¹⁰²) of the cardinal vices list did not cause that the corpulent people began to be regarded as peculiarly “stigmatized” by their sinful way of life¹⁰³. At the most, the fat body could be seen as a metaphor for the earthly pleasures and – thanks to the Old Testament – to the earthly vain glory.

A step towards the modern imagination

But – it seems exactly to be the point. Although we are still quite far from the modern-day mentality, it seems that a certain significant step towards it has been made¹⁰⁴. If, on our return journey through time, we should make another stop among the great works of the 19th-century prose¹⁰⁵, we could encounter some striking parallels, linking the excessive corpulence of the young woman with vainglorious pride and the sinful seductive appeal, putting on weight would correspond with gaining the physical beauty, but at the same time the spiritual turpitude. Aware of the arbitrariness of my selection, I would like to refer to two vivid examples from Russian literature. The first one is the wife of Pozdnishev from *The Kreutzer Sonata*. After getting married, this slim and beautiful girl is tormented with illnesses of her children, while the constant care of them apparently devours her life and love. Finally, she falls ill herself and, on the advice of her doctors, she rejects the possibility of any further pregnancies for the sake of rescuing her own health (to the moral dismay of her husband, the narrator). She recovers and blossoms again, gaining weight and a definitely more self-assertive attitude – metaphorically described there as *fresh, well-fed, harnessed filly whose bridle’s been removed*¹⁰⁶. As her appealing, though a little excessive, corpulence reawakens her sexual appetite, she ends up failing to resist the temptation of infidelity (perhaps imagined by her jealous husband and murder). Another example is Grushenka, one of the protagonists in *The Brothers Karamazov*. In the scene where she makes her appearance,

¹⁰² Gluttony is treated as the least of all the cardinal sins, but – at the same time – the first in a cause-and-effect sequence as it leads to some more serious temptations.

¹⁰³ S.E. HILL, *Eating to Excess...*, p. 121–143.

¹⁰⁴ On the possible influence of Christian ascetics on the attitudes of today, cf. J. COVENEY, *In Praise of Hunger: Public Health and the Problem of Excess*, [in:] *Alcohol, Tobacco and Obesity...*, p. 150–152.

¹⁰⁵ I am aware of the methodological questionability of this leap in time. An author writing a hypothetical “History of Plumpness” should certainly make a thorough research in medieval and early modern sources, seeking clues leading to the Victorian views addressed further on. Nevertheless, such a study would have to be much broader than the present piece of research. My task here is only to draw a comparison between the ancient and modern-day views as well as to show the moment of the mental shift which substantially contributed to the difference.

¹⁰⁶ L.N. TOLSTOY, *The Kreutzer Sonata*, [in:] *The Kreutzer Sonata Variations. Lev Tolstoy Novella and Counterstories by Sofiya Tolstaya and Lev Lvovich Tolstoy*, trans. et ed. M.R. KATZ, New Haven 2004, p. 41 (Chapter 18).

she is described as having *the lines of the Venus of Milo, though already in somewhat exaggerated proportions*, plump in an alluring way, an endearing figure full of feline charms, seemingly child-like and innocent, but in fact cunning and spoilt, a seductress cruelly manipulating people's feelings and emotions for fun¹⁰⁷. But, as she confesses to Alosha in a moment of contrition, inside her vainglorious and immoral self acquired with wealth (and weight)¹⁰⁸, there is an innocent girl she once was: still crying inside, so thin and naïve, mistreated, abused, and abandoned by her former lover¹⁰⁹. In both instances, a young woman's gaining weight becomes the outside expressions of putting on a new, morally corrupt personality, filled with vanity and immoral coquetry.

If we read the great works of the 19th-century prose more carefully, we may find some further examples when the young female protagonists' plump shapes appear to correspond with their more vivid temperament as well (at least with vanity and the penchant for coquetry)¹¹⁰. Perhaps not good enough to serve as the evidence material, but the literary motifs seem to be based here on some more widespread notions. When tracing the evolution of the meanings associated with greediness, Florent Quellier observes that it began to be treated, over time, as allusion to the pleasures of the flesh as well¹¹¹. At least some forms of this particular vice (such as having a so-called sweet tooth) would begin to be also associated with the "typically feminine" weakness of character¹¹² (obviously, a view rooted in the standard criticism of *effeminatio*). The disapproval of the excess weight in women, as present in the Victorian period, appears to go two ways: on the one hand, putting on much weight is a sign of the premature aging process and the accompanying

¹⁰⁷ F. DOSTOYEVSKY, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. C. GARNETT, New York 2009, p. 164–190 (Part I, Book III, Chapter X).

¹⁰⁸ Let us add that Grushenka owes her relative affluence to some financial scheming and the assistance from her former lover, an old merchant (cf. F. DOSTOYEVSKY, *The Brothers Karamazov...*, p. 436–437 (Part III, Book VII, Chapter III) – this resembles her own position in society (a financially independent but socially disdained woman) to that occupied by the title heroine of Maupassant's short story.

¹⁰⁹ F. DOSTOYEVSKY, *The Brothers Karamazov...*, p. 450–451 (Part III, Book VII, Chapter III).

¹¹⁰ For instance, let us notice a juxtaposition of the two young protagonists, "slim and humble" and "more well-rounded and more coquettish", like Emma Haredale and Dolly Varden (Ch. DICKENS, *Barnaby Rudge. A Tale of the Riots of Eighty*, Auckland 2010, p. 287–290, Ch. XX) or Paulina de Basompierre and Ginevre Fanshaw (Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 247 (Ch. XXIII), p. 334 (Ch. XXXIII)), while the flagship example of the slightly corpulent and immoral beauty in the French literature is Nana of the eponymous novel by Emil Zola (E. ZOLA, *Nana*, trans. B. RASCOE, New York 1922, p. 13, 16, 19 (Ch. I)). But at the same time, we should note that this feature of the appearance is, in most cases, just a detail which we perceive only by very careful reading.

¹¹¹ F. QUELLIER, *Gourmandise. Histoire d'un péché capital*, Paris 2010, p. 98–106, 125–126. For the continuity of such a picture in our time imagination and its possible influence on the difference in the perception of men and women indulging in eating cf. S. BORDO, *Unbearable Weight...*, p. 110–134.

¹¹² F. QUELLIER, *Gourmandise...*, p. 94–96, 126.

loss of good looks¹¹³, while – on the other – the exaggerated femininity becomes an expression of the lack of one’s self-discipline and modesty¹¹⁴, with the resulting suggestions of the correlation between the above-average weight and the licentious conduct of the contemporary prostitutes¹¹⁵. A further aspect of the contemporary mental shift is the birth of the phenomenon of anorexia as a peculiar form of the young women’s opposition to sexual maturity and the aversion to one’s body and carnal desires¹¹⁶.

So characteristic of that early-Victorian perspective are apparently the sarcastic comments of Lucy Snowe (the narrator in *Villette*) aimed at the Belgian schoolgirls or the image of Cleopatra placed at the honourable place of the art gallery of Brussels¹¹⁷. Some of those biting comments sound like out of the modern-day arsenal of “fat shaming”: observations of the more corpulent schoolgirls stealing sandwiches with marmalade¹¹⁸, reflections on the amount of beefsteaks most likely

¹¹³ G. VIGARELLO: *The Metamorphoses of Fat...*, p. 119–120.

¹¹⁴ It was already in the early decades of the Victorian period that the “jiggling” of the female body was considered as contrary to a sense of decorum, as a sign of her lack of self-control (ELIZA FARRAR, *The Young Lady’s Friends*, 1837, after A. KRUGOVOY SILVER, *Victorian Literature...*, p. 11); the manners of the genuine lady, her self-restraint were reflected in the modesty of her meals, while the more ample curves were associated with the lasciviousness and the aggressive, possessive sexuality; cf. *ibidem*, p. 9–13.

¹¹⁵ A.J.B. PARENT-DUCHÂTELET, *De la prostitution de la ville de Paris*, 1837 (after G. VIGARELLO, *The Metamorphoses of Fat...*, p. 120); C. LOMBROSO, *The Female Offender*, New York 1897 (after A.E. FARRELL, *Fat Shame...*, p. 66–68). The same view can be found in Tolstoy’s *Resurrection*, in a description of the mode of living at a house of prostitution: eating generous amounts of food and laziness (L.N. TOLSTOY, *Resurrection*, trans. L. MAUDE, Oxford 2020 (Ch. II), undoubtedly connected with changes taking place in the physical appearance of Katarina Maslova (L.N. TOLSTOY, *Resurrection...*, p. 35 (Ch. IX). For a shift in the appraisal of the female plumpness taking place in the course of the Victorian era, cf. also short overview by M. MATTHEWS, *Victorian Fat Shaming. Harsh Words on Weight from the 19th Century*, 2016, <https://www.mimimatthews.com/2016/04/25/victorian-fat-shaming-harsh-words-on-weight-from-the-19th-century/> [14 VI 2022].

¹¹⁶ W. VANDEREYCKEN, R. VAN DETH, *From Fasting Saints...*, p. 2; A. KRUGOVOY SILVER, *Victorian Literature...*, p. 18. For the broader context in the Victorian mentality and its linking of women’s slimness, modest eating, modesty and sexual repression cf. W. VANDEREYCKEN, R. VAN DETH, *From Fasting Saints...*, p. 181–216; A. KRUGOVOY SILVER, *Victorian Literature...*, *passim*.

¹¹⁷ Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 186–187 (Ch. XIX). It has been assumed that the authoress was actually inspired by the painting *Une Almée* by Edouard de Bieuvre, depicting a contemporary Oriental beauty. The identification with the Queen of Egypt is connected with the contemporary perception of Cleopatra as a peculiar archetype of the Oriental woman: sensual, dangerous, someone in direct opposition to everything a decorous Victorian lady should stand for (cf. I. KING, *Study Help. Cleopatra Imagery in 19th Century Novels. Middlemarch and Villette*, 2018, <https://owlcation.com/humanities/Cleopatra-Imagery-in-19th-Century-English-Novels-Middlemarch-and-Villette> [14 VI 2022]. For the attitudes of Lucy Snowe to eating and corpulence, cf. A. KRUGOVOY SILVER, *Victorian Literature...*, p. 100–115.

¹¹⁸ Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 200 (Ch. XX).

served to the Egyptian monarch, having fun with the idea of difficulties in finding the scales for the body of that “Gypsy queen” (estimates it at 14–16 stones, i.e., c. 90–100 kg)¹¹⁹. But Miss Snowe does not question the health or beauty of the large bodies criticized; she would contrast it with a beauty more ethereal and spiritualized. In the criticism of Cleopatra and the excess and glamour around her, the English author ventures – rather unwittingly – on condemning *tryphé*, so much associated with the Ptolemeian dynasty. Contrasting the spiritual depth with the physical fitness follows in the footsteps of Jerome’s words. Quite ironically, the Puritan woman regards the heartless solicitude for the latter as a distinctive mark of Catholicism¹²⁰. The line leading from the Christian asceticism to the Victorian anorexia may seem to be obvious, but there is a significant new element here: the autonomous admiration for the sheer corporal beauty, for a type of good looks which is to correspond to that more profound spirituality – whether it may be the gaunt actress acting as Vashiti with a touching intensity¹²¹ or the “alabaster” Pauline, with her petite figure and as thin as a child¹²². The classical beauty can be seen at the opposite end (in a fairly broad spectrum encompassing the statues of Classical Antiquity as well as the images of women in Rubens’ paintings¹²³), corresponding to the more superficial approach to life, the ordinary and plebeian tastes¹²⁴.

Back to our times

It could be presumed that the fatness adding to a person’s sexual allure (even if vulgar, or seen as depraved and sinful) is infinitely distant from the fatness which is cast in direct opposition to sex appeal. Yet the researchers have linked the emergence of the “slim body” worship with the popularization and rationalization of the notions so characteristic of Miss Snowe. The late Victorian period saw the advent of a trend towards the healthy lifestyle with a clear moralistic context, curiously corresponding to the postulations of the contemporary movement for prohibition.

¹¹⁹ Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 186 (Ch. XIX). The obsessive preoccupation with weighing oneself is a sign of the times as well – the popularization of scales and the practice of measuring one’s body mass began exactly in that period; cf. W. VANDEREYCKEN, R. VAN DETH, *From Fasting Saints...*, p. 211.

¹²⁰ Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 116 (Ch. XIV). The accusation is justified to some degree in that by contrast with the rigid Protestantism, the Catholic Church has accepted over time the pleasures of the table (to a limited extent), recognizing the community-building aspect of the common feasting and perceiving the culinary art as a way of “loving your neighbour”. The vivid clash of the two mentalities can be seen in the short story *The Feast of Babette* by Karen Blixen and its excellent film adaptation (F. QUELLIER, *Gourmandise...*, p. 39–58).

¹²¹ Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 240–241 (Ch. XXIII).

¹²² Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 247 (Ch. XXIII).

¹²³ Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 196, 241 (Ch. XX, XXIII).

¹²⁴ Ch. BRONTË, *Villette...*, p. 186, 192, 241 (Ch. XIX, XXIII).

In a way similar to alcohol and tobacco, the female corpulence was seen as likely becoming passé soon not because of some implausible arguments of the contemporary medicine, but as something “leading to immorality”¹²⁵.

It is paradoxical in a way that the Victorian ideal of the spiritualized and ethereal beauty has survived and even reinforced its position with a revision taking place in the evaluation of the sexuality itself, as the attractive appearance has evolved from being a temptation of sin to a quasi-moral obligation. Perhaps exactly for this reason, it may have acquired this rigour that is so peculiar to the moral obligations: from then on, a woman’s figure should also reflect her self-discipline and ability to resist the temptations of gluttony and sloth¹²⁶.

It is still not very hard to notice the former stern moralizing behind the seemingly amoral ideal. Accusations of promoting obesity directed at plus-size models sound absurd from those who question the attractiveness of such women. If they actually inspired some kind of physical aversion or associations with bad health, they would be viewed as deterrent examples rather than propagators of a reprehensible lifestyle. Words of outrage are easier to understand as we discern the same moral outrage behind them that was once addressed at women of ill repute entering with confidence the venues reserved for decent ladies (or those who would decently conceal their indecency). The point is not the absence of the attractiveness, but the proud display of such in violation of the established norms. And the threat is so serious that the “sinful allure” must be denied and shouted down, even if by aggressively expressed mockery. The hidden sexual context of the “guilt” appears to be the simplest explanation for the asymmetrical treatment in stigmatizing women and men, unjustifiable on the basis of the medical science.

In the “overindulgence” attributed to the modern “sinful” woman, it is easy to recognize such aspect as drowning in a dark enslavement to the hedonistic *tryphé*¹²⁷. Further accusations: the tardiness in conforming to the accepted norms or selfishly causing the society to incur the costs of “medical treatment” are more likely variations on the Biblical theme of a rich man’s godless arrogance. As a matter of fact, even supporting the moral condemnation with medical arguments can

¹²⁵ K. BELL, D. MCNAUGHTON, A. SALMON, *Introduction*, [in:] *Alcohol, Tobacco and Obesity...*, p. 4. I have to admit, however, that this lead is marginal in the modern-day attempt to explain the historical roots of the phenomenon. For instance, Farrell would rather blame associating fatness with the “uncivilized” ways of life of the “inferior” classes, ethnicities, and cultures. In this interpretation, she points out that in the early 20th century the sexual attractiveness of well-rounded female bodies was not completely denied, but rather ridiculed and despised as not appropriate to the “civilized” tastes (A.E. FARRELL, *Fat Shame...*, p. 68–75). In my opinion, such attitudes, even if partially correct, fail to explain the extreme “genderisation” of the “fat shaming” in our culture, which results – among other things – in the statistics of anorexic patients (cf. K. CHERNIN, *The Obsession...*, p. 61–65).

¹²⁶ Even if the strictness has its roots in the Victorian imagination, it now serves to evaluate the woman’s body in a very non-Victorian (or even anti-Victorian) style.

¹²⁷ J. COVENEX, *In Praise of Hunger...*, p. 146–147.

be derived from the ancient thought – a belief that gluttony is the cause of all diseases combined with the moralistic criticism of the expensive and extravagant cuisine¹²⁸.

Although the list of accusations is known to the ancient, both Christian and pagan, moralists, they do not see – as yet – the clear stigma of such flaws and faults in the physicality of a fat person. All the more so, they do not see those in the physicality of a more or less corpulent young woman. The ambivalence in the perception of the feminine beauty would make it harder (rather than easier) to associate the flaws in character with those in one's physical appearance – and even if so, a woman's solicitude for good looks was criticized rather than praised. It is likely that such an ambivalence may have influenced the formation of the modern-day "fat shaming" – this apparently illogical passing from recognizing the more corpulent bodies as more immoral to deprecating their sexual worth. But this shift would take place at a much later time. As long as fatness and thinness were void of any moralistic connotations, without bringing any notions of vice or virtue to mind, they were simply one of many features of a woman's physical appearance, which could affect her good looks only when significantly departing from the norm. Otherwise, they were not seen as anything noteworthy – at most, regarded as something peculiar to a woman's individual charm.

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¹²⁸ As Seneca the Younger puts it: *diseases are innumerable? don't be surprised: count the cooks – innumerabilis esse morbos non miraberis: cocos numera* (SENECA, *Ep.* 95, 23, [in:] *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium epistolarum moralium quae supersunt*, ed. O. HENSE, Lipsiae 1898).

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IUSTITIA AND CORRUPTIO IN LIBER CONSTITUTIONUM SIVE LEX GUNDOBADA

Abstract. After 476, Flavius Gundobadus, King of the Burgundians (473–516), sought ways and means to consolidate and strengthen his power, including through legal regulation of the relations between the Burgundians themselves, on the one hand, and between the Burgundians and the Gallo-Romans, on the other. Thus, *Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada* was issued, the main purpose of which is the legal regulation of the complex relations in the kingdom, through a codification of the preserved customary law – an embodiment of tribal traditions, practices, and customs, with reasonable use of Roman legal ideas, notions, and norms.

The translation and analysis of selected provisions from *Lex Gundobada* in this paper show the extent to which the Burgundians perceived, received, adopted, and adapted some of the most valuable Roman legal and moral rules and principles, especially the Roman concepts of *iustitia* and *corruptio*, and how the rights of both the Burgundians and the Romans were regulated and protected through them.

Lex Burgundionum is part of a series of legal Barbarian codes, compiled, adapted, published, and applied in the Barbarian *regna* between the 5th and 9th centuries. These codes are one of the significant and true sources for the historical reconstruction of the socio-political, socio-cultural, and legal-administrative transition from the late Roman Empire to the German kingdoms and early medieval Europe. They manifest how historically the arena of clashes, confrontations, and wars between *Romanitas* and *Barbaritas* gradually became a contact zone of legal reception, of cultural, legal, and socio-political influences, from which a new world will be born, a successor to the old ones, and a new legal system – the Romano-Germanic one.

Keywords: Burgundians, *Lex Gundobada*, *ius Romanum*, *iustitia*, *corruptio*, legal reception, *Romanitas*, *Barbaritas*, *leges Barbarorum*

The transition from the late Roman Empire to the Germanic kingdoms and early medieval states¹ is a significant period of transformation for *Romanitas*²

¹ H. WOLFRAM, *Das Römerreich und seine Germanen*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2018; M. MEIER, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung. Europa, Asien und Afrika vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, München 2019.

² *Romanitas* – the Roman identity, encompassing the Roman value system of virtues, legal and moral principles, traditions, norms (*mores*), and memory (collective and individual) of *mos maiorum*.

and *Barbaritas* in terms of its sociopolitical, legal, and historical consequences. In aiming to understand and reconstruct this in-between liminal world of change, continuity and new historical horizons, we must undoubtedly explore and interpret the nature, purposes and essence of *Leges Romanae Barbarorum*³ and *Leges Barbarorum*⁴.

More or less influenced by *ius Romanum*, the compilers produced texts, preserving and reflecting the unwritten customary law of their ancestors, part of their collective memory (similar to the Roman *mos maiorum*⁵). Through this codification and unique reception⁶ they also adapted their socio-legal philosophy to the changed socio-political context during the settlement in the former Roman territories.

The disintegration of the once great empire⁷, *imperium sine fine*⁸, was a slow process, with early harbingers. It accelerated especially in the period 376–476. In these years, the imperial power failed to organize the administrative, political and social

It lies at the basis of the Roman state, philosophy, and law. It draws its sources from a shared memory of the Roman ancestors, of *maiores*, the worthy and brave, who laid the foundation of *Civitas Aeterna* through their individual and collective *virtus*. For *Romanitas* cf.: *Transformations of Romanness. Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, ed. W. POHL, C. GANTNER, C. GRIFONI, M. POLLHEIMER-MOHAUPT, Berlin 2018; P.J. HOLLIDAY, *The Rhetoric of “Romanitas”: The “Tomb of the Statili” Frescoes Reconsidered*, *MAAR* 50, 2005, p. 89; E.S. GRUEN, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, Ithaca 1992, p. 71, 141; C.N. COCHRANE, *Christianity and Classical Culture. A Study of Thought and Action From Augustus to Augustine*, Oxford 1980, p. 62, 292; *The Portable Greek Historians. The Essence of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius*, ed. M.I. FINLEY, New York 1959, Bk VI, sec 56, p. 499; E. HAMILTON, *The Roman Way*, Avon 1932, p. 64, 158; P. SARRIS, *Empires of Faith. The Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500–700*, Oxford 2011, p. 68–72.

³ Particularly valuable are *Lex Romana Visigothorum* or *Breviarium Alarici(anum)* of 506, and *Lex Romana Ostrogothorum* (*Edictum Theodorici Regis* – 500).

⁴ Among the most significant are *Codex Euricianus* (5th century, c. 480), *Lex Burgundionum* (*Lex Gundobada*, 6th century, c. 500), *Lex Salica* (6th century, c. 500), *Lex Ripuaria* (7th century), *Pactus Alamannorum* / *Lex Alamannorum* (7th–8th centuries, c. 620, 730), *Leges Langobardorum* (7th–11th centuries), *Lex Baiuvariorum* (8th century, c. 745), *Lex Frisionum* (8th century, c. 785), *Lex Saxonum* (8th–9th centuries, 803), *Lex Thuringorum* (9th century).

⁵ *Mos maiorum* (pl. *mores maiorum*) – the morals, the custom(s) of the ancestors: a key concept of Roman traditionalism. The unwritten code from which the Romans derived their legal and moral norms, owes its binding force to *auctoritas maiorum* (“the authority/influence of the forefathers”). A key element of their collective identity. M. TULIUS CICERO, *Philippicae*, 10.20: *Omnes nationes servitutem ferre possunt: nostra civitas non potest, nec ullam aliam ob causam nisi quod illae laborem doloremque fugiunt, quibus ut careant omnia perpeti possunt, nos ita a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus ut omnia consilia atque facta ad dignitatem et ad virtutem referremus. ita praeclara est recuperatio ut ne mors quidem sit in repetenda libertate fugienda*. CICERO, *Orations Philippics* 7–14, ed. D. BAILEY, Cambridge Mass. 2009 [= LCL, 507], p. 120.

⁶ St. JURASINSKI, *Ancient Privileges. Beowulf, Law and the Making of Germanic Antiquity*, Morgantown 2006, p. 93.

⁷ M. KULIKOWSKI, *Imperial Tragedy. From Constantine’s Empire to the Destruction of Roman Italy*, London 2021, p. 260–276.

⁸ *Vergil’s Aeneid*, 1.279, *Books I–VI*, ed. C. PHARR, Boston–New York 1998, p. 42.

management over the vast territories. Internal strife and infighting, corruption, religious politics with the imposition of a single monotheistic religion protected by law, the persecution, disenfranchisement and slaughter of heathens and heretics⁹, the use of religion as an instrument of power control over the masses, the army, hardly infiltrated by Barbarians are factors that facilitate these processes. In Northern Gaul¹⁰ Barbarian chieftains engage in battles for supremacy, while local Roman nobles reap the benefits of chaos and change.

In these period Roman history was dominated by this struggle, which lasted years – from the beginning of the civil war, in which Orestes, Odoacer, Nepos and Gundobad competed for supremacy¹¹. Concentration and consolidation of power as a sole ruler was a main purpose of one of them, nephew¹² of Ricimer¹³ – Flavius Gundobadus¹⁴ (d. 516) – patricius¹⁵, a notable vigorous and merciless¹⁶ leader in the early post-Roman world¹⁷, greatest of all Burgundian kings, progressive as legislator, with a different mindset¹⁸. After 476¹⁹ when

⁹ D. VALENTINOVA, *Theodosian Code: Fides Catholica Adversus Paganos et Haereticos*, BS 50, 2015, p. 45–70.

¹⁰ *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Roman Germany*, ed. S. JAMES, S. KRZNICEK, Oxford 2020, p. 494.

¹¹ P. MACGEORGE, *Late Roman Warlords*, Oxford 2002, p. 269, 283.

¹² M.R. SALZMAN, *The Falls of Rome. Crises, Resilience, and Resurgence in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2021, p. 211; G. MAIER, *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu den Institutionen der ostgermanischen Völkerwanderungsreiche*, Stuttgart 2005, p. 96.

¹³ According to John Malalas (374–375) Ricimer called Gundobad to Italy from Gaul where he was *magister militum*. P. MACGEORGE, *Late Roman...*, p. 242; D. HENNING, *Periclitans res publica. Kaisertum und Eliten in der Krise des Weströmischen Reiches 454/5 – 493 n. Chr.*, Stuttgart 1999, p. 93.

¹⁴ M. GIDEON, *Amtsträger und Herrscher...*, p. 96–98.

¹⁵ P.S. BARNWELL, *Emperor, Prefects & Kings. The Roman West, 395–565*, London 1992, p. 82–83.

¹⁶ According to GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Decem Libri Historiarum (Historia Francorum)*, II, 28: *Gundobadus Chilpericum fratrem suum interfecit gladio uxoremque eius [...]*, *Gregorii Turonensis episcopi opera omnia necnon Fredegarii Scholastici epitome et chronicum cum suis continuatoribus et aliis antiquis monumentis*, [in:] PL, vol. LXXI, ed. J.-P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1858, p. 223.

¹⁷ M. FRASSETTO, *The Early Medieval World. From the Fall of Rome to the Time of Charlemagne*, vol. I, A–M, Santa Barbara 2013, p. 296.

¹⁸ P. MACGEORGE, *Late Roman...*, p. 275; D. FRYE, *Gundobad, the Leges Burgundionum, and the Struggle for Sovereignty in Burgundy*, CM 41, 1990, p. 205.

¹⁹ The significance of the event circa the year 476 and as a whole, this transitional period for Roman history can hardly be summed up in a single article, much less in a footnote. The studies are numerous, from Gibbon's "fall of Rome" (E. GIBBON, *The History of the Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire*, vol. I–VI, Westminster Md 2010; IDEM, *The Christians and the Fall of Rome*, New York 2005); Watts' "decline and fall of Rome", which "offers eerie parallels" to the present" (*The Eternal Decline and Fall of Rome. The History of a Dangerous Idea*, ed. J. WATTS, Oxford 2021, p. 237); Sarris' "fall of Rome" (P. SARRIS, *Empires of Faith...*); Ward-Perkins' "fall of Rome and the end of civilization" (B. WARD-PERKINS, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, Oxford 2005, p. 39); Heather with *The fall of Rome [...] constitutes one of the formative revolutions of European history [...] it changed the world for ever* (P. HEATHER, *The Fall of the Roman Empire. A New History of Rome and the Barbarians*, Oxford 2005, p. XI–XII); Halshall who defines the assassination of Julius Nepos (480) as the final

Odoacer²⁰ seized power in Rome, Gundobad, King of the Burgundians²¹, sought ways and means to expand his kingdom and consolidate and strengthen his power, including through legal regulation of the relations between the Burgundians themselves, on the one hand, and between the Burgundians and the Gallo-Romans, on the other. His legislative decisions were highly Romanized, and it could be seen clearly in both legal co-existing²² codes, issued by his order: the Burgundian *Lex Burgundionum* (or *Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada*) and the Roman-Burgundian *Lex Romana Burgundionum*.

Lex Romana Burgundionum borrows legal decisions from *ius Romanum*²³, though mainly in its vulgar form²⁴ with infusion of Germanic notions and ideas, and is directly applicable to the Gallo-Romans, the Roman population under Burgundian rule. On the other hand, the “pure” Burgundian legal code *Lex Burgundionum* (*Lex Gundobada*) was also strongly influenced by the Roman law²⁵.

end of the Western Roman empire (G. HALSALL, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568*, Cambridge 2007 [= CMT], p. 282); Salzman who analyzes “the falls of Rome”, five political and military crises *critical for understanding the fall of Rome* (p. 1), noting that the *idea about the dating of the fall of Rome was created by sixth-century eastern writers* (p. 197), also p. 13–18, 35, 98, 111, 129, 135 (M.R. SALZMAN, *The Falls of Rome...*); to Mommsen’s “Odoacer and Theoderic” – *German kings, who ruled as commissaries of the emperors* (Th. MOMMSEN, *Ostgotische Studien*, Berlin 1910, p. 362sq), et al.

²⁰ More about his relationship with the Roman elite and this transitional period: D. HENNING, *Periclitans res publica...*, p. 178–187.

²¹ More about Second Burgundian Kingdom: K. ESCHER, *Les Burgondes I^{er}–VI^{er} siècle apr. J.–C.*, Paris 2006, p. 61–262; J. FAVROD, *Histoire politique du royaume burgonde*, Lausanne 1997; J. FAVROD, *Les Burgondes. Un royaume oublié au coeur de l’Europe*, Lousanne 2011; K. REINHOLD, *Die Burgunder*, Stuttgart 2004. The Burgundian kingdom is a good historical example how a king (Gundobad) and a bishop (Avitus) work together to create a new social, legal and religious world, driven not only by conquest and strategies for consolidation of power, but even more by policies for unification. Both Gundobad and Avitus accelerated the Gallo-Burgundian fusion. It was facilitated partially by the fact that Burgundians perceived themselves as descendants of the 5th century Romanized military nobility. R. MATHISEN, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul. Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition*, Austin 2011, p. 6; H. ROSENBERG, *Bishop Avitus of Vienne and the Burgundian Kingdom, A.D. 494–518*, Qu 3, Article 2, 1982, p. 9; U. HEIL, *Avitus von Vienne und die homöische Kirche der Burgunder*, Berlin–Boston 2011.

²² B. WAUTERS, M. BENITO, *The History of Law in Europe. An Introduction*, Cheltenham 2017, p. 37.

²³ Reception from *Codex Gregorianus*, *Codex Hermogenianus*, *Codex Theodosianus*, post-Theodosian Novels, *Gai Institutiones*, *Pauli Sententiae*. *Lex Romana Burgundionum* is consisted of 47 titles. *Lex Romana sive forma et expositio legum Romanorum*, ed. L. DE SALIS, [in:] *Leges nationum Germanicarum*, vol. II.1, *Leges Burgundionum*, Hannoverae 1892 [= MGH.LL, Sectio I, 2.1], p. 123–124.

²⁴ E. LEVY, *West Roman Vulgar Law. The Law of Property*, Philadelphia 1951 [= MAPS, 29], p. 15. A. KREMER, V. SCHWAB, *Law and Language in the Leges Barbarorum: A Database Project on the Vernacular Vocabulary in Medieval Manuscripts*, [in:] *Law and Language in the Middle Ages*, ed. M.W. MCHAFFIE, J. BENHAM, H. VOGT, Leiden 2018 [= MLP, 25], p. 235–261.

²⁵ The first direct and more comprehensive contact of the Burgundians with the Roman law most probably was during the early 5th c., when Honorius granted land to them and they founded a federate kingdom. *The Burgundian Code. Book of Constitutions or Law of Gundobad. Additional Enactments*, trans. K. DREW, Philadelphia 2010, p. 8.

The main purpose of *Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada* was legal regulation of the complex relations in the kingdom, through a codification of the preserved customary law – an embodiment of tribal traditions, practices and customs, with reasonable and historically inevitable use of Roman legal ideas, notions and norms. As with other Barbarian codes, excluding the Ostrogoths²⁶, the principle of the personality of law, characteristic of the post-Roman period, has been adopted.

The parts of the code are compiled chronologically – except for the first title, which had undergone multiple revisions, titles 2–41 were drawn up circa 483–501; titles 42–88 – in the period 501–527; titles 89–105 and *Constitutiones Extravagantes* (Additional Enactments) – not clear whether in the years of Godomar rule (524–532) or after his death when the Franks annexed Burgundian lands²⁷.

Lex Burgundionum reflects an early mixing of Germanic tribal culture with Roman law in a unique way. The practical aim was to create conditions for peaceful coexistence between different ethnic groups, allies, or enemies in the recent past, by enforcing two co-existing legal codes in a dualistic legal system. This normative act is perhaps one of the most significant in terms of influence and legal consequences Barbarian codes, as it survived, it remained in force among the Burgundians and was applied long, even after the Frankish invasion, until the 9th century²⁸. In it, we rediscover already known Roman moral concepts, principles, and norms protecting justice (*iustitia*), equality (*aequitas*)²⁹ and virtue (*virtus*)³⁰ against corruption (*corruptio*)³¹ with its moral, ethical and administrative dimensions.

If we turn back to Rome, Roman *corruptio* flourished in two main forms: electoral corruption (*ambitus*)³² – obtaining positions by illegal means, electoral

²⁶ The Ostrogoths did not recognize the principle of the personality of the law, unlike the other Barbarian kingdoms. *We did not allow that Goths and Romans live under two different laws [...] when we join them in the same affection* – wrote in 510 Theodoric The Great to the Goth Count Sunhivad. G. BARETIERI, *The Cimbrians and their “Law”: A Possibility of Langobard Laws Continuum*, [in:] *Struggles for Recognition. Cultural Pluralism and Rights of Minorities*, ed. O. FUENTE, M. FALCÃO, J.D. OLIVA MARTÍNEZ, Madrid 2021, p. 116.

²⁷ *The Burgundian Code. Book of...*, p. 7.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

²⁹ *Aequitas*, atis, f – justice, sense of justice, equality, M. VOYNOV, A. MILEV, *Latin-Bulgarian Dictionary*, Sofia 1990, p. 31.

³⁰ *Virtus*, utis, f – 1. courage, bravery; 2. heroism; 3. virtue, valor, *ibidem*, p. 774.

³¹ *Corruptio*, onis, f – decay, falsehood, degradation, lying, bribery, corruption; from *corrumpo*, -rupi, ruptus, 3 – destroy, ruin, spoil, seduce, forge, distort, corrupt, bribe, *ibidem*, p. 160.

³² *Ambitus*, us, m – 1. a) going around, circling; b) detour; c) circle, girth. 2. obtaining office illegally, through bribes. 3. smearing, demagoguery. 4. ambition, *ibidem*, p. 44. The Latin noun *ambitus* literally means going around, unlawfully obtaining office by bribery, anointing, demagoguery. The verb *ambio* and the noun *ambitio* express as well, the pursuit of positions and political fame by roundabout ways, VARRO, *On the Latin Language*, 5, 22, vol. I, *Books V–VII*, London–Cambridge Mass. 1938 [= LCL, 333], p. 20. The crime *ambitus*, sanctioned by a whole series of anti-corruption laws in Rome, implied two punishable acts – *ambitus* and *largitiones*. *Largitiones* were offered in two

fraud, bribery of voters; and official corruption in its two most widespread manifestations: *furtum pecuniae publicae* – misappropriation of public property (*pecunia publica*) or theft from the treasury; waste of state property by officials or violation of the requirements for management of public property; and *crimen repetundarum* – demanding and receiving a bribe or extortion by officials – provincial governors, judges and other magistrates.

*Iustitia*³³, the supreme guiding, legal and administrative principle of justice, is in the foundations of the Roman anticorruption legislation, moral and legal antithesis of *corruptio*, and we rediscover it in *Lex Burgundionum*.

Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada³⁴

The most famous man Gundobad, king of the Burgundians. As we have reflected deeply on the ordinances of our ancestors and ourselves on the peace (*quies*) and benefit (*utilitas*) of our people, we have considered what is most appropriate for integrity (*honestas*), discipline (*disciplina*), reason (*ratio*), and justice (*iustitia*) in the light of all individual cases and legal titles. We discussed all of these things in the presence of our best men (*optimates*) and began to write down not only our opinions but theirs, designed to stay in the law forever. In the name of love for justice (*amore iustitiae*), through which God is at peace.

1. In the name of God, in the second year of our Lord's reign, the most glorious King Gundobad, a book of constitutions for the preservation of laws, past and present, and those to be preserved in the future, was passed on the fourth day before the Calendas of April (March 29) in Lyon³⁵.

forms. From the point of view of *optimates*, the most dangerous, *the most supreme and massive form of corruption through bribery, is legislation promising prosperity for the people*, A. LINTOTT, *Electoral Bribery in the Roman Republic*, JRS 80, 1990, p. 14. The second, widely used by *optimates* and *populares* alike, are private *largitiones*, given out generously by candidates in the hope of giving them a successful final outcome. D. VALENTINOVA, *The Roman Face of Electoral Corruption or "Nihil novi sub sole"*, SCS 2, 2013, p. 41–68. *Largitio*, onis f – 1. a) generous giving, generosity. b) bribe, *largitionis suspicio*. 2. giving, gifting, handing out, M. VOYNOV, A. MILEV, *Latin-Bulgarian...*, p. 376. *Ambio*, 4 – 1. go round, surround. 2. struggle to win on my side; aspire to ~ *populum, magistratum, ibidem*, p. 44. *Ambitio*, onis, f – 1. seeking, seeking from the people (place, office, etc.). 2. search for the disposition of the people; flattery, demagoguery. 3. bias. 4. ambition, thirst, *ibidem*.

³³ *Iustitia*, ae, f – justice, *ibidem*, p. 368.

³⁴ *Leges Burgundionum, Liber Constitutionum sive Lex Gundobada*, ed. L.R. DE SALIS, Hanover 1892 [= MGH.LL, 2.1], p. 29–116. All translations from Latin in the paper are made by the author, D. Valentinova.

³⁵ *Vir gloriosissimus Gundobadus rex Burgundionum. Cum de parentum nostrisque constitutionibus pro quiete et utilitate populi nostri inpensius cogitemus, quid potissimum de singulis causis et titulis honestati, disciplinae, rationi et iustitiae conveniret, et coram positus obtimatibus nostris universa pensavimus, et tam nostram quam eorum sententiam mansuris in evum legibus sumpsimus statuta perscribi. Amore iustitiae, per quam Deus placatur. Vir gloriosissimus Gundobadus rex Burgundionum. (1) In Dei nomine anno secundo regni domni nostri gloriosissimi Gundobadi regis liber consttutionum de praeteritis et praesentibus atque in perpetuum conservandis legibus editus sub die IIII. kalendas Aprilis Lugduno. L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 29–30.*

The key words and notions in the introduction here are “ancestral ordinances” (an allusion to the Roman *mores maiorum*), “peace and benefit of our people” (recalls the Roman *bonum commune communitatis, utilitas populi Romani*), “integrity” (*honestas* and *virtus* also used by Roman lawmakers), “reason and justice” (*ratio* and *iustitia* in *ius Romanum*), moreover all of which applicable to each individual case and following the reason and the principle behind the law (*ratio legis*).

Roman *iustitia* is a multifaceted concept in Roman self-consciousness, in the Roman value system, in the Roman pantheon (*dea Iustitia*), in *ius Romanum*, which the Barbarians recognized by historical necessity, associated with their notions of justice, and valued with dignity as soon as they adopted and adapted cardinal concepts and principles of Roman law. We could delve into the deeper layers of this concept trying to suppose what the Burgundians felt and perceived, historically and socially experiencing first the confrontation and then the mutual penetration and influence between *Romanitas*³⁶ and *Barbaritas*³⁷.

Roman *iustitia* is the power and the will which distributes, renders, gives back to everyone what is due to them, *suum cuique distribuit*³⁸. *Iustitia* is the universal ultimate retribution *suo cuique tribuendo*³⁹. *Iustitia* is the honor and duty to judge truly, *verum iudicare*⁴⁰. *Iustitia* is the eternal and unchanging will to attribute, to assign to everyone his own right, *constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi*⁴¹. *Iustitia* is the ultimate supreme duty “to live honestly, to hurt no one, to give everyone his due”, *honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere*⁴². *Iustitia* is the knowledge of the divine, eternal and human things, the knowledge

³⁶ *Romanitas* as a quintessence of the Roman value system of virtues, moral principles, traditions, norms and memory of the history and customs of the ancestors (*mos/mores maiorum*), which underlies the Roman state, philosophy and law. For *Romanitas* see in particular: E.S. GRUEN, *Culture and National...*, p. 71, 141.

³⁷ *Barbaritas* as a quintessence of the value system of the German peoples, of their socio-cultural, customary, spiritual, historical perceptions, traditions and norms.

³⁸ *Nam iustitia, quae suum cuique distribuit, quid pertinet ad deos?*, “And the justice that distributes to every one what is due to them, how does it relate to the gods?”, CICERO, *De Natura Deorum*, III, 38, The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/nd3.shtml#38> [9 V 2022].

³⁹ “Justice in retribution to each his own”. CICERO, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, V, 67, The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/fin5.shtml#67> [9 V 2022].

⁴⁰ Cf. *Edictum Theoderici regis*, ed. F. BLUHME, Hanover 1875–1889 [= *MGH.LL (Leges in Folio)*, 5], p. 145–179, 149, 152: 7. *Iudex ut discussis allegationibus vel documentis utriusque partis, verum iudicet. Iudex discussis utriusque partis suggestionibus atque documentis id solum iudicare debet, quod iuri et legibus viderit convenire.*

⁴¹ *Imperatoris Iustiniani opera*, Dig. 1.1.10pr. Ulpianus 1 reg. *Iustitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuendi*, “Justice is the eternal and unchanging will to attribute to every one his own right”. The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/justinian/digest1.shtml> [9 V 2022].

⁴² *Imperatoris Iustiniani opera*. Dig. 1.1.10.1. Ulpianus 1 reg. *Iuris praecepta sunt haec: honeste vivere, alterum non laedere, suum cuique tribuere*, “The precepts of the of law are these: to live honestly, to hurt no one, to give every one his due”. The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/justinian/digest1.shtml> [9 V 2022].

of the just and the unjust, *divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, iusti atque iniusti scientia*⁴³. *Iustitia* is the ultimate source of the law (*ius*), “the art of the good and the just”, *ars boni et aequi*⁴⁴. *Iustitia* is the only virtue queen of all others, *una virtus omnium est domina et regina virtutum*⁴⁵. *Iustitia* together with labor is the ultimate condition for the state to grow and prosper, *labore atque iustitia res publica crevit*⁴⁶.

In *Lex Burgundionum* we find Roman *iustitia* in general and specific provisions prescribing certain impeccable and honest conduct of officials or sanctions for acts committed against the general prohibition, plainly postulated by Paulus – *contra iustitiam iudicasse*⁴⁷. The same fundamental principle of legitimizing the law and administration of justice through their connections with the highest moral and ethical concepts and categories, especially with *iustitia* and *aequitas*, is recognizable not only in *Lex Gundobada*, but in other Barbarian codes as well⁴⁸.

Like in Roman law, justice (*iustitia*) is protected by special provisions sanctioning official corruption, including judicial corruption. Integrity and justice are supreme moral values in *Lex Burgundionum*, for which protection the Burgundians have chosen the force of legal norms. The principle of reciprocal justice in the spirit of *ius Romanum* (“to give back to every one what is due to them”, *suum cuique tribuere*)⁴⁹ is expressed in the duty of the judge to decide fairly, *verum iudicere*, according to the objective truth. A similar requirement for the judge to decide and

⁴³ *Imperatoris Iustiniani opera*. Dig. 1.1.10.2. Ulpianus 1 reg. *Iuris prudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, iusti atque iniusti scientia*, “The wisdom of the law is the knowledge of the divine and human things, the knowledge of the just and the unjust”. The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/justinian/digest1.shtml> [9 V 2022].

⁴⁴ *Imperatoris Iustiniani opera*. Dig. 1.1.1pr. Ulpianus 1 inst. *Iuri operam daturum prius nosse oportet, unde nomen iuris descendat. est autem a iustitia appellatum: nam, ut eleganter Celsus definit, ius est ars boni et aequi*, “Before practicing law, one must know where the word *ius* comes from. *Ius* comes from *iustitia*: because, as Celsus exquisitely defines: “Law is the art of the good and the just””. The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/justinian/digest1.shtml> [9 V 2022].

⁴⁵ CICERO, *De officiis*, III, 28: *Iustitia enim una virtus omnium est domina et regina virtutum*, “Because justice is the only virtue that is the mistress and queen of all others”. The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/off3.shtml#28> [9 V 2022].

⁴⁶ SALLUSTIUS, *Bellum Catilinae*, 10. [...] *when the state, thanks to labor and justice, grew [...]*. The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/sall.1.html#10> [9 V 2022].

⁴⁷ Cf. *Pauli sententiarum*, Liber V, Titulus XXX, Ad Legem Iuliam repetundarum, [in:] *Lex Romana Visigothorum. Ad LXXVI librorum manu scriptorum fidem recognovit, septem eius antiquis epitomis, quae praeter duas adhuc ineditae sunt, titulorum explanatione auxit, annotatione, appendicibus, prolegomenis* G. HAENEL, Lipsiae 1848, p. 438, 440.

⁴⁸ E.g. 15. *Volumus, ut sicut nos omnibus legem observamus ita et omnes nobis legem conservare faciant, et plenam iustitiam in eorum ministeriis, quicquid ad nos pertinet, facere studeant: Capitularia regum Francorum*, 102, ed. A. BORETIUS, Hannoverae 1881 [= *MGH.LL, Sectio II, 1*]. *Pippini Capitulare Italicum*, Legum Sectio II, Tomus I, Hannoverae 1881, p. 210.

⁴⁹ *Imperatoris Iustiniani opera*. Dig. 1.1.10pr. Ulpianus 1 reg. The Latin Library, <https://thelatinlibrary.com/justinian/digest1.shtml> [9 V 2022].

rule truthfully, again under the influence of *ius Romanum*, we find in the provisions of *Edictum Theoderici regis (Lex Romana Ostrogothorum)*⁵⁰. Ex lege both Barbarian codes obliged the judge to take all measures to ensure the disclosure of the truth, under the law, guided always by *amor iustitiae* and acting against *corruptio*:

2. In the name of love of justice, through which God is appeased and power over earthly possessions is acquired, after we first had the advice of our *comites*⁵¹ and nobles (*proceres*), we endeavored to enact these laws so that honesty and fairness in what will be judged (*integritas et aequitas iudicandi*) to prevent all rewards and acts of corruption⁵².

It is no coincidence the repetition of “all” (*omnes*) – the giving and the receiving of *all* rewards must be prevented and prohibited, rewards, which are in fact disguised bribes. *All* rulers and judges, that is, all those employed and charged with the executive and the judiciary power, to be guided solely by the law in the spirit of the principle of the rule of law and justice, and by integrity as the supreme virtue:

3. Accordingly *all* rulers (*administrantes*) and judges (*iudices*) are obliged to judge between the Burgundians and the Romans following our laws, which were drafted and amended by a common treatment so that no one hopes or assumes that he will receive something like a reward or repayment on behalf of any of the parties as a result of the acts or decisions; but let that party that merits, to achieve justice (*iustitia*) and let the integrity of the judge alone be sufficient⁵³.

Under the influence of the Roman *iustitia* and *aequitas* the imperative rule *verum iudicare* is normatively bound by the general prohibition *contra iustitiam iudicasse*⁵⁴. Similar norms (in the light of *Pauli sententiarum*) are found

⁵⁰ 7. *Iudex ut discussis allegationibus vel documentis utriusque partis, verum iudicet. Iudex discussis utriusque partis suggestionibus atque documentis id solum iudicare debet, quod iuri et legibus viderit convenire.* “7. The judge to decide correctly on the discussed allegations and documents of both parties. The judge, after discussing the allegations and documents of both parties, should judge only what appears to be under the law and the normative acts”. *Edictum Theoderici regis...*, p. 149, 152.

⁵¹ Roman, and later Byzantine, civil or military official. J.B. BURY, *A History of the Later Roman Empire. From Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.)*, Norderstedt 1889, n. 6, 41.

⁵² 2. *Amore iustitiae, per quam Deus placatur et potestas terrenae dominationis acquiritur, ea primum habito consilio comitum et procerum nostrorum studuimus ordinare, ut integritas et aequitas iudicandi a se omnia praemia vel corruptiones excludat.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 30–31.

⁵³ 3. *Omnes itaque administrantes ac iudices secundum leges nostras, quae communi tractatu compositae et emendatae sunt, inter Burgundionem et Romanum praesenti tempore iudicare debebunt, ita ut nullus aliquid de causis et iudiciis praemii aut commodi nomine a qualibet parte speret aut praesumat accipere, sed iustitiam, cuius pars meretur, obteneat et sola sufficiat integritas iudicantis.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Pauli sententiarum*, Liber V, Titulus XXX, Ad Legem Iuliam repetundarum, [in:] *Lex Romana Visigothorum...*, p. 440.

in *Lex Romana Visigothorum (Breviarium Alaricianum)*, which defines judicial corruption as a crime against justice and punishes *corrupti iudices* with removal from the curia by the provincial governor, exile or demotion for a specified period. The judges should have been convicted of being guided by a “corruption motive” (*causae corrupti*) and “against justice” (*contra iustitiam*) in passing their acts⁵⁵.

Iustitia together with *integritas* and *aequitas*, socially fundamental, ethical and moral concepts, are inevitably connected with the rule of law principle, elements of which we could trace in *Lex Gundobada*:

4. We believe that the provisions of this law must also apply to us, so that no one may dare to test our integrity (*integritas*) in any case by votes⁵⁶ or remuneration; first of all, by repelling from us, through our pursuit of equality (*aequitas*), what we forbid to all judges under our administration, let our treasury accept nothing more than what is established in the laws on the payment of fines⁵⁷.

Lex Gundobada affirms equality before the law for both Burgundians and Romans and obliges them to respect the rules of public law and especially anti-corruption prohibitions. The principle of legality is an essential key element of the rule of law, which requires unexceptionable fairness in the application of the law and equality before the law, and must be observed by all officials empowered to take administrative or judicial decisions.

Anti-corruption provisions are essential and we could feel in them the spirit of the anti-corruption Roman laws⁵⁸, and *Codex Theodosianus*. The punishment under the Barbarian law for official corruption committed by a judge, that is, by an official who must supervise the observance of the law and administer justice according to it, is death in case of deliberate, intentional violation of the law with corruption motive, and financial sanctions in any other minor cases of judicial corrupt behavior:

⁵⁵ *Pauli sententiarum*, Liber V, Titulus XXX, Ad Legem Iuliam repetundarum, [in:] *Lex Romana Visigothorum...*, p. 438, 440.

⁵⁶ Suffragium, ii, n – vote in Roman Assembly; right to vote; opinion, evaluation, approval, consent. M. VOYNOV, A. MILEV, *Latin-Bulgarian...*, p. 685.

⁵⁷ 4. *Cuius legis conditionem nobis quoque credidimus inponendam, nec ullus in quolibet causarum genere integritatem nostram suffragiis aut praemio adtemptare praesumat, a nobis primum aequitatis studio repellentes, quod a cunctis sub regno nostro iudicantibus fieri prohibemus, ne fiscus noster aliquid amplius praesumat, quam de solutione multae legibus legitur constitutum.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 31.

⁵⁸ Cf. Paulus on several Roman laws that incriminated and persecuted ambitus, peculatus, crimen repetundarum and vi publica et privata in Rome: *Lex Iulia de ambitus*, *Lex Iulia peculatus*, *Lex Iulia de vi publica et privata*, *Lex Iulia de repetundis – Pauli sententiarum*, Liber V, Titulus XXXII, Ad Legem Iuliam ambitus, [in:] *Lex Romana Visigothorum...*, p. 440; *Pauli sententiarum*, Liber V, Titulus XXIX, Ad Legem Iuliam peculatus, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 438; *Pauli sententiarum*, Liber V, Titulus XXVIII, Ad Legem Iuliam de vi publica et privata, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 438; *Pauli sententiarum*, Liber V, Titulus XXX, Ad Legem Iuliam repetundarum, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 438, 440.

5. Therefore let all the optimates (*optimates*), counselors (*consilarii*), domestics (*domestici*)⁵⁹, governors of the palaces (*maiores domus nostrae*), also secretaries (*cancellarii*), comites (*comites*) of towns or villages, Burgundians, as well as Romans, and all judges, appointed and military (*iudices militantes*), know that nothing can be taken in connection with those cases which are pending or decided, and that nothing should be sought in the name of promises or award from the disputing parties; or that the parties to the case must not be compelled by the judge to reach agreements to obtain something in this way⁶⁰.

Lex Gundobada determines the most severe punishment for a superior corrupt official empowered with administrative and judicial authority – the death penalty. But the principle of justice requires the responsibility to be personal and the heirs not to be affected by the sentence. The circle of criminally responsible persons is precisely determined, referring to *all the optimates (optimates), counselors (consilarii), domestics (domestici), governors of the palaces (maiores domus nostrae), also secretaries (cancellarii), comites (comites) of towns or villages, Burgundians, as well as Romans, and all judges, appointed and military (iudices militantes)*:

6. And if any of the above, bribed against our laws, or even pronouncing decision justly, is convicted of accepting remuneration for a case and a court decision, after his crime is proven, let him be sentenced to death for the example of all: but in such a way that his sons or legal heirs are not to blame regarding this property for which bribery has been proven, for which he was punished⁶¹.

The principle of *iustitia* and *aequitas* could be tracked in the very co-existence of a unique dualistic Roman-Barbarian legal system, in which Romans preserved some legal autonomy, having the right to keep their *ius Romanum* in litigations between them, including when the crime is *corruptio*:

8. However, we order the Romans to be judged according to the Roman law, since the crime of bribery (*venalitas*)⁶² was forbidden under a similar condition to that established by our

⁵⁹ Domesticus – civil, ecclesiastical and military service in the late Roman Empire and Byzantium. From domesticus, i, m – domestic, family (friend); paternal, local. M. VOYNOV, A. MILEV, *Latin-Bulgarian...*, p. 208. The term can be traced back to the 3rd century in the late Roman army. *Protectores domestici* were guards serving the Roman emperor. I. SYVÄNNE, *Military History of Late Rome 361–395*, vol. II, Havertown 2014, p. 4, 79, 110.

⁶⁰ 5. *Sciant itaque optimates, consilarii, domestici et maiores domus nostrae, cancellarii etiam Burgundiones quoque et Romani civitatum aut pagorum comites vel iudices deputati, omnes etiam et militantes: nihil se de causis his, quae actae aut iudicatae fuerint, accepturos aut a litigantibus promissionis vel praemii nomine quaesituros; nec partes ad compositiones, ut aliquid vel sic accipiant, a iudice compellantur.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 31–32.

⁶¹ 6. *Quod si quis memoratorum corruptus contra leges nostras, aut etiam iuste iudicans, de causa vel iudicium praemium convictus fuerit accepisse, ad exemplum omnium probato crimine capite puniatur: ita ut facultatem eius, in quo venalitas vindicatur, a filiis aut legitimis heredibus suis, quae in ipso punita est, culpa non auferat.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 32.

⁶² Venalitas, atis, f – from venalis, e – for sale, exposed for sale, venal, corrupt. M. VOYNOV, A. MILEV, *Latin-Bulgarian...*, p. 759.

procreators: let them know that they must follow the form and wording of the written law as they judge a case so that no one is excused for ignorance⁶³.

Lex Gundobada, just like *Edictum Theodorici Regis*, also establishes safeguards against offenses in the field of the criminal law, adopted in the process of legal reception from *Codex Theodosianus*. One of them is the normative rule from Liber IX.1.19pr. that every criminal charge must be proved, and every unproven criminal defamation must be punished: *the person who questions another's good name, property, position, and life must know that the corresponding punishment threatens him if he does not prove what he has accused him of*⁶⁴.

The principle of reciprocal justice requires fair administration of *iustitia*, sanctions for unfounded and unproven allegations of *corruptio*, especially when the accused is an unjustifiably slandered judge:

9. And for the criminal act committed before that time, to preserve the form of the previous law regarding judgments; but we also insert that if a judge is accidentally accused of corruption (*in corruptione accusatus*) and could be convicted without any reason, let the accuser be subjected to a punishment similar to the one we ordered to be imposed to the corrupt judge (*iudicem corruptum*)⁶⁵.

The principle of justice also states that everything new that is added and not regulated in the written law has not received official legitimacy and must be referred to the authority:

10. However, if something inserted is not contained in our laws, we order those who judge to refer it to us⁶⁶.

⁶³ 8. *Inter Romanos vero, interdicto simili conditione venalitatis crimine, sicut a parentibus nostris statutum est, Romanis legibus praecipimus iudicari: qui formam et expositionem legum conscriptam, qualiter iudicent, se noverint accepturos, ut per ignorantiam se nullus excuset.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 32.

⁶⁴ *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, Berlin 1905: CTh.9.1.19pr. [=brev.9.1.11pr.] *Imp. Honorius et Theodosius aa. consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis, senatui suo salutem dicunt. Accusationis ordinem iam dudum legibus institutum servari iubemus, ut, quicumque* in discrimen capitis accessitur, non statim reus, qui accusari potuit, aestimetur, ne subiectam innocentiam faciamus. Sed quisquis ille est, qui crimen intendit, in iudicium veniat, nomen rei indicet et vinculum inscriptionis arripiat, custodiae similitudinem, habita tamen dignitatis aestimatione, patiat, nec impunitam fore noverit licentiam mentiendi, quum calumniantes ad vindictam poscat similitudo supplicii*, https://droitromain.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/Constitutions/CTh09_mommsen.htm [31 V 2022].

⁶⁵ 9. *De male vero ante acto tempore iudicatis prioris legis forma servabitur; hoc etiam inserentes, ut, si forte iudex in corruptione accusatus convinci nulla ratione potuerit, accusator simili poenae subiaceat, quam iudicem corruptum praecipimus sustinere.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 32–33.

⁶⁶ 10. *Si quid vero legibus nostris non tenetur insertum, hoc tantum ad nos referre praecipimus iudicantes.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 33.

The principle of justice and the rule of law require that if the official in charge of judicial functions has not ruled and judged in accordance with the written law, and his act was not committed maliciously, with the expectation of a desired benefit and a corruption motive, but accidentally and due to *simplicitas*⁶⁷ or *neglegentia*⁶⁸, then his punishment should be limited to financial sanction. *Iustitia* is also visible in the extrapolation of this normative rule to all – both Burgundians and Romans:

11. If, certainly, someone, Barbarian, or Roman, hindered out of simplicity or negligence, accidentally judges not according to these things contained in the laws, and is alien to corruption, let him know that he will have to pay thirty solidi, and that the case must be heard again in the interests of the injured parties⁶⁹.

The protection of justice has also been carried out through principles and rules governing judges, holding them accountable for their behavior, and sanctioning them in cases of misconduct, when they fail to fulfill their duties. The same financial sanction, fine, is provided for the appellant if he skips the court up to three times and takes his case directly to the authority:

12. Applying this rule that if the judges to whom the matter was referred for the third time do not pass judgment, and if the appellant believes that the appeal should be addressed to us and proves that his judges have been present three times and have not heard the case, let the judge be punished with compensation of 12 solidi. As well as if someone acting too hastily comes to us for a case of any kind, after he missed the judges, that is, after he did not appeal the case for the third time, as we ordered above, let him pay a fine to appoint a different judge so as not to delay cases due to the absence of appointed judges⁷⁰.

Lex Gundobada, similar to *Edictum Theodorici Regis*⁷¹, affirms equality before the law for Romans and Burgundians with judicial powers, and obliges them to

⁶⁷ *Simplicitas*, atis, f – simplicity, frankness, sincerity, naivety. M. VOYNOV, A. MILEV, *Latin-Bulgarian...*, p. 652.

⁶⁸ *Neglegentia*, ae, f – negligence, carelessness, neglect, disrespect, indifference, *ibidem*, p. 440.

⁶⁹ 11. *Si quis sane iudicum, tam barbarus quam Romanus, per simplicitatem aut neglegentiam praeventus, forsitan non ea quae leges continent iudicabit et a corruptione alienus est, XXX solidos se noverit solviturum, causa denuo discussis partibus iudicanda.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 33.

⁷⁰ 12. *Illud adicientes, ut si iudices simul tertio interpellati non iudicaverint, et causam habens interpellationem nostram crediderit expetendam, et iudices suos ter se adisse et non auditum probaverit, XII solidorum iudex inlacione multetur; ac si quisque de quolibet causae genere omissis iudicibus hoc est, tertio ut supra iussimus non interpellatis – ad nos venire praesumpserit, ea qua iudicem differentem statuimus multa constringat, ne forte per absentiam deputatorum iudicum negotia differantur.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 33.

⁷¹ We could open *Edictum Theodorici Regis* and read a similar rule, which, however, has a wider general application to all Romans and Barbarians, not only those charged with judicial functions:

know and follow the law at the same time, while forbidding them to rule in the absence of the other judge to guarantee a fair process. Thus again it reaffirmed the principle of legality in the name of justice:

13. Let a Roman *comes* or a Burgundian does not dare to adjudicate on any case in the absence of the other judge, let them try as hard as they can so that they cannot be uncertain about the rule of law, no matter how often they may want to⁷².

The translated and commented provisions, although far from exhaustive, illustrate the phenomenal process of preserving, receiving, editing, and adapting the best Roman legal principles and norms, bound by universal moral and ethical categories. We see a mixture of Roman⁷³ and Barbarian⁷⁴ moral and ethical

Et quamvis nullum iniuste factum possit sub legum auctoritate defendere: nos tamen cogitantes generalitatis quietem et ante oculos habentes illa, quae possunt saepe contingere, pro huiusmodi casibus terminandis praesentia iussimus edicta pendere: ut salva iuris publici reverentia et legibus omnibus cunctorum devotione servandis, quae barbari Romanique sequi debeant super expressis articulis, edictis praesentibus evidenter cognoscant. The key phrase here is: [...] *to discuss this edict in order to preserve respect for the public law and to observe with due devotion all the laws which both Barbarians and Romans must observe in accordance with the provisions set forth [...], Edictum Theoderici regis...*, p. 152; *Corpus Iuris Germanici antiqui*, vol. I, ed. F. WALTER, Berlin 1824, p. 396.

⁷² 13. *Nullam causam absente altero iudice vel Romanus comes vel Burgundio iudicare praesumat, quatenus studeant, ut saepius expetentes se de legum ordine incerti esse non possint.* L.R. DE SALIS (ed.), *Leges...*, p. 33.

⁷³ The Roman value system, its transformations and deviations, could be reconstructed using Roman sources, interpreting historical events and historical choices, that shaped the Roman world and history. We could explore: SALLUSTIUS, *Bellum Catilinae*, 9: 9 (1) *Thus, both in times of peace and in times of war, good manners (boni mores) were respected, concord (concordia) was greatest, avarice (avaritia) least. Nature was the original source of right and good among them, to the same extent as were laws. (2) Disputes, dissensions, dislikes were left to the enemies, and the citizens competed with each other in virtue (virtus). Their prayer rites were magnificent, they were modest at home, and faithful to their friends. (3) Governing the state, they were guided by two qualities – bravery in war and justice (iustitia) after conclusion of peace,* SALLUST, *The War with Catiline*, trans. J. CAREW ROLFE, ed. J.T. RAMSEY, Cambridge Mass. 1931 [= LCL, 116], p. 17, see also p. 16–23. We could read and reread Cicero, e.g. M. TULLI CICERONIS *Tusculanarum Disputationum Liber Tertius*, VII, 14–18: M. TULLIUS CICERO, *Tusculanae Disputationes (Latin)*, ed. M. POHLENZ, Leipzig 1918, p. 324; M. CICERO, *De officiis*, 2.21–75, especially 2.73.1 and 2.75: The Latin Library, <https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/cicero/off2.shtml> [30 X 2022]. We could refer to TACITUS, *Annalium*, I, 2: P. *Cornelii Taciti Annalium ab excessu divi Augusti*, vol. I, *Libri I–VI*, ed. H. FURNEAUX, Oxford 1884, p. 157. We could refer to TITUS LIVIUS, *Ab urbe condita*, XXXIV, 4: *An Anthology of Latin Prose*, ed. D. RUSSELL, Oxford 1990, p. 101–103, et al.

⁷⁴ Barbarian moral notions and value system could also be reconstructed on the basis of written sources, historical, legal et al. Salvian's view of Romans and Barbarians is particularly interesting: *Now almost all the Barbarians, at least those who belong to one tribe and live under the rule of one king, love one another, while almost all the Romans are at odds with one another. What citizen does not hate his fellow citizens? Who shows mercy to his neighbors? Who provides fraternal help for his next of kin? Who pays to family love the debt he knows he owes, because of the name he bears? Who is as bound by love and affection as by his blood? Who is not inflamed with the dark passion of ill-will? [...] Hence*

conceptions of justice and truth, a quintessence of the strongest human virtues, guarded and protected by the law. Historically necessary and inevitable in the Barbarian *regna* on the former imperial territory, or deliberately sought after by the Barbarian rulers who perceived themselves as the Roman empire's heirs, the reception of *ius Romanum* testifies to a long process of sociocultural and legal-administrative influence and overflow of ideas, practices, and norms between *Romanitas* and *Barbaritas*⁷⁵, from which a new world is born, neither Roman nor Barbarian. Its appearance is difficult, writes Salvian in *De Gubernatione Dei*⁷⁶, and especially painful for the Romans, who realized the sunset of their virtues and glory.

The translation and analysis of selected provisions from *Lex Gundobada* outline the influence *ius Romanum* had upon the Burgundian legislator, the extent to which the most valuable Roman legal decisions against *corruptio* and principles protecting *iustitia* were accepted, interpreted, adapted, and adopted, especially in the field of administration of justice, and how the rights of both the Burgundians and the Romans were regulated and protected through them.

Lex Gundobada, as well the other Barbarian codes, reveal both the aspiration to the secular power of the new rulers, and the will to build an acknowledged political entity⁷⁷, a stable world for *Barbaritas* by preserving the peace (*Pax Romana*) among the successors of the Roman Christian empire. Quite naturally, the influence of Roman law, Latin language and *fides Catholica*, is strongest among Barbarian *gentes* that settled on the territory of the empire as federates, especially the Goths and the Burgundians. We should mention with special emphasis *Lex Romana Visigothorum* or *Breviarium Alarici(anum)*⁷⁸ of 506, of the Visigothic King Alaric II, and *Lex Romana Ostrogothorum* (*Edictum Theodorici Regis* – 500).

Leges Barbarorum and *Leges Romanae Barbarorum* define the coexistence of *Romani et Barbari*⁷⁹ in a new born reality. They reflect the formation of certain

the name of a Roman citizen, once not only highly prized, but dearly bought, is now deliberately denied and avoided, and is not only of little value, but almost hated. What could be a greater proof of Roman injustice than that many worthy nobles, to whom their Roman affiliation should have been the greatest source of glory and honor, were driven so far by the cruelty of Roman injustice that they did not want to be Romans anymore?, SALVIANI PRESBYTERI, V, 4–5: *Salviani presbyteri Massiliensis libri qui supersunt*, ed. K. HALM, Berolini 1877 [= MGH.SS, 1], p. 58–63.

⁷⁵ P. PÉRIN, M. KAZANSKI, *Identity and Ethnicity during the Era of Migrations and Barbarian Kingdoms in the Light of Archaeology in Gaul*, [in:] *Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. R. MATHISEN, D. SHANZER, London 2011, p. 299–330.

⁷⁶ *Salviani presbyteri Massiliensis libri qui supersunt...*, IV, 3, 38; V, 7, p. 38, 60–61.

⁷⁷ P. WORMALD, *The Leges Barbarorum: Law and Ethnicity in the Post-Roman West*, [in:] *Regna and Gentes. The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. H.-W. GOETZ, J. JARNUT, W. POHL, Leiden–Boston 2003 [= TRW], p. 21.

⁷⁸ D. VALENTINOVA, “*Qualis debeat fieri lex?*”: *Rhetoric and Ethics in Leges Visigothorum*, BMD 6, 2015, p. 27–41.

⁷⁹ EADEM, *Leges Barbarorum: Between Rome and the Barbarians*, VIII 3–4, 2012, p. 3–26.

legal notions and perceptions in the Early Middle Ages, and the unique processes of acculturation and integration⁸⁰. The difficulties in their interpretation and analysis are related to the long-lasting processes of reception, compilation, adaptation, revision of Roman legal terms and norms, and their logical “barbarization”. Particularly challenging are the Burgundian, Alamannic, and Lombard laws, in which we have yet to clarify German concepts and the purity of the Roman legal terms used, some of which probably mask purely German legal notions.

Surely *Lex Burgundionum* is a significant part of this series of legal codes, compiled, adapted, published, and applied in the Barbarian *regna* between the 5th and 9th centuries. Undoubtedly these codes are one of the important and true sources for the historical reconstruction of the socio-political, socio-cultural, and legal-administrative transition from the late Roman Empire to the German kingdoms and early medieval Europe. They manifest how historically the arena of clashes, confrontations, and wars between *Romanitas* and *Barbaritas* gradually became a contact zone of legal reception, of cultural, legal, and socio-political influences, from which a new world will be born, a successor to the old ones, and a new legal system – the Romano-Germanic one.

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⁸⁰ More about *Leges Barbarorum* and *ius Romanum*, and the processes of acculturation and integration: M. FRASSETTO, *Encyclopedia of Barbarian Europe. Society in Transformation*, Santa Barbara 2003, p. 231–234; G. HALSALL, *Barbarian Migrations...*, p. 464–466; H. SIVAN, *The Appropriation of Roman Law in Barbarian Hands: “Roman-Barbarian” Marriage in Visigothic Gaul and Spain*, [in:] *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of the Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, ed. W. POHL, H. REIMITZ, Leiden 1998 [= TRW, 2], p. 189–124; *Transformations of Romanness...*; R. MATHISEN, D. SHANZER, *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul. Revisiting the Sources*, Aldershot 2017.

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Andrew Wade (Pistoia)

MULTI-LINGUAL, PLURI-ETHNIC ORTHODOX MONASTICISM IN PALESTINE AND ON SINAI, IN THE LIGHT OF THE LITURGICAL SOURCES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPT SINAI ARABIC 232 (13TH CENTURY)

Abstract. The multiple similarities between the Greek and Syriac eucharistic liturgies of Antioch and its hinterland on the one hand and the Jerusalem Liturgy of Saint James on the other hand situate Jerusalem within a single cultural area as regards liturgical life. Compared with Antioch, however, we have much more early evidence for the Liturgy of the Hours in Jerusalem. Main sources, which are briefly presented in the paper, are

- a) the *Itinerary* of Egeria, who in the 380s produced extensive liturgical notes on celebrations in the Anastasis cathedral and the related stational sites;
- b) the Armenian Lectionary, 5th century, which gives more specific detail of the services held in Jerusalem;
- c) the Georgian Lectionary, 6th century, which gives a slightly later stage of the material described in the Armenian Lectionary;
- d) the Old *Iadgari*, or first Jerusalem Tropologion, entirely preserved in Georgian.

It is clear from these documents that the Anastasis Cathedral was officiated by monastic communities of different ethnic origins who used their own languages for their liturgical offices. We also have considerable evidence for this period for the Lavra of Saint Sabbas in the Judaeen desert, where several ethnic communities prayed separately in their own languages, coming together only for the Eucharistic synaxis (in Greek).

This multi-ethnic situation continues today on Mount Athos and continued throughout the Middle Ages on Sinai. The vast library of manuscripts at Saint Catherine's monastery is well known. It contains manuscripts in a very wide variety of Christian languages, including numerous liturgical texts.

The Manuscript Sinai Arabic 232 (13th century) contains a complete Psalter, a complete Horologion and other texts. It can be shown to be of Alexandrian Melkite origin, used by Arabic-speaking monks who were part of the Sinai community. There are archaic and specifically Egyptian, and even Coptic, elements that are of special interest.

Keywords: Multi-lingual monasticism, Pluri-lingual monasticism, Jerusalem, Palestine, Anastasis, Horologion, Alexandria, Sinai

Introduction

It is often imagined that the Orthodox Church is a kind of association of independent, fiercely national Churches. This ethnic identity of the individual local Churches is certainly a feature of the nineteenth-century revival of the Balkan states, with the concept of nation strongly inspired by Romantic philosophy. This mentality definitely lingers on in many areas, through the twentieth century until the present day. Nevertheless, the Orthodox Church, following the 2nd Oecumenical Council (Constantinople I, 381) professes faith in the “One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church”, and this universal dimension subsists to the present, sometimes in parallel with more local, nationalistic identities of a more or less anachronistic character.

In the first millennium, before the appearance of Romanticism, the Church manifested its unity without eliminating its rich cultural and linguistic diversity. Nowhere was this more evident than in Jerusalem, the centre of Christian pilgrimage *par excellence*, and in the various monastic foundations in Palestine. In particular, the Jerusalem Cathedral of the Anastasis (later called the Holy Sepulchre in the West) was very early on the site of various ethnic monastic communities. This situation continues today. In the fourth century we have evidence of monastic communities at the Anastasis who celebrated in Greek, Armenian and Georgian. In his eighth Baptismal Catechism, saint John Chrysostom mentions in respectful terms the Syriac-speaking Christians from outlying villages who were present at the Greek liturgy in Antioch¹. Today there are resident communities of Greeks, Arabs, Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians and Syriac speakers in and around the Anastasis cathedral, as well as the Latin community.

1. Jerusalem as an international monastic centre

The multiple similarities between the Greek and Syriac eucharistic liturgies of Antioch and its hinterland on the one hand and the Jerusalem Liturgy of Saint James on the other hand² situate Jerusalem within a single cultural area as regards liturgical life. Compared with Antioch, however, we have much more early evidence for the Liturgy of the Hours in Jerusalem. Main sources, which will be briefly presented in this paper, are

¹ JEAN CHRYSOSTOME, *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites*, praef., trans., ed. A. WENGER, Paris 1957 [= SC, 50].

² See, for example, the results of Gabriele Winkler's meticulous philological studies of the eucharistic Liturgies of Basil and of James, often referred to as BAS and JAS: G. WINKLER, *Die Basilius-Anaphora. Edition der beiden armenischen Redaktionen und der relevanten Fragmente, Übersetzung und Zusammenschau aller Versionen im Licht der orientalischen Überlieferungen*, Roma 2005 and EADEM, *Die Jakobus-Liturgie in ihren Überlieferungssträngen: Edition des Cod. arm. 17 von Lyon. Übersetzung und Liturgievergleich*, Roma 2013.

- a) the *Itinerary* of Egeria, who in the 380s produced extensive liturgical notes on celebrations in the Anastasis cathedral and the related stational sites³;
- b) the Armenian Lectionary, 5th century, which gives more specific detail of the services held in Jerusalem⁴;
- c) the Georgian Lectionary, 6th century⁵, which gives a slightly later stage of the material described in the Armenian Lectionary;
- d) the Old *Iadgari*, or first Jerusalem Tropologion, entirely preserved in Georgian⁶.

The *Itinerary* of Egeria

We do not know for certain who exactly was Egeria. She may have been from Spain and she may or not have been a nun, but she was certainly an assiduous pilgrim who visited all the sacred sites of Christianity in Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Edessa, Antioch, Jerusalem, Palestine and Egypt. Her importance is related to the very early date of her pilgrimages, the early 380s, her fascination with liturgical celebrations and the fact that she kept a detailed diary of all she saw and visited, including careful descriptions of the various services without, alas, giving almost any actual texts. Nevertheless, comparison of her accounts with the extensive indications contained in the Armenian and Georgian Lectionaries, dating from the following two centuries and also reflecting the liturgical practice of the Anastasis cathedral, shows that essential liturgical structures were already well in place in the late fourth century.

It should be remembered that the kingdoms of Armenia and Georgia were the very first to convert to Christianity, very early on in the fourth century and even before the establishment, by the emperor Constantine, of Constantinople, the New Rome, as an exclusively Christian capital city of the Roman empire. The presence of the Armenians and Georgians at the Anastasis is supplemented by Egeria's reference to a resident monastic community of Spoudaioi, *all the monks and virgins, as they call them here*, who ensured the highly developed daily liturgical cycle at the cathedral together with the lay people *not they alone, by lay people also, both men and women, who desire to begin their vigil early*, and also accompanied the frequent stational processions to the holy sites in and around the Holy City. *For priests, deacons, and monks in twos or threes take it in turn every day to say prayers after each of the hymns or antiphons. After the night service, forthwith the bishop betakes himself to his house, and from that hour all the monks return to*

³ EGERIA, *Itinerarium*, many editions, e.g., *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. E. FRANCESCHINI, R. WEBER, [in:] *Itineraria et alia geographica*, Turnhout 1958 [= CC.SL, 175], p. 29–103.

⁴ *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, vol. I–II, ed. A. RENOUX, Turnhout 1969–1971 [= PO, 35–36].

⁵ M. TARCHNISCHVILI, *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Eglise de Jerusalem (V^e–VIII^e s.)*, vol. I–II, Louvain 1959–1960 [= CSCO, 189, 205].

⁶ *Udzvelesi Iadgari*, ed. E. METREVELI, Ts. CHANKIEVI, L. KHEVSURIANI, Tbilisi 1980.

the Anastasis, where psalms and antiphons, with prayer after each psalm or antiphon, are said until daylight; the priests and deacons also keep watch in turn daily at the Anastasis with the people, but of the lay people, whether men or women, those who are so minded, remain in the place until daybreak, and those who are not, return to their houses and betake themselves to sleep. As for the night station at Bethlehem, she says: *And since, for the sake of the monks who go on foot, it is necessary to walk slowly, the arrival in Jerusalem thus takes place at the hour when one man begins to be able to recognize another, that is, close upon but a little before daybreak.* These are only a few mentions by Egeria of the monastic community at Jerusalem. When we take a look at the liturgical texts that have survived from these earliest centuries, we are immediately struck by the fact that they are in a whole series of languages, particularly Armenian, Georgian, Syriac and, to a lesser extent, Greek.

In the composite manuscript Sinai Georgian 34, one section, copied by the indefatigable scribe and liturgical conservative Ioane Zosime, presents an ancient, maybe sixth-century, Horologion⁷ of the Anastasis cathedral comprising 12 day offices and 12 night offices. This was apart from the Eucharistic celebration, which was unlikely to have been daily at such an early date. In the 9th–10th centuries, Ioane Zosime refers to earlier Jerusalem practice as “kartulad” (in the Georgian manner) as opposed to more recent practices, dubbed “berdzulad” (in the Greek manner), which is a further piece of evidence to the effect that the Georgian monastic communities in Jerusalem and in the Laura of Saint Sabbas practised the Jerusalem rite in their own Caucasian language. The main evidence for this is the Georgian lectionary and the vast Old Tropologion of Jerusalem, preserved in its entirety in Georgian.

The Armenian and Georgian Lectionaries of Jerusalem

Even older than the Georgian documents is the remarkable Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem, which dates back to the 5th century. It is thanks to the Armenian and Georgian manuscripts documenting the Jerusalem rite that we have detailed knowledge of the latter. No Greek lectionaries survive from this early period, and only fragmentary sections of the hymnography of this early period have been preserved in Greek, including important recent discoveries among the New Finds of Sinai, when a wall in the monastery library collapsed in 1975, revealing a considerable stash of early manuscripts, both complete and fragmentary, in a large range of early languages in Greek, Syriac, Georgian, Slavonic and several others⁸.

⁷ M. VAN ESBRÖECK, *Le manuscrit sinaitique géorgien 34 et les publications récentes de liturgie palestinienne*, OCP 46, 1980, p. 125–141; S.R. FRØYSHOV, *L'Horologe 'géorgien' du Sinaiticus ibericus 34. Edition, traduction et commentaire* [unpublished doctoral thesis, submitted 2003, Paris 2004 (corrected edition)].

⁸ On the rediscovery of the so-called ‘New Finds’, see Π.Γ. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ et al., *Ta νέα ευρήματα του Σινά*, Αθήνα 1998, p. 25–49; and the overview by B. ISAKSSON in his *The Monastery of St Catherine*

A Lectionary in this period was not just a list of readings, nor a collection of pericopes. It was more like a liturgical Typicon, giving a brief account of the order of the services with indications of the readings, psalmody and hymnography appointed for each day. The hymnography is generally indicated only by incipits, but these can be completed by the later manuscripts of the Tropologion which supply many of these hymns *in extenso*. Thanks to the Armenian and Georgian Lectionaries, we can not only follow the early development of the Jerusalem rite, but also establish the precise system of biblical readings at the services throughout the liturgical year. No Greek equivalents of these manuscripts have survived, so the Armenian and Georgian contribution to our knowledge of the early Jerusalem rite is essential. These texts also witness to the multi-lingual and pluri-ethnic character of the Orthodox Christian community in Palestine at that time.

It is clear from these documents that the Anastasis Cathedral was officiated by monastic communities of different ethnic origins who used their own languages for their liturgical offices. We also have considerable evidence for this period for the Lavra of Saint Sabbas in the Judaean desert, where several ethnic communities prayed separately in their own languages, coming together only for the Eucharistic synaxis (in Greek).

This multi-ethnic situation continued on Sinai⁹. *The multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic community [...] characterized St Catherine's through much of the Middle Ages*¹⁰. The vast library of manuscripts at Saint Catherine's monastery is well known. It contains manuscripts in a very wide variety of Christian languages, including numerous liturgical texts. As Nina Glibetić notes¹¹: [...] *extraordinary manuscript evidence [is] connected to St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, Egypt. This ancient monastic foundation contains the world's oldest continuously operating library and houses some of the most precious liturgical evidence for the history of Orthodox liturgy, copied in a variety of languages and representing a variety of traditions, including Greek, Syriac, Georgian, Arabic, and Slavonic*. As for Southern Slav monks on Sinai, Nina Glibetić also states *the probability that there were monks from medieval Serbian lands who lived and collaborated with other Balkan Slavs at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai in the eleventh century*¹².

and the New Find, [in:] *Built on Solid Rock. Studies in Honour of Professor Ebbe Egede Knudsen on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday, April 11th 1997*, Oslo 1997, p. 128–140.

⁹ For a cursory overview of liturgy at St Catherine's, see *Approaching the Holy Mountain. Art and Liturgy at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*, ed. S. GERSTEL, R. NELSON, Turnhout 2011 [= CMu, 11], and the article therein: R. TAFT, *Worship on Sinai in the First Christian Millennium: Glimpses of a Lost World*, p. 143–178.

¹⁰ N. GLIBETIĆ, *The 'New Finds' Glagolitic Manuscripts as Sources for Medieval Serbian Liturgical History*, [in:] *Вера и мисао у вртлогу времена. Међународни зборник радова у част митрополита Амфилохија (Радовића) и епископа Атанасија (Јевтића)*, ed. А. ЈЕВТИЋ, М. КНЕЖЕВИЋ, Р. КИСИЋ, Београд–Подгорица–Фоча 2021, p. 188.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 189.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 194.

We should also mention that the later foundation of Mount Athos (just over one thousand years ago) still has thriving monasteries and sketes that are Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Romanian, as well as over twenty Greek monasteries. The Georgian monastery (Iviron) and two Russian sketes (Saint Andrew and Saint Elijah) have since been taken over by Greek monks. The Latin Amalfitan Benedictine foundation on Athos did not last so long, although its ruins can still be seen.

2. The Manuscript Sinai Arabic 232 (13th century)

After this *mise-en-scène*, I shall present this Arabic manuscript, which contains a complete Psalter, a complete Horologion and other texts. I have been studying this codex for several years and have published an English translation of most of the Horologion¹³. It contains archaic and specifically Egyptian, and even Coptic, elements that are of special interest. The evidence I have discovered shows that the Horologion is of Alexandrian Melkite origin, used by Arabic-speaking monks who must have come from Alexandria in Egypt and who were part of the Sinai community.

This manuscript was clearly intended for liturgical use, either individually by a monk in his cell or as an Arabic-speaking linguistic community. Although the liturgical language of Alexandria was originally Greek, after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 there was a schism between supporters and opponents of the Council. As a result, the non-Chalcedonian party, the ancestors of to-day's thriving Coptic Orthodox Church, began to favour the Coptic language for liturgical celebration, although Greek never disappeared completely and today's Coptic Orthodox liturgical books contain many expressions and whole phrases in Greek. Even the Egyptian rite absorbed several waves of influence from Jerusalem and later from Constantinople. The Chalcedonian party maintained the Greek liturgy, gradually using Arabic translations in parallel to the Greek as the population in the city tended to speak more Arabic than Greek after the Arab conquest. Nevertheless, many Greek terms and expressions survived in Arabic transliteration, as can be seen as late as the 13th century in Sinai Arabic 232. What is more remarkable is the discovery that this Melkite (i.e. Chalcedonian) Arabic Horologion retains archaic elements

¹³ A. WADE, *L'Horologion du Sinai Arabe 232 (13^{me} s.), témoin d'une fusion pluriculturelle*, [in:] *Traditions recomposées. Liturgie et doctrine en harmonie ou en tension*, 63^e Semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris, Institut Saint-Serge, 21–24 juin 2016, ed. A. LOSSKY, G. SEKULOVSKI, Münster 2017 [= SOF, 80], p. 111–124; IDEM, *Individual Prayer in the Monastic Cell between Alexandria and Mount Sinai in the 13th Century: the Hours in Sin. Ar. 232*, [in:] 64^e Semaine d'études liturgiques, Paris–Münster 2017, p. 353–374; IDEM, *The Enigmatic Horologion contained in Sinai Ar. 232*, [in:] *Let Us Be Attentive! Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy*, ed. M. LÜSTRAETEN, B. BUTCHER, S. HAWKES-TEEPLES, Münster 2020, p. 285–305; IDEM, *Byzantinised or Alexandria-nised – or both? Vespers in the 13th c. Melkite Alexandrian Arabic Horologion Sinai Arabic 232*, MDPI.R 13 (607), 2022.

that show that the Egyptian Melkites originally used a Hierosolymitan type Horologion and that this in due time was both Alexandrianised and Byzantinised. We can therefore say that Sin. Ar. 232 is an Egyptian redaction of a Middle Byzantine Horologion with archaic Hierosolymitan features, one of the most striking of which is the ancient tri-ode system at Matins, which must have come directly from Jerusalem and cannot have been brought from Constantinople, where the daily nine-ode canon had already supplanted the earlier Hagiopolite tri-ode system.

Some of the prayers included near the end of Matins and Vespers are not attested in other manuscripts of the Byzantine Horologion, nor in today's Byzantine Horologion, but are still to be found in the contemporary Coptic Horologion, the *Agpeya*. In addition, several offices commemorate Egyptian saints and also, prominently, saint Mark, patron of Alexandria. These saints are not mentioned in any non-Egyptian Byzantine Horologia. The concluding troparia of Vespers also contain a list of Egyptian monastic saints, followed by an interesting series of six prayers, one of which corresponds to Prayer seven of Byzantine Vespers (of Constantinopolitan origin, from the Asmatikos Vespers¹⁴) and two of which are found in the Coptic *Agpeya*¹⁵.

There are also Syriacisms in the Christian Arabic of the period, which also occur in Sinai Arabic 232, despite its Egyptian origin. These include the title of the Mother of God, *Martmaryam* (from Syriac *martā* [lady]), and "saint" rendered as *māry*, (Lord, saint) with the final -y actually pronounced in Arabic although it is silent in Syriac.

These brief observations show that, as late as the 13th century, an essentially Arabic-speaking community of monks from Alexandria in Egypt could be part of the basically Greek-speaking monastery of Sinai, whose library shows that the multi-lingual and pluri-ethnic tradition of Jerusalem, already witnessed from the 4th century onwards, was still very much present and alive. This witness to the Church's catholicity has much to contribute in the twenty-first century.

¹⁴ M. ARRANZ, *Les prières sacerdotales des vêpres byzantines*, OCP 37, 1971, p. 85–124, especially p. 95–98, cf. IDEM, *Как молились Богу древние византийцы. Суточный круг богослужения по древним спискам византийского ехнология*, Ленинград 1979.

¹⁵ In the Coptic *Agpeya*, the first of these prayers corresponds to the prayer at the end of the Eleventh Hour. The prayer is found in English translation in *The Agpeya, being the Coptic Orthodox Book of Hours according to the present-day usage in the Church of Alexandria*, Sts. Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria Orthodox Publications, s.a., p. 66. The Arabic version (a different translation from this manuscript) is found in *الأجبية*, البهنسا, يوسف والبنها, لجنة التحرير والنشر بمطرازية بنى يوسف والأجبية, s.a., p. 145–146. The second "Coptic" prayer corresponds to the prayer at the end of the Twelfth Hour in the Coptic *Agpeya* (*op. cit.*, p. 80, in English and *الأجبية* *op. cit.*, p. 166–167 in Arabic, but in a different translation). This prayer is found in the Slavonic night-time prayers, see note 71 in my article *Byzantinised or Alexandrianised...* (see note 11 above).

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COOK (*MAGEIROS*) IN BYZANTIUM WAS THERE ANY FEMALE *MAGEIROS*?*

Abstract. The paper studies terms describing cooks and cooking activities that are preserved in Byzantine literature and draw their origins from the ancient Greek literature as well as from biblical and theological texts. Despite some development regarding the preference to the term *opsopoios* and *opsartytēs* without ceasing to use the term *mageiros* for the male cook, as well as the term *demiourgos*, only the latter is used for women to signal solely the preparation of pastries. It is proved that the conceptualization and connotations of the term *mageiros*, which are presented in detail, prevented its attribution to women. Further proof on the use of feminised masculine nouns for female professions or occupations in literature and the more concrete evidence on the services recorded in the *typika* of nunneries display the absolute abiding of the conscious avoidance of the term for women's involvement in cooking.

Keywords: Byzantine *mageiros* and *mageirissa*, *opsopoios* and *opsartytēs*, butcher and cook, the art of cooking, *opsartytikē*, gendered cooking, women's culinary activities, feminized masculine nouns, *mageiros* in *Rules (Typika)* of monasteries and convents, female nouns for monastic duties

I

Did female cooks exist in Byzantium and to what extent were they involved with cooking? If women in Byzantium did cook, why is there no name for their occupation that corresponds to the male-gendered term for cook, *mageiros* (μάγειρος)? Clearly women did cook, thus the question is obviously rhetorical and rather predictive of the topic to be studied: the lack of a term defining women's culinary activity. This goes back to antiquity as outside the nuclear family – indeed, beyond the simple day-to-day domestic activities of the non-affluent – cooking

* For an extensive conceptual approach of the philological findings on *mageiros* in this article see I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, M. LEONTSINI, *Gendering Cooking in Byzantium: The Case of Mageiros*, [in:] *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Sexuality in Byzantium*, ed. M. MEYER, CH. MESSIS (forthcoming).

as either social or ritual act and as service always involved men. Wealthy, noble households invariably had cooks in their service who were consistently men, working at times under the supervision and guidance of the female head of household. Typical examples start with the dwarf Khnumhotep commonly given in journalistic and popular articles on the history of cooking, attesting to the age-old absence of female cooks. Often claimed to be the oldest cook in history – although this has not been conclusively proven – he was the Pharaoh’s cook around 2300 B.C.E. and the only cook lucky enough to have a statue made of him. Women are also totally absent from various activities pertaining to food preparation in the depictions on the tomb of Ramesses III (1186–1155 B.C.E.)¹.

There are many more examples to be drawn from ancient civilisations as well as, of course, biblical references to cooks and chefs – high-ranking officials of the Pharaohs and Babylonian kings. Women were invariably cooking everywhere; in the Bible, the woman or hostess often prepared food, but in the Greek translation this role does not have a name; in other words, the term is missing, apart from one unique and problematic, as we shall see, case in which the Jewish *tabaha* is translated as *mageirissa* (μαγειρίσσα), literally a female cook². This is a Hebrew and Greek linguistic ancient and medieval hapax legomenon, apart from a single reference in the thirteenth century, albeit to a cooking utensil. The terms *tabah* and *sar ha-tabahim*, respectively translated as *mageiros* (μάγειρος) and *archimageiros* (ἀρχιμάγειρος) – literally chief cook, head slaughterer, butcher – have negative connotations for the Byzantines because of Potiphar, a eunuch and the Pharaoh’s official ‘chief of cooks’ whose wife harasses and then vilifies Joseph.

Yet there is an even more negative association that stems from the story of the Babylonian *archimageiros* Nebuzaradan, the eunuch and chief butcher sent by Nebuchadnezzar to burn down the temple in Jerusalem. As the Jewish terms *tabah* and *rav* or *sar ha-tabahim* refer to court officials’ service in the administration and army but also to the chief of the bodyguards, captain of the guard, and *tabah* butcher–soldier–exterminator³, the Greek translation of the Septuagint credits them with the offices and services well-known to Greek scholars and present in the courts of their time, such as eunuch, cupbearer chef, or simply cook. In the third century, Hippolytus mentions the biblical *archimageiros* Arioach, the chief

¹ M. TOUSSAINT-SAMAT, M. LAIR, *Grande et petite histoire des cuisiniers de l’Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris 1989, p. 26–27. See also M. SYMONS, *A History of Cooks and Cooking*, Urbana–Chicago 2003 and the classical works for ancient and Byzantine gastronomy and cooking of Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΗΣ, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, vol. V, Ἀθῆναι 1952, p. 9–244; A. DALBY, *Siren Feasts. A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece*, London–New York 1996; IDEM, *Flavours of Byzantium*, London 2003 (repr. as *Tastes of Byzantium. The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, London 2010).

² See *Biblical Hebrew Dictionary*, in Abarim Publications’ online: <https://www.abarim-publications.com/Dictionary/te/te-b-ht.html> [15 VI 2022]; see also S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros, Nahtom and Women at Home: Cooks in the Talmud*, JJS 56, 2005, p. 288.

³ S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 287.

butcher in Babylon; playing with the word (ἀρχιμάγειρος), he states that this title is used because this chief of sword or knife (ἄρχων τῆς μαχαίρας) was about to kill both Daniel and his three friends like a butcher, *mageiros*, kills and butchers all creatures, *mageireuei* (μαγειρεύει). In the Bible commentaries by ecclesiastical writers, *archimageiros* means chief magistrate of this world (ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου) apart from chief cook, while *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν) describes the killing and cooking of animals as well as some chiefs' murderous behaviours⁴.

Philon of Alexandria (c. 20 B.C.E.–40 C.E.) in *On Joseph* had already voiced objections to this translation, considering anything to do with eunuchs and chefs a moral paradox, extremely unreasonable (παραλογότατα), and used only for similar behaviours:

And, therefore, also, paradoxical though it may be, this eunuch is mated with a wife [...]. Very aptly too does Moses call him a chief cook, *archimageiros*; for, just as the cook (*mageiros*) is solely occupied in endlessly providing superfluous pleasures for the belly, so is the multitude, considered as politicians, in choosing what charms and pleases [...]⁵.

In fact, in his work *Change of names* he defines the *mageiros* as sacrificer or slaughterer of animals in line with the primary Greek meaning, and uses the Jewish term *tebah* or *tabbah*, (also *tabbaha*) for court official:

Potiphar the eunuch and *archimageiros* because in the way of a *mageiros* he slaughters living beings, chops and divides them up, piece by piece, limb by limb⁶.

⁴ HIPPOLYT, *Werke*, vol. I.1, *Kommentar zu Daniel*, II, 4, ed. G.N. BONWETSCH, M. RICHARD, Berlin 2000 [= GCS.NF, 7] (cetera: HIPPOLYTOS, *Commentary on Daniel*), p. 74.9–12, and English translation HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME, *Commentary on Daniel*, trans. T.C. SCHMIDT, 's.l. 2010, p. 49: ἀρχιμάγειρον αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἡ γραφή τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς μαχαίρας ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ μάγειρος πάντα τὰ ζῶα ἀναίρει καὶ μαγειρεύει, τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἀναίρουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα μαγειρεύοντες αὐτούς. This passage reinforces Weingarten's argument, but she does not use it.

⁵ PHILON, *On Joseph*, section 60, [in:] *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. IV, ed. L. COHN, Berlin 1902 (repr. 1962), p. 74.9–15 and English translation PHILO, *On Joseph*, [in:] PHILO, vol. VI, trans. F.H. COLSON, G.H. WHITAKER, Cambridge Mass. 1984 [= LCL, 289], p. 171–173: ὅθεν καὶ – τὸ παραλογότατον – γυνὴ τῷ εὐνούχῳ τούτῳ συνοικεῖ-μνᾶται γὰρ ὄχλος ἐπιθυμίαν, ὡσπερ ἀνὴρ γυναικᾶ, δι' ἧς ἕκαστα καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει σύμβουλον αὐτὴν ποιούμενος ἀπάντων ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων μικρῶν τε αὐ καὶ μεγάλων, ἠκιστα προσέχειν εἰθῶς τοῖς ἐκ λογισμοῦ. προσφνέστατα μέντοι καὶ ἀρχιμάγειρον αὐτὸν καλεῖ- καθάπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐπιτηδεύει μάγειρος ἢ τὰς ἀνηνύτους καὶ περιττὰς γαστρὸς ἡδονάς; S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 288–289.

⁶ PHILON, *On the Change of Names*, section 173, [in:] *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. III, ed. P. WENDLAND, Berlin 1898 (repr. 1962), p. 186.15–16 and English translation PHILO, *On the Change of Names*, [in:] PHILO, vol. V, trans. F.H. COLSON, G.H. WHITAKER, Cambridge Mass. 1988 [= LCL, 275], p. 231: μαγειροῦ τρόπον κτείνοντα τὰ ζῶντα καὶ κατὰ μέρη καὶ κατὰ μέλη κόπτοντα καὶ διαιροῦντα. S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 289. See especially the *mageiros* as butcher and seller of meat, G. BERTIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros. Étude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne*, Leiden 1982 [= Mn.S, 70], p. 44–70.

It should be noted that this primary meaning of slaughterer for *mageiros*⁷ is repeated by the Byzantines in the *Lexika* and the *Commentaries* on Aristophanes's comedies, in which the cook is often satirised as being a boastful butcher; indeed, the *Lexika* equate *mageiros* with the *artamos* (ἄρταμος), defined as *kreourgos* (κρεουργός) or he who cuts up meat, the slaughterer, butcher, carver, killer, murderer⁸. But apart from Philon, ecclesiastical writers also speculate and do not particularly agree about the eunuch in these biblical passages. Eusebios of Emesa, for example, questions how Potiphar could have a wife if he was a eunuch and considers the label as merely the name of a service since in Syrian and Hebrew eunuch is the name given to a trusted servant⁹. But apart from the biblical cooks, what interests us is the sole disparaging use in the Septuagint's translation of the word *tabbaha* (החבת) as *mageirissai* (μαγειρίσσα in plural μαγειρίσσαι) denoting a female cook. This word occurs only once in the Bible – and in plural – meaning in this case slave, servant, or concubine, when Samuel warns of the adversities the Jews will face if they accept someone as their king: *that their daughters will be taken by this king to be perfumers, cooks* (החבת, *mageirissai*, μαγειρίσσαι), *and bakers*¹⁰. It is worth noting that החבת, *mageirissa* in Greek, is translated in the Vulgate as *focaria* – a word that also survives in Greek papyri as φωκάρια and means kitchen maid, cook, housekeeper, or concubine¹¹. In a very interesting approach to this biblical

⁷ M. DETIENNE, J.P. VERNANT, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979 (English trans. by P. WISSING, *The Cuisine of Sacrifice among the Greeks*, Chicago 1989); J. WILKINS, *The Boastful Chef. The Discourse of Food in Ancient Greek Comedy*, Oxford 2000.

⁸ *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vol. I–II, (A–O), ed. K. LATTE, Copenhagen 1953 (vol. I), 1966 (vol. II); vol. III, (Π–Σ), ed. P.A. HANSEN, Berlin–New York 2005 [= SGLG, 11.3]; vol. IV, (Τ–Ω), ed. I.C. CUNNINGHAM, P.A. HANSEN, Berlin–New York 2009 [= SGLG, 11.4] (cetera HESYCHIOS, *Lexikon*) – HESYCHIOS, *Lexikon*, letter alpha 7479–7481: ἄρταμεῖν κατακόπτειν. Εὐριπίδης Πελοπίδης/ ἄρταμησαι· κρεανομησαι/ ἄρταμος μάγειρος. *Photii patriarchae lexicon*, ed. C. THEODORIDIS, vol. I, (A–Δ), Berlin–New York 1982; vol. II, (E–M), Berlin–New York 1998; vol. III, (N–Φ), Berlin–New York 2013 (cetera PHOTIOS, *Lexikon*) – PHOTIOS, *Lexikon*, letter alpha 2886: ἄρταμος κρεουργός, μάγειρος. τάττει αὐτὸ Σοφοκλῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φονέως. See also G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 12–14.

⁹ EUSÈBE D'ÉMÈSE, *Commentaire de la Genèse*, fragm. 71, ed. F. PETIT, L. VAN ROMPAY, J.J.S. WEITENBERG, Louvain 2011 [= TEG, 15]: Εἰ εὐνοῦχος ὁ Πετεφρῆς, πῶς εὕρισκεται γυναῖκα ἔχων; Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Σύρος μὲν προσηγορία τὸν τε σπάδοντα καὶ τὸν πιστὸν ἄνδρα λέγει [τοῖς δεσπόταις]· ὁ δὲ Ἑβραῖος ἀληθῶς εὐνοῦχον. See also S.F. TOUGHER, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, London 2008 [= RMCS], p. 22–23, and Ch. MESSIS, *Les eunuques à Byzance, entre réalité et imaginaire*, Paris 2014 [= DByz, 14], p. 38.

¹⁰ *Septuaginta*, ed. A. RAHLFS, Stuttgart 1935 (repr. 1971) – 1Sam 8: 13, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν λήμψεται εἰς μυρεψοὺς καὶ εἰς μαγειρίσσας καὶ εἰς πεσσοῦσας, G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 105, note 114.

¹¹ In Greek papyri bgu 2 614, 13, συμβιωσάσης μοι γυναικός φωκαρίας. In the Vulgate 1Sam 8: 13 was translated *Filias quoque vestras faciet sibi unguentarias, et focarias, et panificas*. On the meaning of *focaria*, S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C.–A.D. 235). Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, Leiden 2001 [= CSCT, 24], p. 204–207. Probably the slave Luppicina was a *focaria*,

passage – the entire article concerns references to cooks from the Bible and the Talmud that are insightful – Weingarten¹² considers that the translation of the Septuagint is linked to what was saved by Athenaios from the comedian Pherecrates of the fifth century B.C.E.: *just as there are no male perfumers so there is no such thing as a female chef-mageiraina and a female fishmonger*¹³. The female cook is given in a hapax as *mageiraina* (μαγείραινα), although it is believed to be a word coined by the comedian and used only by him. We therefore find that throughout the Greek literature on women's involvement in cooking there are only two terms that are used disparagingly in both texts but never used again later.

So why were the use of the noun 'cook' *mageiros* and the verb 'to cook' *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν) so prohibitive for women? Did it always carry the heavy etymological and sacrificial burden of 'butcher', an exclusively male occupation and, if so, did this not allow for the corresponding female to be identified as a *mageiros* because it was inappropriate for a woman? It has even been suggested that the word knife, *machaira* (μάχαιρα), is etymologically related to the word *mageiros*¹⁴. Is this because for everyone, even more so for a woman, *mageireuein* was considered disreputable work like that of keeping a brothel or playing at dice¹⁵? It should be noted, however, that according to a brief entry in the *Suda*, Claudius Aelianus speaks of women as *sphaktriai hiereiai* (σφάκτραι ἱέρειαι) slayers, murdering priestesses. This is one of the few accounts on priestesses with no reference to the word *mageiros*, and these priestesses are named only as slayer-women and never *mageirissai*: 'Σφάκτραι: ἱέρειαι, priestesses:

cook and concubine in the army of Justin I before she becomes empress and changes her name to Euphemia (518–524). Prokopios states that Luppicina was both a slave and a barbarian and became Justin's concubine (Λουππικίνη [...] δούλη τε καὶ βάρβαρος [...] παλλακίη), PROKOPIOS, *Secret History*, 6.17, ed. G. HAURY, J. WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. III, Leipzig 1963, p. 41.6–10, and see also A.A. VASILIEV, *Justin the First. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Cambridge 1950, p. 60–61.

¹² S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 286–288.

¹³ *Athenaei Naucratae Deipnosophistarum libri XV*, ed. G. KAIBEL, vol. I–II, Leipzig 1887 (repr. Leipzig 1965); vol. III, Leipzig 1890 (repr. Leipzig 1966) [= BSGR] (cetera: ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*) – vol. III, p. 350.7–10: κατὰ μυροπωλεῖν τί παθόντ' ἄνδρ' ἐχρήν καθήμενον [...] αὐτίκ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μαγείραιναν εἶδε πώποτε, ἀλλ' οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἰχθυοπώλαιναν. For the word *mageiraina*, see A. DA COSTA RAMALHO, *A questão do género gramatical em Grego e um fragmento de Ferécrites*, Eme 18, 1950, p. 42; V. EHRENBERG, *The People of Aristophanes. A Sociology of Old Attic Comedy*, ³New York 1962, p. 130 note 6; G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 31, 105 note 114.

¹⁴ HESYCHIUS, *Lexikon*, letter mu 6. PHOTIOS, *Lexikon*, letter mu 11: μαγίς μάχαιρα καὶ μάγερος ὁ τὰς μάζας μερίζων. See H. DOHM, *Mageiros. Die Rolle des Kochs in der griechisch-römischen Komödie*, Munich 1964, p. 72–74; V. PISANI, *Una parola greca di probabile origine macedone: μάγερος*, RIEB 1, 1934, p. 255–259; G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, section II and *passim*.

¹⁵ THEOPHRAST, *Charaktere*, 6.5.1–2, vol. I, ed. P. STEINMETZ, Munich 1960 [= WA, 7], p. 72.10–11: πορνοβοσκήσαι καὶ τελωνῆσαι καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰσχρὰν ἐργασίαν ἀποδοκιμάσαι, ἀλλὰ κηρύττειν, μαγειρεύειν, κυβεύειν. On the *mageiros* and his knife, G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 71–78.

All the mystically consecrated sacrificing-women, having been left behind with the sacred equipment and raising their naked swords, and having their hands full of blood and even their faces, but they had been anointed from the sacred offerings, en masse at one signal charged at Battos, so that they might remove him from still being a man¹⁶.

In any case, women in ancient Greece generally were not allowed to wield a sacrificial knife or make sacrifices; it is not surprising then that the *mageiros* was always a man and the verb *mageireuein* was originally associated with and related primarily to the sacrifice and only secondarily to cooking. The verb *mageireuein*, to cook, remains rarely used for women in Byzantine texts, with the act of cooking always described periphrastically or using verbs unrelated to the *mageiros*, as will be seen below. According to the research presented in this paper, the christianised use of the term *mageiros* (μάγειρος) and the absence of any such term for women in convents led us to our final conclusions on how the gender of the cook is handled in Byzantium. It is therefore worth first examining Early Byzantine and then Middle Byzantine texts. We will seek out the Byzantine views on the involvement of men and women in cooking and explain why women in cooking are never described as *mageiros* even though they do cook: in other words, we will examine whether this is a gender perception, a sexist discrimination.

As noted earlier, in the third century C.E. the Jew Philon, with his knowledge of Hebrew, considered the term and the occupation of cook to have negative connotations linked to the slaughtering or butchering; by contrast, during the same century, in the rabbinic Talmudic tradition of Palestine, the Greek term *mageiros* (μάγειρος) is used in the midrashs as *magirosin* in a completely positive way, denoting a connoisseur of cooking as well as a teacher and educator. Weingarten states:

The term *magiros*, סוריגמ, pl. סוריגמי which I have translated as “chef” appears a number of times in the Talmudic literature, and clearly comes from the Greek word *mageiros*, μάγειρος. In the Talmudic literature it has a generally positive connotation and appears to be used of people of some status¹⁷.

¹⁶ *Suidae Lexicon*, letter sigma 1714, vol. I–V, ed. A. ADLER, Leipzig 1928–1935 (cetera: *Suda Lexicon*): Σφάκτρια: ιέρεια. μετὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς ὄλαι τελούμεναι μυστικῶς σφάκτρια καταλειφθεῖσαι καὶ αἶρουσαι τὰ ξίφη γυμνά, καὶ αὐταὶ καταπλέας ἔχουσαι τοῦ αἵματος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα μέντοι, ἦσαν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων χρισάμεναι, ἀθροαὶ ὑφ’ ἐνὶ συνθήματι ἐπὶ τὸν Βάττον ἦξαν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀφέλωνται τοῦ ἔτι εἶναι ἀνδρα. See on the topic, M. DETIENNE, *Violentes “eugénies”: En pleines Thesmophories: Des femmes couvertes de sang*, AA.ASH 27, 1979, p. 109–133. See also the women in the sanctuary of Demeter in Aegila of Laconia who repulsed the Messinians with the knives and spits they used in the sacrifices of the sanctuary, *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, IV.17.1, vol. I, ed. F. SPIRO, Leipzig 1903 (repr. 1967), p. 363.5–7: λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τραύματα μαχαίραις τε, αἷς τὰ ἱερεία αἱ γυναῖκες ἔθουσιν, καὶ ὀβελοῖς, οἷς τὰ κρέα ἔπειρον ὀπτῶσαι, and English translation PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece*, vol. II, trans. W.H.S. JONES, H.A. ORMEROD, Cambridge Mass. 1926 [= LCL, 188], p. 263: *most of the Messenians were wounded with the knives with which the women sacrificed the victims and the spits on which they pierced and roasted the meat*. G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 31.

¹⁷ S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 285.

In a midrash, God himself is presented as *mageiros*, saying: *I am your magiros, and will you not let Me taste the dish prepared for you*¹⁸. Around the same time, Origenes chastens the heathen Kelsos as he wrongly believes that for Christians *God applies the fire like a cook*¹⁹! We could suggest that the Talmudic use of *magirosin*, which Weingarten describes as being used for people of status such as teacher and priest – namely a person with knowledge of secrets and who according to the midrashes guides the young – the subsequent involvement in cooking acquires later an instructional, albeit different, parallel: the ascetic test in the educational use of the occupation of cook for the novices or new monks, according to the Byzantine *Lives of Saints*. And in the Talmud, a *magiros*, priest or teacher, obviously could never be a woman.

Women are mentioned in relation to many other domestic but never public activities, such as kneading bread or making sweets; in each case there is a specific descriptive for the woman's labour but not for the cooking she does at home – that is, she performs a daily chore unworthy of comment. Besides, Athenaios mentions some ancient writers used *dēmiourgos* for men or women who made sweets and cakes and scolded the *mageiroi* if they became involved in matters outside their duties, and some note that today things are reversed as the *mageiros* makes cakes and the female *dēmiourgos* (ἡ δημιουργός), posted to rival him, roasted bits of meat. However, their duties had been separate, with women *dēmiourgoi* only looking after the cakes while the *mageiroi*, the cooks, were occupied only with the art of cooking, *opsartytikē* (ὄψαρτυτική)²⁰.

¹⁸ English translation *Pesikta Rabbati*, trans. W.G. BRAUDE, New Haven 1968, p. 18, and S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 290.

¹⁹ *Der Αληθής Λόγος des Kelsos*, 5.14.1–2, ed. R. BADER, Stuttgart 1940 [= TBA, 33]: ὁ θεὸς ὡσπερ μάγειρος ἐπενέγκη τὸ πῦρ τῆς κολάσεως; ORIGENES, *Contra Celsum libri VIII*, 5.14.1–2, ed. M. MARCOVICH, Leiden 2001 [= VC.S, 54], p. 331.2 and English translation ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum*, trans. H. CHADWICK, Cambridge 1953 (repr. 1965 and 1980), p. 274; S. WEINGARTEN, *Magiros...*, p. 291.

²⁰ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, IV, 72, vol. I, p. 386.17–20, 387.7–14: τοὺς δὲ τὰ πέμματα προσέτι τε τοὺς ποιοῦντας τοὺς πλακοῦντας οἱ πρότερον δημιουργοὺς ἐκάλουν. Μένανδρος Ψευδηρακλεῖ καταμεφόμενος δὲ τοὺς μαγείρους ὡς ἐπιχειροῦντας καὶ οἷς μὴ δεῖ φησιν [...] ἡ δημιουργός δ' ἀντιπαταταγμένη κρεάδι' ὄπτᾱ [...] ὅτι δὲ ἐκεχώριστο τὰ τῆς ὑπουργίας, πεμμάτων μὲν προνοουσῶν τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὄψαρτυτικῆς δὲ τῶν μαγείρων. It is highly interesting that the Byzantines also use the term *dēmiourgos* and *plastēs*, those, mainly women who *plassousin*, knead and mold/create breads and cakes (πλάσσουν ἄρτους καὶ πλακοῦντας, HESYCHIUS, *Lexikon*, letter pi 2430; [...] τινες πλακοῦντες [...] δημιουργοὶ πλάσσουν, *Suda Lexicon*, letter alpha 2082 line 4) and the same term for God who is the *Dēmiourgos* and *Plastēs*, the creator of the world. In 11th-century Byzantium, the young aristocratic ladies prepared elaborate sweets (Easter bread) in their household and were *dēmiourgoi* for the poets and God-like creators of a new world, but in pastry! Christophoros of Mytilene (ca. 1000 – after 1050) makes a witty comparison of the earthly impression of the starry sky depicted in a leavened confection prepared by his cousin (a confectioner, *ē dēmiourgos*, ἡ δημιουργός τοῦδε τοῦ νέου πόλου), decorated with duck eggs, representing the planets, to express an emphasis on the female gender capacity as part of the universal balance, CHRISTOPHOROS OF MYTILENE, *Poem 42*, [in:] *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mytilenaios*, ed. E. KURTZ, Leipzig 1903, p. 23–26, and English translation *The Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropus*, ed., trans. F. BERNARD,

Consequently, according to the ancient writers, a man *mageiros* could be also and *dēmiourgos* (confectioner), two completely different occupations and could be the two separately; a woman could never be a *mageiros* and when she was engaged in confectionery, she was called the woman *dēmiourgos* (ἡ δημιουργός). Thus, a woman's culinary or confectionery occupation never has a special title. There has thus never been a female cook who had a public standing and a profession – in contrast to the male cook, whose activity was private or public. The male cook, *mageiros*, who was involved with sacrifices and other rituals also served in mansions and at large gatherings with much food, such as weddings, even those of the poor. Artemidorus makes a clear reference to cooks, private or public (κατ' οἶκον καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ), clarifying: *For there is need of a cook at weddings. And for the poor and for those who have abundant provisions rely on a cook*²¹.

II

As we've noted, the cook's public and domestic roles and women's participation or absence in the public cooking process and food preparation – particularly of meat – has been subject to debate since ancient times, when in fact it was stated that 'there is no such thing as a female chef-*mageiraina*'. Byzantine scholars also shared this view, hence the absence of a woman *mageiros* from public activity. Plutarchos may have reminded scholars of this when he stated that in the past the Sabine women were not allowed to grind grain and therefore to make bread or even to cook:

Why in the early days did they not allow their wives to grind grain or to cook, *opsopoiein* (ὀψοποιεῖν)? [...] no Sabine woman should grind grain for a Roman or cook *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν) for him²².

Ch. LIVANOS, Cambridge Mass. 2018 [= DOML, 50], p. 73–79; P. MAGDALINO, *Cosmological Confectionery and Equal Opportunity in the Eleventh Century. An Ekphrasis by Christopher of Mitylene (Poem 42)*, [in:] *Byzantine Authors. Literary Activities and Preoccupations. Texts and Translations dedicated to the Memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*, ed. J.W. NESBITT, Leiden–Boston 2003 [= MMe, 49], p. 1–6; Μ. ΛΕΟΝΤΣΙΝΗ, *Οικόσιτα, ωδικά και εξωτικά πτηνά. Αισθητική πρόσληψη και χρηστικές όψεις (7^{ος}–11^{ος} αι.)*, [in:] *Ζώα και περιβάλλον στο Βυζάντιο (7^{ος}–12^{ος} αι.)*, ed. Η. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, Τ.Γ. ΚΟΛΙΑΣ, Ε. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Αθήνα 2011, p. 308–309.

²¹ ARTEMIDORUS DALDIANUS, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon libri V*, III.56, ed. R.A. ΡΑΚΚ, Leipzig 1963 [= BSGR] (cetera: ARTEMIDOROS, *Onirocriticon*), p. 228.8–10 and English translation D.E. HARRIS-MCCOY, *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica. Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford 2012, p. 289: δεῖ γὰρ ἐν γάμοις μαγείρου. καὶ τοῖς πένησιν οἱ γὰρ ἐκτενεῖς τροφὰς ἔχοντες, οὗτοι μαγείρω χρώνται. See also the cooks in weddings in antiquity, G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 34, 106 note 134.

²² PLUTARCHOS, *Roman and Greek Questions (Αἰτίαι Ῥωμαϊκαί, Αἰτίαι Ἑλλήνων)*, 284F, [in:] *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. II.1, ed. W. NACHSTÄDT, W. SIEVEKING, J.B. TITCHENER, Leipzig 1935 (repr. 1971) [= BSGR], p. 321.28 – 322.4 and English translation PLUTARCH, *The Roman Questions*, [in:] PLU-

This information, although ascribed to the Sabine women after their abduction, has been studied and is considered *un épisode fondateur* regarding Roman women's ban from sacrificing or participating in meals in the past, the *incapacité sacrificielle des femmes* according to De Casanove²³. However, the interest in this information lies in the fact that women were not allowed to cook, *opsopoiein* and *mageireuein* (ὄψοποιεῖν and μαγειρεύειν), as this activity involved meat that, aside from being prepared for food, was primarily sacrifice on an altar. This ban on any possible relationship between a woman and the altar or sanctuary and chancel of a church sanctum due to the feminine gender and to views concerning a woman's purity is timeless and cross-cultural. It was also observed in Christian worship. The Holy Sanctuary, where the Holy Sacrificial Altar with the now bloodless sacrifice, is not accessible to women according to Councils. *On women not entering the sanctuary: That women should not enter the sanctuary*²⁴. Since antiquity the sacrifice has always been performed by the male priest; the woman may serve but does not participate²⁵. And since women could not perform sacrifices, they could not perform the duties or provide the service of a *mageiros* as the sacrificial butcher/chef, *sacrificateur* because *elles perdent du coup leur statut féminin et basculent du côté de la virilité*. Even at women's religious ceremonies, the sacrifice is performed by a man²⁶. It is precisely this ancient and Christian treatment of the *incapacité sacrificielle des femmes* that pervades Byzantine society and endorses in different ways, as we shall see, the views on the woman's role as a *mageiros* in Byzantine scholarly and popular terminology.

The Byzantines' names for the various roles and activities in cooking are traceable to ancient literature. Byzantines use the same terms – at least in scholarly texts – while at the same time creating new ones. Byzantium inherits many views from Late Antiquity on these occupations, adapting and christianising them and the woman's position, as regards her involvement in cooking, does not change; indeed, it generates difficulties in finding the appropriate name. Then why is a woman mentioned by the Byzantines as cooking (*mageireuein*) is not called

TARCH, *Moralia*, vol. IV, trans. F.C. BABBITT, Cambridge Mass. 1936 (repr. 1957 and 1962) [= LCL, 305], p. 131: Διὰ τί τὰς γυναῖκας οὐτ' ἀλείν εἶων οὐτ' ὄψοποιεῖν τὸ παλαιόν; [...] μήτ' ἀλείν ἀνδρὶ Ῥωμαίῳ γυναῖκα μήτε μαγειρεύειν.

²³ O. DE CASANOVE, "Exesto". *L'incapacité sacrificielle des femmes à Rome (À propos de Plutarque "Quaest. Rom." 85)*, *Phoe* 41.2, 1987, p. 159–173; J.-M. PAILLER, *Une place pour elles à table: le cas de Rome*, *C.HFS* 14, 2001, p. 119–131; J. BOULOGNE, *L'utilisation du mythe de l'enlèvement des Sabines chez Plutarque*, *BAGB.LH* 59, 2000, p. 357–358.

²⁴ *Council of Laodicea*, Canon 44, [in:] *Discipline générale antique (IV^e–IX^e s.)*, vol. I.2, ed. P.P. JOANNOU, Grottaferrata 1962, p. 148.14–17: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἰσέναι εἰς ἱερατεῖον γυναῖκας. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ γυναῖκας εἰς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ εἰσέναι. See R.F. TAFT, *Women at Church in Byzantium: Where, When – And Why?*, *DOP* 52, 1998, p. 32 specifically for the English translation of Canon 44.

²⁵ P. VISCUSO, *Purity and Sexual Defilement in Late Byzantine Theology*, *OCP* 57, 1991, p. 399–340.

²⁶ G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 30–31.

mageiros? It is perhaps because her involvement with cooking was never professional but mainly within the domestic sphere or family enterprise and usually under the supervision of a man – a husband, master, or boss. As we will see below, only scholars used *mageiros* to mean besides cook also ‘exterminator’ for those who massacred people, although the popular word *makelēs* from Latin, adopted by the Byzantines, is equated with the ancient *mageiros*, meaning mainly ‘butcher’ but never interpreted as ‘cook’.

Other terms Byzantine authors used in parallel with *mageiros* is *opsopoios* (ὄψοποιός), meaning one who cooks food or one who prepares a relish, and *opsartytēs* (ὄψαρτυτής), or one who prepares lavish and seasoned dishes, often with meat and fish. In antiquity the difference is emphasised by the authors compiled by Athenaios: the *mageiros* is generally in command, the one responsible for procuring supplies and preparations, while the *opsopoios* and *opsartytēs* provide the kitchen labour for preparing the main and side dishes (ὄψα, *opsa*). Additionally, we find the terms *trapezokomos* (τραπεζοκόμος) and *trapezopoios* (τραπεζοποιός), which are often used interchangeably for those laying the tables and serving the food²⁷. Byzantine scholars and especially Byzantine *Lexica* continued using the terms *opsopoios* and *opsartytēs* likening them to *mageiros* and sometime to *trapezokomos* and *trapezopoios*, although each one provided different services²⁸. It is revealing that in all of Theodoros Studites’s work, in fact in the *Typikon* and *Epitimia*, while *mageiria*, *mageireuta* (μαγειρευτά), and *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν), respectively cooked food and cooking, are mentioned, there is only one reference to *mageiros*; *opsopoios* is used almost everywhere as the term for ‘cook’ and is the only term used in some *Typika* that follow and copy Studites like *Typikon of Theotokos Evergetis* and *Typikon of St. John the Forerunner of Phoberos*²⁹.

²⁷ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, IV, 70, vol. I, p. 383.25–26; 384.5–6; 384.13–14; English translation ATHENAEUS, *The Learned Banqueters*, vol. II, trans. O.S. DOUGLAS, Cambridge Mass. 2006 [= LCL], p. 321–323: τῶν δὲ μαγείρων διάφοροί τινες ἦσαν οἱ καλούμενοι τραπεζοποιοί [...] ζητητέον δὲ εἰ καὶ ὁ τραπεζοκόμος ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ τραπεζοποιῷ [...] ἐκάλουν δὲ τραπεζοποιὸν τὸν τραπεζῶν ἐπιμητήν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐκοσμίας. ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, IX, 69, vol. II, p. 383.3–4: [...] οὐκέτι μάγειρος, ὄψοποιός ἐστι δέ. οὐ ταῦτό δ’ ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πολὺ διήλλαχεν. See also G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 76–78.

²⁸ HESYCHIUS, *Lexikon*, letter delta 2340: δραστήρας τοὺς ὄψοποιούς, μαγείρους; ΡΗΟΤΙΟΣ, *Lexikon*, letter omicron 752, ὄψαρτυτής: μάγειρος, 754, ὄψαρτυτική· μαγειρική; *Suda Lexicon*, letter omicron 1071, ὄψαρτυτής: μάγειρος.

²⁹ For the only reference to *mageiros* while everywhere else is an *opsopoios*, see *Theodori Studitis Parva Catechesis*, catechesis 5.37, ed. E. AUVRAY, Paris 1891, p. 17: ὁ μάγειρος ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ. For the use only of *opsopoios* in his work we choose as example the *Magna Catechesis* and *Epitimia*: THEODOROS STUDITES, *Μεγάλη κατήχησις*, ed. A. ΡΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, St. Petersburg 1904, p. 44.20, 48.18, 109.16, 266.12, 335.13, 395.4, 401.13 and the most exemplary penalty, *epitimion* of *opsopoios*, D. ARNESANO, *Gli Epitimia di Teodoro Studita. Due fogli ritrovati del dossier di Casole*, B 80, 2010, *epitimion* 27. See also references to *mageiria*, cooked dishes but never to *mageiros*, *Typikon of St. John Stoudios*, [in:] *Nova patrum bibliotheca*, vol. V, ed. A. MAI, J. COZZA-LUZI, Rome 1849, p. 111–125 (repr. in *PG*, vol. XCIX, col. 1713–1716), trans.: *Byzantine Monastic Foundation*

Thus, regardless of whether their exact roles are sometimes confused, the *mageiros* is in command of the kitchen and responsible for its operation. In addition, the cook is clearly differentiated from the man who hosts a banquet, *hestiatōr* (ἑστιάτωρ), who invites and entertains the guest and provides the food. According to Athenaios, the *mageiros* presents himself before to the reclining *hestiatōr* at the banquet table to show him the written menu with the prepared dishes³⁰. This is an important description of those in charge of a feast in antiquity, from the cook to the host. However, we do not know if this procedure continued in Byzantium, without ruling out that, in fact, it did. The ordinary Byzantine cook (*mageiros*) is also an *opsopoios* (ὀψοποιός), the person who makes *opsa* (ὄψα), cooked or prepared foods; he cooks and probably also serves as required. Judging, however, by the service described in the sources as being offered both in the day-to-day by the average cook – as well as by those working in monasteries, mansion houses, and, above all, the palace – many clearly had more complex but also hierarchised roles at times.

The information available on Byzantine secular cooks is relatively limited. It is interesting to study cookhouses and refectories in Byzantine case law and the extensive archaeological material available, particularly on the monastic kitchen, *mageireion* (μαγειρεῖον). But neither offer anything with regard to gender, except maybe the facts that cooks are always male and their work was relatively underrated. Until the later eighth century, the word *mageiros* primarily meant butcher and cook simultaneously, while *choiromageiros* (χοιρομάγειρος) or *moschomageiros* (μοσχομάγειρος) in late Roman and early Byzantine papyri refers to breeder, butcher, and cook of pork and veal³¹. The clarification, probably in a Middle Byzantine text, that the seller of meat is called *mageiros* is characteristic of this dual usage³². The most typical case of a secular cook is that of the Indian cook in the residence of a bodyguard (σπαθάριος) during the time of Justinian II. The patrician Stephanos and his bodyguard Helias were sent to Kherson to impose order and install Helias as imperial governor; instead, they massacred the population and led

Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments, ed. J. THOMAS, A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO, with the assistance of G. CONSTABLE, Washington DC 2000 [= *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 35] (cetera: *BMFD*), p. 109–111. For the *opsopoios* mentioned instead of *mageiros* in other *Typika* see *Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergetis*, ed. P. GAUTIER, *REB* 40, 1982, p. 73.1021, English translation and commentaries by R. JORDAN in *BMFD*, p. 459; *Typikon of St. John the Fore-runner of Phoberos*, [in:] *Noctes Petropolitanae*, ed. A.I. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 60.22, English translation and commentaries by R. JORDAN in *BMFD*, p. 872–953.

³⁰ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, II, 33, vol. I, p. 115.13–16.

³¹ See <https://papyri.info/> [15 VI 2022] search: p.oxy 14 1764, Oxyrhynchos 201 CE–300 CE. – sb 26 16561, Dionysias (Arsinoites) 201 CE–250 CE. – p.stras 1 47, Antinoopolis 566 CE. – p.stras 1 48, Antinoopolis 566 CE. – p.stras 1 49, Antinoopolis 566 CE. – p.stras 1 50, Antinoopolis 566 CE. – bgu 1 3, Arsinoiton Polis 605 CE. – p.cair.masp 2 67141, Aphroditis Kome (Antaiopolites) 576–600 CE. – p.prag 1 72, Arsinoites 601–700 CE.

³² *La légende de S. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte*, ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, Louvain 1953, p. 118.3: Ἦλθεν δὲ ποτε τῶν κρεῶν ὁ πράτης ὄν μάγειρον καλοῦσιν.

a rebellion around 711. In retaliation, Justinian slaughtered Helias's children and forced his wife to take the household cook as a husband. This cook is described as ugly, very unsightly, and Indian – the equivalent of an Ethiopian, i.e., dark-skinned. The most interesting thing in this case is that as a degrading punishment Helias's wife was forced to take their own black cook as her erotic partner³³.

A household like Helias's, a diocese, or a town had many servants (Indians, Scythians, and later Slavs) in the kitchen and occupied several *mageiroi* in the cookhouse or in food preparation, mainly butchers providing meat and roasting it. For example, in Early Byzantine fourth-century Gaza there is talk of cooks in the market selling what they've prepared and whose pots and skewers were used to punish the Christians: *the cooks left their employment to pour boiling water on them, and to wound them with their culinary utensils*³⁴. In the fourth century, Synesios mentions:

Every house, however humble, has a Scythian slave. The butler, *trapezopoios* (τραπεζοποιός), the working in kitchen, *peri ton ipnon* (περὶ τὸν ἰπνόν), the water carrier, all are Scythians³⁵.

The seventh century *Life* of John the Merciful describes the presence of many cooks at the episcopal residence in Alexandria: *of my own kitchen/cook house [...] my own cooks*³⁶.

Yet wherever he was employed – in palaces, dioceses, or monasteries – the status of the cook was not generally appreciated, although the 'cook's sophistry', his dishes, were. An anecdote from the tenth century illustrates the disdain for the occupation of cook when an emperor was disparaged as a *mageiros*. Although the story probably originally intended to show the emperor's humility and popularity, it was used by Theophanes Continuatus to belittle Michael III (842–867), describing the emperor as becoming a *trapezopoios* and a *mageiros*, going to the tableless house of a simple woman just returning from the baths, laying the wet towel on the floor

³³ NIKEPHOROS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Short History / Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium historicum*, 45.54–56, ed. C. MANGO, Washington DC 1990 [= *CFHB*, 13; *DOT*, 10], p. 110, English translation, *ibidem*, p. 111: τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα τῷ ἰδίῳ μαγείρῳ ζευχθῆναι ἠνάγκασεν, Ἰνδῶ τῷ γένει καὶ ὄλῳ δυσειδέϊ τυγχάνοντι.

³⁴ SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, V.9.4, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1960 [= *GCS*, 50], p. 204.23–25 and English translation *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen. Comprising a History of the Church from A.D. 324 to A.D. 440*, trans. E. WALFORD, London 1855, p. 215: καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς μαγείρων οἱ μὲν ὕδατι θερμῷ κοχλάζοντας τοὺς λέβητας ἐξαρπάζοντες τῶν χυτροπόδων κατέχεον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὀβελίσκοις διέπειρον.

³⁵ SYNESIOS, *On Kingship*, 20.14–17, ed. N. TERZAGHI, *Synesii Cyrenensis Opuscula*, Rome 1944, p. 46: ἅπας γὰρ οἶκος ὁ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εὖ πράττων Σκυθικὸν ἔχει τὸν δοῦλον, καὶ ὁ τραπεζοποιός, καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸν ἰπνόν, καὶ ὁ ἀμφορεαφόρος Σκύθης ἐστὶν ἐκάστω.

³⁶ *Life of St. John of Cyprus, The Merciful*, [in:] LÉONTIOS DE NÉAPOLIS, *Vie de Syméon le Fou; Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, L. RYDÉN, Paris 1974 [= *IFAB.BAH*, 95], p. 367.3–4: τοῦ ἐμοῦ μαγείρου· [...] οἱ ἐμοὶ μάγειροι.

as a tablecloth, and saying: *I who have an appetite for bran bread and dry cheese.* And the chronicler comments:

For we must use his words. And since the woman was speechless at the strangeness of the spectacle, wanting in everything, having neither table nor the things with which to lay it, Michael turned round faster than word can tell, took the towel, still damp, which she had brought from the bath, and used it instead of the fine cloth which lay upon the table. Taking the woman's key, he was everything: emperor, *trapezopoios*, *mageiros*, *daitymōn*³⁷.

Ultimately there is nothing positive, popular, or humble in equating the emperor with a cook. On the contrary, many references contrast the status of a king and a cook as characterised by opposite extremes, the splendour of the high office versus the degrading involvement with slaughterhouses, kitchen, smoke, and ashes. Leaders and kings known as slaughterers of people, such as Nebuzaradan, are presented as cooks, as we saw earlier. In the third century, Hippolytos states that

as a butcher (*mageiros*) kills all creatures and butchers them, in the same way also the rulers of this world kill men, butchering (*mageireuontes*) them as unreasoning animals³⁸.

According to Dio Chrysostom, the Persian kings were butchers, and he wonders

when Xerxes and Darius marched down from Susa driving a mighty host of Persians, Medes, Sacae, Arabs, and Egyptians into our land of Greece to their destruction, were they functioning as kings or as butchers (*mageiros*) [= their function was, literally, a *basilikon* or *mageirikon ergon*, βασιλικὸν ἢ μαγειρικὸν ἔργον] in driving this booty for future slaughter?³⁹

Emperors and persecutors of Christians are also described metaphorically as *mageiroi* who use cooking utensils and slaughtering tools as implements of various

³⁷ *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I–IV*, 37.1–17, ed. J.M. FEATHERSTONE, J. SIGNES-CODOÑER, Berlin–Boston 2015 [= *CFHB*, 53], p. 282, 284 and English translation, p. 283, 285: ψωμοῦ πιτυρώδους ἔφεσιν ἔχοντα καὶ ἀσβεστοτύρου [...] αὐτὸς ἦν τὰ πάντα, βασιλεύς, τραπεζοποιός, μάγειρος, δαιτυμών. A similar cheese story about Charlemagne exists in western legends (article in preparation).

³⁸ HIPPOLYTOS, *Commentary on Daniel*, II, 4, p. 74.9–12, and English translation by T.C. SCHMIDT (HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME, *Commentary...*), p. 49: ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ μάγειρος πάντα τὰ ζῶα ἀναρεῖ καὶ μαγειρεύει, τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἀναροῦσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα μαγειρεύοντες αὐτούς.

³⁹ DION CHRYSOSTOMOS, *On Kingship*, 4.45, [in:] *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*, vol. I, ed. J. VON ARNIM, Berlin 1893 (repr. 1962), p. 63.22–26, English translation DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *The Fourth Discourse on Kingship*, [in:] DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *Discourses*, vol. I, trans. J.W. COHOON, Cambridge Mass. 1932 [= *LCL*, 257], p. 189: ὅτε γοῦν Ξέρξης καὶ Δαρείος ἄνωθεν ἐκ Σούσων ἤλαυνον πολλὸν ὄχλον Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακῶν καὶ Ἀράβων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων δεῦρο εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπολούμενον, πότερον βασιλικὸν ἢ μαγειρικὸν ἔπραττον ἔργον λείαν ἐλαύνοντες κατακοπησομένην. See also J. MOLES, *The Date and Purpose of the Fourth Kingship Oration of Dio Chrysostom*, CA 2, 1983, p. 251.

forms of torture. Referring to the Emperor Maximian, Gregory of Nyssa describes the persecutors as those who *they sacrifice butchered birds being mageiroi of kings* (ἀντὶ βασιλέων γίνονται μάγειροι), *and examine the entrails of wretched cattle, sell meat stained with blood*⁴⁰. Emperor Leon I (457–474) is known as *Makellēs*, the corresponding Latin name of *mageiros*-butcher because of the massacres he led. He is thus described in a tenth-century etymology linking his name to a district of Constantinople, the market of *Dimakellin* or *Leomakellon*, meaning meat butcher market or the market of *leō* (λεῶ) of people:

The so-called Dimakellin received its name because Emperor Leo sold meat there and his wife plaited gut strings or the name *Makellēs* was given because he killed the Areians and makel in Latin means sphageus (i.e., slayer, butcher)⁴¹.

A final example of the correlation between the condemnatory behaviour of inhumane and cruel power and the work of the cook is given in a Byzantine chrysobull of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081) who states (in the same way as Dio mentions ‘βασιλικὸν ἢ μαγειρικὸν ἔργον’) that some of us have a *mageirikē* soul (μαγειρικὴν ψυχὴν), not a royal soul (βασιλικὴν), *but that of a butcher, of a cook, and they take pleasure in spilling blood by killing* – an expression also reminiscent of the murderous and *mageirōdēs* soul (μαγειρώδης ψυχὴ) of some murderers in the years of Theodosios I, mentioned by the historian Eunapius in the fourth century⁴². Thus, in an official document from the eleventh century, *mageiros* and *mageirikos* (μάγειρος, μαγειρικός), the cook and the culinary job, continue to be used with their ancient meaning of butcher and killer.

⁴⁰ GREGORIOS OF NYSSA, *In Praise of Blessed Theodore, the Great Martyr*, ed. J.P. CAVARNOS, [in:] *Gregorii Nysseni Sermones*, pars 2, vol. X.1, ed. G. HEIL, J. CAVARNOS, O. LENDLE, F. MANN, Leiden 1990, p. 68.24–69: μαρῶ βωμῶ πλησιάζοντες, ἀντὶ βασιλέων γίνονται μάγειροι ὄρνεις θύοντες, καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀθλιῶν σπλάγχνα διερευνῶμενοι.

⁴¹ *Patria of Constantinople*, III, 101 and 104, ed. T. PREGER, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, Leipzig 1907, p. 250.4–7, 17–19: Τὸ Κουρατωρῖκιον ἐκτίσθη ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Λεωμακέλλη [...]. Τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον Διμακέλιν ἐκλήθη οὕτως, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ὁ Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας κρέατα ἐπώλει· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἔπλεκε τὰς χόρδας. See also edition with the English translation we use here A. BERGER, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*, Cambridge Mass. 2013 [= DOML, 24], p. 316 and note 115. For the massacres Leo carried out, see *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae Ope*, 607.14–16, vol. I, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1838 [= CSHB]: Μακέλλη δὲ ἐλέγετο διὰ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν Ἄσπαρα καὶ Ἀρδαβούριον ὡς Ἀρειανούς ὄντας· μάκελ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖστί ὁ σφαγεὺς λέγεται. G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des “Patria”*, Paris 1984 [= BBE, 8], p. 318–319. For the butcher no longer doubling as a cook in Byzantium but as *makellarios*, A. DALBY, *Siren Feasts...*, p. 182.

⁴² Imp. Nicephori Botaniatae ne poena gladii intra XXX dies de sententia infligatur, et de aliis capitulis (1) [1080]. *Novellae et Aureae Bullae – Νεαραὶ καὶ Χρυσόβουλλα τῶν μετὰ τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν Βυζαντινῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων*, Nov. 12 (coll. IV), vol. I, ed. I. ΖΕΠΟΣ, Π. ΖΕΠΟΣ (post C.E. ZACHARIA VON LINGENTHAL), Aalen 1962 [= JGR, 1], p. 285: ἴσως τῶν μεθ’ ἡμᾶς, μὴ βασιλικὴν ἔχοντες ἀλλὰ μαγειρικὴν τὴν ψυχὴν, αἱμάτων ἀνθρώπων ἐφῆδοντα προχοαίς. *Eunapii vitae sophistarum*, VII.6.6.5, ed. J. GIANGRANDE, Rome 1956: φονικὴν τινα καὶ μαγειρώδη ψυχὴν.

As far as the palace is concerned, apart from some almost anecdotal stories, there is no specific mention of cooks or their work, although it is certain that there were many cooks behind the *trapezopoioi*, butlers (τραπεζοποιοί) or *epi tēs trapezēs*, serving staff (ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης), namely those who prepared and supervised the table with the imperial meals and dinners⁴³. The odd lack of mention of cooks in the detailed descriptions of ceremonies and dinner preparations in the court is covered by the description of the emperor's entourage on his campaigns that included the imperial cooks or *basilikoi mageiroi* (βασιλικοί μάγειροι), who sought wood for the imperial kitchen, *basilikon mageireion* (βασιλικὸν μαγειρεῖον):

The imperial cooks prepare the food for the next day in the evening [...] when they find wood or trees lying in unpopulated areas the imperial cooks and the attendants should chop them up and take them to the imperial kitchen, each carrying a log⁴⁴.

Some recurring anecdotal stories further inform that the Emperor Julian expelled one thousand cooks from the imperial court along with the eunuchs. Eunuchs are often identified or associated with the cooks-slaughterers. An arcane bond also links them to barbers. The tasks performed by all three tasks associated with the actions of chopping, cutting, slaughtering; they radically intervene in human nature by undergoing castration surgery or cutting hair and shaving, thus transforming bodies just as the cook transforms material through elaborate cooking, serving only pleasure. Barbers, eunuchs, and especially the butcher-cook (*mageiros*) are treated disdainfully because of their relationship with the knife and pleasure.

Following Plato's thesis – particularly the Neoplatonic interpretation that cooking aims at producing pleasure⁴⁵ – it is said that in an attempt to purge and

⁴³ N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972, p. 28–29, 301 notes 89, 305–306.

⁴⁴ CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *What Should be observed when the Great and High Emperor of the Romans goes on Campaign*, (C)525–526, 529–531, [in:] CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, ed. J.F. HALDON, Wien 1990 [= *CFHB.SV*, 28], p. 126, 128 and English translation p. 127, 129: τὰ δὲ πρόφαγα ποιῶσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ μάγειροι τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ. [...] καὶ ὅτε εὖρωσι ξύλα ἢ δένδρα εἰς ἐρήμους τόπους κείμενα, κόπτουσιν οἱ σύντροφοὶ καὶ οἱ μάγειροι, καὶ ἐπαίρουσι πρὸς ἓν ξύλον, καὶ ἀποκομίζουσι πρὸς τὸ βασιλικὸν μαγειρεῖον.

⁴⁵ PLATO, *Gorgias*, 500b.3–5; F. NOTARIO, *Plato's Political Cuisine. Commensality, Food and Politics in the Platonic Thought*, A.ECD 17, 2015, p. 123–158. See the Byzantine reception of Plato's statements about cooking and cooks, F. ΚΟΛΟΒΟΥ, *Die Rezeption der Platonischen Opsopoiia in der byzantinischen Literatur*, [in:] *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. M. HINTERBERGER, E. SCHIFFER, Berlin 2007, p. 181–193. See also an interesting approach on literary 'cooking' in Byzantium with reference to Plato, P.A. ΑΓΑΡΙΤΟΣ, *Literary Haute Cuisine and its Dangers Eustathios of Thessalonike on Schedography and Everyday Language*, DOP 69, 2015, p. 225–241, and on Byzantine cooking and Agamemnon's Banqueting according to Plato, Athenaios, and Eustathios of Thessalonike, I. ΑΝΑΓΝΟΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *What is Plate and Cooking Pot and Food and Bread and Table all at the Same Time?*, [in:] *Multidisciplinary*

restore Roman authority, Julian expelled one thousand cooks (*mageiroi*), waiters (*trapezopoioi*), and an equal number of barbers and eunuchs from the Byzantine palaces where, according to Libanios, they hovered like flies around a sheepfold in summer – an Homeric loan regarding a throng:

on looking into the state of the imperial court, and seeing a useless multitude kept for no purpose, a thousand cooks, and hairdressers no fewer, cup-bearers yet more numerous, swarms of waiters, eunuchs (μαγείρους μὲν χιλίους, κουρέας δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους, οἰνοχόους δὲ πλείους, σμήνη τραπεζοπιῶν, εὐνούχους) in number beyond the flies around the flocks in spring, and of all other descriptions an indescribable lot of drones [...] he expelled them forthwith⁴⁶.

In a later version of the incident Julian sought out his predecessor's palace barber and cook and found them luxuriously dressed, almost like senators. He threw them out, after having first requested that they should be compared, especially the cook, to his own rather modestly attired staff, and asked those present to tell him who looked more like a cook⁴⁷. Therefore, even palace cooks, although they may occasionally have resembled the other court servants and officials, were obviously viewed differently and only thus accepted, as they came from various ethnic and social groups – black Indians, Slavs, eunuchs. Indeed, they are depicted as eunuchs in a late-ninth-century miniature of a noble table⁴⁸. Indian cooks represent

Approaches to Food and Foodways in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean, ed. S.Y. WAKSMAN, Lyon 2020, p. 225–241 and especially p. 220–221; M. ΛΕΟΝΤΣΙΝΗ, *Ο Πλάτων και ο Φιλόξενος ο Κυθήριος με το βλέμμα του Ιωάννη Τζέτζη: οι δημιουργικοί και παιγνιώδεις ορίζοντες μιας επιστολής*, [in:] *Homo sum: Humani nil a me alienum puto*, Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Νίκο Πετρόχειλο, ed. Κ. ΑΡΩΝΗ-ΤΣΙΧΛΗ, Αθήνα 2021, p. 261–289.

⁴⁶ HOMER, *Ilias*, 2, 469–471: Ἦυτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ/ αἶ τε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἠλάσκουσιν/ ὥρη ἐν εἰρινῇ ὄτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει; LIBANIOS, *Oration 18. Funeral Oration over Julian*, ch. 130, [in:] *Libanii opera*, vol. II, ed. R. FOERSTER, Leipzig 1904 (repr. Hildesheim 1997) [= BSGR], p. 291.15–21, 292.1–5: βλέψας εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν θεραπείαν καὶ κατιδὼν ὄχλον ἄχρηστον τινάλλως τρεφόμενον, μαγείρους μὲν χιλίους, κουρέας δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους, οἰνοχόους δὲ πλείους, σμήνη τραπεζοπιῶν, εὐνούχους ὑπὲρ τὰς μυίας παρὰ τοῖς ποιμέσιν ἐν ἤρῃ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστων ἔθνων ἀμυθήτους κηφίνας [...] ἐξέωσεν εὐθέως; SOKRATES, *Kirchengeschichte*, III.50, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 1], p. 192.5–8: ἐξέβαλε δὲ τῶν βασιλείων εὐνούχους κουρεῖς μαγείρους, εὐνούχους [...] μαγείρους δὲ διὰ τὸ λιτῆ χρῆσθαι διαίτη· «κουρεὺς δέ, ἔφη, εἰς πολλοῖς ἀρκέσει».

⁴⁷ *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri XVIII*, vol. III, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonn 1897 [= CSHB], p. 60.13–19: κουρέα τε ζητήσας, ὡς προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου κουρεὺς πολυτελῶς ἑσταλμένος, κουρέα ζητεῖν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' οὐ συγκλητικόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ μάγειρον δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν ἑσθῆτι λαμπροτέρα τῆς ὑπουργίας αὐτοῦ θεασάμενος καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μετεπέμψατο μάγειρον κατὰ μάγειρον ἑσταλμένον· καὶ ἤρετο τοὺς παρόντας, πότερον αὐτῶν κρίνοιεν μάγειρον.

⁴⁸ Miniature from a 9th–10th century manuscript, National Library of Athens code 211, f. 56, A. ΜΑΡΑΒΑ-ΧΑΤΖΗΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, Χ. ΤΟΥΦΕΞΗ-ΠΑΣΧΟΥ, *Κατάλογος μικρογραφιῶν βυζαντινῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Ἀθήνα 1997, fig. 17; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, T. ΡΑΡΑΜΑΤΟΡΑΚΙΣ, ...and Radishes for Appetizers. *On Banquets, Radishes and Wine*, [in:] *Βυζαντινὴ Διατροφή και Μαγειρεία*. Πρακτικά Ἡμερίδας «Περὶ τῆς διατροφῆς στο Βυζάντιο», Θεσσαλονίκη, Μουσεῖο Βυζαντινοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ, 4 Νοεμβρίου 2001, ed. Δ. ΠΑΠΑΝΙΚΟΛΑ-ΜΠΑΚΙΡΤΖΗ, Αθήνα 2005, p. 152.

the knowledge and use of various spices; Athenaios, repeating Megasthenes of the third-fourth century B.C.E., reports many elaborate Indian dishes on Indian tables⁴⁹.

In Roman times the Scythians, later identified with the Slavs by the Byzantines, served as cooks. As mentioned above, Synesios says every house had a Scythian butler and cook – which was also likely the case for the palace. It is possible that there were cooks among the hundred Slav eunuchs sent in the ninth century from Patras by Danelis to the Emperor Basil in Constantinople:

five hundred household servants, including handsome eunuchs, one hundred in number; for this powerful and wealthy old woman apparently knew that there is always room for these castrates in the imperial palace, and that they dwell there in number exceeding those of flies in a sheepfold in springtime⁵⁰.

Judging by the way this gift is mentioned in the *Life of Basil*, and which is nothing more than an expression borrowed from Libanios describing the eunuchs and cooks expelled by Julian, Danelis's eunuchs most likely included cooks and butlers. Her cooks and butlers wined and dined the then-insignificant Basil, the future emperor, when Danelis hosted him during his stay in Patras; a scene in Skylitzes's manuscript describes Danelis and Basil dining together⁵¹.

In any case, it is well-known that in Patras from the ninth century onwards there was a large group of Slavs, *Sclavenes*, who had been placed in servitude to the cathedral. The group cooks, butlers, and servants who were obliged to accommodate and feed at their own expense any passing ambassadors, dignitaries, and officials from the city:

Sclavenes who were set apart in the metropolis have maintained like hostages the military governors and the imperial agents, and all the envoys sent from foreign nations and they have their own waiters-*trapezopoious* (τραπεζοποιούς) and cooks-*mageirous* (μαγείρους) and servants of all kind who prepare food for the table (τὰ τῆς τραπέζης βρώματα)⁵².

⁴⁹ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, IV, 39, vol. I, p. 347.14–15: ὄψα πολλὰ κεχειρουρηγμένα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς σκευασίαις.

⁵⁰ *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber V quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur*, 74.23–30, ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, Berlin 2011 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 42], p. 256; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Byzantine Diet and Cuisine. In between Ancient and Modern Gastronomy*, [in:] *Flavours and Delights. Tastes and Pleasures of Ancient and Byzantine Cuisine*, ed. IDEM, Athens 2013, p. 58; Ch. MESSIS, *Les eunuques à Byzance...*, p. 255, 329.

⁵¹ V. TSAMAKDA, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, Leiden 2002, fig. 206, fol. 85r.

⁵² CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, 49.65–69, Greek text ed. G. MORAVCSIK, English trans. R.J.H. JENKINS, Washington DC 1967 [= *CFHB*, 1; *DOT*, 1], p. 230, and English translation p. 231: οἱ ἀφορισθέντες Σκλαβῆνοι ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς βασιλικούς καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ ἔθνῶν ἀποστελλομένους πρέσβεις ὡς ὀμήρους διατρέφουσιν, ἔχοντες ἰδίους καὶ τραπεζοποιούς καὶ μαγείρους καὶ πάντας τοὺς παρασκευάζοντας τὰ τῆς τραπέζης

So the *mageiroi* and *trapezopoioi*, butlers, or serving staff (ἐπί τῆς τραπέζης) mentioned undoubtedly worked together. It is worth noting the continuation of this custom when later, probably in the eleventh or twelfth century, Saint Daniel, a cook from the ‘castle of Patras’, is described as entertaining passers-by⁵³. The saint’s name is not random and refers probably to Danelis, who offered dinner to the future Emperor Basil when he was in Patras, as mentioned above.

Turning now to the search for the evidence of female cooks, women’s roles are seldom described in detail regarding their involvement in food preparation. This may be because such activities were part of the day-to-day in the organisation and economy of the family were obvious and ordinary – an almost banal occupation. Nonetheless, unlike men, women are never called *mageiros*⁵⁴ even though the verb *mageireuein* (μαγειρεύειν) is used for women who cook. It is thus a challenge to investigate the reasons of this lack of a term for their occupation, which is described periphrastically. One of the few sources referring to this activity in a specific way is John Chrysostom, when discussing the pious women engaged in charitable deeds; he notes that these women wash the feet of the poor and the suffering and many even cook for them, *mageireuousin*, an act considered extremely degrading and extreme humble⁵⁵.

Some women in large noble families and businesses supervise the cooks and guide them, but their occupation does not have a name. A special case is that of the women in the family of Theodore of Sykeon who run the family’s inn business in Galatia, Asia Minor, during the sixth century – initially an inn and brothel according to the *Life of Theodore*. The women most certainly assist the pious and faithful Christian cook Stephanos to make the ‘well-prepared foods (ἐργαστὰ βρώματα)’ but no one is described as a cook. By one interpretation,

the brothel with his cook transformed into an inn, the first Christian restaurant, a Christian enterprise (*ergastērion*) that constitutes a landmark in gastronomic history⁵⁶.

βρώματα. See also Η. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, Α. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Μια περίπτωση εφαρμογής του βυζαντινού θεσμού του ασύλου στην Πελοπόννησο: Η προσφυγή των Σλάβων στο ναό του αγίου Ανδρέα Πατρών*, Συμ 14, 2001, p. 40–41.

⁵³ Π.Β. ΠΑΣΧΟΣ, *Άγνωστοι ἄγιοι τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἐκκλησίας*, ΕΕΣΜ 6, 1990, p. 263–264, 279–280; Ι. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Byzantine Diet...*, p. 58.

⁵⁴ Ε. ΜΑΡΤΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα γυναικών στο Βυζάντιο: συμβολή στη μελέτη για τη θέση της γυναίκας στη βυζαντινή κοινωνία*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2000, [Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται, 29], p. 235–236.

⁵⁵ ΙΟΑΝΝΗΣ CHRYSOSTOMOS, *In epistulam ad Ephesios (Homiliae 1–24)*, Cap. 4, Homilia 13.100, [in:] PG, vol. LXII, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1860, col. 98: τὰς κλίνας βαστάζουσαι, τοὺς πόδας νίπτουσαι πολλαὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ μαγειρεύουσι.

⁵⁶ *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, 5, vol. I, *Texte grec*, ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, Bruxelles 1970 [= SHa, 48], p. 5–6; A. DALBY, *Siren Feasts...*, p. 195–196; IDEM, *Flavours of Byzantium...*, p. 99; Η. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Τροφικές δηλητηριάσεις στο Βυζάντιο. Διατροφικές αντιλήψεις και συμπεριφορές, 6^{ος}–11^{ος} αι.*, [in:] *Βυζαντινὴν Διατροφή και Μαγειρεία...*, p. 65–70; Ι. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Byzantine Diet...*, p. 43–48, 58–59.

In the ninth-century *Life of Philaretos* it is the woman who cooks ‘pure, flawless foods (ἐδέσματα σπαστρικά)’ and sarcastically addresses her husband who has squandered his fortune, saying: *the way you have run your house you have not left a single hen to me; now you can prepare, mageireue (μαγειρεύε) wild plants*⁵⁷. In *Syntipas*, in the eleventh to twelfth century, a farmer’s wife cooks meat or fish, *mageireuei (μαγειρεύει)* and takes the cooked food, the *magereuma*, in the pot (μαγέρευμα μετὰ τοῦ τζουκαλίου) to her husband who is ploughing the fields according to the retractatio⁵⁸. In *Ptochoprodromos*, the cobbler’s wife prepares various *mageiriai (μαγειρίαι)* meals at home – boiled or fried dishes with garlic – while in another family business, the wife of the butcher, *makellarēs*, who prepares the entrails, intestines, and roasts bellies, livers, and lungs, is called *mast-orissa* – maitresse/mistress of intestines (κυρά μαστόρισσα, κυρά χορδοκοιλίστρα), which means both ‘wife of the master butcher’ (*makellarēs*) as well as a skilled woman who shows dexterity in her job⁵⁹. This particular butcher’s wife appears to prepare soups and roast plaited gut strings or prepare sausages – culinary activities also reportedly performed by the wife of the Emperor Makellarēs, Leo-makellēs, mentioned earlier. In all these cases, while the woman prepares cooked food – *magereuma (μαγέρευμα)* or *mageireuei (μαγειρεύει)* – and her work is often described by related verbs, she is never called *mageiros*.

A digression here is both useful and interesting to present the various popular views surrounding *mageiros* and *mageireuō*, whose false etymology is erroneously associated with *magos* and *magic*⁶⁰ because the cook’s hand stirs ingredients in a pot to prepare dishes much like a witch, a sorceress or a sorcerer, and healer mixes potions⁶¹. *Mageiroi* are often held responsible for poisonings or believed to possess the secret of life, especially immortality, like the cooks of Alexander the Great who hid the discovery of immortal water and were duly punished⁶². Indeed, the cooks of

⁵⁷ *The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas. A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices*, 405–406, ed. L. RYDÉN, Uppsala 2002 [= SBU, 8], p. 84 and English translation, p. 85: ἐδιοίκησας τὸν οἶκόν σου ὅτι οὐδὲ μίαν ὄρνιν κατέλιπές με, μαγειρεύε ἄρτι ἄγρια λάχανα.

⁵⁸ MICHAEL ANDREOPULUS, *Liber Syntipae*, 57.16–17; 68.11–13, ed. V. JERNSTEDT, P. NIKITIN, St. Petersburg 1912 [= MAISSP.SPHP, 11.1] and English translation MICHAEL ANDREOPOULOS, *The Byzantine Sinbad*, trans. J. BENEKER, C.A. GIBSON, Cambridge Mass.–London 2021 [= DOML, 67], p. 97: εἰς τὸ χωράφιον [...] ἐκόμισε τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς φαγεῖν [...] ἢ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐτοιμάσασα ἐψητὰ μαγειρεύματα καὶ ὄρνιθα καὶ μελίπυκτον ἕδεσμα.

⁵⁹ Πτωχοπρόδρομος, Poem Γ’, verses 127–132 and manuscripts P and K verses 273.28–43, ed. H. EIDENEIER, *Iraklion* 2012 [= NgrMA, 5] (cetera: *Ptochoprodromos*), p. 191–192. For *makelēs* – *kreōpōlis* (unattested), E. ΜΑΡΤΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 283.

⁶⁰ M. POLLAN, *Cooked. A Natural History of Transformation*, New York 2013, p. 4; R. SCHMITT, “Méconnaissance” *altiranischen Sprachgutes im Griechischen*, *Glo* 49, 1971, p. 107; B. HEMMERDINGER, *Noms communs grecs d’origine iranienne, d’Eschyle au grec moderne*, *Bsl* 30, 1969, p. 19.

⁶¹ Η. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Τροφικές δηλητηριάσεις...*, p. 76–77, 82.

⁶² *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension β*, II.39–41, p. 132–134; II.39, *Anhang A* [39], p. 198–200, ed. L. BERGSON, Stockholm 1965. See also *Database Chrysothemis* (under preparation) entry ἰχθὺς.

kings and heroes are punished for various reasons. In the later prose version of *Digenēs Akritēs*, one of Digenēs's cooks becomes angry, prompting Digenēs to punch him in the face, blinding the cook for life⁶³.

Magic potions also mention cooks and cooked food, and in fact the invocations summon a cook *mageras* (μάγερας) as *the lame horseman* upon his slave to kill three good sheep:

flay them, grill some of them and cook the rest [...]. Let there come the Lady, queen Sybilias, together with her people. Let them take their seats, eat, drink, and rejoice⁶⁴.

The sorcerer-*mageras* is a horseman or knight who always slaughters and grills, mainly meat on the spit over charcoal, while the female sorcerer (like Medea and Circe see below) boils and cooks food in various pots. There is a gender difference in both cooking methods and utensils. Knives and spits are the tools of the male cook, *mageiros*, who can be a horseman, while the woman who prepares food is usually associated with a pot or any deep and round cooking utensil (μαγειρικόν σκεῦος), but mainly with the hearth. Photios's *Lexikon* states that genitals are like a utensil or vessel *skeuos* (σκεῦος), while *Suda*, copying Artemidoros, writes that

a hearth and an oven are like a woman in that they take in things that are useful for life. And the fire within them is divined as the woman being pregnant; for the woman then becomes hotter⁶⁵.

There are numerous references, mainly by ecclesiastical writers, to a cooking utensil (σκεῦος μαγειρικόν) or vessel and feeble, weak/sickly vessel (σκεῦος, ἀσθενὲς σκεῦος) for a woman and her body. John of Damascus says: *Love and have intercourse with your own vessel* (σκεῦος) *that is to say, your own woman*⁶⁶.

⁶³ Δ. ΠΑΣΧΑΛΗΣ, *Οἱ δέκα λόγοι τοῦ Διγενεοῦς Ἀκρίτου*, Λαο 9, 1926, p. 362–363.

⁶⁴ *The Magical Treatise of Solomon (Traité de Magie de Salomon)*, [in:] *Anecdota Atheniensia, et alia*, vol. I, ed. A. DELATTE, Liège–Paris 1827, p. 433.9–10; 433.15–21 and *The Magic Recipes (Recettes magiques)*, [in:] *Anecdota Atheniensia...*, p. 593.20–29 and English translation *The Magical Treatise of Solomon or Hygromanteia*, ed., trans. I. MARATHAKIS, Kuala Lumpur 2011, p. 183: νὰ ἔλθῃ ὁ κοτζὸς καβαλλάρης ὁ μάγερας [...] νὰ τὰ γδάρης, ἄλλα κάμης ὀπτά, ἄλλα μαγερευτά [...] γιὰ νὰ ἔλθῃ ἡ κυρὰ βασιλίσσα ἡ Συμπιλία ὁμοῦ μὲ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς νὰ καθίση νὰ φᾶ, νὰ πῖνῃ, νὰ εὐφρανθοῦν.

⁶⁵ ΦΩΤΙΟΣ, *Lexikon*, letter sigma 303: Σκεῦος: τὸ αἰδοῖον; *Suda Lexicon*, letter kappa 1800: Κλίβανος: ἡ κάμινος, ἔστια. καὶ κλίβανος ἔοικε γυναικὶ διὰ τὸ δέχεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον εὐχρηστα. πυρὸς δὲ εἰσι δεκτικά; ARTEMIDOROS, *Onirocriticon*, II.10, p. 116.21–24 and English translation D.E. HARRIS-MCCOY, *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica...*, p. 171. See also the relation of ash and hearth to female genitalia, I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *The Loaves of the King and the Loaves of Cinderella. Byzantine Tales of Bread in Silk and in Ash*, [in:] ...come sa di sale lo pane altrui. Il pane di Matera e i pani del Mediterraneo, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Matera, 5–7 Settembre 2014*, ed. A. PELLETTIERI, Foggia 2014, p. 115–122.

⁶⁶ JOHN OF DAMASCUS, *Against the Manichees*, 60.8–9, [in:] *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. IV, ed. P.B. KOTTER, Berlin 1981 [= PTS, 22], p. 379: ἀγαπήσαι καὶ μιγῆναι τὸ ἴδιον σκεῦος, του-

According to Ahmet's *Oneirokritikon*, if a man dreams about peeing in a foreign vessel (σκευός), then he will have intercourse with a strange woman; if the vessel in his dream is his, then he will have intercourse with his wife⁶⁷.

Evidently it was always the male cooks who were involved with all types of cooking activities, making boiled, roasted, grilled, spit-roast, and oven-cooked foods, but a hero, a knight, as in this invocation only grills or spit-roasts, leaving his servant to do the rest. Already in Homer, the prevalent view from antiquity onwards was that the heroes ate only roast meat, therefore their cook prepared solely roasted or spit-roasted meat. The topic is particularly significant and its Homeric dimension and criticism by the ancients and the Byzantines has been extensively studied. The theme of the man who mainly cooks and eats only roast meat, like the Homeric heroes, can be found in Byzantine texts referring to the horseman-hunter who either himself as the great cook (*mageiros*) in the term's initial meaning, slaughters, grills or roasts, or brings home the meat of animals he has hunted. The most typical example of the hunter-cook hero is found in Niketas Choniates's description of a mosaic adorning the houses built by Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–1185) and which most certainly followed an ancient artistic tradition of heroic and noble hunting and roasting meat. It depicts Andronikos himself hunting and, with the use of a Homeric expression (ὤπτῃσάν τε περιφραδέως Homer, *Iliad* 1.466), is described by Choniates as diligently roasting deer and boar meat from his hunt over the charcoal:

There were also scenes of rustic life, of tent dwellers, and of common feasting on game, with Andronikos cutting up deer meat or pieces of wild boar with his own hands and carefully roasting them over the fire⁶⁸.

τέστι τὴν ἰδίαν γυναικα. See also IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMOS, *In epistulam I ad Corinthios (Homiliae 1–30)*, [in:] PG, vol. LXI, ed. J.-P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1862, col. 222.48–49: Ἄλλ' ἐννόησον ὅτι γυνή, τὸ ἀσθενὲς σκευός, σὺ δὲ ἀνήρ.

⁶⁷ *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, section 47, ed. F. DREXL, Leipzig 1925 [= BSGR] (cetera: ACHMET, *Oneirocriticon*), p. 30.19–21. Ἐάν τις ἴδῃ, ὅτι οὖρησεν ἐν σκεύει τινί, εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἴδιον τὸ σκευός, τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ συνουσιάσει εἰ δὲ ἀλλοτρίῳ, ἀλλοτρίᾳ συνουσιάσει. For urination in utensils symbolizing the birth of a child in Arabic dreambooks see M. ΜΑΥΡΟΥΔΙ, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation. The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic Sources*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002 [= MMe, 36], p. 376–379.

⁶⁸ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pars 1, ed. I. VAN DIETEN, Berlin 1975 [= CFHB.SBe, 11.1] (cetera: NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historia*), p. 333.54–57 and English translation, *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, Detroit 1984 [= BTT] (cetera: *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS), p. 184: καὶ βίος ἀγροικικὸς καὶ σκηνήτης καὶ ἐστίασις ἐκ τῶν θηρευόμενων σχέδιος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄνδρόνικος μιστύλλων αὐτοχειρὶ κρέας ἐλάφειον ἢ κάπρου μονάζοντος καὶ ὀπτῶν περιφραδέως πυρὶ, καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα, ὅποσα τεκμηριάζειν ἔχουσι βίον ἀνδρὸς πεποιθότος ἐπὶ τόξῳ καὶ ῥομφαίᾳ.

According to Choniates, Andronikos in the manner of Homeric heroes, *preferred meats roasted over the fire, and thus no one ever saw him belch*⁶⁹. Plato believes that Homer in the *Iliad* never refers to his heroes as eating relishes (ἡδύσματα) or boiled or cooked meats and fish, only roasted meat. Continuing Plato's interpretation of Homer, Byzantine scholars considered roasted meat as the healthiest food, not causing a heavy stomach or belching. This is likely repeated by Choniates as he describes Andronikos roasting and eating meat, noting in fact that nobody ever saw him belch⁷⁰.

In another incident, again according to Choniates, Andronikos, in the role of punisher, thinks of impaling Georgios Dishypatos, of skewering him like a suckling pig and sending him to his wife:

and the latter threatened to have him impaled through and through on spits, roasted over charcoals, and then to be brought before his wife. And, indeed, the corpulent Dishypatos should have been spitted like a suckling pig, roasted, placed in some capacious I dare say, basket, and, as a delicacy, brought in before the members of his household and placed in front of his wife⁷¹.

Here, the hunter Andronikos with all the phallic equipment – knife, sword, spear, skewer – is also a cook and an avenger, as well as a woman's macabre provider. Another example from the many we have of male providers and hunters is that of Digenēs, who hunts and brings the game to his beloved. It is worth noting that, in another case, Choniates calls Emperor Alexios III the executioner and butcher of people or *mageiros* of men (μάγειρος ἀνθρώπων). Choniates, speaking more generally, also comments that someone could be like

⁶⁹ NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 351.61–62: ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ὀμηρικοὺς ἥρωας μάλιστα τοῖς ὁποῖς προσέκειτο τῷ πυρὶ, ὄθεν οὐδ' ἐρυγάνοντά τις αὐτὸν θεάσατο and English translation, *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, p. 193–194.

⁷⁰ For this interpretation of the Homeric roast meat by Eustathios of Thessaloniki and by Niketas Choniates, see G. LINDBERG, *Studies in Hermogenes and Eustathios. The Theory of Ideas and its Application in the Commentaries of Eustathios on the Epics of Homer*, Lund 1977, p. 225; R. SAXEY, *The Homeric Metamorphoses of Andronikos I Komnenos*, [in:] *Niketas Choniates. A Historian and a Writer*, ed. A. SIMPSON, S. EFTHYMIAN, Geneva 2009, p. 121; E. CULLHED, *Achaean on Crusade*, [in:] *Reading Eustathios of Thessalonike*, ed. F. PONTANI, V. KATSAROS, V. SARRIS, Berlin–New York 2017 [= TCL, 46], p. 287–288 and note 15; on the Homeric heroes' consumption of boiled meat see G. BERTHIAUME, *Les rôles du mageiros...*, p. 23–25. See also references to ancient, Greek and Latin, gastronomic habits and perceptions in the description by Eustathios of Thessaloniki of a recipe of a stuffed bird, I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *What is Plate and Cooking Pot...*, p. 211–227.

⁷¹ NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 312.13–18 and English translation, *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, p. 173: καὶ ὀβελίσκοις ἐμπείραι διαμπερὲς μελετᾶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθράκων ὀπτηθέντα τῇ τούτου παραιογενεῖν γαμετῇ. καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ πιμελώδης Δισύπατος κατὰ δελφάκιον διαπειρόμενος καὶ πυρρακίζων τὴν ἐπιδερμίδα καὶ ὡς ὄψον ἐπὶ κανοῦ τιθέμενος καὶ τοῖς κατ' οἶκον εἰσαγόμενος καὶ τῇ ὀμυεντίδι προτιθέμενος.

a *mageiros*, a man who eviscerates, tears to pieces, slices people (ἐκχορδευτής τε καὶ μάγειρος)⁷².

Returning to the magic concoctions and foods in Byzantium, sorcerers and poisoners, but mainly witches are linked to the preparation of magical or poisoned foods. Emblematic witches, clearly only for scholars, were the drug-preparing, *pharmakos*–*pharmakourgos* or the sorceresses, witches, *pharmakis* (φαρμακός, φαρμακουργός or φαρμακίς), Circe and Medea – the former turning people into wild animals and the latter preparing magic potions that Byzantine commentaries on ancient texts, and especially *Lexica*, relate to *aphepsō* (ἀφέψω) – boiled down⁷³. Byzantine iconography, based on older models, depicts Medea cooking over a pot in which, according to the myth, the *pharmakis* is boiling a ram in potions and herbs to turn it into a lamb and thus persuade the daughters of Pelias to do the same to rejuvenate their elderly father⁷⁴. Medea is also credited with boiling off (ἀφέψησεν) Dionysos's nurses to make them young again, but as stated she did not succeed and killed them instead: *by boiling them she intended to turn old men to young; it seems, however, that she never made anyone younger, and that she killed the one she cooked*⁷⁵. This theme is exploited by the court poet Philes in a poem about Medea and the youth she offered with her medicines. The begging poem is probably addressed to Andronikos II Palaiologos (reign 1282–1328), and in it the poet asks the emperor to rejuvenate him with imperial benevolence like Medea⁷⁶.

Having mentioned all these cases, in a few selected sources such as the *Lives of Saints*, *Syntipas*, folk narrations, magic invocations, and poems like *Ptochoprodromos*, we should also note some texts influenced by the West, such as the fourteenth-century satirical poems by Stephanos Sachlikes, in which women, actually prostitutes (*politikes*, πολιτικές), supposedly form trade unions, frequent taverns, drink, become intoxicated, cook and eat – although a woman cook is never mentioned. Reference is made, of course, to the term *mastorissa* (μαστόρισσα), which, as in *Ptochoprodromos*, apart from the wife of the *mastoras* (butcher, cook), could

⁷² NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 548.9: μάγειρος ἀνθρώπων γινόμενος; NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Oration 8*, [in:] *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. I. VAN DIETEN, Berlin 1972 [= CFHB.SBe, 3], p. 81.22–23: καὶ γίνη τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων ἀνεπαισθῆτως ἐκχορδευτής τε καὶ μάγειρος.

⁷³ *Suda Lexicon*, letter alpha 3110; *Scholia in Equites (scholia vetera et recentiora Triclinii)*, Prolegomena de comoedia 1321b, [in:] *Prolegomena de comoedia. Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*, ed. D.M. JONES, N.G. WILSON, Groningen 1969 [= SchAr, 1.2].

⁷⁴ *Pseudo-Oppian's Cynegetica, Marcianus gr. 479*, ed. I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice, Codex Marcianus graecus Z 139. With 242 Illustrations*, Leiden 2004, 47r, fig. no 99.

⁷⁵ *Palaephati Περί ἀπίστων*, § 43, 64, ed. N. FESTA, Leipzig 1902 [= MGr, 3.2]: ἀφέψουσα τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους νέους ἐποίηι, οὐδένα δὲ δεικνυται νέον ποιήσασα ὃν δὲ ἤψησε πάντως ἀπέκτεινε.

⁷⁶ PHILES MANUEL, *Πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ὅτε ἐζήτει τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς περὶ τὴν Μήδειαν οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ*, no 50, [in:] *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, vol. II, ed. E. MILLER, Paris 1857, p. 91–93.

also mean the cunning one⁷⁷. There is also a reference, most likely influenced by the West, to the chief of cooks, *maïstora tōn mageirōn* (μαῖστορα τῶν μαγειρῶν) in Calabria⁷⁸.

One final and quite typical case is that of the noblewoman who cooks for the poor. According to Demetrios Pepagomenos, writing in 1433 the Monody for Cleofa Malatesta–Palaiologina, wife of Theodore II Palaiologos, Despot of the Morea, uses commonplaces about charity and humility that we saw previously mentioned by John Chrysostom about women who cook. Cleofa herself gathers wood, lights fires, and her hands do the work of cooks, of *mageiroi* (τὴν τῶν μαγειρῶν ἐνεργοῦσαι δουλείαν)⁷⁹. The woman in this case does the work of male cooks according to the text and at the same time engages in low-level, dirty work – proof of charity, philanthropy, and humility for a noblewoman. Besides, as we have seen, the Byzantines believed that the work of a cook (*mageireiou diakonia*, service, ministry of kitchen, μαγειρείου διακονία), is considered the worst only for those who do not know, but as service it is the best: *for the ignorant, it is considered as the least significant but for the knowledgeable, its importance by exercising it, is considered the greatest of all*⁸⁰.

III

The *Typika* (*Rules*) of female convents provide decisive evidence regarding the lack of references to a woman designated as *mageiros*, when in fact there are numerous feminised masculine nouns for women's occupations that correspond to the male titles. *Mageiros*, or any other cook name for a woman, does not appear in any text, whilst in male monasteries this job is frequently mentioned,

⁷⁷ STEPHANOS SACHLIKES, *Βουλή τῶν πολιτικῶν*, verse 309, [in:] ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΣΑΧΛΙΚΗΣ, *Τὰ ποιήματα. Χρηστική ἔκδοσις με βάση καὶ τὰ τρία χειρόγραφα*, ed. Γ. ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΗΣ, Ν. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Αθήνα 2015 (cetera: SACHLIKES, *Βουλή τῶν πολιτικῶν*), p. 150; *Ptochoprodromos*, Poem Γ', 273.34 manuscript P, p. 191.

⁷⁸ *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina. Enquête sur les populations grecques d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile (XI^e–XIV^e s.)*, no. 13.16–17, ed. A. GUILLOU, Palermo 1963 [= TMon, 8], p. 116.

⁷⁹ *Eine bisher unedierte Monodie auf Kleope Palaiologina von Demetrios Pepagomenos*, 142–146, ed. G. SCHMALZBAUER, JÖB 20, 1971, p. 227–228: Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν χείρας θρηνοῦσιν αἱ τῶν πενήτων γαστέρες, αἱ τοῦτο μόνον εἰργάζοντο διὰ βίου, τὸ πένητας τρέφειν οὐ λόγῳ μόνῳ καὶ ὡς ἐχρῆν δι' ἐτέρων τοιαύτη γε τῇ δεσποίνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν μαγειρῶν ἐνεργοῦσαι δουλείαν, συλλέγουσαι μὲν ὄθεν ἐχρῆν ξύλα καὶ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσαι, ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν πενήτων ὀπτοῦσαι τροφήν καὶ διαδιδούσαι τοῦτοις γε ὀσημέραι καὶ τρέφουσαι. See D.G. WRIGHT, *The Brides of 1420: Men Looking at Women's Bodies*, [in:] *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*, ed. B. NEIL, L. GARLAND, London–New York 2016, p. 147–148 and in note 61, she wonders *But where did a Malatesta learn to cook?* Compare with *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike* (BHG 1737), see below note 85, and *Life of St. Eupraxia* (BHG 631m) note 86.

⁸⁰ *La vita di san Fantino il Giovane*, 6.3–6, ed. E. FOLLIERI, Brussels 1993 [= SHa, 77], p. 406: τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν κοινήν ἦτοι τοῦ μαγειρείου ἐχειρισθῆναι διακονίαν, ἥτις τοῖς μὲν ἀγνοοῦσιν ἐσχάτη πέφυκε, τοῖς δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ὕψος πρακτικῶς εἰδῶσι μείζων πάντων καθέστηκε.

according to the *Typika*. Were there no kitchens and cooking activities for women in these convents? Clearly there were and this service, which is unnamed apart from one special case that we shall discuss, is the work of women servants or those who have services like refectorian (*trapezaria*) or cellarer (*kellarea*). We have chosen therefore to cite for comparison examples from the *Typika* of male and female monasteries in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries with relatively short excerpts and their English translation (see Annex)⁸¹ in which the services and *diakoniai*, including that of cook, are highlighted in bold type.

However, we believe that before discussing the names of male and female services – and specifically the cooking activities and cooks mentioned in the *Typika* – a very brief overview of references to cooks and kitchens in the monasteries in general, according to *the Lives of Saints*, is essential. It should also be noted that Byzantine archaeology offers considerable information concerning monastic kitchens and refectories that is not included in this paper, which mainly discusses cooks and gender in Byzantium.

Perhaps here we should first reiterate the complete absence of references in the sources to the term and occupation of cook (*mageiros*) for nuns because cooking is always mentioned periphrastically when performed by them. As a nun's occupation, cooking is cited in very few cases but always as an activity and not a service that takes place in the *mageireion* or as a job similar to that of male *mageiroi*. In the fourth-fifth century, Palladius in his *Lausiac History* relates: a holy fool nun, a *salē* (σαλή),

was occupied with everything concerning the kitchen, *mageireion* (μαγειρείον), she was doing all sorts of services [...] cleaning up crumbs with a sponge and washing pots [...] inside, in the kitchen⁸².

In the *Life of Theodore of Edessa* in the eleventh century, an abbess is described as simply 'dealing with food'⁸³. In the *Life of Theodora of Thessaloniki* the nun cooking, *mageireuoussa* (μαγειρεύουσα) mentioned in the ninth-century original version in the *vita retractata* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries becomes she did the work done by male cooks, *mageiroi* (τὰ μαγείρων), while the remark in

⁸¹ *BMFD* especially on Founders' *Typika*, p. 1696–1716. See also the third part (*À la table des moines*) of the study of B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance*, Paris 2015 [= CF.M, 46], p. 241–302.

⁸² PALLADIO, *La storia Lausiaca*, 34.4–5; 34.12–14; 34.33, ed. G.J.M. BARTELINK, Verona 1974 (cetera PALLADIOS, *The Lausiac History*), p. 162, 164: ἀνὰ τὸ μαγειρεῖον πᾶσαν ἐποίει ὑπηρεσίαν [...] τὰς ψίχας σπογγίζουσα τῶν τραπεζῶν καὶ τὰς χύτρας περιπλύνουσα [...] ἔνδον ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ.

⁸³ *Житие иже во святых отца нашего Феодора, архиепископа Едесского*, § 64, ed. И.С. ПОМЯЛОВСКИЙ, Санкт-Петербург 1892, p. 63: Αἱ γυναῖκες ἐντολὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ λαβοῦσαι ἐψητοῦ καὶ ἐλαίου μετέχειν [...] ἢ προσεστῶσα [...] παρεκάλεσε τροφῆς μνησθῆναι ὃ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντες τραπέζης.

the original, that she had never done this work before has been deleted⁸⁴. Anyway, the Saint *mageireuoussa* (μαγειρεύουσα) did the work done by male cooks (τὰ μαγεῖρων):

she performed by herself almost all the work of the convent: grinding grain, making bread with her own hands, and cooking (τὰ μαγεῖρων), the work of *mageiroi* which she had never done before. And in addition to this, she used to carry out another responsibility, going to the marketplace and somewhere far outside the city for the abundance of goods for sale; and she used to walk through the marketplace carrying a huge load of wood or something else on her shoulders. And sometimes she used to raise up her scapular and carry such things in it⁸⁵.

In Joannes Zonaras's *Life of St. Eupraxia*, Eupraxia is repeatedly described as being occupied with cooking, but she is never called a cook, i.e., as a woman *mageiros*: she is either 'occupied in the kitchen, *mageireion*' or 'cooking in the kitchen' or 'serving in the kitchen'⁸⁶. In the *Typikon* of Christ Philanthropos, a nun is mentioned as merely 'preparing food in her private cell'⁸⁷. We thus see in all these cases cooking is an activity and not a service and the verb *mageireuein*, without being completely avoided, is not preferred by the authors and the act of cooking is mentioned periphrastically and instead of slaughtering and cooking meat, *mageireuein* already means simply cooking, boiling, stewing, or any culinary activity involving the use of a pot.

Cooks and bakers were mainly the monks' manual workers in the monasteries, toiling laboriously at collecting wood for the hearth, washing utensils, and tending to the fire or the oven amidst ashes and smoke in a transient hell of heat and flames.

⁸⁴ *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike* (BHG 1738) – *Das Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der Hl. Theodora von Thessalonich, nebst der Metaphrase des Johannes Staurakios*, 23.9–12, ed. E. KURTZ, St. Petersburg 1902 [= MAISSP, VIII^e serie, 1], p. 14: διετέλει νῦν μὲν ἀλήθουσα καὶ ταῖς οικειαῖς χερσὶ τὸν ἄρτον ἐργαζομένη νῦν δὲ τὰ μαγεῖρων ἐπιδεικνυμένη, καὶ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἀναδεχομένη φροντίδα, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξιούσα καὶ φορτίον ξύλων δυσβάστακτον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρουσα.

⁸⁵ *Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonike* (BHG 1737) – *Ὁ Βίος τῆς Θεοδώρας τῆς ἐν Θεσσαλονικῇ. Διήγησις περὶ τῆς μεταθέσεως τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τῆς ὁσίας Θεοδώρας (Εἰσαγωγή κριτικὸ κείμενο-μετάφραση-σχόλια)*, 23.12–18, ed. Σ.Α. ΠΑΣΧΑΛΙΔΗΣ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1991 [= KAM, 1], p. 112, English translation *Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, trans. A.-M. TALBOT, Washington DC 1996 [= BSLT, 1], p. 184: καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου μόνη ἐπετέλει ὑπηρεσίαν· ἀλήθουσα, καὶ ταῖς οικειαῖς χερσὶ τὸν ἄρτον ἐργαζομένη, καὶ μαγειρεύουσα ἄπερ οὐδόλως αὐτῇ διεσπούδαστο πρότερον. Καὶ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διωκονόμει φροντίδα, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξιούσα [...] καὶ μέγα φορτίον ξύλων ἢ τινων ἄλλων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φέρουσα.

⁸⁶ IOANNES ZONARAS, *Life of St. Eupraxia* (BHG 631m) – *Τὸ ἀγιολογικὸ καὶ ὁμιλητικὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἰωάννη Ζωναρά*, 20, p. 516.260–261, 25, 518.337, 27, 518.355–356, 36, 521.456–457, ed. Ἐ. ΚΑΛΤΣΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ, Θεσσαλονίκη 2013 [= BKM, 60] (cetera: ZONARAS, *Life of St. Eupraxia*): [...] ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ [...] ὑπηρετήσεν οἱ καὶ ξύλα κλῶσα, ἐπὶ τὸ μαγειρεῖον ἐκόμιζε οἱ περὶ τὸ μαγειρεῖον ἀσχολουμένη, οἱ ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ ἐψούσης αὐτῆς.

⁸⁷ *Bruchstücke zweier typikā kητητορικά*, ed. Ph. MEYER, BZ 4, 1895 (cetera: *Typikon of Philanthropos*), p. 48–49.27: ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κελλίῳ ὄψα ποιοῦσα. See also the translated excerpts of some *Typika* in the Annex.

The cooks were often novices on probation or chosen from among the servants and those assigned to the church (δουλευταί, ἀφωρισμένοι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ)⁸⁸. Along with the cellarer (*kellaritēs*) and the refectorian (*trapezarios*), the cooks were answerable to the abbot regarding supplies, materials, carelessness, and waste; they were subject to penalties (*epitimia*); the special penances imposed on cellarers and cooks can be found in various monastery documents, specifically in the *Epitimia* of Theodore Studites for his monastery of St. John Stoudios in Constantinople⁸⁹. In many hagiographic texts, abbots and cooks are blamed for the inordinate and excessive amount of food prepared, for the improper use and breakage of cooking utensils, whose shards were hung round the cooks' necks by the abbots as punishment⁹⁰. The abbots were blamed for their special treatment in terms of food and the quality of the food, with cooks naturally indirectly investigated by their fellow monks for the watery and tasteless food they were served, for too much or too little oil, and the green poison (*ios*) floating in the soup, which was probably cooked in a copper cauldron⁹¹, as well as the non-existent or damaged, as they comment, fish burnt in the fire⁹². There are reports of protests concerning the timely supply of basic types of wine, oil, pulses, as well as competition in the quality of food preparation, such as that of fish sauce, *garum*⁹³. But there are also monk-cooks who, in a play on words, declare their humility and lack of interest in becoming bishops (*episkopos*, ἐπίσκοπος) as they are already *episkopos* in taking care (*episkopō*, ἐπισκοπῶ) of kitchens (*mageireia*, μαγειρεῖα), taverns, tables, vessels, and the pot when cooking and dressing the food by adding salt⁹⁴. Or like Euphrosynos, a humble peasant

⁸⁸ *Laudatio S. Pauli Junioris*, ed. H. DELEHAYE, [in:] *Der Latmos. Milet 3.1*, Berlin 1913, p. 138.11–12: ἔπειτα τούτω τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐγχειρίζει τοῦ μαγειρείου κατ' ἔθος τῶν εἰσαγομένων τοῖς ἀσκουμένοις πρὸς γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς. For cooks drawn from the ranks of servants, see in the Annex, *Tyrikon of Christ Pantokrator*: Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δουλευτῶν οὐκ ἄρτοποιοὶ καὶ κητωροὶ καὶ μάγειροι μόνον γενήσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρεκκλησιάρχαι καὶ παροικονόμοι καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι. Ὁ μέντοι ἐκκλησιάρχης καὶ οἱ σκευοφύλακες καὶ οἱ χαρτοφύλακες καὶ ὁ νοσοκόμος καὶ ὁ ξενοδόχος ἀπὸ (545) τῶν ἀφωρισμένων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

⁸⁹ D. ARNESANO, *Gli Epitimia...*, p. 25–30 and for *epitimia* of *opsopoi* § 27–32, p. 27.

⁹⁰ *Life of St. Nil of Rossano* (BHG 1370) – *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, § 7, § 28, ed. G. GIOVANELLI, Grottaferrata 1972, p. 53, 75; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Le manger et le boire dans la Vie de Saint Nil de Rossano: l'huile, le vin et la chère dans la Calabre Byzantine X^e–X^f siècles*, [in:] *Identità euro-mediterranea e paesaggi culturali del vino e dell'olio*, ed. A. PELLETTIERI, Foggia 2014, p. 191–192; H. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΑΚΗΣ, *Τὰ ευτελή στη βυζαντινὴ τράπεζα καὶ διατροφή*, [in:] *Το Βυζάντιο χωρὶς λάμψη. Τὰ ταπεινά αντικείμενα καὶ ἡ χρῆσή τους στον καθημερινὸ βίον των Βυζαντινῶν*, ed. Α.Γ. ΓΙΑΓΚΑΚΗ, Α. ΠΑΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Αθήνα 2018, p. 333–334.

⁹¹ *Ptochoprodromos*, Poem Δ', verses 361–390, p. 218–220.

⁹² *Les apophtegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres X–XVI*, XV.60, ed. J.-C. GUY, Paris 2003 [= SC, 474], p. 324–326.

⁹³ *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, Vita B, 47, ed. J. NORET, Turnhout–Leuven 1982 [= CC.SG, 9], p. 183; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Le manger et le boire...*, p. 187.

⁹⁴ PALLADIOS, *The Lausiak History*, 35.84–90, p. 174: Εἰς τὰ μαγειρεῖα, εἰς τὰ καπηλεῖα, εἰς τὰς τραπεζὰς, εἰς τὰ κεράμια· ἐπισκοπῶ [...] ὁμοίως ἐπισκοπῶ καὶ τὴν χύτραν, καὶ ἐὰν λείπη ἄλλας ἢ τι τῶν ἀρτυμάτων βάλλω καὶ ἀρτύω, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὴν ἐσθίω. Αὕτη μοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπισκοπή· ἐχειροτόνησε γὰρ με ἡ γαστριμαργία.

who becomes a monk and serves in the monastery kitchen, unsuspecting of his holiness claims to visit paradise to supply his fellow monks with fragrant apples from Paradise and is sanctified⁹⁵; or a similar account of a monk preparing a bean soup in his cell with the help of a pleasant angel-*mageiros*, cook (ὁ ἥδὺς μάγειρος) watching over and seasoning it so it becomes a divinely-inspired dish⁹⁶.

All these monastic culinary stories feature the male cook, *mageiros*, in a leading role and we almost never come across a similar culinary anecdote spotlighting a woman. It is a world that is exclusively male, whether praised and sanctified or criticised and punished.

The only possible remaining place to search for information about women cooks is in the *Typika* of convents, but these are few and fragmentary⁹⁷. Is there any reference to a female cook in convents, where apart from a few cases all the services (*diakoniai*) are performed exclusively by women described by feminised masculine nouns? We believe that it is justified to submit, as useful digression within the article, this new female naming of services in convents, its comparative study with the male form (see Annex), as well as a table showing related feminised masculine nouns in the *Typika* and elsewhere.

The excerpts from the *Typika* (with the services⁹⁸ underlined) in the Annex reveal what we call the strange and unusual names of the feminised masculine nouns in convents. These are names that are not related to exclusively male professions or services like those performed by the priest, whose presence in female monasteries is necessary and obligatory because there are no female priests. The same is true for stewards (usually eunuchs or old men), or physicians – although in the Pantanassa Holy Convent in Vaionia and the Bebaia Elpis there are female stewards⁹⁹ who are mentioned without feminised masculine nouns. After all, in a nunnery the priest could only be a man who officiated, *inevitably* as Galatariotou points out, but the physician and his assistants were also men¹⁰⁰. In both male or female monastic communities, references are made to male stewards, physicians,

⁹⁵ *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi)*, Septembris 11, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1902 (repr. 1985) [= AASS, 62], col. 33/34.59, 35/36.52; F. HALKIN, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, Bruxelles 1969 [= SHA, 65], no 628–628d, p. 71; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Byzantine Diet...*, p. 59.

⁹⁶ *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, 15, vol. II, ed. L. RYDÉN, Uppsala 1995 [= SBU, 4.2], 932, p. 74, 955–971, p. 76, English translation, p. 75, 77; I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Byzantine Delicacies*, [in:] *Flavours and Delights...*, p. 96–98.

⁹⁷ C. GALATARIOU, *Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: The Evidence of the Typika*, JÖB 38, 1988, p. 263–290. See also the previous bibliography by L. GARLAND, "Till Death Do Us Part?": *Family Life in Byzantine Monasteries*, [in:] *Questions of Gender...*, p. 29–55.

⁹⁸ On diaconia, see P. MAGDALINO, *Church, Bath and Diakonia in Medieval Constantinople*, [in:] *Church and People in Byzantium. Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester 1986*, ed. R. MORRIS, Birmingham 1990, p. 165–188; B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres...*, p. 223–238.

⁹⁹ E. ΜΑΡΤΑΦΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 239.

¹⁰⁰ C. GALATARIOU, *Byzantine Women's Monastic...*, p. 286.

and eunuch priests, especially in convents (καὶ ἱερέας εἶναι δεῖ περὶ τὴν μονὴν δύο, μοναχούς, εὐνούχους, *Typikon* of Kecharitomene). In all *Typika* the service of *mageiros*, however, is exclusively for men and mentioned only in male monasteries, with one interesting exception: the Lips Convent to which we shall refer below in greater detail. However, some *Typika* which, like Heliou Bomon, copy other *Typika* that do mention a cook, omit the reference to the *mageiros*¹⁰¹.

Administrative services in convents, such as the service of steward, are staffed only by men or eunuchs, and the Lips Convent is the only female monastery where reference is made to a male cook who is not inside the convent but at the newly built hospital hostel adjacent to it. Physicians, nurses, pharmacists, male phlebotomists, *poimentarioi* (π(ο)υμεντάριοι), and a male cook are allowed in this hostel. Thus, while a male presence is totally forbidden in the convent itself, it is allowed a male cook in the hostel, perhaps because this is of little interest to the *Typikon* and to the founder who wrote it, as scholars have observed obviously because it is a hospital next to the convent, where even the nuns' confessor can exceed a stay of three days. It is precisely here, in the relatively detached hostel (*xenōn*, ξενών¹⁰²), the hospital, where we find the only reference in a *Typikon* to the presence of a *mageiros*, a male cook, in a convent compound. In addition, the presence of males is totally forbidden in Kecharitomene and Lips Convents, where even chanters are expressly forbidden inside the church due to the potential for contact with the nuns¹⁰³. Let it be noted that according to the very short extract that survives from the *Typikon* of the Convent of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople dating back to c. 1345, the nuns share a common refectory and common kitchen (*mageireion*,

¹⁰¹ Although convent *Typika* omit the reference to a *mageiros* there are mentions to a *mageireion* (kitchen) and *mageireuta* or *mageiria* (cooked dish), obviously prepared by an existing common female cook, see below Annex.

¹⁰² For a male innkeeper (*xenodochos*, ξενοδόχος) see below in Annex the *Typikon* for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople. A female counterpart, *xenodochissa* (ξενοδόχισσα), is not mentioned in the *Typika* probably due to the lack of such service in the nunneries, but the term is repeated many times in the Roman *Livistros and Rodamne*, and in *Scholia in Aristophanes*, meaning female innkeeper, see *Livistros and Rodamne*, line 2862, p. 223, line 3083, p. 229, *passim*, ed. T. LENDARI, Athens 2007 [= BNB, 10]; *Scholia in Plutum*, 114bm p. 22. scholion plut verse 426 line 1, [in:] *Scholia in Thesmophoriazusas, Ranas, Ecclesiazusas et Plutum*, ed. M. CHANTRY, Groningen 2001 [= *SchAr*, 3.1b]: πανδοκεύτριαν, ξενοδόχον, ξενοδόχισσαν, καπήλισσαν.

¹⁰³ See below Annex, *Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôméné*, ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 43, 1985 (cetera: *Typikon of Kecharitomene*): (75) οε' lines 1959–1963, Περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ψάλτας συγκαλείσθαι ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἀλλ' ἄβατον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτοις τὴν μονὴν. Ἄνδράσι δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σεμνεῖον τοῦτο εἰσελευσιν, ὡς ἡδὴ δεδήλωται, παντοίως ἀπαγορεύουσα, οὐδὲ ψάλτας ἐν ἡμέρα τυχὸν ἑορτῆς εἶτε μνημοσύνων εἰσερχεσθαι ὄλωσ βούλομαι ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ;. (39) νζ', 1571–1572: τῇ μονῇ ἡμῶν ἐνδημεῖν καὶ τινα ἰατρὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενουσῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐπίσκεψιν, εὐνούχον ἢ γηραιόν. Also in *Typikon of Lips*, ιστ' (16).1–4, [in:] *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1921 [= MCLC, SS, 8] (cetera: *Typikon of Lips*), p. 128: Περὶ τοῦ μὴ ψάλτας συγκαλεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ. Ψαλτωδοὺς δὲ τοὺς οὕτωσι πως καλλιφῶνους καλουμένους ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν ἑορτῶν ἐπιχωριάζειν διακελεύομαι.

κοινήν ἔχειν τράπεζαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν μαγειρεῖον), and nuns are punished for preparing food in their private cells (ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κελλιῷ ὄψα ποιοῦσα). In this case, a common kitchen and a common cook or cooks, surely nuns, existed but there is no title for those performing these tasks or even a mention of such a service in contrast to what happens in the *Typika* of the male monasteries. It is worth noting that the convents of Kecharitomene and Philanthropos were double monasteries, an ancient institution that reappeared in the twelfth century, each with separate male and female sections, built adjacent to each other and coexisting under a single superior¹⁰⁴, probably with their respective cooks, male and female, independently preparing food.

From the list of services in the Annex excerpts, it can also be seen that according to *Typika*, while most services and duties in female monasteries are cited with the female equivalent of the male, *mageirissa* (μαγειρίσσα female cook) from *mageiros* is never mentioned unlike the female forms of corresponding male names such as σκευοφυλάκισσα, χαρτοφυλάκισσα, ἐκκλησιάρχισσα and παρεκκλησιάρχισσα, οἰκονόμισσα, ὑπουργισσα, ἐπιστημονάρχισσα, and by analogy to βασιλεύς-βασιλίσα, αὐτοκράτωρ-αὐτοκρατόρισσα, σεβαστοκράτωρ-σεβαστοκρατόρισσα, ἄρχων-ἀρχόντισσα, ἱερεὺς-ἱερίσσα¹⁰⁵.

For some services the existing masculine noun is used also by the *Typika* of the nunneries – an appellation belonging to both genders but determined by the article

¹⁰⁴ A.-M. TALBOT, *Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries*, DOP 52, 1998, p. 118–119; E. MITSIOU, *Frauen als Gründerinnen von Doppelklöstern im byzantinischen Reich*, [in:] *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. L. THEIS, M. MULLETT, M. GRÜNBART, G. FINGAROVA, M. SAVAGE, Vienna 2011–2012 (= WJK 60/61), p. 333–343.

¹⁰⁵ See also the names of officials' wives in the 9th–10th centuries, CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le livre des cérémonies*, I, 49, vol. II, *Livre I, chapitres 47–92 et 105–106*, ed. B. FLUSIN, trans. G. DAGRON, *Livre I, chapitres 93–104*, ed., trans. D. FEISSEL, coll. M. STAVROU, Paris 2020 [= *CFHB*, 52.2], p. 23–25 with French translation: ΜΘ' (Μ') Ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν ἐπὶ στεψίμῳ Αὐγούστης [...] Καὶ εὐθέως εἰσέρχεται τὸ σέκρετον τῶν γυναικῶν· βῆλον α', αἱ ζωσταί· βῆλον β', αἱ πατρικία· βῆλον γ', αἱ πρωτοσπαθάρια καὶ σπαθάρια· βῆλον δ', ὑπάτισσαι· βῆλον ε', στρατώρισσαι· βῆλον ζ', κομητίσσαι, κανδιδάτισσαι· βῆλον ζ', σκριβώνισσαι, δομεστικίσσαι· βῆλον η', βεστητήρισσαι, σιλεντιάρισσαι· βῆλον θ', μανδατώρισσαι βασιλικάι, κομητίσσαι τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, τῶν ἱκανάτων· βῆλον ι', τριβούνισσαι, κομητίσσαι πλοίμων· βῆλον ια', προτικτώρισσαι, κεντάρχισσαι. Εἰσέρχονται κατὰ τάξιν, προσκυνοῦσαι τὰ δύο γόνατα τῶν δεσποτῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς αὐγούστης. For more, see E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, a very useful study on names and titles of women in the hierarchy of the court, Church, and on the public and life in Byzantium. On the female occupational designations, being 'terms real or phantom', see J. DIETHART, *Weitere Berufsbezeichnungen auf -πώλης, -πῶλος, -ὀπωλις sowie auf -πράτης und -πράτισσα aus byzantinische Zeit*, *MBAH* 24.2, 2005, p. 193–212. See also IDEM, "Der mit den Hamsterbacken". *Lexicographica Byzantina*, [in:] *Byzantinische Sprachkunst...*, p. 35–48; IDEM, *Von Stinkern und Seelenverkäufern. Einige metaphorische Berufsbezeichnungen auf -πώλης, -πράτης und anderes im klassischen und byzantinischen Griechisch*, *MG* 8, 2008, p. 145–157. In contrast there is no name for the women or daughters who inherited an economic privilege like a *pronoia*, from their husbands or fathers the *pronoiaroi*, T. MANIATH-KOKKINΗ, *Γυναίκα καὶ ἀνδρικό οἰκονομικὰ προνόμια*, [in:] *Κλητόριον in Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, ed. ΦΛ. ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΑΤΟΥ-ΝΟΤΑΡΑ, T. MANIATH-KOKKINΗ, Αθήνα–Θεσσαλονίκη 2005/2006, p. 403–470.

preceding the nouns, for example the female gatekeeper (ἡ θυρωρός, ἡ πυλωρός, ἡ φρουρός, see Annex)¹⁰⁶. The same is true for the steward, *oikonomos* (οἰκονόμος), which in the *Typika* is used for both women and men; in some nunneries the gender is not clear and some studies may wrongly identify them as men or women. This is also found in other texts such as *Lives of Saints* with reference to monastic services, for example at a convent in Asia Minor's Latros¹⁰⁷. The feminised title of *oikonomos*, *oikonomissa* (οἰκονόμισσα), is rarely used and not confirmed in the *Typika*¹⁰⁸; nor is *deuteraria oikonomissa* (δευτεραρία οἰκονόμισσα)¹⁰⁹. Of particular interest are duties with names such as the female refectorian, *trapezaria* (τραπεζαρία < τραπέζαριος), and *epitrapezaina* (ἐπιτραπέζαινα < ἐπὶ τραπέζης)¹¹⁰, and the female wine steward or wine-pourer, *oinochoē* (οἰνοχόη < οἰνοχόος), when the word *oinochoē*, apart from a vessel for taking wine, denotes – albeit rarely – a service meaning the woman who pours the wine (female cupbearer) and is mentioned by Septuagint (Eccle, 2: 8) and later in the fourteenth century by Stephanos Sgouropoulos¹¹¹. Several female job titles created from male ones (see list below), such as the female work organiser, *ergodotria* (ἐργοδότρια), female trader, *pragmateutria* (πραγματεύτρια), female archivist, *chartophylakissa* (χαρτοφυλάκισσα), female provider, *hōreiaria* (ὠρειαρία), female disciplinary official, and *epistēmonarchissa* (ἐπιστημονάρχισσα) are all hapaxes or only mentioned in the *Typika* of convents¹¹². By contrast, *hypourgissa*, female assistant (ὑπούργισσα), is found

¹⁰⁶ *Le typikon de Nil Damilas pour le monastère de femmes de Baeonia en Crète (1400)*, ed. S. PÉTRIDÈS, *ΙΡΑΙΚ* 15, 1911, p. 108.8–10, but this is a special case because a cell was built at the outer gate of the convent courtyard, where in the post of *thyroros* two pious and trustworthy elderly women lived to guard the gate.

¹⁰⁷ *Vita S. Nicephori*, 25, ed. H. DELEHAYE, [in:] *Der Latmos. Milet 3.1...* (cetera: *Life of St. Nikephoros of Latros*), p. 168.29–31, where mention is also made of a feminised name of cellarer, a nun *kellaritis*. Two nuns *oikonomos* are mentioned in *Typikon of Nil Damilas*, ed. S. PÉTRIDÈS, p. 108–109. On the gender of *oikonomos* in some nunneries, see objections and relevant bibliography E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 239 and notes 17, 24.

¹⁰⁸ For *oikonomissa*, see *Νέον Μητρικόν. Άγνωστα και ανέκδοτα πατερικά και άσκητικά κείμενα περι τιμίων και άγιων Γυναικῶν*, section 16 line 63, ed. Π.Β. ΠΑΣΧΟΣ, Αθήναι 1990. E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 208 mentions also a δευτερεύσα the wife of a priest and δευτερεύοντος. In addition, in a letter Psellos mentions a rural service δευτερία, MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Epistulae*, no. 221.4, vol. I–II, ed. S. ΠΑΡΑΙΟΑΝΝΟΥ, Berlin–Boston 2019 [= BSGR], p. 588: ὑπηρεσίαν χωριτικὴν (δευτερίαν οὗτοί φασι ταύτην).

¹⁰⁹ See E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 184–188 and in addition the late *Porikologos*, *Porikologos. Einleitung, kritische Ausgabe aller Versionen, Übersetzung, Textvergleiche, Glossar, kurze Betrachtungen zu den fremdsprachlichen Versionen des Werks sowie zum Opsarologos*, redactio A Line 46, ed. H. WINTERWERB, Cologne 1992 [= NgrMA, 7], p. 140.

¹¹⁰ E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 107–108 (ἐπιτραπέζαινα), 250, 234, 183, 197, 266 (τραπεζαρία); J. DIETHART, “*Der mit den Hamsterbacken*”..., p. 39–40.

¹¹¹ Τ. ΠΑΠΑΘΕΟΔΩΡΙΔΗ, *Άνέκδοτοι στίχοι Στεφάνου τοῦ Σγουροπούλου*, ΑΠο 19, 1954, p. 262–282; E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 241.

¹¹² *Ergodotria* looks colloquial, like *pragmateutria* and perhaps *diakonētria*, deaconess, from the corresponding masculine nouns, while *ergatēs* (ἐργάτης) gives the most often in scholarly texts female

in *Typika* and used for duties in both male and female monasteries (Pantokratoros and Kecharitomene); *iatraina*, female doctor (ιάτραινα), is also a hapax found only in the *Typikon* of the male monastery of Pantokratoros, yet frequently appears in sources and inscriptions as *iatrina* or *iatrinē*, *archieiatrēna* (ιατρίνα, ιατρίνη, ἀρχιειάτρηνα)¹¹³. Lastly, *diakonētēs–diakonētria* (διακονητής–διακονήτρια), which essentially means male and female servants or assistants, are widely used but mainly in *Typika* and could pertain to monks and nuns or laymen working in the monasteries¹¹⁴.

In some cases, the title sounds strange or is probably not commonly known or widespread and is accompanied by the clarification: ‘and so we are used to calling her *kellaritin*’¹¹⁵ or ‘she will also be called the *docheiaria*’¹¹⁶ or ‘it is customary to call these the *docheiaria* and the *skeuophylakissa*’¹¹⁷ or the nun ‘whom we call the *pylōros*’¹¹⁸. In all likelihood the strangeness of these new female nouns for monastic duties, some of which are hapaxes, led to their being abandoned in a *Typikon* of the fourteenth century and a different, periphrastic wording was proposed – a change that as far as we know has not been detected to date. The *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the female monastery of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople, dated 1327–1352, instead of using feminised nouns describes duties periphrastically: for example, the nun in charge of the convent is called the nun keeper or supervisor of the office of *ekklēsiarcheion* and not *ekklēsiarchissa* as in the *Typika* of other female monasteries; the nun of stewardship as *koinēs oikonomias* and not *oikonomos* or *oikonomissa*; the nun responsible for the communal

ergatis (ἐργάτις) like *kellaritis* (κελλαρίτις). See also the hapax *kritria* (κρίτρια), fortune teller, used by BALSAMON, *Syntagma – Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφύμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων πατέρων*, vol. IV, ed. M. ΠΟΤΑΗΣ, Γ.Α. ΡΑΛΛΗΣ, Ἄθῆναι 1854, 232 (see Ch. MESSIS, *Le corpus nomocanonique oriental et ses scholastes du XI^e siècle. Les commentaires sur le concile in Trullo (691–692)*, Paris 2020 [= DByz, 18.1], p. 364–371), and the vernacular hapax *kritra* and *kritharistra* (κρίτρα, κριθαρίστρα) fortune teller, SACHLIKES, *Βουλή τῶν πολιτικῶν*, verses 136–137, p. 144. Margarou commenting on the following feminised nouns, notes that these are mentioned only by the *Typika* and some even only in the *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ὀνόματα...*, p. 224–226 (ἐπιστημονάρχισσα, ἐργοδότρια), 249 (χαρτοφυλάκισσα), 254 (ὠρειαρία), 299–300 (πραγματεύτρια).

¹¹³ E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ὀνόματα...*, p. 197–198, 223–226, 256–257, 271–274; K. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, *Η γυναικία στη Μέση Βυζαντινή εποχή. Κοινωνικά πρότυπα καὶ καθημερινός βίος στα αγιολογικά κείμενα*, Ἀθήνα 2005, p. 287–293.

¹¹⁴ On these female services, see E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ὀνόματα...*, p. 208–210 (διακονήτρια), 250–251 (ὑπούργισσα), 273–277 (ιάτραινα, ιατρίνη).

¹¹⁵ *Life of St. Nikephoros of Latros*, p. 168.31: Οὕτω γὰρ εἰώθει κελλαρίτιν ταύτην ἀποκαλεῖν.

¹¹⁶ *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, 883; 887–888 and English translation *BMFD*, p. 682: Περί τῆς τῶν δοχειαριῶν διακονίας [...] καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ δοχειαρία ὀνομασθήσεται.

¹¹⁷ *Typikon of Lips*, 12.17, and English translation *BMFD*, p. 1272: δοχειαρίαν σύννηθες αὐτὰς καλεῖν καὶ σκευοφυλάκισσαν.

¹¹⁸ *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, 1018–1019 and English translation *BMFD*, p. 684: ἦν καὶ πλωρὸν ὀνομάζομεν.

storeroom as of *koinou docheiou* and not *docheiaria*; and the nun responsible of the cellar as *kellariou* and not *kellarea* or *kellaritis*. Only once is the noun of convent guard and gatekeeper used with the feminine article *phrouros* and *pylōros*¹¹⁹. This periphrastic designation of the services, most certainly the work of the author of the *Typikon*, does not mean that the nuns did not use the known female nouns. Unfortunately, this very important difference is not transferred to the translation of the *Typikon* (see Annex) and the feminised titles that each duty bears in other *Typika* were used in the text – for example *ekklēsiarchissa*, instead of the supervisor of the office of *ekklēsiarcheion*¹²⁰.

In various studies of the *Typikon* in question, the feminised name of duties known in the other *Typika* is used rather than their periphrastic designation, creating a false picture of titles like *ekklēsiarchissa*¹²¹, which is never mentioned in the *Typikon* in question but only as keeper or supervisor of the office of *ekklēsiarcheion* (ἡ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαρχείου ἐπιστάτις τε καὶ διάκονος ὁρ εἰς τὸ ἐξάρχειν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν). However, this differentiation, if not more conservative or purist in style or even more respectful of the older male monasteries' *Typika*, may be significant with regard to the acceptance or rejection of feminised nouns by this *Typikon*'s author, Theodora Synadene, who is considered 'the most authoritarian' of all female founders¹²². It has even been argued that the frequent reading by all nuns in the convent of this particular *Typikon* is a *gendered reading enjoined upon the nuns* and together with *reading of the Lives of female saints reinforced the gendered ideology*¹²³. However, with the exception of the positive reference of the *Typikon* to the female founder, we now see in it more a negative gender ideology with adverse implications for women when the *Typikon* abandons the feminised nouns and *repeatedly reminds the nuns of the inherent weakness of their sex* and continues doing through the Late Byzantine years in a different way with the perception of *infirmetas sexus-velleianum* (Βελλιάνειον δόγμα) for women¹²⁴. Moreover, it has been argued that in Late Byzantium *women's donations, sales, foundations and patronage are structurally identical to those practised by men*¹²⁵. And when *the positive characteristics possessed by these imperial women are*

¹¹⁹ *Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*, (13) ιγ', [in:] *Deux typica byzantins...* (cetera: *Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*), p. 59.11: Τίς ἡ φρουρὸς τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ πυλωρὸς.

¹²⁰ Translator A.-M. TALBOT, [in:] *BMFD*, p. 1522–1568 and *ecclesiarchissa*, p. 1522, 1537.

¹²¹ L. GARLAND, "Till Death Do Us Part?"..., p. 46–47. Something similar is found in other studies where modern terms are adopted or terms from other sources irrelevant to the text studied, see *mageirissa*, E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι καὶ επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 235–236.

¹²² L. GARLAND, "Till Death Do Us Part?"..., p. 41.

¹²³ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

¹²⁴ C. GALATARIOΤΟΥ, *Byzantine Women's Monastic...*, p. 289. See also H. SARADI-MENDELIVICI, *A Contribution to the Study of the Byzantine Notarial Formulas: The Infirmetas Sexus of Women and the sc. Velleianum*, BZ 83, 1990, p. 72–90; K. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, E. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΥ, *Οἱ ἀντιλήψεις τῶν Βυζαντινῶν γιὰ τὴν ἀσκηση τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπὸ γυναῖκες (780–1056)*, Σύμ 13, 1999, p. 49–67.

¹²⁵ D. ΣΤΑΘΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, 'I seek not my own': *Is There a Female Mode of Charity and Patronage?*, [in:] *Female Founders in Byzantium...*, p. 396.

*masculinised*¹²⁶ in combination with the peculiarity of this *Typikon*, we believe it is evidence, if not of its negative gendered ideology, then at least of a form of expected inequality and discrimination faced by women during this period.

Feminised (f.) masculine (m.) nouns of monastic services and occupations
(BMFD translations but not their transliteration)

chartophylax, m., *chartophylakissa*, f., archivist
diakonētēs, m., *diakonētria*, f., church or convent official
docheiarios, m., *docheiaria*, f., cellarer, see also *kellaritēs*
ekklēsiarchos, m., *ekklēsiarchissa*, f., ecclesiarch, responsible for the church
 (*parekklēsiarchēs*, m., *parekklēsiarchissa*, f., *synekklēsiarchissa*, f., assistant ecclesiarch)
epistēmonarchēs, m., *epistēmonarchissa*, f., disciplinary official
ergodotēs, m., *ergodotria*, f., work organiser
hypourgios, m., *hypourgissa*, f., assistant
hōreiaros, m., *hōreiaria*, f., provider, provisioner
iatros, m., *iatraina*, f., doctor
kellaritēs, m., *kellaritis*, *kellarea*, f., cellarer
 (*parakellaritēs*, m., assistant cellarer)
oinochoos, m., *oinochoē*, f., the wine steward, wine-pourer
skeuophylax, m., *skeuophylakissa*, f., sacristan
trapezarios, m., *trapezaria*, f., refectorian
pragmateutēs, m., *pragmateutria*, f., trader, businessman, businesswoman

How can one explain the fact that in convents, where this plethora of feminised masculine nouns are used, no feminised noun from *mageiros* or *opsopoios* is ever mentioned and the same throughout Byzantine literature? Did the *mageiros*, regardless of whether the meaning is now simply that of cook, continue as a title and a service closely, inextricably linked to the masculinity of the butcher and therefore to be avoided by female convents? If so, is the nun-cook, as any female cook, then preferably always periphrastically defined as a woman working, cooking in the kitchen, *mageireion*¹²⁷ or preparing food¹²⁸, the nun in the *diakonia*, in the service of the kitchen¹²⁹, and consequently never called cook (*mageiros*) or by any other feminised form of this name as we have found to be the case with many other services in nunneries.

¹²⁶ L. GARLAND, "Till Death Do Us Part?"..., p. 44.

¹²⁷ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ μαγειρείῳ, PALLADIOS, *The Lausiatic History*, 34.33, p. 164; περὶ τὸ μαγειρεῖον ἀσχολουμένη, ZONARAS, *Life of St. Eupraxia*, 27, p. 518, 355–356.

¹²⁸ ὄψα ποιούσα, *Typikon of Philanthropos*, p. 49.4.

¹²⁹ ἥτις τῷ τοῦ μαγειρείου προσανέχει διακονήματι, *Typikon of Bebaia Elpis*, p. 58.10. Margarou comments on this excerpt in the entry μαγειρίσσα of her book, correctly stating that the term is not used by the Byzantines although she herself uses it in italics thus creating the false impression that it was in use. E. ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΥ, *Τίτλοι και επαγγελματικά ονόματα...*, p. 235–236.

As can be seen in the convents, anything provocatively male or violent (let alone anything related to slaughterhouses and meat) had to be excluded; it was even preferred that the priest, physician, and steward were eunuchs and old men:

It is necessary also that a doctor should live at our convent for the care and visitation of the sisters who are sick, a eunuch or an old man, calling at the convent and visiting those who are sick and bringing means of healing appropriate to the diseases¹³⁰.

Consequently, the *mageiros*, whose knife and violent occupation and phallic status, as we saw above in Byzantine sources, could not be present in a convent even in a feminised masculine noun, and a male cook was only allowed in the hostel or hospital, alongside male priests and physicians. Furthermore, the word *mageirissa* (μαγειρίσσα) was impossible to use because it always referred to the slave, housekeeper, and concubine, a negative reference.

But maybe things are simpler. In all the monasteries, ecclesiastically speaking the cook was not one of the prominent, important services (*diakonia*), it was just a denigrated and underrated service, a practice of novices and other monks or laymen, and the cook was chosen from among the servants or from those assigned to the church (δουλεπτῶν and τῶν ἀφορισμένων τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ). Did the Christian condemnation of gluttony and gastronomy and the avoidance of eating meat ultimately contribute to the cautiously limited use of the word *mageiros* always related to blood and gastronomical excess by some social groups such as monks? But even if this is the case, is what we have thus far mentioned enough, especially concerning the meaning and gendered character of *mageiros*, to explain the absence of the term and the service from nunneries? And why is also not the case for the male monasteries regarding the meaning of *mageiros* as butcher, slaughter of animals, given that the consumption of meat is also forbidden there? It is, however, highly indicative that in some cases already mentioned the use of *mageiros* is avoided, as for example by Theodoros Studites, while in some *Typica* only the term *opsopoios* is used¹³¹. Maybe the lack of mention of this service in the nunneries is just accidental? And if it could be argued that this peculiarity of not naming women cooks is only of the Greek-speaking world and its scholars, how can we explain the continuing difficulty in the Western world? Furthermore, how can we explain the fact that in Byzantine daily life, there is no word for a female cook and that in later years *magerissa* (μαγέρισσα) or *mageirisa* (μαγείρισα) refers to a cooking utensil¹³²?

¹³⁰ τῆ μονῆ ἡμῶν ἐνδημεῖν καὶ τινα ἰατρὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενουσῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐπίσκεψιν, εὐνοῦχον ἢ γηραιόν, *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, 1571–1572 and English translation *BMFD*, p. 696.

¹³¹ See note 29.

¹³² *Assizes of Jerusalem and Cyprus*, vol. VI, ed. K.N. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Venice 1877, p. 243.21, 494.20.

Perhaps we could conclude that the involvement with cooking (as a job related to slaughtering, skinning large animals, cutting and roasting their meat) was ultimately never a profession for women. The female cook was restricted to the home and the household cooking pot – a family occupation usually under the supervision of a man, husband, master or boss, and thus never named or promoted like the noun describing the male cook. Just as the pagan term priestess, *hierieia* (ἱέρεια), could not have existed in the Christian community, despite existing and being in wide use in antiquity and in the ancient religion, the same probably happened to the term for female *mageiros* which always carried the burden of his pagan sacrificial and exclusively masculine character. Even seeing herself as a priest in a dream (ἱερατεύειν or ἱερέυς) was considered a bad omen and believed to foretell great calamities. According to Artemidoros, a woman who dreamt she was a priest would be condemned to death, while according to Ahmet, the dream signalled that her husband would divorce her and that she would become a prostitute¹³³. It was, however, permissible for priest's wife to acquire the colloquial *paradia* (παπαδία) from her husband's profession, *paras* (παπάς) meaning religious father or, in the vernacular, simply priest. As previously noted, many women's appellations reflected their husband's profession or office, such as the general's wife (στρατήγισσα) and the same with priest's wife (παπαδία); a woman's name could also reflect her social status or a particular feature of her life, such as *gērokomitēsa* (γηροκομίτησα), the woman resident in a home for the elderly¹³⁴. Consequently, a woman could be addressed only in colloquial as a *paradia* (παπαδία), priest's, *papa's* wife, but never as hierews' wife (ἱερέυς), hierieia (ἱέρεια). The same applied to the *mageiros'* wife, *mageirissa*, as both referred to pagan practices and mainly to female functions that did not officially exist in Byzantium. It is perhaps because of religious-sacrificial and social discriminatory reasons that a woman could not even dream of a profession that in life she was not allowed to practice or carry as a female noun derived from *hierews* or *mageiros* terms however preserved only for men!

¹³³ ARTEMIDOROS, *Onirocriticon*, II.30, p. 153.13–14: ἐὰν ὑπολάβῃ γυνὴ ἱερατεύειν ἢ ἄρχειν, θάνατον αὐτῇ προαγορεύει; ACHMET, *Oneirocriticon*, section 139, line 4: εἶδον κατ' ὄναρ ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ἑμαυτὴν ὡς ἱερέα (or ἐγένετο ἱερέυς). For this interpretation that appears in three Arabic dream-books and the "ultimate source of this probably Artemidoros" see M. MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation...*, p. 296–297.

¹³⁴ For παπαδία, *Typikon of Kecharitomene*, Appendice A 150.23 and 150.30 (γηροκομίτησα); *Actes d'Ivroun III. De 1204 à 1328*, Document 75.180, Document 79.157, ed. V. KRAVARI, J. LEFORT, H. MÉTRÉVÉLI, N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, D. ΠΑΠΑΧΡΥΣΣΑΝΘΟΥ, Paris 1994 [= AAth, 18]. For στρατήγισσα, *Digenes Akrites (versio G)*, II, 26, 31; III, 282, IV, 59, 611, 602 *passim* – *Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferata and Escorial Versions*, ed. E. JEFFREYS, Cambridge 1998 [= CMC, 7].

In a male-dominated society some occupations and professions resisted – and to this day still resist – the creation and prevalence of their female version with the most typical examples being the official and professional *η μάγειρος* in Modern Greek, although commonly now called *mageirissa* (μαγείρισσα) and the French *chef*, which female French cooking professionals are frantically trying to institute, at least in writing, as *cheffe*¹³⁵.

Conclusion

The gendered history of the word *mageiros* (μάγειρος) and the occupation of cooking are ultimately very complex. For reasons of multiculturalism, primarily sexist and religious, the woman as a cook failed to obtain an equivalent title for her involvement with cooking to the appellation of the male cook, *mageiros*. And although the cook's resourceful mind has been considered equal to that of the poet since ancient times, in this particular case the creative imagination conjured by *mageiraina* and *mageirissa* did not help establish these nouns for women. It is said by Athenaios that *The cook, mageiros, and the poet are just alike: the art of each lies in his brain* (Οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει· ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἔστιν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη)¹³⁶, but despite his creative and poetic mind, we find that for many centuries he failed to impose a name of female cook. The above saying itself even grammatically contains our conclusion as in the Greek language, creation/poetry (ποίησις) and art (τέχνη) are female yet both emanate according to the saying from the male mind (νοῦς) – and the mind of the male cook (μάγειρος) and male poet (ποιητής) alike are always dominant.

¹³⁵ V. FRÉDIANI, E. PAYANY, *Cheffes. 500 femmes qui font la différence dans les cuisines de France* (préface Anne-Sophie Pic), Paris 2019.

¹³⁶ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophistae*, I, 13, vol. I, p. 16.6–7, quotes verses from Euphron, the New Comedy poet of the third century BC; H. ΔΟΗΜ, *Mageiros...*, p. 131.

Annex

Typika and gendered duties

The gendered name is written in bold in translations; where it is not clear, the *f. female* is added to indicate the use of female article in Greek original. In the Greek original, only references to the cook, *mageiros*, are in bold and the periphrastical names of services in the *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis. We use the translations with the transliteration from the *Typika* in the *BMFD* version except for the cases where we add transliterated Greek terms in parentheses.

Petritzonitissa. *Typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Backovo. Date: December 1083.

Βούλομαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν μοναζόντων ἕως τοῦ πενήκοντα εἶναι, πρὸς οἷς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καθηγούμενον, (641) ἔστω ἐκ τούτων σκευοφύλαξ καὶ δοχειάριος, πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τὴν φροντίδα ἔχων καὶ τὴν διατήρησιν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν πανταχόθεν συναγομένων λογαρίων ἀπὸ παντοίων εἰσόδων τὴν δοχὴν ποιούμενος (669) [...]. Καὶ ἄλλος λυχνάπτης ἔστω, τῷ ἐκκλησιάρχῃ ὑπήκοος (671) [...]. Ἐτερος δὲ ἔστω κελλαρίτης, ὃς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι τανουτέρης ὀνομάζεται [...]. Ἐτερος δὲ ἔστω οἰνοχόος, ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ τὴν δουλείαν ταύτην ἐμφρόνως διαπρατόμενος. Ἄλλος δὲ ἔστω τραπεζάριος, τὴν τούτου τάξιν συνήθως ἀποπληρῶν [...]. **Ἄλλος δὲ ἔστω ἀρτοποιός, καὶ ἕτερος μάγειρος, καὶ ἄλλος πυλεωνάριος.** (695)

Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos, ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 42, 1984, p. 19–133.

I wish the number of the monks to be up to fifty and the superior to be in addition to them [...]. Out of this number of fifty-one, one is the superior [...]. Another of them should be **sacristan and treasurer/cellar** (*skeuophylax, docheiarios*), having the care and keeping of all the sacred treasures of the holy church, also controlling the receiving and paying out of money gathered from everywhere from all kinds of revenues [...]. Another should be a lamplighter, under the ecclesiarch (*ekklesiarchos*), dispensing the incense, the oil, the candles, the wine of the offering, and the flour from which the offering of bread is usually made [...]. Another should be a **cellarer** (*kellaritēs*), called *tanouteres* by the Georgians [...]. Another should be a **wine-steward** (*oinochoos*) carrying out this service prudently in the fear of God [...]. Another should be a **baker** (*artopoiios*) and another a **cook** (*mageiros*) and another a **gatekeeper** (*pyleēnarios*), each of these carrying out his service prudently, carefully and with pious diligence.

Pantokrator. *Typikon* of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople. Date: October 1136.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δουλευτῶν οὐκ ἀρτοποιοὶ καὶ κηρωροὶ **καὶ μάγειροι** μόνον γενήσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρεκκλησιάρχη καὶ παροικονόμοι καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι. Ὁ μέντοι ἐκκλησιάρχης καὶ οἱ σκευοφύλακες καὶ οἱ χαρτοφύλακες καὶ ὁ νοσοκόμος καὶ ὁ ξενοδόχος ἀπὸ (545) τῶν ἀφωρισμένων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γινέσθωσαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ δοχειάριοι καὶ οἱ ὠρειάριοι [...]. ἰατροὶ δύο, ὑπουργοὶ ἑμβαθμοὶ τρεῖς

καὶ περισσοὶ ὑπουργοὶ δύο καὶ ὑπέρηται δύο. Ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν ὑπουργῶν ἐκάστη ἑσπέρα παραμενοῦσι τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ὑπουργοὶ τέσσαρες καὶ ὑπόργισσα (940) μία, ἤγουν εἰς ἕκαστον ὄρδινον εἷς, οἱ καὶ ἐξκουβίτορες καλοῦνται. Τῷ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ὄρδινῳ ἰατροὶ μὲν ἔσονται δύο, παρακολουθήσει δὲ καὶ ἰάτραίνα μία καὶ ὑπόργισσαι ἔμβαθμοὶ τέσσαρες καὶ περισσαὶ δύο καὶ ὑπέρηται δύο. [...]. Τῷ δηλωθέντι τάγματι τῶν ἰατρῶν, ὑπουργῶν καὶ λοιπῶν προστεθήσονται καὶ οὗτοι· ἐπιστήκων εἷς, πημεντάριοι ἔμβαθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ περισσοὶ δύο, ὀστιάριος εἷς, σαπωνίστρια πέντε, λεβητάριος εἷς, **μάγειροι δύο** (998) [...] **τοὺς δύο μαγείρους** σὺν τῷ ὀψωνιάτορι ἀνὰ νομίσματα ὁμοία τρία σὺν τῷ προσφαγίῳ (1240).

Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator, ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 32, 1974, p. 27–131.

There will not only be **bakers, gardeners, and cooks** (*artopoioi, kēpōroi, mageiroi*) among the servants but also helpers for the ecclesiarch and assistants to the steward (*paraekklēsiarchai, paroikonomoï*) and other such people. However the **ecclesiarch, the sacristans, the archivists, the infirmarian, and the guestmaster** (*ekklēsiarchos, skeuophylakes, chartophylakes, nosokomos, xenodochos, hōreiaroi*) [...] two **doctors** (*hiatroï*), three certified assistants (*hypourgoï*), two auxiliary assistants, and two orderlies. However, each evening four **male assistants** (*hypourgoï*), and one **female assistant** (*hypourgissa*), from the assistants (*hypourgoï*) will remain with the patients, that is one to each ward, and they are called watchers. There will be two **doctors** (*hiatroï*) for the women's ward, and they will be accompanied by one **female doctor** (*hiatraina*), four certified **female assistants** (*hypourgissai*), two auxiliary female assistants, and two female orderlies [...]. To the aforementioned group of doctors, **assistants** (*hypourgoï*), and others these also will be added – one chief pharmacist, three certified druggists, and two auxiliaries, one doorkeeper, five **washerwomen** (*sapōnistriai*)¹³⁷, one man to heat water, **two cooks** (*mageiroi*) [...]. The **two cooks** (*mageiroi*) along with the caterer should receive, including their food allowance, three similar *nomismata* each, thirty similar *modioi* of grain each, and four trachea *nomismata* each every month.

Mamas. Typikon of Athanasios Philanthropenos for the Monastery of St. Mamas in Constantinople. Date: November 1158.

(11) ια'. Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἐδώδιμα εἰσοδιάζοντος καὶ ἐξοδιάζοντος διακονητοῦ ἦτο Κελλαρίτου. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν τὰ εἰσοδιαζόμενα πάντα τῇ μονῇ βρώσιμά τε καὶ πόσιμα εἰσοδιάζοντά τε καὶ ἐξοδιάζοντα διακονητὴν, ὃν καὶ Κελλαρίτην ὀνομάζομεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ γενήματα πάντα καὶ ὄσπρια εἰσοδιάζειν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τούτων ποιεῖσθαι προστάξει τοῦ καθηγουμένου καὶ παντοίως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τούτων ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ἀμελείας τυχὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν τι ἀπόλλυται ὁ αὐτὸς ὀφείλει φροντίζειν καὶ τὴν τῆς τραπέζης τῶν μοναχῶν ἑτοιμασίαν **καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τοῦ μαγειρείου ὀφείλων ἔχειν ὑφ' αὐτὸν παρακελλάριόν τε καὶ μάγειρον**.

Τυπικὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μάμαντος, ed. S. EUSTRATIADIS, Hll 1, 1928, p. 256–311.

Concerning the official who takes in and issues the food, that is, the **cellarer** (*kellaritēs*). Likewise, also an official who takes in and issues all food and drink in the monastery, whom, in fact, we call **cellarer** (*kellaritēs*). Besides that, he must receive all the crops and legumes and issue them on the

¹³⁷ This is the only reference in the monastic typika, but in *De ceremoniis* we also find the masculine form σαπωνιστής (σαπωνισταὶ τοῦ βεστιαρίου), CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le livre des cérémonies*, II, 15, vol. III, *Livre II*, ed., trans. G. DAGRON, à l'exception de chapitres II, 42, 44–45 et 51, ed., trans. D. FEISSEL, B. FLUSIN, C. ZUCKERMAN, coll. M. STAVROU, Paris 2020 [= *CFHB*, 52.2–3], p. 117.

instruction of the superior, and take care of these in every way, so that they are not perhaps ruined by neglect. The aforesaid ought to see also to the preparation and care of the table (*trapeza*) of the monks, as well as the kitchen (*mageireion*), being obliged to have under his authority both an **assistant cellarer** (*parakellarion*) and a **cook** (*mageiros*).

Kecharitomene: Typikon of Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the convent of the Mother of God Kecharitomene in Constantinople. Date: 1110–1161.

(14) ιδ'. Περὶ τοῦ οἰκονόμου δεῖν εἶναι ἐν τῇ μονῇ εὐνοῦχον καὶ σεμοῦ βίου [...] (15) ιε'. Καὶ ἱερέας εἶναι δεῖ περὶ τὴν μονὴν δύο, μοναχοῦς, εὐνοῦχους [...] (19) ιθ'. Περὶ τῆς σκευοφυλακίσης [...] Ἡ αὐτὴ οὐ σκευοφυλάκισσα μόνον ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρτοφυλάκισσα [...] (20) κ'. Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησι-
αρχίσης. [...] (22) κβ'. Περὶ τῆς οἰνοχόσης. (23) κγ'. Περὶ τῆς ὠρειαρίας [...] (24) κδ'. Περὶ τῆς τῶν
δοχειαριῶν διακονίας [...]· δύο γὰρ δοχειαρίας τυποῦμεν εἶναι ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ὧν τὴν μὲν μίαν κρατεῖν
τὸ κιβώτιον τῶν τῆς εἰσοδοεξόδου νομισμάτων, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν κρατεῖν τὸ βέστιον τῶν ἐνδυμάτων,
καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ δοχειαρία ὀνομασθήσεται [...] (25) κε'. Περὶ τῆς τραπεζαρίας καὶ τῆς ταύτης διακονί-
ας. Μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διακονητριῶν ὧν οἶδε δεῖσθαι ἢ τῶν κοινοβιακῶς ζώντων διαγωγῇ, προχει-
ριεῖται ἢ ἡγουμένη καὶ τραπεζαρία, διακονοῦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσαπερ ἢ κελλαρέα αὐτῇ ἐπιτρέψει
[...] (26) κς'. Περὶ προχειρίσεως ἐπιστημοναρχίσης καὶ τῆς διακονίας αὐτῆς [...] (27) κζ'. Περὶ τῶν
ἐργοδοτριῶν [...] (28) κη'. Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βεστίῳ δοχειαριῶν [...] (29) κθ'. Περὶ τῆς πυλωροῦ. Ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὴν τὰς κλείς τοῦ πυλῶνος κατέχειν ὀφείλουσαν, ἣν καὶ πυλωρὸν ὀνομάζομεν...Γραῦς μέντοι
ὀφείλει εἶναι ἢ εἰς ταύτην τὴν διακονίαν προβαλλομένη [...] (57) νζ'. Περὶ τοῦ παραβάλλειν ἱατρὸν
ἐν τῇ μονῇ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀσθενουσῶν προνοίας. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ μονῇ ἡμῶν ἐνδημεῖν καὶ
τινα ἱατρὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενουσῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐπίσκεψιν, εὐνοῦχον ἢ γηραιὸν [...].

Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôméné, ed. P. GAUTIER, REB 43, 1985, p. 19–155.

14. Concerning the fact that the **steward** (*oikonomos*) in the convent must be a eunuch of godly life [...] 15. Concerning the priests. There must be two priests around the convent; they should be eunuchs and monks, venerable in their way of life, gentle [...] 19. Concerning the **sacristan** (*skeuophylakissa*) [...]. This official must hand over to the ecclesiarchissa (*ekklēsiarchissa*) [...] 20. Concerning the ecclesiarchissa (*ekklēsiarchissa*) [...]. 22. Concerning the **wine-steward** (*oinochoē*) [...] 23. Concerning the **provisioner** (*hōreiaría*) [...] 24. Concerning the office (*diakonia*) of the **treasurers** (*docheiaria*) [...] there should be two treasurers in the convent, one of whom should control the box for monetary income and expenditure and the other should control the storeroom for clothes; for she will also be called the **treasurer** (*docheiaria*) [...] 25. Concerning the **refectorian** (*trapezaria*) and her office (*diakonia*). Along with the other officials (*diakonētria*), which the way of life of those living in a community obviously needs, the superior will appoint a **refectorian** (*trapezaria*) also, who serves whatever the **cellarer** (*kellarea*) supplies her [...] 26. Concerning the appointment of a **disciplinary official** (*epistēmonarchissa*) and her office (*diakonia*) [...] 27. Concerning the **work organisers** (*ergodotria*) [...] 28. Concerning the **treasurers** (*docheiaria*) in the storeroom for clothes. The treasurers of the storeroom for the clothes of the nuns – for these also will be called **treasurers** (*docheiaria*) [...] 29. Concerning the **gatekeeper** (*pylōros*, f.). Furthermore, the superior must appoint the one who is to hold the keys of the gate, whom we call the **gatekeeper** (*pylōros*, f.) [...]. Moreover, the one appointed to this office must be an old woman [...] 57. Concerning the fact that a **doctor** (*hiatros*) should call at the convent and concerning the care of those who are sick. It is necessary also that a doctor should live at our convent for the care and visitation of the sisters who are sick, a eunuch or an old man, calling at the convent and visiting those who are sick.

Lips: Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople. Date: 1294–1301.

(3) γ'. Περὶ τοῦ πόσας δεῖ εἶναι τὰς μοναχάς [...]. Εἰς πενήκοντα βουλόμεθα καὶ οὐ πλείους ἀπάσας ἠριθμηθῆσαι τὰς μοναχάς, ὧν τὰς μὲν τριάκοντα τῷ θεῷ θέλομεν ἑνασχολεῖσθαι σῆκῳ [...] τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς εἰκόσιν εἰς διαφόρους διακονίας διαμερίζεσθαι [...] (4) δ'. [...] καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέσσαρας ἱερεῖς ἑναποτετάχθαι τῇ μονῇ [...]. (6) ς'. Περὶ τοῦ ἕνα πάσας πνευματικὸν ἔχειν καὶ περὶ τοῦ πότε καὶ πῶς ὀφείλει οὗτος παραβάλλειν ἐν τῇ μονῇ [...] Κατὰ δὲ μῆνα τάττω φοιτᾶν, τρεῖς καὶ οὐ πλείους ἡμέρας προσκαρτερεῖν, τοὺς ἐν ξενῶνι ἀποτεταγμένους οἰκίσκους εἰς καταγωγὴν ἔχειν [...]. (8) η' [...] Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τὴν μονὴν φοιτῶσιν αἱ πύλα παντάπασιν ἐπιζυγοθήσονται οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄλλως βασιλέως χωρὶς καὶ τῶν σὺν βασιλεῖ μετρίων τούτων καὶ ἑκκρίτων ἀνδρῶν τὴν μονὴν εἰσελεύσεται [...] εὐνοῦχοι δὲ μόνοι ἢ καὶ γυναῖκες χρόνου πλήρεις συνεισελεύσονται· εἰ δ' ἐνσκήψει τι νόσος βαρεῖα, προσίει δὲ μήτηρ ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἢ καὶ τῶν τις ἄλλως προσηκουσῶν ἀδιάβλητος τὸν τρόπον μεμαρτυρημένη καὶ τὴν βιοτήν, ἀνενεγκούσα τῇ καθηγουμένη διὰ τῆς πυλωροῦ τὴν εἴσοδον προτραπήσεται καὶ εἰσιούσα συνδημερεύσει μὲν τῇ καμνούσῃ, ἑσπέρας δὲ ἀπελεύσεται. (12) ιβ'. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰς προχειρίσεις τῶν διακονητριῶν καὶ περὶ ἐκκλησιαρχίσης, σκευοφυλακίσης καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διακονητριῶν. Χρῆ δὲ ἴσως καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς διακονίας προβαλλομένων ἐρεῖν· τὰς μὲν δὴ τὰς πρώτας πιστευομένας τῶν διακονιῶν, οἰκονομίαν, ἐκκλησιαρχίαν, κειμηλιῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν σκευῶν φυλακὴν – καὶ τὴν τῶν πυλῶν προσθήσῃ συντήρησιν· ἀξιόλογον γὰρ καὶ τὴν θυρωρὸν οἴομαι δεῖν ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τηρεῖσθαι τὴν μονὴν θέλουσα. Ἐκάστη δὲ τούτων καὶ ἐγκαταγεγραμμένον κατ' εἰδὸς τε καὶ ποσότητα λαμβάνειν ὀφείλει τὸ πιστευόμενον σημεῖοῦσθαι τε ὅσον γε καὶ οἶον παρέλαβεν, ὡς καὶ λόγον αὐτῆς ἔχειν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος ἐν καιρῷ λογοποιῖας εὐρίσκεσθαι· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν σκευῶν πιστευομένη τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τῶν χρειωδῶν τὴν εἰσκομιδὴν – δοχειαρίαν σύνθητες αὐτὰς καλεῖν καὶ σκευοφυλάκισσαν – ἑκατέρῃ δ' αὐτῶν δύο συνέσονται ὑπ' αὐταῖς μὲν ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῶν ἀνατιθεμένων ταύταις συνίστορες [...] Ὅφ' αὐτῇ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησιαρχίσην ἔξει, πρόβλησιν μὲν ἐκ τῆς καθηγουμένης λαμβάνουσαν, ταύτης δὲ δεομένην σκευῶν τε χάριν τῶν ἐν χρήσει τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ βίβλων ψαλλομένων τε καὶ ὑπαναγινωσκομένων σκευῶν [...] Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἔσται παρέχουσα ἢ σκευοφυλάκισσα τῶν ὑπὸ ταύτῃ δυοῖν συνειδυῶν· δύο γὰρ ταύτας εἶναι ταύτῃ συνίστορας βούλομαι· ἢ δοχειαρία δὲ ταῦτα· ἔξει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπ' αὐτῇ συνεκκλησιαρχίσην, πάντ' εἰδυῖαν, πάντα ταύτῃ συμπράττουσαν, οἰκονομία δὲ πάση ἄλλῃ τῶν ἐνδοθι τῆς μονῆς ἢ δοχειαρία ἐνέξεται (13) ιγ'. Περὶ οἰκονόμου [...] εἴτε δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἴη οὗτος εἴτε τῶν εὐνοῦχων, οὐ διαφέρομαι [...] (20) κ'. Περὶ τοῦ ξενῶνος καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἱερέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφηθην εἰρηκυῖα τὸν ἐχόμενα τῆς μονῆς νεουρρηθέντα μοι ξενῶνα ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι τῆς μονῆς [...] Πρεσβύτερος δ' ἔσεται τὰ τοῦ ναοῦ λειτουργῶν [...] ἰατροὶ τρεῖς [...] ὀπίων [...] νοσοκόμος [...] ἐπιστήκων [...] ὑπουργοὶ ἕξ [...] ποιμεντάριοι δύο [...] φλεβοτόμος [...] δουλευταὶ τρεῖς [...] **καὶ μάγειρος** [...].

Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1921 [= MCLC, SS, 8], p. 106–136.

3. Concerning the requisite number of nuns [...] 4. [...] It is my wish that the total number of nuns come to fifty and no more, of whom thirty should concern themselves with the divine sanctuary [...]. The remaining twenty should be assigned to different household duties [...] 4. about the assignment of four priests to the convent [...] 6. It is my wish that all the nuns be subject to one spiritual father [...]. I order that he come every month for a stay of three days and no more, and that he should reside in the small rooms assigned for this purpose in the hospital. 8. [...] Thus the gates will be completely shut to those who approach the convent. No one except the emperor and the respectable and eminent members of the emperor's retinue are to enter the convent [...] may enter only eunuchs or women of mature years. If one of the nuns should be stricken with a serious illness, then she may

be visited by her mother [...]. After sending to the superior through the **gatekeeper** (*pylōros*, f.) a petition to enter, she is to be admitted [...] 12. [...] Concerning the procedure for appointment of the officials (*diakonētria*); and about the duties of the ecclesiarchissa (*ekklēsiarchissa*), the sacristan (*skeuophylakissa*), and other officials (*diakonētria*). Perhaps I should speak about those nuns who are appointed to offices. Some are entrusted with the most important offices: the stewardship, responsibility for the church, the security of the treasures and sacred vessels (and I will add the guarding of the gates. For I think it is important that a **gatekeeper** (*thyrōros*, f.) be chosen, since I wish to keep the convent secure [...]. Subordinate to her will be the ecclesiarchissa (*ekklēsiarchissa*), who receives her appointment from the superior; she is to ask the **sacristan** (*skeuophylakissa*), however, for the vessels [...]. The sacristan (*skeuophylakissa*), will provide these services with the assistance of her two subordinates; for I wish her to have two assistants. The **cellarer** (*docheiaria*) will provide [the following] services: she will have beneath her an **assistant ecclesiarchissa** (*synekklēsiarchissa*), who is privy to all her knowledge, and joins her in every action. The **cellarer** (*docheiaria*) will be responsible for all the other administration of the interior of the convent. 13. Concerning the **steward** (*oikonomos*) [...]. It makes no difference whether he is a eunuch or not [...] 20. Concerning the hospital, and its priest and other staff. Since I have already said that the hospital which is next to the convent and newly built by me is to be inseparable from the convent... There is to be a priest to perform church services [...]. Three doctors [...] assistant [...] a nurse [...] a head pharmacist [...] six attendants [...] two chief druggists [...] blood-letter [...] three servants [...] a **cook** (*mageiros*).

Philanthropos: Typikon of Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina for the Convent of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople. Date: ca. 1307.

βούλομαι καὶ σφόδρα ἐφίεμαι ἐν κοινοβιακῇ διαγωγῇ τε καὶ καταστάσει τὰς μοναζούσας ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου μου σωτήρος διαζῆν, καὶ μὴ μόνον **κοινὴν ἔχειν τράπεζαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν μαγειρεῖον** καὶ κοινὸν ἐργόχειρον ἀπάσας [...] ὡς ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὰς εἶναι κατὰ μοναζούσας καὶ μὴ πραγματευτριάς καὶ χείρους τῶν κοσμικῶν. εἰ δέ τις τῶν μοναζουσῶν φωραθεῖ ἴδιον ἐργόχειρον ποιούσα, ἢ ἐν τῷ **ἰδίῳ κελλίῳ ὄψα ποιούσα**, ἐπιτιμάσθω καὶ κολαζέσθω σφοδρῶς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἀποπεμπέσθω, ἄχρισ ἂν διορθωθεῖ ὅποια καὶ εἴη.

Bruchstücke zweier typikā kτητορικά, ed. Ph. MEYER, BZ 4, 1895, p. 48–49.

I very much wish and desire that the nuns in the convent of my Philanthropic Savior should live in a cenobitic order and way of life and not only should they all have a common refectory, but also a common **kitchen** (*mageireion*) and the same handiwork [...] thereby they behave like nuns and not like **businesswomen** (*pragmateutriai*) and even worse than laymen. If one of the nuns should be caught doing her own private handiwork, or **preparing food** in her private cell (*opsa poioussa*), she should be severely censured and disciplined, and banished from the church and the refectory until she mends her ways, no matter who she is.

Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople. Date: 1327–1335.

ς'. Τίς ἡ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαρχείου ἐπιστάτις τε καὶ διάκονος καὶ ὅποιον τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς, [...] 50 εἰς τὸ **ἐξάρχειν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν** ἀπάσων ἐκλεγήσεται παρά τε τῆς ἀφηγουμένης αὐτῆς παρά τε τῶν λοιπῶν ἀδελφῶν ἢ κρείττων καὶ διαφέρουσα κατὰ τε σύνεσιν καὶ εὐλάβειαν [...] ζ'. Τίς ἡ τῆς κοινῆς **οἰκονομίας διάκονός τε καὶ ἐπιστάτις** καὶ τί τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆ [...] ια'. Τίς ἡ **διάκονος τοῦ κοινοῦ δοχείου καὶ ἐπιστάτις** καὶ τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς [...] ιβ'. Τίς ἡ **διάκονος τοῦ κελλαρίου**

καὶ ἐπιστάτις καὶ τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον τῆς διακονίας αὐτῆς [...] Ταύτη καὶ ἔτεροι τῶν ἀδελφῶν συμπαροῦσαι συνεργοὶ ἔσσονται εἰς τὴν διακονίαν αὐτῆς·συνεργήσουσι δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ **γε ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ** παρισταμένη καὶ ἐξυπηρετοῦσα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ τὰ μὲν παρατιθεμένη, τὰ δὲ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνουσα τὰλλα τε δρῶσα, ὅσα εἰς τὴν τῶν καθημένων ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ εὐαρέστησίν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν. 70. Οὐκ αὐτὴ δὲ μόνη συνεργὸς συμπαρέσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαις ἔργον τὸν κοινὸν ἄρτον οἰκονομεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν·οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ **ἥτις τῷ τοῦ μαγειρείου προσανέχει διακονήματι** ὧν αἱ μὲν τὸν σίτον, ἡ δὲ τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἀπὸ **τῆς ἐν τῷ κελλαρίῳ ἐπιστατούσης** πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν λαβοῦσαι συνήθως καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ποιησάμεναι καὶ προσήκον πάλιν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀποδώσουσι τὰ ληφθέντα καὶ ἔτοιμα καὶ ἀζήμια. **Ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ κελλαρίου** δὲ αὐτὴ πολλὴν ποιήσεται πρόνοιαν [...] ιγ’.Τίς **ἡ φρουρὸς τοῦ μοναστηρίου καὶ πυλωρὸς** καὶ τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς.

Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1921 [= MCLe, SS, 8], p. 18–105.

[VI.] Concerning **the ecclesiarchissa** (*ekklēsiarchiou diakonos* f. *kai epistatis*) and her duties [...] 50. The superior and the other sisters should choose as **ecclesiarchissa** the best nun, who is distinguished for her wisdom and piety, [VII.] Concerning the **steward** (*oikonomias diakonos*, f.) and her duties. XI.] Concerning the **keeper and supervisor** of the communal storeroom and her duties. [XII.] Concerning **the cellarer** (*diakonos tou kellariou*, f.) and her duties [...]. Other nuns should assist her in her duties. Of necessity she will be assisted by **the nun in charge of the refectory** (*en tē trapezē paristamenē*) and waiting on the sisters, who will serve the dishes and remove them again, and perform other services for the pleasure and refreshment of the nuns seated in **the refectory** (*en tē trapezē*). 70. She will not be the only assistant, but also the nuns who have the task of making and distributing the communal bread, as well as **the cook** (*mageiriou diakonēma*). The former will usually take the wheat, the latter the foodstuffs they need from **the cellarer** (*kellariō epistatousēs*), and after doing everything necessary and appropriate to them they will return the foods to her all prepared and without anything missing. **The cellarer** (*epi tou kellariou*, f.) is to be very careful to maintain equal compassion and patience towards all the nuns [...] XIII. Concerning **the guard and gatekeeper** of the convent and her duties (*phrouros*, f., *pylōros*, f.).

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THE PHENOMENA OF BOGOMILISM IN THE CONTEXT OF HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERARY WORKS

Abstract. Hagiography represents a special literary genre, which primarily deals with the life of the Saint, also providing information on certain historical events. Taking into consideration the complexity of the genre, it is a common impression that the credibility of the historical narrative is debatable and it can oscillate from subjective to objective positions. Thus, the purpose of the article is to reconstruct certain aspects on Bogomilism as a medieval dualistic movement, having in mind the content of hagiographic literary works. In that respect, the focus will be concentrated on the issue whether and to what extent hagiographic literary works can be treated as a relevant source material. Especially if we suppose that the information related to Bogomils can be indirect, incidental, biased, or having a legendary character. Of course, where possible, comparisons will be made with the accounts from the relevant historical narratives. According to the chronological order several examples from the hagiographic literature will be taken, as: *The Short Life of St. Clement*, written by the Ohrid Archbishop Theophylact, *The Life of Hilarion of Moglena*, *The Life of St. Sava*, *The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo* as well as *The Life of John Vladimir*. Despite the difficulty in identifying the authenticity of the historical events, in our case concerning the Bogomilism, hagiographic texts still contain useful material about that how Bogomilism functioned in certain periods and what were the repercussion for the protagonists of the movement.

Keywords: hagiography, *The Short Life of St. Clement*, the Ohrid Archbishop Theophylact, *The Life of Hilarion of Moglena*, *The Life of St. Sava*, *The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo*, *The Life of Jovan Vladimir*, Bogomils/Bogomilism

The term “hagiography” literally means “writing about saints” which refers to the life and deeds of a holy man or woman. It is classified as a specific genre of Byzantine literature, but it also include all kinds of literary works that promote the veneration of saints, including acts of martyrs lives, accounts of translations of relics and miracles, hymnography, including certain historical events.

In principle, hagiographic texts begins with an introduction where the martyr’s life is glorified. The martyr usually came from a wealthy family and after distributing the wealth to the poor he devoted himself to ascetic life. It very often

acquires a legendary character as regards to performed miracles. In fact, demonomania and superstition also comprise part of the peculiarities of hagiographic works¹.

Taking into consideration the complexity of the genre, it is a common impression that the credibility of the historical narrative is debatable and it can oscillate from subjective to objective positions. Hence, one must be very careful, especially when the historical events are reconstructed in our case the questions related to the issue of Bogomilism. It is a common impression that the accounts from the hagiographical works concerning the Bogomil heresy are incidental, incomplete and very often tendentious in a negative sense. Accordingly, the comparison with other historical and relevant sources is necessary in order to provide more authentic presentation of the event.

In *The Short life of St. Clement*, composed by Theophylact, the Archbishop of Ohrid written in the period between 1084 and 1108 it is said: *watch from now on your heritage, because now you have much more and greater power than before, when he was alive. Cast out the evil heresy which after your true death in Christ was kindled as a contagious disease among your flock*². Despite the fact that some historians reject this information from Theophylact as an anachronism, it is evident that it corresponds to the chronological framework. Namely, it is already known that Clement of Ohrid died in 916 and Bogomilism appeared later towards the middle of the 10th century. There is no doubt that the cult of St. Clement was particularly relevant argument for Theophylact to invoke his authority in defense of Orthodoxy. On the other hand, however, it is very likely that the educational activity implemented within the Ohrid Literary School, indirectly contributed to the emergence and development of Bogomil ideas. As a man with multifaceted erudition, St. Clement was well acquainted with the apocryphal texts in the Byzantine literature, and used some of them, thus enriching his preaching-instructive and praiseworthy words, without pretensions to expose heresy. In his work *Word for the Passover* St. Clement repeatedly mentions the motive of Christ's descent into hell, while the *Praise for the Archangels Michael and Gabriel* speaks of the fall of Lucifer and the victory of the archistratig Michael. Those were characteristic topics for the apocrypha and were later implemented in the folklore. There is no doubt that the conceptual platform of St. Clement consisted of involving a large number of students in the educational process in the Slavic language. In this way, literacy was made available to a wider social class, without pretensions to treat it as a privilege of the people with a higher social status. Their immediate engagement in the Ohrid Literary School resulted in promoting 3500 students with theological and literary education. Most of them probably continued their carrier as consistent servants of the Church, supporting the official Christian ideology. However,

¹ Д. ДРАГОЈЛОВИК, В. АНТИК, *Богомилството во средновековната изворна граѓа*, Скопје 1980, р. 160.

² *Гърци извори за българската история*, vol. IX.2, София 1994, р. 41.

there were also some who, expanding their theological-ideological conceptions, tried to find a new spiritual expression often in opposition to the official ideology³. This speaks in favor of the supposition that the process of education in the Ohrid Literary School was not reduced to a passive reception of the dogmas of Christianity, but indirectly influenced the possibility of creating a critical attitude reflected in their exegesis. Education and literacy certainly encouraged skepticism, which evolved into constructive criticism, especially when it came to interpreting gospel principles⁴. Given the popularity of the image of St. Clement and his strongly established cult in Ohrid and respected among the citizens, Theophylact of Ohrid over a century later tried to project him in his own time as an authority in the suppression of the heretics. By doing this, he did not take into account that perhaps the heirs of the work of St. Clement emerging from the Ohrid Literary School, contributed to the appearance of Bogomilism as an alternative spiritual phenomenon and folk religion. Or, possibly he deliberately opposed them, by writing the *Life of the cult of the former great educator and spiritual leader*.

The account from *The Life of St. Clement* about the existence of the “evil heresy” largely coincide with those in the correspondence of Theophylact, which occurred in the period from the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, when the Bogomilism in Macedonia intensified⁵. In this context, it should be noted that Theophylact certainly avoided speaking openly about Bogomilism, among others, not to give a *greater place to the suffering of the people*⁶. Addressing the panipersevast Brienius, Theophylact speaks of a certain Lazarus who wanted to *free himself from the yoke of the parish*, inspired by *freedom-loving thoughts*⁷. In fact, based on this rather subtle testimony, it is possible to assume that Lazarus was close in his convictions to the Bogomils, who were categorically against the ecclesiastical and political establishment, but at the same time demonstrated more open ideas on many dogmatic-theological issues⁸.

The Bogomil movement continued to exist with the same intensity during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1118–1180). The first information about the dispersion of Bogomilism in the Moglena region in this period can be found in *The Life of St. Hilarion of Moglena*⁹, written in Old-Slavonic language.

³ М. АНГЕЛОВСКА-ПАНОВА, *Богомилството во духовната култура на Македонија*, Скопје-Прилеп 2004, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁵ *Vita S. Clementis Bulgariae archiep.*, XXIX, [in:] PG, vol. CXXVI, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1864, coll. 1237D–1240. Б. ПАНОВ, *Македонија низ историјата*, Скопје 1999, p. 61.

⁶ Б. ПАНОВ, *Теофилакт Охридски како извор за средновековната историја на македонскиот народ*, Скопје 1971, p. 350.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 350.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 352; Б. ПАНОВ, *Богомилското движење во Македонија одразено во писмата на Теофилакт Охридски*, ГЗФФ 28, 1976, p. 182.

⁹ More about the historical value of the *Life*: Я.М. ВОЛСКИ, *Богомилите в светлината на Житието на св. Иларион Мъгленски от Патриарх Евтимий Търновски*, Pbg 4, 2013, p. 74–81.

Two hagiographic works are dedicated to this saint: *The Story about the Transfer of His Relics to Trnovo* and *The Extensive Life*, written by the Patriarch of Trnovo, Euthymius in 14th century, which is considered as a source for Bogomilism. From the position of an author, Euthymius aspired to create a typical character for a typical idea – the fight against the heresies of his own time – in order to protect the official Orthodox theological-dogmatic conception¹⁰. Most of the *Life* refers to the polemics of St. Hilarion in relation to the heretical teachings of the Manichaeans and the Armenian Monophysites, addressing in that context the questions concerning the body of Christ, communion, the cross, fasting, and the like. This part of the *Life* was extracted in a form of a special transcript in the Collection from 17th century, folio 241b–245a (Belgrade, SANU no. 147), entitled *Polemics of St. Hilarion, Bishop of Moglena*. It should be noted that this is not a short version of the biography of the saint, but simply, the extracting of the part with polemical content resulted in typologisation of the *Polemics* (Prenie), representing a specific genre in which it is debated with the opponents of the Christian faith¹¹.

The accounts on Bogomilism in the extensive *Life* are in significantly smaller scale. Its author, Patriarch Euthymius, while composing the work used the Slavic translation of *Panoplia dogmatika* by Zigabenus, in which the part about the Bogomils from the Byzantine original was not translated. In that sense, this hagiographic composition cannot be treated as a direct source, but as an indirect one containing reference to Bogomilism. In accordance with the current scholarly knowledge, the extensive version of the biography of St. Hilarion of Moglena was registered in Panegyric from 1430, also included in the Collection of Vladislav the Grammarian from 1469 and in the Collection of the anonymous author from the second quarter of the 16th century¹². Namely, being appointed bishop of Meglen between 1133 and 1142, St. Hilarion

discovered that a considerable part of them were Manichaeans, Armenians and Bogomils, who were reviling him and plotting against him; they were trying in the dark to shoot the righteous of heart, despoiling and leading astray the orthodox flock, like beasts of prey. Having seen that they were daily increasing in number, he suffered great sorrow and prayed earnestly from his heart to almighty God to stop their inveterate tongues.

As a spiritual activist, who reacted from the position of official Christianity, St. Hilarion sought to convince heretics of the inaccuracy of their teachings, insisting on the importance of dogmas from the point of view of the official religion.

¹⁰ К. ИВАНОВА, *Житие на Иларион Мегленски*, СЛ 1992, р. 159; И. ВЕЛЕВ, *Едно ново навраќање кон текстуалната типолошка поставеност на хагиографските состави за св. Иларион Мегленски*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Кирилometодиевската традиција и континуитет*, Скопје 1997, р. 229–230.

¹¹ И. ВЕЛЕВ, *Едно ново навраќање...*, р. 229.

¹² Д. МИЛОВСКА, Ј. ТАКОВСКИ, *Македонската житијна литература IX–XVIII век*, Скопје 1996, р. 53.

After realizing that the number of adherents of Bogomilism was growing, he *often preached to his people, teaching and strengthening them in the Orthodox faith*¹³.

Interestingly, Hilarion managed to convert many Paulicians and Monophysites to Orthodoxy, but it is evident that only the Bogomils managed to resist this process. In fact, Hilarion did not succeed in suspending the Bogomil heresy. This was due the fact that by this period Bogomilism had already been established within the Byzantine Empire with a concrete and standardized way of acting.

The extent to which Bogomilism was present at that time is evidenced by the fact that emperor Manuel I Comnenus himself *almost deviated from our pious faith if it was not supported and established by the dogmatic teachings of Blessed Hilarion*¹⁴. After overcoming the temptation, the Byzantine emperor ordered *the whole Bogomil heresy to be cleansed from the flock and that those who wholeheartedly obey the pious dogmas to receive and include them in the chosen flock, while those who do not obey and remain in their wicked and abominable heresy, to keep them far away from the flock of the Orthodox*¹⁵. However, the dilemma remains whether Manuel I sought only to excommunicate the heretics, as it is noted in the *Life*, or he acted in the direction of their physical elimination. Especially, considering that Theodore Balsamon in his *Nomocanon*¹⁶ stated that during the reign of Manuel I many Bogomils were burned at the stake. There is no doubt that the practice of the Church to merely anathematize the heretics was significantly disrupted and replaced with physical elimination by burning at the stake, which was introduced as a form of punishment in the Orthodox world by Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118)¹⁷. Such a punishment largely corresponded to the methods characteristic to the western Inquisition.

Despite the fact that the serious scholarly debate surrounds the authenticity of *The Life of Hilarion of Moglena*, there is still a high possibility that Bogomilism in the 12th century was particularly active in this area, which corresponds with the established cult of the saint who struggled against the heretical movements in Moglena. In fact, the Church had used the cult of the saint as a mechanism against the possible re-emergence of any kind of heresy in the Moglena eparchy. The development of the cult of St. Hilarion of Moglena can be traced on the basis of fresco paintings and icons. The oldest example of his portrait is identified in the church of St. Nikita, near Skopje. The portrait was painted in 1484 during renovations of the church, built by King Milutin. The second known example is preserved

¹³ В. АНТИЌ, *Локални хагиографии во Македонија*, Скопје 1977, p. 69; М. ГЕОРГИЕВСКИ, *Македонски светци*, Скопје 1997, p. 136.

¹⁴ Д. МИЛОВСКА, Ј. ТАКОВСКИ, *Македонската житијна...*, p. 137.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 138.

¹⁶ D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948, p. 229.

¹⁷ More about the methods of punishment see: A.P. ROACH, M.A. PANOVA, *Punishment of Heretics: Comparisons and Contrasts between Western and Eastern Christianity in the Middle Ages*, Исто 47.1, 2012, p. 146–170.

at the Church of Mother of God at Studenica and was painted in 1568. It is important to say that the portrait of St. Hilarion of Moglena was not included in the original painting programs, but was painted later during the renovations of these two churches because of the strength of his cult and its importance, especially during the period of Ottoman rule in the Balkans. It should be emphasized that the portraits of St. Hilarion were identified also in Bulgaria, what speaks in favor of widespread nature of his cult among the Orthodox inhabitants of the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire¹⁸.

Interesting testimonies about Bogomilism can also be found in *The Life of St. Sava*¹⁹, written by his student and follower Dometian in 1242/1243 (according to the Viennese manuscript) or in 1253/1254 (according to the Leningrad manuscript). According to Chapter 18 of the *Life*, titled *Teaching of St. Sava for the true faith*, the saint referred to the Orthodox interpretation of the Holy Trinity, tackling many other aspects characteristic for the Orthodox Christianity²⁰. In fact, Dometian's text provides a detailed description of the Council of Zhicha and Sava's address about the true Orthodox faith, in which he challenged the dualism of the unnamed heretics, their nihilism towards the real incarnation of Christ, the cult of the Virgin, the honorable cross, the seven Ecumenical Councils, etc.²¹ In fact, the accounts related to the Bogomilism are presented very subtly and mainly derive from the context. Dometian with an extraordinary literary maneuver presents the efforts of St. Sava for defending the true Christian values as opposed to those of heretics. In fact, he did not mention "concrete heretics", but insists on the Orthodox interpretation of certain dogmatic determinations, which have a completely different meaning in heretical communities²². It is assumed that Dometian used the *Sermon of Presbyter Cosmas* for this part of the *Life*, especially since the order of the dogmatic determinations largely coincides in both parts.

The Life of St. Sava by Theodosius represents a successful literary composition of an already narrated story. In fact, as he himself points out, he rewrote

¹⁸ М. МАРКОВИЋ, *Одблесци култа Илариона Мегленског у поствизантијској уметности на Балкану*, ЗМслу 32–33, 2002, р. 220.

¹⁹ Saint Sava was born in 1175 as Rastko Nemanjić, he was the third and youngest son of the Serbian Grand Prince Stefana Nemanja (1113–1199). He became a monk in 1191 in the monastery of Hilandar and was named Sava. He was a Mount Athos monk, hieromonk, and abbot of the monastery in Studenica, the first Archbishop of the Serbian Church, a diplomat, writer and legislator. He is one of the most important figures in Serbian history, and his cult has been cherished for centuries among the Serbian people and beyond in the Balkans. See: С. МИЛЕУСНИЋ, *Свети Срби*, Крагујевац 1989, р. 40–53.

²⁰ More about the strategy of St. Sava in subjugating the heresy see: А.Р. РОАСН, *The Competition for Souls: Sava of Serbia and Consumer Choice in Religion in the Thirteenth Century Balkans*, Гл 50.1, 2006, р. 149–156.

²¹ Д. ДРАГОЛОВИЋ, *Богомилство на Балкану и у Малој Азији*, vol. II, Београд 1982, р. 55.

²² Д. ДРАГОЛОВИЋ, В. АНТИЋ, *Богомилството во средновековната...*, р. 121.

The Life of St. Sava according to Dometian's instructions, probably during the period between 1290 and 1292. Actually, the literary innovation lays in the fact that Theodosius presents the same story in a different way, using a new sentence structure and compositional processing of the text. Referring to the question of heresies, Theodosius identified their followers as *vicious, dark in light, ignorant of the truth... And he prayed a lot to those who were in the heresies that he commanded and taught them to return to the orthodox apostolic church, promising imposts and gifts*. But, for those who refused to return to Orthodoxy, punishments such as persecution and anathema were envisaged²³.

The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo, written by the Patriarch of Constantinople Callistus is also an important source for the period of 14th century, and in that respect for the existence of Messalian and Bogomil tendencies of Mount Athos. Probably it was composed during Callistos' last months of life and has to be regarded as one of his last works. A passage, *to us, on Mount Athos, suggests that Callistos wrote the Life in an Athos monastery during the winter of 1363–1364*²⁴. At that time the Holy Mount was under Serbian control as it is confirmed by several Serbian *protoi* and from other historical data, concerning not only Chilandar and Karyes, but also other monasteries, including Lavra²⁵. Its historical value, especially in terms of provided information about the Bogomilism, this work can be compared to the *Sermon of Presbyter Kozma*.

In fact, Theodosius of Trnovo and the biographer Callistus were trained together in the hesychastic practices of Gregory of Sinai on Mount Athos, which means that they knew each other. The *Life* contains information that

there was a nun in Thessaloniki called Irene. Residing in Thessalonica, she passed herself off as if living in purity, but furtively and secretly she was a perpetrator of all kinds of impurity and vileness. When the monks discovered what kind of woman she was, many of them began to meet together where she was living. She, the totally unclean one, had mastered the entire Messalian heresy, which she taught in secret to all those who visited her for the sake of impiety. Because the heresy became widespread, many monks were affected by the error, and when they went, in separate groups, to the holy mountain of Athos, they offended the monasteries there with poverty and begging²⁶.

²³ Д. ДОЈЧИНОВИЋ, *Теодосије. Житије Светога Саве*, Бања Лука 2016, p. 187–193.

²⁴ A. RIGO, M. SCARPA, *The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo Reconsidered*, [in:] *Byzantine Hagiography. Texts, Themes and Projects*, ed. A. RIGO, M. TRIZIO, E. DESPOTAKIS, Turnhout 2018 [= B.SBHC, 13], p. 481.

²⁵ A. RIGO, *Il Monte Athos e la controversia palamitica dal Concilio del 1351 al Tomo sinodale del 1368*, [in:] *Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantine*, ed. IDEM, Firenze 2004 [= OV, 16], p. 14.

²⁶ В.СЛ. КИСЕЛКОВ, *Житието на св. Теодосий Търновски като исторически паметник*, София 1926, p. 14; J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, Y. STOYANOV, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, 650–1450*, Manchester 1998 [= MMS], p. 283.

Lazarus and a certain Cyril with the nickname Bosota, who spread Messilian-Bogomil tendencies on Mount Athos, are also mentioned in *The Life of Theodosius*. Accusations of decadence were a common practice for representing/displaying the heretics in the hagiographic literature. So, Lazarus was accused of insanity, while Cyril manifested his evil heresy by *blaspheming the holy icons [...] trampling on the sanctuary and the cross of life [...] teaching men and women to renounce their legal marriage*²⁷.

In the context of dispersion of heresy, the priest Stefan, a follower of Cyril and Bosota, is also mentioned. After the Council in Trnovo, held in 1360, led by Theodosius: Lazarus, who perceived his mistake, took to penance until the end of his days. The impious Bosota and his like-minded adherent Stephen remained petrified. For this reason, seeing their false wisdom, the Tsar ordered that their faces should be branded with red-hot iron and expelled them for ever from the confines of his land²⁸. The Council having completed its work and its bright deed accomplished, everyone returned to their place.

Life of Theodosius of Trnovo also mentions that

a monk called Theodorite came to Trnovo from Constantinople, allegedly to heal [the people]. However, as he got to work he began to plant the weeds of iniquity. The weeds were the blasphemies of the iniquitous Akindin and Barlaam. Not only that: he seduced the people with magic and charms. All this he did not only among the simple ones, but even more so among prominent and famous people. In the beginning, [he created] so much evil that the better part of town inclined toward the chasm. He taught them to worship an oak to receive remedy from it and because of that many sacrificed there sheep and lambs, believing in the deception²⁹.

The account from *The Life of Theodosius of Trnovo* largely corresponds to the *History* of the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras³⁰ who remark that heretics did not preach. They opposed the “holy writings”, rejected the “divine mission of Christ” and disrespected icons. Their teaching was discovered in 1344, and the protagonists, monks Joseph, Gregory, Moses Isaac, David, and Jov, were accused of following the teachings of the Messilians and Bogomils.

Nicephorus Gregoras gives an account of their trial and adds that some of them were given penances, but others were expelled from Athos, while some escaped to Thessalonica, Berrhoea and Constantinople³¹.

²⁷ J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, Y. STOYANOV, *Christian Dualist Heresies...*, p. 283.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 285.

²⁹ K. PETKOV, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture*, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= ECEEMA, 5], p. 296.

³⁰ NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. L. SCHOPENUS, I. BEKKER, Bonnae 1829–1855 [= CSHB], p. 714, 718, 720.

³¹ J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, Y. STOYANOV, *Christian Dualist Heresies...*, p. 53.

Speaking about the spiritual progressing of Gregory Palamas, the Patriarch of Constantinople Philotius in the *Life*, dedicated to him emphasizes that on the way to Mount Athos:

In the winter of 1316–1317 the young St. Gregory Palamas stayed in a monastery on Mount Papikion, ‘on the borders of Thrace and Macedonia’, where he disputed with some local heretics whom his biographer calls Messalians, but who were Bogomils, because they claimed that the Our Father was the only legitimate prayer and refused to venerate the Holy Cross, both distinctively Bogomil traits.

As a conclusion we can point out that during the period of the 14th century the Bogomils acted very subtly, namely hiding themselves behind the ideas of hesychasm, practiced in the monastic circles in the monasteries of Mount Athos, they actually affirmed the Bogomilism³². Despite the obvious differences between the two teachings, they showed some similarities, especially regarding the issue of contemplation, which was resulted with a hypostatic union with God.

In the context of our topics, it should be mentioned the rather controversial *Short Life and Service* of St. John Vladimir, written in Greek by Kosmas, the former Metropolitan of Kitios, on the initiative by John Pappas and published in Venice in 1690, composing the *Akolouthia*³³. The *Life* portrays John Vladimir as being from a royal lineage of pious and orthodox parents, mentioning also the holy martyrs Clement, the blessed Naum, Cyril, Methodius and the other holy equal-to-apostles who turned the people to Orthodoxy and thus away from the Messalian heresy and Bogomil heretics³⁴. Interestingly, Kosma’s version of the legend completely distorts the story related to John Vladimir’s wedding with Samuel’s daughter, presenting it as an arranged marriage between Vladimir’s parents and Samuel, who preserved his virginity, completely dedicating himself to God³⁵. Because of this, John Vladimir fell victim of a conspiracy by his wife and her brother, who aspired to take over his empire and to establish heresy, being secret Bogomils. At the moment of the murder, a miracle occurred and the beheaded Vladimir took his head and continued his way. His murderer started to consume his own flesh until he died torn apart, while his wife repented and begged for forgiveness³⁶. The analysis of the *Life*

³² D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomilism...*, p. 255; M. ANGELOVSKA-PANOVA, *Turning towards Heresy: Bogomils and Self-Defence*, NMS 63, 2019, p. 90–91.

³³ H. MELOSKI, *Prološko žitije sv. Jovana Vladimira. Dukljanski knez sv. Vladimir 970–1016*, Podgorica 2016, p. 59–64.

³⁴ В. ТЪПКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, *Българи Родом. Комитопулите, цар Самуил и неговите потомци според историческите извори и историографската традиция*, София 2014, p. 132.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

³⁶ M.B. PANOV, *The Blinded State. Historiographic Debates about Samuel Cometopoulos and his State (10th–11th Century)*, Leiden–Boston 2019 [= ECEEMA, 55]; М.Б. ПАНОВ, *Ослепената държава. Историографски дебати за Самуил Комитопулот и неговата държава (10–11 век)*, Скопје 2021, p. 158–159.

shows that the story of the relationship between John Vladimir and Kosara completely deviates from that of the *Priest of Duklja*, where his wife is portrayed as pious follower of Christianity and not as proponent of Bogomils³⁷. In this regard, the question imposes why the author of the *Life* inserted Bogomilism in the story about Saint Vladimir and why he presented Samuel's closest family as proponents of the heresy. Especially, since there is no other source that would support this claim. This could mean that the author was probably referring to the Bogomil traditions present in the Ohrid region in 10th century, which he was projecting in his own time in order to raise the prestige of the Ohrid Archbishopric among the Orthodox subjects as defender of true Christian belief.

To conclude. The analysis of the hagiography speaks about the status and dispersion of Bogomilism in different periods and certain regions in Macedonia and in the Balkans.

According to the established methodology for writing a hagiography, the authors were primarily concerned with the asceticism of the saint, however they always had in mind the historical context. It is interesting to note that saints in debates with heretics have always been gentle and patient, and in the beginning usually used the tactic of persuasion. Dialogue as a tool for converting to Orthodoxy was a priority in the saint's tactics, who was certainly the personification of virtue, justice and wisdom. Most of the excerpted hagiographical accounts correspond to historical narratives, which speaks in favor of their authenticity and relevance. Although, we cannot ignore the general impression that the authors, who were mainly of Orthodox provenance, did not refrain from classifying heresy as evil, wicked, etc.

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³⁷ *Gesta Regum Sclavorum*, vol. I, *Kritichko izdanje i prevod Dragana Kuncher*, Beograd 2009, p. 130–138.

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“WHERE DO THESE TERRIBLE DISEASES AND PESTILENCES COME FROM?”. ILLNESS IN THE ROMAN WORLD IN LIGHT OF THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

Abstract. Eusebius of Caesarea did not put diseases at the center of his introduction to *Church History*. He used them instrumentally to promote his theses. Therefore, he neither referred to the medical knowledge of that time nor did he conduct their scientific classification or description. Nevertheless, Eusebius' account contains observations about the sick and their afflictions. The Bishop of Caesarea clearly distinguished between diseases suffered by individuals and those that plagued the masses. In addition, they can be divided into diseases of the body, diseases of the mind, and diseases of the soul.

Eusebius treated disease as a tool in God's hands, with the help of which He intervened in history for the benefit of Christians.

For Eusebius, the best physician of the body and soul was Jesus Christ, who, with his miraculous power, healed all diseases, expelled unclean spirits and demons, and even raised the dead.

Keywords: Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, illness, Roman Empire

In the 4th century AD, Greco-Roman culture experienced a revival, as evidenced by the historiographical works produced at the time. One of the most famous authors of classical historiography of this period was undoubtedly Eusebius of Caesarea, the originator of the Church historiography created at that time¹. Eusebius, who wrote in Greek, interpreted history from a Christian

¹ EUZEBIUSZ Z CEZAREI, *Historia kościelna*, trans. A. CABA, based on the trans. by A. LISIECKI, ed. H. PIETRAS, Kraków 2013 [= ŻMT, 70] (cetera: EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS). The literature on Eusebius of Caesarea and various aspects of his work is prolific. Cf. such works as: J.R. FRANK, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, [in:] *Historians of the Christian Tradition*, ed. M. BAUMAN, M.I. KLAUBER, Nashville 1995, p. 59–78; W. TABBERNEE, *Eusebius' Theology of Persecution: As seen in the Various Editions of his Church History*, *J ECS* 5, 1997, p. 319–334; D. MENDELS, *The Media Revolution of Early Christianity. An Essay on Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*, Cambridge 1999; E. CAROTENUTO, *Tradizione e innovazione nella Historia ecclesiastica di Eusebio di Cesarea*, Naples 2001; S. MORLET, *L'Introduction de l'Histoire ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe de Césarée (I, 2–4): étude génétique, littéraire et rhétorique*, REAP

perspective; he was not only a follower of Christ, but also a bishop of the Church in Caesarea in Palestine and a Christian erudite. Describing nearly three centuries of Church history, he referred to various cases of diseases plaguing individuals or entire communities. Where did these incessant pestilences and terrible diseases come from? What caused the frequent deaths and such a varied and great mortality rate? The people of Alexandria pondered these questions in the 260s, as reported by Dionysius of Alexandria in one of his letters², quoted by Eusebius. How did Eusebius of Caesarea approach this subject? Is any reflection on this subject captured in his *Ecclesiastical History*?

In this article, I will attempt to explore the following issues: What was disease for Eusebius? What terminology did he use in defining its various cases? What types of diseases was he aware of? Did he understand the causes of the infirmities he described? Did he pay attention to people's attitudes toward diseases? Finally, did he mention their treatment?

Terminology

Eusebius of Caesarea used the Greek vocabulary typical of the time to refer to the illness of individuals or to diseases affecting broader social groups, i.e. pestilence. In the former case, he mostly employed the term νόσος³, meaning disease, but also suffering, misery, anguish, madness, insanity and disgrace (I, 13, 12; I, 13, 17; VI, 43, 14; VII, 22, 6; VIII, 13, 11; IX, 7, 11; X, 4, 71)⁴. Sometimes he also used this term when he wrote about the plague (VII, 22, 1; VII, 22, 6). Furthermore, Eusebius applied the expression ἀσθένεια to refer to sickness and weakness⁵ or μαλακία⁶ (I, 13, 12). In his writing, we can also encounter terms such as πάθος (I, 13, 8; I, 13, 10; I, 13, 12; I, 13, 17; III, 6, 12; VII, 18, 1) – translated as a pathological condition, affliction, trouble, passion, but also suffering, torment and death⁷ – and

52, 2006, p. 57–94; *Reconsidering Eusebius. Collected Papers and Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues*, ed. S. INOWLOCKI, C. ZAMAGNI, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= VC.S, 107], p. 69–86; *Eusebius of Caesarea. Tradition and Innovations*, ed. A. JOHNSON, J. SCHOTT, Washington 2013 [= HelS]; A.P. JOHNSON, *Eusebius*, New York 2014.

² DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Epistula festalis ad Hieracem*, [in:] EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 21, 9.

³ Mirko D. GRMEK (*Historia chorób u zarania cywilizacji zachodniej*, trans. A.B. MATUSIAK, Warszawa 2002, p. 54) linked this Greek term with Linear B.

⁴ Cf. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. LAMPE, Oxford 1961 (cetera: LAMPE), p. 922, s.v. νόσος; *Słownik grecko-polski*, vol. II, comp. O. JUREWICZ, Warszawa 2000 (cetera: JUREWICZ), p. 82, s.v. νόσος; cf. *Słownik grecko-polski*, vol. III, ed. Z. ABRAMOWICZÓWNA, Warszawa 1962, p. 216. Judyta IWAŃSKA (*Znaczenie terminu epidemia w starożytnej literaturze grecko-rzymskiej. Próba analizy na wybranych przykładach*, S.PN 35.4, 2014, p. 183) noted that *From Hippocrates until Ammian Marcellinus, the terms used to describe epidemic diseases in Greek were λοιμός and νόσος, with λοιμός being dominant*.

⁵ LAMPE, p. 243, s.v. ἀσθένεια; LSJ, p. 256, s.v. ἀσθένεια; JUREWICZ, vol. I, p. 116, s.v. ἀσθένεια.

⁶ LSJ, p. 1076, s.v. μαλακία; JUREWICZ, vol. II, p. 28, s.v. μαλακία.

⁷ LAMPE, p. 992–995, s.v. πάθος; JUREWICZ, vol. II, p. 136, s.v. πάθος.

νόσημα (I, 8, 9), referring to sickness, madness or misfortune⁸. At times, Eusebius reached for synonyms for the term disease in relation to the human body – διαφθορά meaning destruction, loss (VI, 4, 12), or ἀσθενής, translated as weak, powerless, sickly, lousy, and miserable⁹ (ἀσθενής τῷ σώματι – V, 1, 29). Interestingly, not once in the *History* did the term ἀρρωστία appear, which also means sickness and weakness¹⁰. In the sense of pestilence, in most cases, Eusebius used the term λοιμός (I, 2, 20; VII, 21, 9; VIII, 15, 2; IX, 8, 1; IX, 8, 3; IX, 8, 4; IX, 8, 12), already employed by Homer¹¹, which is usually translated as pestilence, plague, affliction, and scourge¹². In three instances, he utilized the verb λοιμώττω (II, 1, 2; IX, 8, 5; IX, 8, 11), which means to be afflicted by a plague¹³. Thus, to describe either disease or pestilence, Eusebius employed terms commonly known at the time, associated with misfortune, suffering or even annihilation and death, though clearly, he had his linguistic preferences.

Diseases of individuals

Diseases of the body

While mentioning diseases of various kinds, Eusebius rarely provided the names of the people affected. These included such figures as the legendary King Abgar of Edessa, King Herod of Judea, the rulers of the Roman Empire Galerius and Diocletian, the Church people Novatian, Origen, as well as a certain Abdos, son of Abdos¹⁴, and the old man Serapion¹⁵. Describing Abgar’s ailments, Eusebius only stated that the king suffered from a terrible disease, incurable by human means (πάθει τὸ σῶμα δεινῶ καὶ οὐ θεραπευτῶ ὅσον ἐπ’ ἀνθρωπείᾳ δυνάμει καταφθειρόμενος)¹⁶. On the other hand, the aforementioned Abdos, son of Abdos, was said to have been ill with gout (ποδάγγρα)¹⁷.

Of all the cases of illness, the historian devoted the most space to describing Herod’s maladies, quoting extensively from Flavius Josephus’ account¹⁸. The illness

⁸ LAMPE, p. 922, s.v. νόσημα; JUREWICZ, vol. II, p. 82, s.v. νόσημα.

⁹ LSJ, p. 256, s.v. ἀσθενής; JUREWICZ, vol. I, p. 116, s.v. ἀσθενής.

¹⁰ LSJ, p. 247, s.v. ἀρρωστία; JUREWICZ, vol. I, p. 112, s.v. ἀρρωστία.

¹¹ HOMER, *The Iliad*, I, 60, trans. A.T. MURRAY, London–Cambridge Mass. 1960.

¹² LSJ, p. 1060, s.v. λοιμός; JUREWICZ, vol. II, p. 19, s.v. λοιμός.

¹³ LSJ, p. 1060, s.v. λοιμώττω; JUREWICZ, vol. II, p. 19, s.v. λοιμώττω. See also: J. IWAŃSKA, *Znaczenie...*, p. 175–184.

¹⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 13, 18.

¹⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 44, 2–5.

¹⁶ A. PALMER, *The Place of King Abgar in the Scheme of Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History*, BAELAC 8, 1998, p. 17–19.

¹⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 13, 18.

¹⁸ IOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, XVII, 6, 5, ed. B. NIESE, [in:] *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, vol. I–IV, Berlin 1955 (cetera: IOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*); IOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *De bello Iudaico*, I, 33, 5, ed. B. NIESE, [in:] *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, vol. VI, Berlin 1955 (cetera: IOSEPHUS FLAVIUS,

of the Roman-appointed King of Judea reportedly engulfed his entire body and tormented him with various afflictions (ποικίλοις πάθεσιν). Eusebius cites that Herod was burned by a slow fire, consuming his ulcer-covered insides, which was accompanied by severe abdominal pains. In addition, we read that Herod suffered from terrible unsatisfied hunger. His lower abdomen and legs were affected by swelling, and maggots bred in the sores of his private parts. His breathing was labored, and he could not lie down due to shortness of breath. He had a fever, although it was not high. An unpleasant smell came from his mouth, and he suffered unbearable itching all over his skin¹⁹. As Eusebius emphasized, the disease led to his death²⁰.

Eusebius also devoted considerable attention to the illness of Emperor Galerius. According to the historian's account, this ruler's health problems began with gluttony, an affliction that had turned his body into a fatty lump even before he fell ill. The disease manifested with an ulcer that appeared suddenly inside his intimate parts, and, along with a suppurative fistula, wreaked incurable (ἀνίατος) havoc in his bowels. Countless worms crawled in his wounds, while a corpse-like fetor (θανατώδη τε ὀδμήν) wafted from them. In addition, according to Eusebius' account, the obese body consumed by the disease began to rot, which was a horrendous and unbearable sight for those nearby (ἀφόρητον καὶ φρικτοτάτην)²¹.

De bello Iudaico). See: J.W. VAN HENTEN, *Herod the Great in Josephus*, [in:] *A Companion to Josephus*, ed. H.H. CHAPMAN, Z. RODGERS, Chichester 2016, p. 235–246.

¹⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 8, 6–9. On Herod's illness see: J. MCSHERRY, *Worms, Diabetes and King Herod the Great*, JMB 5, 1997, p. 167–169; N. KOKKINOS, *Herod's Horrid Death*, BARev 43, 1998, p. 8–62; F.P. RETIEF, J.F.G. CILLIERS, *The Illnesses of Herod the Great*, ATHe 26.2 (sup. 7), 2006, p. 278–293; A. KASHER, E. WITZTUM, *King Herod: A Persecuted Persecutor. A Case Study in Psychohistory and Psychobiography*, Berlin 2007, p. 391–404; K. CZAJKOWSKI, B. ECKHARDT, *Herod and the Worms*, [in:] *Herod in History. Nicolaus of Damascus and the Augustan Context*, Oxford 2021, p. 165–174.

²⁰ On the date of Herod's death, see: T.D. BARNES, *The Date of Herod's Death*, JTS 19, 1968, p. 204–209.

²¹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, 16, 4–5. The most detailed account of Galerius' illness and death can be found in the work by LACTANTIUS (*De mortibus persecutorum*, XXXIII, 1–11, ed. J. MOREAU, Paris 1954, cetera: LACTANTIUS), who builds an image similar to the one presented by Eusebius. See: P. COOK, *Lactantius on the Death of Galerius: A Re-Reading of De Mortibus Persecutorum* 33, VC 73, 2019, p. 385–403. Galerius' illness was also mentioned in other sources: *Origo Constantini*, 3, vol. I, *Text und Kommentar*, ed. I. KÖNIG, Trier 1987; OROSE, *Histoires (Contre les Païens)*, VII, 28, 12–13, vol. III, ed., trans. M.-P. ARNAUD-LINDET, Paris 1991 [= CUF.SG, 297] (cetera: OROSIUS); *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum libri XIII–XVIII*, XII, 34, rec. T. BÜTTNER WOBST, BONNAE 1897 [= CSHB] (cetera: ZONARAS); AURELIUS VICTOR, *Liber de caesaribus*, 40, 9, rec. F. PICHLMAYER, R. GRÜNDER, Leipzig 1970 [= BSGR] (cetera: AURELIUS VICTOR); ZOSIME, *Histoire nouvelle*, II, 11, vol. I, ed., trans. F. PASCHOUD, Paris 1979 [= CUF] (cetera: ZOSIMOS). On Galerius' illness see: A.A. KOUSULIS, K. ECONOMOPOULOS, M. HATZINGER, A. ESHRAGHIAN, S. TSIODRAS, *The Fatal Disease of Emperor Galerius*, JACS 215, 2012, p. 890–893; R. SUSKI, *Galeriusz, cesarz, wódz, prześladowca*, Kraków 2016, p. 349–371.

Eusebius also included information about Emperor Diocletian, in which he pointed out that a long and very unpleasant illness or bodily impotence (μακρᾶ καὶ ἐπιλυποτάτη τῆ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεία) led to this ruler’s death (διεργασθεῖς)²². When introducing his readers to the figure of Origen, Eusebius drew attention to the weakness and decrepitude of the man’s torso or chest (διαφθορᾶς τοῦ θώρακος), which in the Polish translation of Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* was rendered as a stomach disease²³. Eusebius also cited a case of illness of an unnamed man whose body was unexpectedly covered with disease from head to toe²⁴. Furthermore, he mentioned a woman suffering from hemorrhage, who, according to the three Gospels, was healed by Christ²⁵. Describing the fate of Patiens, Bishop of Lyon, who was ninety years old at the time, Eusebius explained that the old man’s body was so weak that he could hardly breathe, but he was strengthened by the power of his spirit and animated by a desire for martyrdom. His body may have been broken by old age and disease, but his soul remained strong so Christ would triumph through it²⁶. When discussing Novatus²⁷, the historian wrote that the theologian’s case of severe illness (νόσος [...] χαλεπός) was spurred by satanic possession²⁸. This was undoubtedly a reference to a bodily illness, since later in his argument, Eusebius revealed that the sick man was bed-ridden and appeared to be close to dying.

Diseases of the mind

Eusebius also mentioned a particular illness, not a good omen (νόσον [...] οὐκ αἰσίας), which drove one of his contemporaries to lose his mind (καὶ τὰ τῆς διανοίας εἰς ἕκστασιν αὐτῷ παρήγητο). The context suggests that he was referring to Emperor Diocletian. He wrote about him as the first of the emperors, noting that as a result of the aforementioned illness, he retired to his ordinary, private life along with his co-emperor who was second in rank to him²⁹. Therefore, Eusebius meant Diocletian and Maximian³⁰. Interestingly, he attributed the disease only to Diocletian. Apparently, he recognized that Maximian, as a ruler of the second rank, had to submit to the will of the first *Augustus*. In the opinion of the Bishop of Caesarea, resigning from power as a result of this illness led to the split of the state into two

²² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, Addendum, 3.

²³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 4, 12.

²⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 9, 7.

²⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 18, 1; Mt 9: 20–22; Mc 5: 25–34; Lc 8: 43–48.

²⁶ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, V, 1, 29.

²⁷ Eusebius was referring to Novatian.

²⁸ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 43, 14.

²⁹ According to LACTANTIUS, XVIII, it was Galerius who forced Diocletian to abdicate. See on this subject: Ch.S. MACKAY, *Lactantius and the Succession to Diocletian*, CP 94.2, 1999, p. 198–209.

³⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, 13, 11.

parts, which Eusebius believed had never happened before. The information about Diocletian's mental illness was obtained by the Bishop of Caesarea from sources, one of which was Lactantius. According to the latter's account, the ruler suffered from some kind of illness for a whole year, which took a severe form and almost led to his death. When he regained consciousness, he went insane and his mind was failing³¹.

Diseases occurring *en masse*

Diseases of the body

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius of Caesarea pointed to the constant pestilences (λοιμός) that scourged humanity alongside famines or wars³². Continuous plagues (συνεχεῖς λοιμοί) tormenting people were also mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius³³. It should be emphasized that the Bishop of Caesarea provided only general statements about the plague without making references to the findings of Hippocrates³⁴ or Galen³⁵, that is, the medical knowledge of the time.

A specific case of the plague was one that struck Alexandria after the riots in that city during Macrian's usurpation between 260–261, and which is referred to in the literature as the "Plague of Cyprian"³⁶. According to Eusebius, the plague broke out before Easter (διαλαβούσης νόσου τῆς τε ἑορτῆς πλησιαζούσης)³⁷. Recent findings indicate that the wave of illness began in the winter months of 262/263³⁸. Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by the Bishop of Caesarea, wrote of the great sorrow in which the inhabitants were plunged; the city was drowning in tears while the

³¹ LACTANTIUS, XVII, 9: *demens enim factus est, ita ut certis horis insaniret, resipisceret*.

³² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 2, 20.

³³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 21, 9.

³⁴ HIPPOCRATES (*Epidemics*, 2, 4–7, ed., trans. W.D. SMITH, Cambridge 1994 [= LCL, 477]) distinguished between three basic types of pestilence: pandemic, epidemic, and lemodic. This division was known to AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, among others (*Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XIX, 4, 7, vol. I–II, ed. C.V. CLARK, Berlin 1910–1915, cetera: AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS).

³⁵ See: A. PACEWICZ, *Galen o naturze wiedzy medycznej*, SPhW 4.4, 2009, p. 119–125.

³⁶ Cyprian Bishop of Carthage described in detail the course of this epidemic in a treatise *De mortalitate* (rec. G. HARTEL, [in:] CSEL, vol. III.1, Vindobonae 1868, p. 295–314), and S.R. HUEBNER also mentioned it in the fifth chapter of the dissertation *The "Plague of Cyprian": A Revised View of the Origin and Spread of a 3rd-c. CE Pandemic*, JRA 34, 2021, p. 1–24; T. SKIBIŃSKI, M.P. KSIĄŻYK, *Po-stawa chrześcijan wobec Zarazy Cypriana w świetle źródeł epoki*, VP 78, 2021, p. 121–140.

³⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 1. According to Sabine R. HUEBNER (*The "Plague of Cyprian"...*, p. 5), the first wave of the pestilence in Alexandria at that time took place during the persecution of Christians during the reign of Emperor Valerian, that is, in 257–258.

³⁸ See: S.R. HUEBNER, *The "Plague of Cyprian"...*, p. 2–6.

groans of the moribund and their loved ones could be heard everywhere³⁹. The epidemic mentioned by Eusebius and Dionysius was not limited to Alexandria and was not short-lived. It spread to various parts of the Roman Empire and festered there with varying intensity for almost twenty years (from 251/252 to 270)⁴⁰, significantly weakening the Roman Empire. Information about it can be found in various sources. Aurelius Victor⁴¹, Eutropius⁴², Orosius⁴³, Zosimos⁴⁴, Zonaras⁴⁵ or Jordanes⁴⁶ wrote about it.

The next epidemic described by Eusebius occurred in 312. This time the historian reported a plague, preceded by famine, which vexed the inhabitants of the eastern part of *Imperium Romanum* during the reign of Maximinus Daza. The situation of the population was aggravated by another disease, anthrax, which the Bishop of Caesarea conveyed as ulcers with accompanying fever. The aforementioned ulcer would eat into a person's entire body and attack their eyes, causing a great many men, women and children to lose their sight⁴⁷. Famine took a deadly toll on the poorer classes at the time. The rich, including the authorities, military commanders and thousands of officials, had sufficient food supplies but perished – whole families at a time – due to the plague, which brought them sudden and violent death⁴⁸. *Lamentations were heard everywhere; in all the alleys, in all the squares and streets, all one could see were the wailing funeral processions with their customary howling of flutes and clamor*⁴⁹. Eusebius concluded that death warred with a double-edged weapon: *with pestilence and with hunger, and soon, it took entire families, as one witnessed two or three corpses carried in one procession*⁵⁰. Quoting Flavius Josephus⁵¹, Eusebius also mentioned the sick residents of Jerusalem who

³⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 2. Analyzing the source message, Kyle HARPER (*Pandemics and Passages to Late Antiquity: Rethinking the Plague of c. 249–270 described by Cyprian*, JRA 28, 2015, p. 246) ruled out a number of diseases, such as the bubonic plague, measles, anthrax, cholera, typhoid, smallpox, and initially, even influenza. However, in his subsequent work, he takes into account epidemic influenza or hemorrhagic fever: IDEM, *The Fate of Rome. Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire*, Princeton 2017, p. 141–144.

⁴⁰ According to S.R. HUEBNER (*The "Plague of Cyprian"...*, p. 6–13), the plague did not come to Egypt from the depths of Africa along the Nile, but was brought to the territory of the empire on the Danube by the Goths.

⁴¹ AURELIUS VICTOR, 30, 33.

⁴² EUTROPIUS, *Breviarium*, 9, 5, trans., comm. H. W. BIRD, Liverpool 1993.

⁴³ OROSIUS, VII, 21, 5.

⁴⁴ ZOSIMOS, I, 37, 3.

⁴⁵ ZONARAS, XII, 21.

⁴⁶ *Iordanis Getica*, 104, 106, [in:] MGH.AA, vol. V.1, ed. T. MOMMSEN, Berolini 1882.

⁴⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 1.

⁴⁸ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 11.

⁴⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 11.

⁵⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 12.

⁵¹ IOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *De bello Iudaico*, V, 13, 6.

did not have the strength to bury their loved ones during the siege of the city by Titus Flavius in the year 70⁵². The context suggests that this was a common occurrence. In this case, the illness resulted in a profound weakness of the sick.

Interestingly, in his *Ecclesiastical History* Eusebius did not write a single word⁵³ about one of the greatest epidemics in the history of the Roman Empire, which took place during the reign of Marcus Aurelius⁵⁴. By Galen, *pestis Antonini* was called the great plague⁵⁵, and by Ammian Marcellin the plague of primordial times (*labes primordialis*)⁵⁶. According to the latter historian, it possessed *the power of incurable diseases, and in the era of Verus and Marcus Antoninus it contaminated everything with a deadly disease, from the very Persian borders to the Rhine and Gaul*⁵⁷. It is unclear what disease ravaged the Roman Empire at the time – it may have been smallpox, spotted typhus or bubonic plague⁵⁸ – nor do we know how

⁵² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, III, 6, 12.

⁵³ This was observed by David J. DEVORE (*“The only event mightier than everyone’s hope”*: *Classical Historiography and Eusebius’ Plague Narrative*, H.On-L 14, 2020, p. 27), who, however, made no attempt to explain why this was the case.

⁵⁴ The aforementioned plague has a rich literature, see, e.g.: J.F. GILLIAM, *The Plague under Marcus Aurelius*, AJP 82.3, 1961, p. 225–251; R.J. LITTMAN, M.L. LITTMAN, *Galen and the Antonine Plague*, AJP 4.3, 1973, p. 243–255; R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Impact of the Antonine Plague*, JRA 9, 1996, p. 108–136; P. JANISZEWSKI, *Natura w służbie propagandy. Katakлизmy i rzadkie fenomeny w łacińskich brewiariach historycznych i w “Historia Augusta”*, [in:] *Chrześcijaństwo u schyłku starożytności. Studia źródłoznawcze*, vol. II, ed. T. DERDA, E. WIPSYZKA, Kraków 1999, p. 55–66; J.R. FEARS, *The Plague under Marcus Aurelius and the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, IDCNA 18, 2004 p. 65–77; Ch. BRUUN, *The Antonine Plague and the “Third-Century Crisis”*, [in:] *Crises and the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Seventh Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Nijmegen, June 20–24 2006)*, ed. O. HEKSTER, G. DE KLEIJN, D. SLOOTJES, Leiden–Boston 2007, p. 201–218; M. VLACH, *The Antonine Plague and Impact Possibilities during the Marcomannic Wars*, [in:] *Marcomannic Wars and Antonine Plague. Selected Essays on Two Disasters that shook the Roman World*, ed. M. ERDRICH, B. KOMORÓCZY, P. MADEJSKI, M. VLACH, Brno–Lublin 2020, p. 23–36; B. SITEK, *Pestis Antonini. Reakcja Marka Aureliusza na globalną starożytną epidemię*, TKPr 13.1, 2020, p. 389–399.

⁵⁵ See: R. FLEMMING, *Galen and the Plague*, [in:] *Galen’s Treatise Περὶ Ἀλμπίας (De indolentia) in Context. A Tale of Resilience*, ed. C. PETIT, Leiden 2019 [= SAM, 52], p. 219–244.

⁵⁶ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXIII 6, 24. The aforementioned disease was said to have been contracted by Roman troops after the capture of Seleucia in 165, when they ransacked a temple described by the historian as the temple of Apollo Comaeus and searched some kind of secret hiding place, hitherto inaccessible to the people.

⁵⁷ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXIII 6, 24. According to the findings by Richard P. DUNCAN-JONES (*The Antonine Plague Revisited*, Arc 52, 2018, p. 43), the aforementioned epidemic is captured in the sources in 165–192.

⁵⁸ J.F. GILLIAM, *The Plague under Marcus Aurelius...*, p. 225; R.J. LITTMAN, M.L. LITTMAN, *Galen and the Antonine Plague...*, p. 243–255; A.R. BIRLEY, *Marcus Aurelius. A Biography*, New York 2000, p. 49–50. Yan ZELENER (*Genetic Evidence, Density Dependence and Epidemiological Models of the Antonine Plague*, [in:] *L’Impatto della “peste antonina”*, ed. E. LO CASCIO, Bari 2012, p. 167–177) believe it was smallpox.

far-reaching the effects of the aforementioned plague were. Orosius wrote that it swept through all of Italy, whose cities and settlements became depopulated and decayed, becoming ruins overgrown with forests⁵⁹. Some researchers even believed that the epidemic situation at the time gradually led to the collapse of the Roman empire⁶⁰. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Eusebius of Caesarea did not know about it, and yet he omitted it altogether. It seems that he did so deliberately. For what reason? The answer must be sought by analyzing the causes of diseases as defined by Eusebius, which is done below.

Diseases of the mind

In his account, Eusebius writes that the followers of traditional cults charged Christians with a kind of mental illness. He quotes a decree from Emperor Maximinus placed on a stele in Tyre⁶¹, in which the ruler accused Christians of a disease of the soul gripped by harmful confusion and vain foolishness⁶², and which a little further is called a grave disease (ἡ νόσου βαρείας)⁶³. In his view, the followers of Christ had lost their reason, since those of them who departed from Christianity returned to a simple, proper and beautiful mind (ὀρθὴν καὶ καλλίστην διάνοιαν)⁶⁴. Naturally, Eusebius did not share this assessment and suggested the opposite. He wrote of people suffering from the disease of satanic polytheism⁶⁵, who recovered by professing faith in one God, the Creator of all things, *and they worshipped Him with the rite of true piety, flowing from the divine and rational religion* (σώφρονος θρησκείας)⁶⁶. If, therefore, Christianity was a rational religion, it means that the followers of traditional cults who fought against it acted irrationally: they were the ones who lost their reason, and thus fell *en masse* into a disease of the mind.

⁵⁹ OROSIUS, VII, 15, 5–6. According to Kyle HARPER (*The Fate of Rome...*, p. 115), during that epidemic the Roman Empire lost about 10% of its entire population, and according to Yan ZELNER (*Genetic evidence...*, p. 167–177) the losses were even higher, reaching 22–24%.

⁶⁰ Ch. BRUUN, *The Antonine Plague...*, p. 201–218; J.R. FEARS, *The Plague under Marcus...*, p. 65–77; W.V. HARRIS, *The Great Pestilence and the Complexities of the Antonine-Severan Economy*, [in:] *L'Impatto...*, p. 331–338.

⁶¹ According to Stephen MITCHELL (*Maximinus and the Christians in A.D. 312: A New Latin Inscription*, JRS 78, 1988, p. 114), this regulation was published before May–June 312. See also: F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.–A.D. 337)*, London 1977, p. 582; T.D. BARNES, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, London 1982, p. 68.

⁶² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 7, 9.

⁶³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 7, 11.

⁶⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 7, 11.

⁶⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, II, 3, 2.

⁶⁶ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, II, 3, 2.

Diseases of the soul

Eusebius described not only cases of illness of the body, but also of the soul. These included the long-standing sickness of superstition (παλαιᾶ νόσῳ), idolatry (δαισιδαμονίας) and satanic, filthy polytheism (δαιμονικῆς κατέπτουον πολυθεΐας)⁶⁷, which had shackled (πεπεδημένοι) the human souls. As I pointed out earlier, he referred to the aforementioned affliction also as a disease of the mind, but it was primarily a disease of the soul, considering the eschatological consequences of this disease for specific people. It affected the followers of polytheism, and thus a great number of people at the time.

The plague also served Eusebius to highlight the destruction caused by heretics in the Church. He wrote that they *creep into the Church insidiously* (μεθόδῳ) *like the plague* (λοιμός) *and scabies* (ψωραλέος), *and wreak great havoc among those whom they manage to poison with their hidden venom, so pernicious and terrible* (δυσσαθῆ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰόν)⁶⁸. Clearly, Eusebius was referring to a disease of the soul, similar in its contagiousness and insidiousness to the plague and scabies. Moreover, the aforementioned disease has disastrous consequences for man. It leads to havoc and fatal poisoning within him.

Causes of diseases

When reporting on individual sick people, Eusebius generally provided the causes of their suffering. In Herod's case, it was a punishment for the numerous crimes committed by the King of Judea. According to the Bishop of Caesarea, by God's will (θεήλατος) Herod was struck by the whip (μάστιξ), which led to his death⁶⁹. Eusebius also cited Flavius Josephus in this case. The latter, referring to the causes of Herod's suffering, cited the opinion of fortune-tellers and people able to predict events (ἐλέγετο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θειαζόντων καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προαποφθέγγεσθαι σοφία πρόκειται), who *said that God thus takes vengeance on the king for his many impious deeds*⁷⁰. In this case, Eusebius quoted the exact words of Flavius Josephus. In another place, however, when he made a reference to another work by the same historian, he slightly altered the message. In that text, Flavius Josephus also referred to the judgment of fortune-tellers, according to which Herod's illness was a punishment for the death of specific "learned men"⁷¹. However, in Eusebius'

⁶⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, II, 3, 2.

⁶⁸ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, II, 1, 12: μεθόδῳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λοιμώδους καὶ ψωραλέας νόσου δίκη ὑποδύμενοι, τὰ μέγιστα λυμαινόνται τοὺς οἷς ἐναπομάζασθαι οἰοί τε ἄν εἶεν τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον δυσσαθῆ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰόν.

⁶⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 8, 5.

⁷⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 8, 8: ἐλέγετο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θειαζόντων καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προαποφθέγγεσθαι σοφία πρόκειται, ποινήν τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ δυσσεβοῦς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς εἰσπράττεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Cf. IOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, XVII, 6, 5.

⁷¹ IOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *De bello Iudaico*, I, 33, 5.

account, the fortune-tellers made a general statement that the ruler of Judea suffered as punishment (ποινή), with no explicit mention of the sin⁷². Writing about Herod's death, the historian concluded that he suffered a just punishment for murdering the children in Bethlehem and attempting to take the Savior's life⁷³.

Similarly, Galerius was said to have been punished by God for persecuting Christians. As Eusebius argued, the punishment sent by God first affected the ruler's body and then penetrated his soul⁷⁴. However, when the emperor realized the cause of his suffering, he humbled himself before God, the Creator of all things, and gave orders to cease the persecution⁷⁵, which briefly alleviated his suffering before he died⁷⁶.

Eusebius was aware that the followers of traditional cults applied similar logic to that used by Christians. The historian illustrates it by quoting a decree from Emperor Maximinus, placed on a stele in Tyre. This time it was the pagans who saw Christians as the cause of their misfortunes. In the decree, the ruler first called the followers of Christ not so much godless as hapless people (τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὄσον τῶν ἀθλίων)⁷⁷; later, however, they are referred to a godless, vile or criminal people (τῶν ἀθεμίτων). As the emperor indicated, when they appeared in Tyre, the city's inhabitants turned to the ruler – according to the phrase used on the stele – to ask for a cure and help (ἰασίν τινα καὶ βοήθειαν ἀπαιτοῦσα)⁷⁸. Therefore, in their view, Christians were a kind of disease that required a cure, all the more dangerous because it could spread to others.

Similarly, the terrible illness of the aforementioned man whose body unexpectedly got covered with disease from head to toe was presented as God's punishment, this time for perjury. In Eusebius' view, the culprit brought it upon himself by taking a false oath and swearing that his body ought to be consumed by a terrible disease if he was not telling the truth⁷⁹.

Eusebius of Caesarea also pointed to the plague as one type of punishment God inflicted upon entire communities for the evils they committed. He believed that the vigilant God was punishing mankind with *floods and fires enveloping the whole earth like a primeval forest*. He sent upon it incessant famines, wars and thunderbolts, as well as pestilences (λοιμός). He subjected people to constant floggings to impede *the development of a dangerous and very severe disease of the soul*⁸⁰.

⁷² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 8, 9.

⁷³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 8, 16.

⁷⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, 17, 3: μέτεισιν δ' οὖν αὐτὸν θεήλατος κόλασις, ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτοῦ καταρξαμένη σαρκός καὶ μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς προελθοῦσα.

⁷⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, 17, 1.

⁷⁶ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, Addendum, 1.

⁷⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 7, 3.

⁷⁸ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 7, 6.

⁷⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 9, 5–7.

⁸⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 2, 20.

For Eusebius, therefore, an illness of the soul was far more dangerous than an illness of the body for it led to eternal annihilation.

Eusebius argued that it was with famine and pestilence⁸¹ that God punished the Romans for the transgressions and persecution of Christians by Maximinus Daza⁸². However, this was not solely a punishment, but also an intervention by God, the Defender of the Church, on behalf of His flock. In Eusebius' opinion, He rushed from the heavens to aid the Christians⁸³, sending an unexpected famine, along with a plague and yet another disease, aforementioned anthrax which led to blindness⁸⁴. Furthermore, the plagues sent by God tested the veracity of religion. According to Eusebius, Maximinus – whom he described as a tyrant – boasted *that thanks to his zeal in serving idols and the persecution of Christians there were no famine, pestilence or war during his reign*, and as if in spite of his words, all these calamities befell the empire both suddenly and at once, *humiliating the tyrant's insolent pride before God*, while foreshadowing his ultimate downfall⁸⁵.

Eusebius was aware that illness was coupled with old age, which he noted when mentioning the ninety-year-old Patiens, Bishop of Lyon⁸⁶. In Eusebius' view, Origen's weakness and the deterioration of his torso or chest was the result of the austere lifestyle he had led, fasting, walking barefoot for long years, and abstaining even longer from wine and anything else that was not essential to keep him alive⁸⁷. Eusebius also realized that the source of the disease ravaging the inhabitants of besieged Jerusalem was hunger⁸⁸.

Eusebius believed that the diseases of the soul bound by superstition, idolatry and satanic polytheism, were caused by the cultivation of ancestral legacy (προγόνων διαδοχής) and old mistakes (τῆς ἀνέκαθεν πλάνης)⁸⁹. According to the historian, at the root of the severe illness that befell Novatian (to whom

⁸¹ In Eusebius' account, pestilence often accompanied war, and was preceded by, or at least co-occurred with, famine (EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, 15, 2). Paweł JANISZEWSKI (*Żywioły w służbie propagandy, czyli po czyjej stronie stoi Bóg. Studium kłęsk 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. 31) pointed out that war, famine and pestilence have excellent Biblical as well as classical references.

⁸² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 1. The disease struck both the dwellers of the cities, where people died by the thousands, but also the residents of villages and settlements, where the mortality rate was even higher and led to their depopulation; see: EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 4–5.

⁸³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 7, 16: τῆς ἰδίας ἐκκλησίας ὑπέρμαχος θεὸς μόνον οὐχὶ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστομίζων μεγαλαυχίαν, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐράνιον συμμαχίαν ἐπεδείκνυτο. Paweł JANISZEWSKI (*Żywioły w służbie propagandy...*, p. 30–36) rightly emphasizes the propagandistic nature of Eusebius' argument on the subject.

⁸⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 1.

⁸⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 3.

⁸⁶ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, V, 1, 29.

⁸⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 4, 12.

⁸⁸ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, III, 6, 1–28.

⁸⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, II, 3, 2.

Eusebius referred to as Novatus) was satanic possession⁹⁰. Similarly, in Eusebius' view, before the coming of Christ, the entire human race (τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος) had suffered *from the madness of sinister demons* (σκότῳ βαθεῖ δαιμόνων ἀλιτηρίων πλάνῃ), who turned all their deadly power against people and made them succumb to a dark night and deep darkness⁹¹. These demons infected souls with a terrible, lethal poison (τοῖς ἰώδεσι καὶ ψυχοφθόροις δηλητηρίοις), and led them to demise with *these murderous sacrifices offered to dead idols* (μόνον οὐχὶ νεκροῦντος ταῖς τῶν νεκρῶν εἰδώλων νεκροποιοῖς θυσίαις)⁹².

The Bishop of Caesarea may have also recognized the natural sources of disease, since he cited a letter from Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, written after the riots taking place in that city during Macrian's usurpation. In the letter, Dionysius pointed to the numerous killings committed at the time. The bloodshed turned the hitherto peaceful ports of the city into the Red Sea⁹³. He wrote about the fetor rising from decomposing bodies and how everything was steeped in a sea of bitterness⁹⁴. He was puzzled why *people still wonder and do not know where these incessant pestilences and these terrible diseases come from, what caused the frequent deaths, and such a varied and great mortality rate*⁹⁵. It seems Dionysius saw the cause of these misfortunes in the harmful vapors, which hovered everywhere and made the air heavy. They were exacerbated by fumes coming from the ground and brought by winds from the sea or river. According to Dionysius, compared to these vapors, *the fetor of decomposing corpses was refreshing dew*⁹⁶.

There is no doubt, however, that Dionysius also interpreted these illnesses as a punishment sent by God and the imminent end of the world, which was met with obliviousness. He lamented, *And although people witness the human race diminishing and depleting on earth with each passing day, they do not tremble at the thought of the approaching final doom*⁹⁷.

Eusebius also seems to be aware that the reason why certain diseases spread was their contagiousness. Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by him, drew attention to the fearful reaction of those around the ill during the plague. The sick were spurned and abandoned by their loved ones. Therefore, person-to-person transmission and infection through contact with the sick were known factors. The dying were thrown into the street and left unburied after death. However, as Dionysius pointed out, the extreme caution was of little use, because death was taking a heavy toll anyway⁹⁸.

⁹⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 43, 14.

⁹¹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, X, 4, 13.

⁹² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, X, 4, 14.

⁹³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 21, 4.

⁹⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 21, 7–8.

⁹⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 21, 9.

⁹⁶ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 21, 8.

⁹⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 21, 10.

⁹⁸ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 10.

In the context of what Eusebius wrote about the causes of diseases – especially those affecting people *en masse* – in which he saw God punishing people for various transgressions, one can be tempted to answer the question why the historian's account omitted the plague that was rampant when Marcus Aurelius was the emperor. Undoubtedly, the key to understanding the decision of the Bishop of Caesarea is the information he includes in his *Ecclesiastical History* on the reign of Marcus Aurelius. First, in Book IV, he quotes a letter from the ruler addressed to the Asiatic Union, in which the emperor orders that complaints denouncing Christians be dismissed and informers be punished⁹⁹. Furthermore, in Book V, he wrote about the miracle of a storm (σκηπτός) and heavy rain (ὄμβρος), which came as a result of the prayers of Christians who were in the imperial army and which saved Marcus Aurelius' soldiers in a clash with the Germanic and Sarmatian peoples¹⁰⁰. Eusebius referred in his account to the message of traditional¹⁰¹ and Christian¹⁰² believers, aware of the different interpretations of the event – *interpretatio pagana* and *interpretatio christiana*. For Eusebius, a credible witness to the documented events was Tertullian, who mentioned the letters of Marcus Aurelius, in which the emperor affirmed that when his army was perishing in Germania for lack of water, it was saved by the prayers of Christians. As a token of gratitude, the emperor reportedly announced that all those who would disturb the Christians by lodging complaints against them would face death¹⁰³. In this context, the account of the plague devastating the empire would be in conflict with Eusebius' interpretation of pestilence in *Ecclesiastical History*, where it was presented as God's intervention in history, His way of punishing and educating humanity. If Marcus Aurelius favored Christians, and this was proven by the "miracle of rain" mentioned by Eusebius, then God could not have punished the ruler or his subjects. This clearly illustrates that Eusebius' goal was not to faithfully reconstruct history, but to convince the reader of God's alliance with mankind, a heavenly symmachia (οὐράνιον συμμαχίαν)¹⁰⁴ that would lead mankind to salvation by carrying out the plan of Divine Providence¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IV, 13, 1–7.

¹⁰⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, V, 5, 1–2. See on this topic: M. ZIÓŁKOWSKI, "Cud deszczu" i chrześcijaństwo, AUNC.H 27, 1992, p. 89–95; P. JANISZEWSKI, *Żywioty w służbie propagandy...*, p. 20–21; P. KOVÁCS, *Marcus Aurelius' Rain Miracle and the Marcomannic Wars*, Leiden 2008.

¹⁰¹ While he did not mention any of the pagan writers, we know that the following authors wrote about these events: CASSIUS DIO, *Historia Romana*, LXXI, 8–10, ed. U.Ph. BOISSEVAIN, Berlin 1931; *Histoire Auguste. Les empereurs romains des II^e et III^e siècles*, XXIV, 4, ed. A. CHASTAGNOL, Paris 1994.

¹⁰² EUSEBIUS (V, 5, 4) referred to the unpreserved account of Apollinaris of Hierapolis and Tertullian.

¹⁰³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, V, 5, 5–6; TERTULLIANUS, *Apologeticum*, V, 6, ed. E. DEKKERS, Turnholti 1954.

¹⁰⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 7, 16.

¹⁰⁵ See: P. JANISZEWSKI, *Żywioty w służbie propagandy...*, p. 36–37.

Treatment

In his Church history, Eusebius of Caesarea also mentioned the treatment of diseases. In the case of Herod – this time relying on the message of Flavius Josephus – he emphasized that Herod fought his illness. As the Bishop of Caesarea wrote, the sick person wanted to live and braved the terrible suffering; he did not lose hope of being cured and sought treatment options (σωτηρίαν τε ἠλιζεν καὶ θεραπείας ἐπενόει)¹⁰⁶. To this end, he had himself transported beyond Jordan to the warm springs of Kalliroe to take baths there. However, the doctors decided that the ruler’s body must first be warmed up with oil, and for this purpose, it was immersed in a tub filled with olive oil. However, when he fainted during this bath, he finally lost all hope of recovery.

The aforementioned Emperor Galerius also sought help from doctors. As Eusebius’ message may suggest, some physicians would not undertake a treatment that was doomed to failure. The bishop classified them as those who could not endure the overwhelming odor. However, others made an attempt, but without success. Both were executed. The historian was deeply convinced, however, there was no hope of saving the emperor¹⁰⁷.

Eusebius explained after Philo¹⁰⁸ the origin of the name therapists¹⁰⁹ – the ascetics who had been living in Alexandria when the church community started to form there¹¹⁰. He indicated that, just like doctors, they freed a person from evil passions (κακίας παθῶν), soothed and healed the souls of people who sought their help¹¹¹. It is irrelevant to our considerations whether these ascetics really performed these actions. What matters is how Eusebius, citing Philo, perceived the activities of doctors, whose jobs involved not only taking care of the body, but also healing the spirit of damaged people, thus fulfilling the role of today’s psychologists or even

¹⁰⁶ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 8, 10.

¹⁰⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, 17, 5.

¹⁰⁸ PHILO ALEXANDRINUS, *De vita contemplativa*, praef. F. DAUMAS, trans. P. MIQUEL, Paris 1963 [= OPhA, 29].

¹⁰⁹ J.E. TYLOR, *The So-Called Therapeutae of De vita Contemplativa: Identity and Character*, HTR 91, 1998, p. 3–24; D.M. HAY, *Foils for the Therapeutae: References to Other Texts and Persons in Philo’s Vita Contemplativa*, [in:] *Neotestamentica et Philonica. Studies in Honor of Peder Borgen*, ed. D.E. AUNE, T. SELAND, J.H. ULRICHSEN, Leiden–Boston 2003 [= NT.S, 106], p. 330–348; C. DEUTSCH, *The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual and Mystical Experience*, [in:] *Paradise Now. Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, ed. A. DE DECONICK, Atlanta 2006, p. 287–310; W. BIEDROŃ, *Społeczność terapeutów i esenicyzmy (II w. p.n.e. – I w. n.e.)*, Warszawa 2013; L. MISIARCZYK, *Terapeuci – Żydowski prekursorzy monastycyzmu chrześcijańskiego w De vita contemplativa Filona z Aleksandrii*, VP 70, 2018, p. 9–23.

¹¹⁰ EUSEBIUS (II, 17, 4; II, 17, 24) saw the therapists as a Judeo-Christian community, and this view persisted into the 18th century. See on this subject: L. MISIARCZYK, *Terapeuci...*, p. 15–16.

¹¹¹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, II, 17, 3.

psychotherapists. Furthermore, Eusebius made an interesting mention of Luke the Evangelist. The historian emphasized that Luke was a doctor by profession (τὴν ἐπιστήμην δὲ ἰατρός), but it was from the apostles that he learned to heal souls (ψυχῶν θεραπευτικῆς)¹¹². The Bishops of Laodicea, Eusebius of Alexandria and Theodotus, were likened to doctors by Eusebius. The former, while still a resident of Alexandria, had enjoyed a great reputation. During the riots in Alexandria, when the district of Brucheion was besieged by Roman troops, he looked after the people who had managed to escape from the surrounded part of the city, being like a father and a doctor to them. Thanks to his compassionate and tender care, those exhausted by the siege restored their strength¹¹³. One of his successors, Theodotus, was proficient in the art in healing the human body, and no man surpassed his ability to heal the soul¹¹⁴.

Describing the fear of contact with sick people abandoned by their relatives during a pestilence¹¹⁵, the aforementioned Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius, indirectly points to the awareness that diseases were transmitted via human-to-human contact, and reveals the conviction that isolation from the ill was the only effective measure in the fight against the plague.

Eusebius viewed Christ to be the best doctor; the historian emphasized His sacrifice that was in line with the characteristics of Hippocrates¹¹⁶, according to which the doctor who tries to heal the sick, *looks at pain, touches what is repulsive, and compiles his own suffering from other people's ailments*¹¹⁷. Origen, who was close to Eusebius, also referred to this fragment from the work of Hippocrates¹¹⁸. The Bishop of Caesarea expressed his deep faith in Christ the Savior, stressing that *He saved us, who were not only sick, not only covered with terrible ulcers and full of boiling wounds, but even lay among the dead*¹¹⁹. The historian believed He was the Creator of life, the Giver of light, the great Physician and King, the Lord, and God's Anointed One¹²⁰; according to the author of the *History*, Christ cured all diseases (τὸν ἰόμενον πάσας τὰς νόσους)¹²¹.

Eusebius argued that the news of Christ's miraculous power had spread all over the world during the Savior's lifetime, and drew thousands of people to Judea, even from the most remote areas. He provided the above-mentioned Abgar of Edessa

¹¹² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, III, 4, 6.

¹¹³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 32, 11.

¹¹⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 32, 23: ἰατρικῆς μὲν γὰρ σωμάτων ἀπεφέρετο τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ψυχῶν δὲ θεραπευτικῆς οἶος οὐδὲ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ἐτύγχανεν.

¹¹⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 10.

¹¹⁶ HIPPOCRATES, *De natura hominis*, 1, ed. J. JOUANNA, Berlin 2002.

¹¹⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, X, 4, 11.

¹¹⁸ ORIGÈNE, *Contre Celse*, IV, 15, vol. II (*Livres III et IV*), ed., praef. M. BORRET, Paris 1968 [= SC, 136].

¹¹⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, X, 4, 11.

¹²⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, X, 4, 12.

¹²¹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, X, 4, 71.

as an example¹²². In Abgar's letter to Jesus, quoted by Eusebius, it is emphasized that Christ restored health without medicines and herbs (ἀνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν)¹²³. It is also pointed out that thanks to Jesus, the blind see, the lame walk, and the lepers recover. Additionally, the author of the letter was convinced that Christ's power cast out unclean spirits and demons, healed those who were tormented by chronic illness, and even raised the dead¹²⁴. In Eusebius' account, Jesus promised Abgar to send one of his disciples to heal him. The Syriac text translated by Eusebius shows that after the Ascension of the Savior, Jude (known as Thomas) sent Thaddeus, one of the seventy disciples of Christ, to Edessa. There, Thaddeus reportedly used God's power to heal every disease and infirmity (ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν)¹²⁵. And when he laid his hand on Abgar in the name of Jesus Christ, the king was immediately cured of his sickness and suffering (ἐθεραπεύθη τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πάθους)¹²⁶, which amazed him, all the more so because the healing was accomplished without medicine or herbs¹²⁷. The aforementioned Abdos, son of Abdos, was also said to have been healed of gout¹²⁸. Referring to the healings performed by Christ, Eusebius mentioned a woman suffering from a hemorrhage. According to tradition, she came from Paneada, and in front of her house stood a monument with an unknown climbing plant symbolizing a cure for all diseases¹²⁹. As Eusebius emphasized, the power of Christ was medicine for people whose souls suffered from the disease of superstition and idolatry. Thanks to the teachings and miracles of the Savior's disciples, they were freed from the shackles of satanic polytheism¹³⁰.

Attitude towards the disease

Eusebius' account shows that sick people could count on special treatment. The sick nearing death received the grace of accelerated baptism in bed by dousing¹³¹. Furthermore, someone who sinned could be absolved during the last

¹²² A. PALMER, *The Place of King Abgar...*, p. 17–19; M. TYCNER-WOLICKA, *Opowieść o wizerunku z Edessy. Cesarz Konstantyn Porfirogeneta i nieuczyniony ręką wizerunek Chrystusa*, Kraków 2009, p. 99–117.

¹²³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 13, 6.

¹²⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 13, 6: ὡς γὰρ λόγος, τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χολοὺς περιπατεῖν, καὶ λεπρῶς καθαρῖζεις, καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλεις, καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις, καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις.

¹²⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 13, 12.

¹²⁶ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 13, 17.

¹²⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 13, 18.

¹²⁸ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 13, 18.

¹²⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 18, 2.

¹³⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, II, 3, 2.

¹³¹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 43, 14.

stage of their fatal disease. Such was the case of Serapion, a faithful old man who lived irreproachably for a long time, but made a sacrifice during the persecution of Christians. He was not offered holy communion until he fell ill, and after being unconscious for three days, he insisted on absolution¹³². A disease also exempted a person from the need to fulfill one's duties as exemplified by a sick presbyter who would not visit a dying man. Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by Eusebius, justified the ill priest with the comment *therefore, he could not go*.

In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius used the aforementioned extensive fragment of a letter from Dionysius of Alexandria, in which the latter made interesting observations about the different experiences of the plague in Christian and pagan communities¹³³. First, both groups had to endure the suffering caused by the war and the accompanying hunger¹³⁴. Then they both struggled with the plague. It did not spare Christians, but for pagans, it turned out to be more terrible than any other misfortune they might have feared. According to Dionysius, for Christians the plague (νόσος) was *a school and a test not worse than others*¹³⁵, and this stemmed from their attitude towards other people. Dionysius stressed that for the most part,

motivated by love and brotherly kindness, they did not spare themselves and lived for one another, visited the sick without regard for anything, served them without respite, nurtured them in Christ and gave their lives with great joy. They caught disease a from others, contracted plague from their brothers, and willingly took their pains upon themselves. And there were many who nurtured and strengthened others and died doing so, bringing death upon themselves¹³⁶.

Thus, according to the Bishop of Alexandria, Christians attended to the sick, not only risking contracting the disease, but they took their suffering upon themselves with joy and, with even greater joy, they gave their lives. They let go of the usual human fear of disease and death, which outside observers must have perceived as an aberration. On the other hand, for Dionysius, the behavior of Christians was completely understandable, since they looked after the sick "in Christ", and therefore, in their actions they were guided by faith, entrusting everything to Christ and probably expecting an eternal reward in heaven. It is noteworthy, however, that at the beginning of his argument Dionysius used the phrase *for the*

¹³² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VI, 44, 2–5.

¹³³ David J. DEVORE (*"The only event mightier..."*, p. 27) observed that Eusebius' quotation of Dionysius' letters on the Plague of Cyprian gave the historian the opportunity to apply toposes from classical historiography which highlighted the contrast between Christians and non-Christians.

¹³⁴ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 5. Famine very often accompanied the war, see: EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VIII, 15, 2.

¹³⁵ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 6.

¹³⁶ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 7. See also: T. SKIBIŃSKI, M.P. KSIĄŻYK, *Postawa chrześcijan...*, p. 121–140.

*most part, our brothers...*¹³⁷, which proves that the attitude described above was not represented by all the followers of Christ. Some unspecified minority did not manage to overcome their fears.

Dionysius recapitulated his argument with the following statement: *The best of our brothers, a number of presbyters, deacons and lay people, ended their lives in this way, and are much admired, as such a death being the fruit of great piety and strong faith is in no way inferior to martyrdom.* Thus, the Bishop of Alexandria compared Christians caring for the sick and consciously giving their lives for this cause to martyrs, hence, he too had no doubts about their eternal salvation. He considered them to be the best of Christians, but also emphasized their considerable number¹³⁸. However, the quoted letter of Dionysius suggests that some Christians even sought martyrdom, as it was sometimes the case with “blood” martyrs. Dionysius wrote:

they took the bodies of the saints in their arms and pressed them against their chests, closed their eyes and mouths, carried them on their shoulders, arranged them, hugged them, embraced them, washed them and dressed them in fine robes, and soon they underwent the same treatments, for those who stayed behind followed those who overtook them¹³⁹.

It appears that these brothers did more than the duty towards the dead required of them, not only ignoring the fact that they could contract a disease, but even desiring sickness and death.

Further in his letter, Dionysius describes the different attitude of pagans to the sick.

With pagans, it was quite different. Those who fell ill were rejected and abandoned by their relatives. They put the dying into the street and left the bodies unburied. They avoided contact with death and its proximity, but despite all precautions, it was not easy to escape it¹⁴⁰.

In the opinion of the Bishop of Alexandria, the fear of contracting a disease and, consequently, possible death, was so great among the pagans that it ruined relations between people close to each other, and as a result, the sick were alone in their suffering, died in the streets, and their bodies were left without burial. Therefore, the differences in attitudes between Christians and pagans were the result of disparate approaches to suffering and death. For Christians, these were a gateway to eternal life and true happiness, while pagans generally attached their hopes to temporal life.

¹³⁷ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 7: οἱ γοῦν πλείστοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν.

¹³⁸ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 8: πρεσβύτεροι τέ τινες καὶ διάκονοι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ.

¹³⁹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 9.

¹⁴⁰ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, VII, 22, 10.

Eusebius continued on this subject later in his *Church History*, while discussing the plague during the reign of Maximinus Daza. He stressed that in this difficult time only Christians *demonstrated with their actions the compassion and love they had for their brothers* and they did so to all those in need and were ready for any service¹⁴¹. And according to Eusebius, the group who was left to fend for themselves in their misfortune and required help was enormous. Christians took care of the dying by providing them with burial, and distributed bread to the starving and the exhausted. The Bishop of Caesarea stated: *When these deeds became known to the general public, all worshiped the God of Christians and recognized that only they were truly pious and godly, as they had proved it with their actions*¹⁴².

Summary

Eusebius of Caesarea did not put diseases at the center of his introduction to *Church History*¹⁴³. He used them instrumentally to promote his theses. Therefore, he neither referred to the medical knowledge of that time nor did he conduct their scientific classification or description. Nevertheless, Eusebius' account contains observations about the sick and their afflictions. The Bishop of Caesarea clearly distinguished between diseases suffered by individuals and those that plagued the masses. In addition, they can be divided into diseases of the body, diseases of the mind, and diseases of the soul. In the historian's account, the first type was associated with physical ailments and suffering that often led to death. Eusebius presented the maladies, sometimes in detail, not to prove how reliable he was as a researcher, but to illustrate how immense the suffering of the sick was. This stemmed from the belief held by Eusebius that diseases affecting individuals or entire communities were generally punishment for specific offenses. However, it should also be remembered that illness as an expression or manifestation of "God's punishment" for committed sins, crimes, etc., is one of the age-old literary toposes. As for Christians, a disease allowed them to share in Christ's martyrdom and His plan of salvation. The Bishop of Caesarea, therefore, included in his message only the diseases that fit his concept of history. He ignored those which contradicted the pattern, as was the case with the epidemic from the time of Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius treated disease as a tool in God's hands, with the help of which He intervened in history for the benefit of Christians. It should be emphasized once again that the aim of Eusebius was not to faithfully reconstruct history, but to convince the reader of the plan of divine Providence based on God's alliance with people, a heavenly *symmachia* that would lead humanity to salvation. It is noteworthy that the Bishop of Caesarea mentioned only two specific diseases

¹⁴¹ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 14.

¹⁴² EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, IX, 8, 13–14.

¹⁴³ EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, I, 1–2.

in his work: scabies and gout. Eusebius also noted diseases of the mind, though he offered only two examples. One was Diocletian, who resigned from power, which resulted in a split of the empire, and the other one were the followers of traditional cults who, in his deep belief, were controlled by demons and acted irrationally. Finally, in his narrative, Eusebius wrote about the diseases of human souls. At the same time, he emphasized that the disease of the soul was much more dangerous than the disease of the body, as the latter led to an earthly death while the former resulted in eternal annihilation. According to Eusebius, the source of illness, both in body and soul, could also be Satan. It appears that the Bishop of Caesarea was aware of the natural causes of disease, such as noxious environment, hunger, or contagiousness, which was evident in the texts he quoted or in his own reflection. However, he treated them as secondary to God's will. The plague was also used by the Bishop of Caesarea to show different attitudes towards death resulting from the contrasting worldviews of Christians and pagans. Additionally, Eusebius devoted some attention to the patients' hope for recovery. He generally mentioned doctors, medicines, herbs, and baths in the warm springs of Kalliroe or in olive oil. The text of the Bishop of Caesarea suggests that doctors were involved not only in restoring the health of the body, but also in freeing people from evil passions or soothing and healing their spirits. Furthermore, they fulfilled the role of today's psychologists or even psychotherapists. For Eusebius, the best physician of the body and soul was Jesus Christ, who, with his miraculous power, healed all diseases, expelled unclean spirits and demons, and even raised the dead.

Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi

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THE PORTRAYAL OF ABBASID RULERS IN *CHRONOGRAPHY* OF THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR

Abstract. This text supplements another, a paper presented a decade ago on the portrayal of Umayyad rulers in *Chronography* of Theophanes the Confessor (B. Cecota, *Islam, the Arabs and Umayyad Rulers according to Theophanes the Confessor's Chronography*, “Studia Ceranea” 2, 2012, p. 97–111). I am limiting myself here to discussing only those source remarks which directly concern one of the Abbasid Caliphs, or alternatively, to narratives structured in such a manner that they implied certain traits of a ruler. General remarks concerning the portrayal of the entire dynasty have been included, both in the main text and in the footnotes, only where this was necessary for the understanding of the context in which the Caliphs’ descriptions appear.

Keywords: Abbasid, Byzantine historiography, Theophanes the Confessor, Byzantine-Arabic relations, Caliphate

It should be noted at the outset that the passages devoted to the history of the seizing of power by the Abbasids, as presented in the *Chronography*, allow us to arrive at two key conclusions. First, the very legitimacy of the new dynasty was not particularly firm, as the author presented its members as refugees, taking shelter in a desert (AM 6240)¹ and who used others to achieve their goals – as exemplified in particular by Abu Muslim, who did not take any real personal risks². The sons of Echim and Alim³, meaning Hashemites and Alids, have been described as being related to Muhammad, but the author did not consider their family ties to the Prophet as providing a stronger mandate than that of the Umayyads, whom he moreover presented as direct successors to the founder of the new

¹ *Theophanis Chronographia*, AM 6240, ed. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 424.19–20. The reference to the southern border of Syria, where the center of the Abbasid dynasty, Humayma, was located, allows us to suppose that Theophanes did not pick his information from the sources favourable to the new dynasty, as its historiography generally ignored the connections of the house of ‘Abbas with this region: P.M. COBB, *Community versus Contention: Ibn ‘Asākir and ‘Ab-bāsid Syria*, [in:] *Ibn ‘Asākir and Early Islamic History*, ed. J.E. LINDSAYS, Princeton 2001, p. 100–126.

² THEOPHANES, AM 6240, p. 424.20–23.

³ THEOPHANES, AM 6240, p. 424.18.

religion, and emphasised that ancestors of Marwan II had ruled from the time of Muhammad himself⁴. Let us add here that this was not consistent with the historical truth, of course because of the Righteous Caliphs, among whom (beside one of the members of the Umayyad dynasty) was also the progenitor of the above-mentioned Alids.

The second conclusion is that the leadership of the new dynasty had become more fractured: starting with the person who initiated the uprising – Ibrahim al-Imam ibn Muhammad, the brother of As-Saffah and Al-Mansur, and who ultimately did not take power, to the (very clearly emphasised by Theophanes) subsequent division of the state into near-independent domains. In relating the events of AM 6241, the Byzantine historian mentioned that Abdel the son of Alim (Abd Allah ad-Jafar) received Syria, Salim son of Alim (Salih ibn Ali) – Egypt, and Abdel, the brother of Abul ‘Abbas (As-Saffah) – Mesopotamia. The latter, according to *Chronography*, became the supreme ruler, and established his seat of power in Persia, having appropriated – along with his Persian allies⁵, as was strongly emphasised – the treasures taken from the Umayyads.

⁴ THEOPHANES, AM 6240, p. 424.13–14. The mention of Alids alongside Hashemites by Theophanes need not be incidental. Research into the propagandist versions of the narratives presented by the new dynasty shows that the Abbasids did also refer to their Alid heritage, emphasising only that it was thanks to the activity of the house of ‘Abbas (with the passivity of the house of Ali) the Caliphate returned to *ahl al-bayt* – the Prophet’s family: E.L. DANIEL, *The Anonymous “History of the Abbasid Family” and its Place in Islamic Historiography*, IJMES 14.4, 1982, p. 419–434. Descendants of Ali (more specifically – of Husayn) had, according to some scholars, during the war between the Umayyads and Abbasids considerable chances to create their own bid for power, and posed a danger to both of these dynasties. After all, some of the insurgent units have come together under the slogans of restoring the Caliph’s power to the Prophet’s family; at the same time the need for new *shura* was raised: P. CRONE, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, Edinburgh 2005, p. 87–98. The Alids have lost this chance because of their passive attitude: F. OMAR, *Some Aspects of the Abbāsīd-Husaynīd Relations during the Early ‘Abbāsīd Period 132–193 A.H./750–809 A.D.*, Ara 22.2, 1975, p. 170–179.

⁵ These, in particular in the context of the important role of the Persian element which was deprived of significance by the Umayyads, was highlighted in the earlier literature on the subject of the Abbasid uprising: J. WELLHAUSEN, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1960, p. 247–305; G. VAN VLOTEN, *Zur Abbasidengeschichte*, ZDMG 52, 1898, p. 218–226; IDEM, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le Khalifat des Omayyade*, Amsterdam 1894, p. 12. Currently, following the research achievements of the seventies and eighties of the past century, the attention is rather on the contribution of the Arab tribes settled in Khorasan, of which it would be difficult to say that they had been excluded: M. SHARON, *Black Banners from the East. The Establishment of the ‘Abbāsīd State. Incubation of a Revolt*, Jerusalem–Leiden 1983; J. LASSNER, *The Shaping of ‘Abbasid Rule*, Princeton 1980 [= PSNE, 5102]; M.A. SHABAN, *The Abbasid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970; F. OMAR, *The Abbasid Caliphate, 132/750–170/786*, Baghdad 1969. Cf. also the discussion on the Abbasid way of winning over the dissatisfied members of particular Arab tribes, who were often instrumentally used and subsequently eliminated: Kh.Y. BLANKINSHIP, *The Tribal Factor in the Abbasid Revolution: The Betrayal of the Imam Ibrahim B. Muhammad*, JAOS 108.4, 1988, p. 589–603.

This reference to the Persian connections of the new Caliph gains significance in the context of the later remarks regarding the rebellion of the Arab tribes against the Abbasids, e.g. in AM 6242, when a Qays⁶ uprising was quelled by a Persian contingent⁷. The weak legitimacy of As-Saffah's power would also have been attested to by a remark about a council held in Samaria and Trachonitis, during which his leadership over the others was decided by lot⁸. Theophanes added there

⁶ A reference to the split into the Qays and the Yemen, which lasted from the time of the second *fitna* and the takeover of the Caliphate by the Marwanids. What is important here is that Theophanes is attempting to associate this split with Abu Muslim, who was supposedly inciting the Yemen against the Qays. Indeed, the rivalry between the two tribes certainly was relevant in the context of the subsequent and final conquest of Syria by the Abbasids, during which the Yemen lent their support to the new dynasty, facilitating the entry of the black-bannered troops into Damascus, after Marwan made his escape. There is also no doubt that the last of the Umayyad Caliphs relied in his activity in 748–749 in western Iran and Iraq on the Qays chiefs, such as Yazid ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayra, Nubata ibn Hanzala Kilab, or 'Amir ibn Dubara Murrah. Nonetheless it should be kept in mind that the Qays-Yemen conflict lasted several decades, practically from the 680s, and initially stemmed from the fight over the legacy of the main Umayyad line, the Sufyanids. In *Chronography*, both of the Arab factions appear only at the time of the takeover of power by the Abbasids. Cf. i.a. P. CRONE, *Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?*, I 71, 1994, p. 1–57; Kh.Y. BLANKINSHIP, *The Tribal...*, p. 589–603; M. HOEXTER, *The Role of the Qays and Yaman Factions in Local Political Divisions. Jabal Nablus Compared with the Judean Hills in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, AAST 2.1, 1972, p. 277–282; H. KENNEDY, *The Origins of the Qays-Yaman Dispute in Bilad al-Sham*, [in:] *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Şham during the Early Islamic Period up to 40 A.H. / 640 A.D. The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham*, ed. M.A. BAKHIT, Amman 1987, p. 168–174.

⁷ THEOPHANES, AM 6242, p. 427.5–6. Remarks in Theophanes on the subject of the fight with the Qays are also a visible reminiscence of the Syrian traditions. Similar descriptions can also be found in the *Chronicle until 1234: Chronicon Anonymi Auctoris ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens*, ed. I.A. BARSOU, J.-B. CHABOT, Louvain 1920, p. 260.16–17, and in Agapius: AGAPIUS (MAHBOUB) DE MENBIDJ, *Kitab al-'Unwan. Histoire universelle. Seconde Partie II*, ed. et trans. A. VASILIEV, Paris 1912 [= PO, 8], p. 530–531. The tendencies noted by Theophanes to undermine the power of the Abbasids by the local Arab tribal associations can be clearly seen in the example of the history of Banu Amilah, who during the Byzantine period were engaged in the defence of the Empire's borders, and who subsequently constituted one of the pillars of the Umayyad rule over Syria, and who during the period of the revolution remained in clear opposition to the Abbasids. One of the reasons for this was supposed to be, according to the scholars studying history of the tribe, the undermining of the Arab element by the new dynasty: M. RIHAN, *The Politics and Culture of An Umayyad Tribe. Conflict and Factionalism in the Early Islamic Period*, London–New York 2014 [= LMEH, 41], p. 84–131, 155–158. These were not, of course, the only causes of the rebellions, of significance was also the Umayyad resentment, with rebellions of Abu al-Ward, the governor of Qinnasrin and Abu Muhammad al-Sufyani, the great-grandson of Muawiyah being prime examples. Cf. P.M. COBB, *White Banners. Contention in 'Abbasid Syria, 750–880*, Albany NJ 2001, p. 43–66.

⁸ From Theophanes' point of view it might have seemed a complete absurdity, but this would not have been so from the perspective of the Abbasid principles of choosing a leader, that is, *al-rida min al-Muhammad* (chosen from the Prophet's family by Muslims, in no way imposed), and *al-kitab wa'l-sunna* (according to the Book and the Tradition, exclusively on the basis of the law given by

that, in a way, the authority to give orders in the name of the newly ruling family was held beside him by ad-Jafar, and also by their cousin, Isa ibn Musa⁹. The discussed author did not devote further attention to the first of the Abbasid Caliphs, focusing in his descriptions of the following years primarily on the internal situation in Syria and the persecutions that occurred there, practically limiting his remarks to a mention of the ruler's death in AM 6246¹⁰.

The problem with the recognition of the authority of the new dynasty is evidenced by the descriptions of the first change on the Caliphate's throne after the Abbasids have taken control of the state. After As-Saffah's death, struggle for his inheritance began among the family members already holding power over individual parts of the state. Theophanes firstly noted that once again the main contender, the brother of the late Caliph, Abu Jafar Al-Mansur, had to turn for help to Abu Muslim, asking him to guard his destined throne¹¹. The supposed conflict between the Persians and the Syrians, who lent their support to another contender, 'Abdallah ibn Ali, was highlighted (έναντιούμενον δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ προσκείμενον τοῖς τῆς Συρίας). The chronographer even called him the sole ruler of Syria (τὸν μονοστράτηγον Συρίας)¹². The fact that Al-Mansur's power was not particularly certain had also been attested through an account on his behaviour in relation to Abu Muslim's actions, when the latter had defeated the aforementioned son of Ali ibn 'Abdallah ibn al-'Abbas. In AM 6246 there is a rather extensive passage about the persecutions of Syrian Arabs in Palestine, Emesa, and along the coast of the Mediterranean (τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Ἑμεσαν καὶ τὴν παραλίαν ἐλόντων) carried out by Al-Khurasani's troops. Finally, not receiving support from the main Abbasid line for his actions, Abu Muslim retreated to Persia (πρὸς τὴν ἐνδοτέραν Περσικὴν ὥρμησε σὺν τῷ πλήθει)¹³. Theophanes emphasised here that Al-Mansur feared the main leader of the Abbasid revolution, and therefore decided to use a not too honourable trick – calling upon symbols associated with the Prophet (his staff and sandals – φημί δὴ τῆ ῥάβδῳ καὶ τοῖς σανδαλίοις τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου Μουάμεδ)

God). On the subject of these rules, cf.: A. MARSHAM, *Rituals of Islamic Monarchy. Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire*, Edinburgh 2009, p. 183–191.

⁹ THEOPHANES, AM 6241, p. 425.18–19: καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀβδελᾶ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τῷ Ἰσὲ Ἰβνιμουσέ.

¹⁰ THEOPHANES, AM 6246, p. 428.15–16.

¹¹ THEOPHANES, AM 6246, p. 428.17–19: γράφει οὖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβουμουσλίμ ὄντα κατὰ τὴν Περσίδα φυλάξαι αὐτῷ τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀρχῆς, καθὼς ἐκλήρωθη αὐτῷ.

¹² Passage: THEOPHANES, AM 6246, p. 428.19–24. According to some of the interpretations of 'Abdallah ibn Ali's actions, he not only intended to take the throne, but perhaps also to return to Syria and continue to rule from there, invoking in this way the Umayyad legacy (which would however have been rather ironic, considering that he was one of those responsible for murdering the majority of the members of the previous dynasty): A. BORRUT, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir. L'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbassides (v. 72–193/692–809)*, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= IHC, 81], p. 354–367.

¹³ THEOPHANES, AM 6246, p. 429.1–6.

and the family’s authority (ὅπως αὐτῷ τὴν πατρὶ πρέπουσαν εὐχαριστίαν), he successfully pleaded with the Khorasan leader for an opportunity to meet him. Once Abu Muslim arrived at the agreed location (ὁ δὲ ἀπατηθεὶς παραγίνεται σὺν χιλιάσιν ἰπέων ρ’), he was said to have been murdered by the other personally (ἐνωθεὶς τε αὐτῷ κτείνεται ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ χερσὶν ἰδίαις), while his supporters had been bribed (ὁ δὲ ὄχλοι σκεδασθέντες αὐθημερὸν ᾤχοντο φιλοτιμίαις οὐκ εὐαριθμήτοις ἐφοδιασθέντες). As Theophanes mentioned, it was in this manner that Al-Mansur gained his power (καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀβδελᾷ διευθύνεται)¹⁴. To sum up then, the legitimacy of his rule, according to the narrative found in the *Chronography*, was limited to a victory – achieved by trickery – over the other pretenders, be it through a military conquest, betrayal or fraud. This was not the only such case of dishonourable conduct attributed to Al-Mansur in *Chronography*. Using lies and poison he got rid of another important (as Theophanes emphasised, third in importance in the Caliphate – ὁ τρίτος κληρὸς τοῦ κρατεῖν) person, his cousin Isa ibn Musa. In the relation AM 6256 we find a rather lengthy story¹⁵ regarding the circumstances in which the latter was excluded from inheritance. When Isa was complaining about his headaches (κεφαλαλούμενον γὰρ ἡμικρανικῶς αὐτὸν ὀρῶν), Al-Mansur offered him a medicine prepared by his court physician Moses, a deacon of the Antiochene church (Μωσεῖ τινι τοῦνομα, διακόνῳ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας), who having received a generous payment (ὄν ἤδη δωρεαῖς ἦν πεπεικῶς δριμύτατον κατασκευάσαι – the passage in fact speaks of bribery), prepared a potent potion with narcotic properties (φάρμακον μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ναρκῶδες εἶναι σφόδρα). Isa, Theophanes emphasised, even though he refused to eat meals in Al-Mansur’s presence out of fear of being poisoned by the latter (καίπερ ἀσφαλιζόμενος τοῦ συμφαγεῖν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν), which did not attest well to the Caliph’s moral condition, nonetheless allowed himself to be convinced to take the drug. The “medication” caused his senses to be dulled, and Isa lay for some time senseless (τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἐνεργειῶν στέρηθεὶς ἄφωνος προύκειτο), although he later recovered. The Caliph however used the period during which Isa was ailing to convince the Abbasid elites that the latter was not a suitable to be his heir, as a result of which said elites recognised the rights of Al-Mansur’s son, Muhammad ibn ‘Abdallah nicknamed Al-Mahdi (οἱ δὲ ὁμοφρόνως ἀρνησάμενοι αὐτὸν δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀβδελᾶ Μουάμεδ, τῷ ἐπικληθέντι Μαδί). Theophanes concluded his story by highlighting that once Isa recovered, Al-Mansur falsely consoled him, while pretending he had nothing to do with bringing about Isa’s poor physical and mental state. A similar story was also relayed by At-Tabari, the latter however stated that the physician, Bukhtishu Jurjis Abu Jibrail, was of the Nestorian faith¹⁶. The elimination of political opponents through the

¹⁴ The entirety of the tale of Al-Mansur’s trickery: THEOPHANES, AM 6246, p. 429.6–14.

¹⁵ THEOPHANES, AM 6256, p. 435.22 – 436.8.

¹⁶ TABARI, *Annales*, I, 188, vol. I, ed. M.J. DE GOEJE, Leiden 1879 (cetera: TABARI).

use of trickery presented in the aforementioned story, which was after all of an accessory nature, was something of an exception, more often said opponents had been deprived of their lives. Theophanes did not omit the mention of, i.a., the fate of a contender for the Caliphate, ‘Abdallah ibn Ali¹⁷, about whose fate the Chronographer informed independently in two places – AM 6246¹⁸ and AM 6258¹⁹. He was locked up in a tower, and its foundations were placed on blocks of salt, which had been washed away by water, and as a result the tower collapsed, killing its troublesome inhabitant. This rather extravagant method of execution is also mentioned by Arabic sources²⁰. Theophanes did not provide more specific details, but did write about both the tower which collapsed on the unfortunate man, as well as of an assassination carried out in the ruins of some otherwise undetermined building. It is interesting that he related both versions, and the latter showed that al-Mansur did not keep his side of the agreement with ‘Abdallah, according to which the latter was to be treated according to his rank and descent from the same family, and that he would not suffer any harm²¹. The elaborate manner of the execution was supposed to be a trick which allowed circumventing the arrangements of the *aman* concluded between the Caliph and the rebel. Either way, the Chronographer noted the fact of the murder itself.

The following Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mahdi, appears most frequently in *Chronography* in the context of the military expeditions sent against the Empire, although these had not been led by him personally (some of these were led by his son, Harun). Among these we may nonetheless find one reference to the Caliph’s characteristic traits – in the passage AM 6271 Theophanes mentioned that Al-Mahdi, likely because of the earlier failures of the expeditions sent against the Byzantium, became infuriated and organised one further great expedition, comprised of Persian, Syrian and Iraqi contingents, which succeeded in reaching as far as Dorylaeum²². One should add that, firstly, the Abbasid ruler’s reaction to the defeat of his

¹⁷ The question of the correctitude of legitimacy of both the competitors is not simple, and, following Jacob LASSNER, one should consider As-Saffah to have been the main “culprit” behind this; as the aforementioned scholar stressed, As-Saffah’s many achievements did not include preparing of the rules of succession. Thus practically at the dawn of the new dynasty, one of the greatest conflicts over the throne in Abbasid history had taken place (*The Shaping...*, p. 19). Hence the later, from the times of al-Mansur, practice of documents establishing the principles of inheritance (*shart*), according to which the successor was chosen, however according to this procedure some people did also waive their potential rights: A. MARSHAM, *Rituals...*, p. 230–250.

¹⁸ THEOPHANES, AM 6246, p. 428.28 – 429.1: ὄν τινα φρουρήσας ἐν οἰκίσκῳ σαθρῶ καὶ κατορυχθῆναι προστάξας τὰ θεμέλια λάθρα τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν.

¹⁹ THEOPHANES, AM 6258, p. 439.8–9: τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Ἀβδελᾶς Ἰβνιναλὶμ τέθνηκεν, πτωθέντος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τοῦ πύργου, ἐν ᾧ ἐφρουρεῖτο.

²⁰ TABARI, I, 188.

²¹ For a detailed discussion of the traditions regarding this agreement, cf.: A. MARSHAM, C.F. ROBINSON, *The Safe-Conduct for the Abbasid ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī (d. 764)*, BSOAS 70.2, 2007, p. 247–281.

²² The entirety: THEOPHANES, AM 6271, p. 452.4–6.

army is hardly surprising, secondly, this is not a remark that in any way would strictly reflect the Caliph's nature. Unfortunately, for the most part we can only count on this type of incomplete information. Al-Mahdi is also described in the context of one of the largest passages of Theophanes' work, which was devoted to the persecution of Christians (the aforementioned AM 6272). It is however worth noting that he was not presented as directly acting against the followers of Christ, but as a man who sent forth a persecutor – Mouchesias – to Syria²³. Let us add that according to the relation contained in the *Chronography*, the Empress Irene was contacting, regarding peace agreements, not the Caliph, but his son, Harun (AM 6274)²⁴. The relation from AM 6276 mentions only the death of Al-Mahdi and the fact of the takeover of power by his son, Musa al-Hadi²⁵.

The latter did not really get any attention from Theophanes, who only in AM 6278 remarked about his death and the takeover of power by his brother, Harun ar-Rashid²⁶. It is worth noting two facts here – Harun had already appeared on the pages of *Chronography* as the leader of numerous expeditions against Byzantium, and thus in the above passage he was bestowed with the dubious honour of a descriptive appendix regarding his person, according to which he distinguished himself by doing many wrongs to Christians (πολλὰ κακὰ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐνεδείξατο)²⁷. Musa had not been granted such a distinction. Moreover, the sole passage relating in any way to the conditions prevailing under the Abbasid rule during his reign, in AM 6277, may be interpreted as a hint of a certain normalisation in the Christian-Muslim relations and easing up of the persecution. The specific fragment relates to the contacts between the new Patriarch of Constantinople, Tarasios, and the bishoprics in Antioch and Alexandria²⁸. Going back to Harun, one should conclude that on the pages of *Chronography* he appeared almost exclusively in military context, and there are practically no mentions of his internal policies, with the exception of remarks on the quelling of a rebellion in Khorasan (AM 6297²⁹ and perhaps AM 6301, where his death in the same province was given a mention, but without direct references to the ongoing uprising³⁰). Moreover, we have not received any characterological description of the ruler, beside a brief summary of his campaign against Nicephoros I (AM 6298), where Theophanes concluded that Harun was satisfied and rejoiced (καὶ δεξάμενος Ἀραβῶν ἦσθη καὶ

²³ THEOPHANES, AM 6272, p. 452.22–23. Most likely Jerusalem, as a holy city in which the Caliph was present at the time was mentioned in the passage: καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποστρέφει ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν. καὶ πέμπει Μουχέσιαν, Ζηλωτὴν λεγόμενον.

²⁴ THEOPHANES, AM 6274, p. 456.19–21.

²⁵ THEOPHANES, AM 6276, p. 457.11–13.

²⁶ THEOPHANES, AM 6278, p. 461.9–10.

²⁷ THEOPHANES, AM 6278, p. 461.10–11.

²⁸ THEOPHANES, AM 6277, p. 460.31 – 461.1.

²⁹ THEOPHANES, AM 6297, p. 481.7–8.

³⁰ THEOPHANES, AM 6301, p. 484.5–7.

ήγαλλιάσατο), because he had been able to subjugate the Empire (ὡς ὑποτάξας τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν)³¹. Ar-Rashid appeared in these relations almost like a *God's Scourge* on the Byzantines, since his expeditions were usually highly successful, both during the time when he commanded them as the Caliph's son (AM 6272³² and AM 6274³³, when he was receiving a tribute from Irene³⁴), and as a ruler in his own right (the expedition described in AM 6298³⁵, concluded with Nicephoros' surrender³⁶). Theophanes however did not provide an evaluation of the ruler, aside from the remark about him causing much evil to Christians.

We find a similarly brief, single sentence summary of the entire reign in the description of the takeover of power by Harun's successor, Al-Amin, who was characterised by the Chronographer as incompetent in every regard (AM 6301 – Μουάμεδ, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀφυῆς κατὰ πάντα³⁷), although without specifying the nature of this incompetence. The chronicler appeared to have taken the side of the second of Harun's sons, the younger Al-Ma'mun, who was also aspiring to his father's inheritance. The author emphasised that the other contender was being supported by the army³⁸, the same military which had so many times embarked on expeditions against Byzantium under ar-Rashid's command. While under the rule of the latter, the Caliphate – beside the troubles in Khorasan – appears to have been a strong state, ceaselessly focused on expansion. The civil war which had erupted between the two brothers had brought about, according to the Chronographer, a downright apocalyptic anarchy which had resulted in (of importance to Theophanes) numerous persecutions of Christians, murders, pillaging and destruction of monasteries and entire cities³⁹. It would seem that the only similar events that could be brought up in comparison are the descriptions of the rule of the Umayyad Marwan II. This is interesting, as according to some of the elements of the Muslim narratives presenting the clash between Harun's inheritors, these take on a similar, almost messianic dimension⁴⁰. The Chronographer may have been then suggesting that there will be no way out from this collapse of the Abbasids under the rule of Al-Amin and Al-Ma'mun, except for another change in power. It appears possible, considering

³¹ THEOPHANES, AM 6298, p. 482.16–17.

³² THEOPHANES, AM 6272, p. 452.21–22.

³³ THEOPHANES, AM 6274, p. 456.2–5.

³⁴ THEOPHANES, AM 6274, p. 456.19–21.

³⁵ THEOPHANES, AM 6298, p. 482.1–3.

³⁶ THEOPHANES, AM 6298, p. 482.13–15.

³⁷ THEOPHANES, AM 6301, p. 484.7–8.

³⁸ THEOPHANES, AM 6301, p. 484.8–10.

³⁹ These questions are best summed up in the passage opening the description of the civil war – THEOPHANES, AM 6301, p. 484.10–14: κἀντεῦθεν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην εἰς διαφόρους κατατμηθέντες ἀρχὰς τὰ τε δημόσια πράγματα καὶ ἀλλήλους κατέστρεψαν, σφαγαῖς καὶ ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ παντοίαις ἀτοπίαις πρὸς τε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς Χριστιανοὺς συγκεχυμένοι.

⁴⁰ H. YÜCESOY, *Messianic Beliefs and Imperial Politics in Medieval Islam. The 'Abbāsīd Caliphate in the Early Ninth Century*, Columbia SC 2009, p. 71–80.

several highlights of the role of Khorasan/Persia in both the events of 759–750, and those described in the context of the civil war, that for the Byzantine chronicler the latter would have simply been another episode of the uprising, especially since in AM 6304 there is a mention of a usurpation in the context of taking control over Damascus by a pretender (δὲ Δαμασκὸν ἄλλος κατέσχε τύραννος)⁴¹. Theophanes did not hide his outrage at the anarchy, murders and violence which occurred during the Caliphate's civil war, describing them as abominable to God (καὶ πᾶσαι πράξεις θεοστυγεῖς ἐν κώμαις, with this summary found in the final relation in *Chronography* for AM 6305⁴²). There are no signs of the Byzantine's triumphalism in this passage, but rather an alarm caused by the lack of order, which may have resulted (and indeed had, as per Theophanes' ample descriptions) in negative repercussions for the Christian population of the Muslim state.

To sum up, the relations mentioned above, located in the final parts of the *Chronography*, present the situation within the Caliphate in a decidedly apocalyptic tone, and perhaps suggesting that we are dealing with the moment in which the Muslim state was collapsing, the process which began with the Abbasid uprising in the mid-eighth century. Such construction of the narrative in Theophanes' work is to some extent consistent with... the findings of modern day historians. I do not of course mean here the aforementioned rather impassioned descriptions, but rather the analysis of the balance of power at the Baghdad court, of which the Confessor could not have known very much (or did not consider it particularly interesting), and the research on which had led some to far reaching conclusions. According to these, the crisis of the Abbasid dynasty, the problem of leadership in the Muslim state, began with the civil war after Harun ar-Rashid's death.

⁴¹ THEOPHANES, AM 6304, p. 497.12–13. Similar narratives, highlighting the Persians of the new ruling dynasty can also be found in the Syrian historiography: J.S. MUTTER, *By the Book: Conversion and Religious Identity in Early Islamic Bilād al-Shām and al-Jazīra* (PhD Thesis, The University of Chicago 2018), p. 66–67. This pointing to the Persian connections of the Abbasids appears to have been an element of a broader idea held by Theophanes, according to which the power taken over by the Arabs had been reverting in his times back to the Persians (in the east, which could give rise to hope of the Empire's return to the western lands of the Muslim empire), however this may well have also been a reminiscence of the current observations of the policies pursued by the Abbasid Caliphs. The Abbasids are indeed associated with a certain departure from the idea of a Caliph as the first among the faithful and a return to the traditions of a Persian monarchy, rooted in the east. The changes in the court, harking back to Sassanid models and introducing, among others, a degree of separation between the ruler and the rest of the people, for example through complex court ceremonies, which nonetheless were carried out in the 'spirit of Islam', and the religion was often the justification for these actions. These questions have been discussed in detail by: M.R. FIGUEROA, *Religión y Estado durante la dinastía abasí. El califato de al-Mansur*, EdAA 40.1, 2005, p. 57–87. This does not mean however that there are no threads in the Muslim historiography suggesting that the reason why the Abbasids succumbed to the charm of the monarchy were Byzantine influences. The imperial envoys were blamed for the evil influence on the first Caliphs, especially on al-Mansur: A.M. ROBERTS, *Al-Mansūr and the Critical Ambassador*, BEO 60, 2011, p. 145–160.

⁴² THEOPHANES, AM 6305, p. 499.20.

The point is that despite al-Ma'mun's victory, the clash with al-Amin itself resulted in the creation of rather powerful and consistent opposition, which was not only undermining the Caliph's position, but also his actions aimed at increasing the power of his office in relation to the *ummah*⁴³. It ultimately gained rather extensive influence, when in the 830s al-Mu'tasim took the throne in Baghdad, which had led to the decomposition of the significance of the title of "prince of the faithful" in respect of the subjects, who were gaining ever growing regional independence, and which in consequence became one of the leading causes of the collapse of the Abbasid rule⁴⁴. The first signs of such state of affairs were indeed associated with the civil war, it is enough to mention here that the conflict undoubtedly helped Tahir ibn Hussain to gain prominence and who, as the governor of Khorasan, stopped recognising al-Ma'mun as Caliph already in the early 820s⁴⁵, and became the founder of the Tahirid dynasty, which was then, after all, tolerated by the Abbasids for several decades.

In making conclusions on the basis of the material presented above, one needs to above all note that not many remarks allowing characterising the Abbasid rulers have been preserved within the *Chronography*. This seems rather puzzling. Considering that the Caliphs of this dynasty were contemporary to Theophanes, he should have had some more information about them compared to the Umayyad rulers, such as Mu'awiya or 'Abd al-Malik, to whom he after all dedicated more space. This is yet another element in the Byzantine chronicler's narrative which gives us a reason to consider which sources the Confessor was using, and how strongly they influenced the final appearance of the passages devoted to the history of the Muslim state.

Translated by Michał Zytka

⁴³ Regardless of the fact that the Caliph himself appeared to have been a rather able theologian, familiar with both the Quran and the hadith tradition, a patron of many scholars, and had considerable knowledge of other cultures as well as history, his attempts to introduce the *mihna*, which manifested itself (in a nutshell) in persecutions, grounded in the Caliph's authority, for the lack of support for Mu'tazilism. These had ended in failure, both political and religious, and in consequence led to the downfall of the Abbasid state: M. DEMICHELIS, *Between Mu'tazilism and Syncretism: A Reappraisal of the Behavior of the Caliphate of al-Ma'mūn*, JNES 71.2, 2012, p. 257–274. There are multiple hypotheses about the reasons for which the Caliph had reached for such drastic measures, these range from his desire to emphasise his own religious authority, to being influenced by various religious groups – from the Mu'tazilites to Alids: J.A. NAWAS, *Al-Ma'mun, the Inquisition, and the Quest for Caliphal Authority*, Lockwood 2015, p. 31–82.

⁴⁴ J.A. NAWAS, *All in the Family? Al-Mu'tasim's Succession to the Caliphate as Denouement to the Lifelong Feud between al-Ma'mūn and his 'Abbasid Family*, Or.JPTSIS 38, 2010, p. 77–88.

⁴⁵ It is worth considering whether the sources of the Tahirids' independence could not be found in the slogans raised during the Abbasid revolution. If so, the House of 'Abbas would have once again been the victim of its own success: M. КААБИ, *Les origines tāhirides dans la da'wa 'abbāsīde*, Ara 19.2, 1972, p. 145–164. Soon, and not only in the eastern part of the realm, other local governors started to demand their own independence: D. RUDNICKA-KASSEM, *Realizing an Insightful Vision of a Powerful and Independent State. Ahmad ibn Tulun and the Reign of his Dynasty (868–905)*, KSM 11.3, 2014, p. 11–23.

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A NEGLECTED MEDIEVAL HELMET FROM LUCERA IN ITALY

Abstract. The authors of the present article intend to draw the attention of the scientific community to a Medieval Great Helm found in Lucera, southern Italy, at the end of 1980, and presently unpublished. The importance of the helmet – belonging to the last quarter of 13th century and being one of the older specimens of that category existing in the world – has been until now neglected, and it is the intention of the authors to produce an initial analysis of the helmet, its history, technical characteristics and historical background.

Keywords: Great Helm, Lucera, Angevin, Suebian, Italy

Introduction

In a land where the protection of historical, archaeological and landscape heritage is an ongoing challenge, it is also important to recognize the actions and contributions of individual people, and highlight those stories from which we should all follow the example. At the end of the 1980s, during the excavation works of one of the perimeter towers of the Fortress of Lucera – the legendary city inside whose walls Frederick II Hohenstaufen packed his Saracen Guard and held a garrison of the feared Teutonic Knights¹ – the head of the building company involved

¹ On the presence of Muslims and Teutonic Knights in Lucera, see C. GRAVETT, *German Medieval Armies 1000–1300*, London 1997, p. 17; J.A. TAYLOR, *Muslim in Medieval Italy. The Colony of Lucera*, Oxford 2005, p. 44sq; *The Crusades. An Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, ed. A.V. MURRAY, Santa Barbara 2006, p. 763sq. Lucera (ancient Luceria) was an important Roman centre of the *Regio II Apulia et Calabria*. Destroyed by the Emperor Constans II in AD 663, reconstructed by the bishop Marcus II in 744, the city passed from the Lombards to the Normans and from them to the Swabian Dynasty of the Hohenstaufen. Under them, Luceria soon resumed its central role, with the arrival of Emperor Frederick II. In 1223, The Emperor, following the armed struggle between Muslims and Swabian troops, deported numerous Muslims from Sicily to Luceria, transforming the city into a veritable Saracen colony (*Luceria Saracenorum*). In 1233, Riccardo di San Germano reported that the Emperor

in the excavations, a certain Antonio Maffulli, found a helmet and offered the precious artefact to the Civic Museum of Lucera (Civico Museo Fiorelli). The helmet is one of the very few examples of medieval great helms found in Europe and Outermer² and, until now, details about it were not published due to the scant interest that Italian archaeology gives to military equipment. In this paper, the authors will try to reconstruct the history of the discovery and its restoration, and, by comparing it with other existing specimens, will attempt to date it, trying to identify its material culture of provenance.

The Finding of the helmet

On 28 April 1987 at 10:00 a.m., Mr. Antonio Maffulli, inhabitant of Lucera, entered the Civic Museum of Lucera with an envelope³. Maffulli, a well-known person

decided to fortify the city with walls. And it is probably in those years that, on Colle Albano (in the north-east corner to be precise), Frederick II erected his royal Palatium and the first nucleus of the fortress (D. MORLACCO, *Le mura e le porte di Lucera*, Lucera 1987, p. 180). The new city of Lūğārah (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, *La sottoscrizione araba di Riccardo di Lucera*, RSO 10, 1923–1925, p. 292) experienced a remarkable flowering in that period, so much so that it was soon compared, by Muslim travelers and historians of the time, to the Cordova of the Caliphs. The Muslim Lucera remained faithful to the Swabian house and, after the death of Frederick II in 1250, served Conrad IV of Swabia and then Manfredi, fighting for him at the famous battle of Benevento in 1266, which marked the death of the Swabian ruler and the arrival of the Anjou. Lūğārah refused obedience to Charles I of Anjou and vigorously resisted the assaults of the Angevin soldiers, remaining faithful to the last heir of the Swabians, Corradino. After his death on 29 October 1268, Charles I resumed the siege of Lūğārah in the spring of 1269, with bombs of all kinds and with siege engines (N. TOMAIUOLI, *Lucera, il Palazzo dell'Imperatore e la fortezza del re*, Foggia 2005, p. 50). The siege ended on 27 August 1269 when the Saracens and rebel Christians, exhausted by hunger, surrendered themselves to the new King of Sicily. Despite pressure from the Holy See, Charles I of Anjou, following the example of Frederick II, adopted a more tolerant policy. Instead of killing or exiling the Saracens, he tried to establish a relationship of trust with them: he forgave them their sins, depriving them of the freedom to govern themselves according to Islamic laws, and burdening them with a heavy annual war toll of four thousand ounces. The Saracens who, to avoid submitting to the Anjou, tried to escape from the city, met their death. Charles I of Anjou, in the reorganization of the city, reduced its perimeter and, near the Frederick Palatium, had built the present-day existing fortress, with a majestic city wall close to the hillside of Colle Albano. The works were supervised by Pierre d'Angicourt, designer of fortifications, and by the carpentry masters Riccardo da Foggia and Giovanni di Toul; the works lasted almost fifteen years (1269–1283) and gave to Luceria its permanent and definitive fortification system.

² See P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique Finding of a Great Helm from the Dalečín Castle in Moravia*, AMM 8, 2011, p. 93 for an almost complete list of Great Helms published until 2011. Apart from the fragment of Montfort (Fig. 22d) we know of only a second Crusader specimen, said to come from Cilicia Armenia, preserved in the Hisart Museum of Istanbul (Fig. 26d). The analysis and the study of this one are being undertaken by the present authors.

³ All this information derives from the documents preserved in the Civic Museum of Lucera. However, it was only thanks to Dr. Pina Russo of the Civic Lucera Museum, where the helmet is kept, that

in the city, was the owner of company managing the restoration works on the wall of the Angevine fortress of the town. He had a precious find in his hand: a medieval Great Helm, just uncovered by his employees. The helmet was discovered by the group of workers engaged in the earthwork of one of the square towers of the perimeter walls of the Lucera fortress, in particular the one positioned between the Lioness Tower (“Torre della Leonessa”)⁴ and the Trojan Gate (“Porta Troiana”), on the side of the road going in direction of the municipality of Pietra Montecorvino (Fig. 1a). The tower was in a very bad state of decay (and still is), and consolidation works, under the direction of the Architect Grazia Zampelli, were conducted by the Maffulli company. Unfortunately, the pickaxe of one of Maffulli’s workers hit a metallic object, damaging it partially, causing a gash on the left part of the head protection (Fig. 1b). The damage was evident on the left side near the temple. At the time of discovery, the helmet was strongly oxidized, at risk of falling to pieces, and without any crest attachment.

The news of the discovery was immediately reported to the “Soprintendenza ai monumenti della Puglia”, to the Architect Nunzio Tomaiuoli (at that time *Dirigente regionale del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali of Regione Puglia*⁵). Once recovered by Maffulli, the helmet was gifted to the Museum, where a partial restoration took place, financed by the donor for a total cost of 500.000 old Italian lire (250 euro). News of the finding was given to the local newspaper “Il Centro”, which issued a short article with the only photo published until now (Fig. 1c)⁶. Unfortunately, the accidental finding, and the fact that the discovery of the helmet did not happen during an archaeological campaign, had compromised irremediably the stratigraphy of the object. Later, the helmet took its place inside the museum, where, till today, it is made available to competent authorities and scholars.

The Restoration of the helmet

The restoration of the helmet was performed two years later. A document related to the renovation was sent to the director of the museum in Lucera with a report by the restorers, dated 25 January 1989. The restoration work, under the supervision of Dr. Donato Lavio, took place between 27 December 1988 and 22 January 1989.

the documents related to the restoration have been found and could be published for the first time in this paper. The authors therefore would like to extend their deepest gratitude to Dr. Russo.

⁴ See N. TOMAIUOLI, *Lucera...*, p. 58–59; C. DELPINO, *Il versante sud-orientale della cittadella di Lucera: una testimonianza capetingia in Puglia*, SRSA 4, 2018, p. 86sqq.

⁵ ‘Superintendence of Monuments of Puglia’, ‘Regional Director of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities of the Puglia Region’. He was the Regional Inspector for the Cultural Activities and Regional monuments of Puglia, who wrote the most relevant volume on the Lucera fortress (N. TOMAIUOLI, *Lucera...*).

⁶ “Il Centro” di Lucera, 28 April 1987.

The restorers split the work into three phases:

- A) Mechanical cleaning;
- B) Washing;
- C) Final protection work.

Phase A (Figs. 1d and 2a). The mechanical cleaning was realized with a scalpel, and rotating steel and bristle brushes for dental use. In those operations, the calcareous and siliceous depots – derived from landfill – were completely removed, as well as the superficial layers of the corrosion products.

Phase B (Fig. 2b). A washing procedure was indispensable to extract harmful soluble salts, especially the chlorides and sulfates contained in the layers, which could reactivate the process of corrosion at the first contact with humidity. The object was immersed in a sodium nitrite solution of distilled water. The sodium nitrite, in particular, prevents the advance of corrosion during the washing itself, because it acts as a real inhibitor. Various washes were performed. In the early washing process, the concentration of the sodium nitrite was higher, in successive washing performances the concentration was reduced to 2%. The final washing process was executed with distilled water, to remove any residual traces of the sodium nitrite.

Phase C (Figs. 2c–d). The final protection was obtained by immersing the object in Paraloid B72, acetone solution. The immersion was repeated several times, and the last time performed with a brush. The Paraloid B72 protected the find by isolating it from all atmospheric agents, thanks to a surface covering the entire object.

Description of the helmet

A brief description of the helmet is preserved in the “Verbale di Consegna” (“Record of Delivery”), dated 28 April 1987. The dimensions in the document are listed as follows: height – 30.0 cm; larger diameter at the base – 30.0 cm; lesser diameter at the base – 25.0 cm; larger diameter at the skull – 26.0 cm; lesser diameter at the skull – 25.2 cm; circumference at the base – 87.0 cm; skull circumference – 80.0 cm; larger diameter of the helmet at the top – 31.5 cm; maximum height of the front lower sheet – 14.9 cm; length of the front lower sheet – 35.0 cm; height of the back lower sheet – 12.0 cm; length of the back lower sheet – 53.5 cm; height of the upper sheets – 12.5 cm; length of the upper front sheet – 44.0 cm; length of the upper back sheet – 44.0 cm.

The helmet belongs to the category of the Great Helm, also called by some scholars due its 14th-century roots “elmo a bigoncia”⁷, from the Italian word

⁷ M. VIGNOLA, *Armi e armature tra Duecento e Trecento*, [in:] *1287 e dintorni. Ricerche su Castelseprio a 730 anni dalla distruzione*, ed. M. SANNAZARO, S. LUSUARDI SIENA, C. GIOSTRA, Quingentole 2017, p. 52.

“bigoncia/bigoncio”, i.e. a kind of wooden bucket made by staves with wooden or iron circlets⁸. Colloquially in contemporary Italy, the helmet is also referred to as “elmo pentolare”⁹ or “elmo a staro”¹⁰, i.e. having a pot shape.

The Lucera helmet is made of five plates of iron (maybe carbon alloy), which form two oval hemispheres, flaring on the front where they join (Fig. 3). All the plates have the same thickness, i.e. 1.5 mm. Two plates form the lower frontal and rear part, and two the upper frontal and rear part, alongside the top. The metal plates are fastened together by rivets vertically and horizontally positioned at a variable distance, from approximately 4 to 5 cm. The central part shows a vertical reinforcement in the middle – a “vergella”, i.e. a wire rod shaped like a small staff – 1.7 cm in width, on the slot that forms the helmet’s visor (Fig. 4a). Horizontally, between the two upper and lower cylinders, the slot measures 1.1 cm in height, with an arch of 30.0 cm, reinforced by a 3.6 cm sheet evidently slotted and fixed to an arch of 39.5 cm, ending with two edges nailed at the extremities (Fig. 4b). These edges are like roundels with a projecting tongue. The lower hemispherical front part has the shape of a rectangle, the perimeter of which is formed by small holes (2.12 mm), which extend in length just above the visual arch positioned on it. At the center of the same frontal lower sheet, four groups of rectangular slots are placed (vertical of 20 × 4 mm), arranged in two rows (Fig. 4c). From the external slits of the upper level on each side starts an oblique row of small holes, running diagonally to the lower corners of the rectangle described above, and four holes, again, under the lower slots (Fig. 3d). A pair of slots, on the rear lower plate, was intended to function, by means of riveting, as an attachment point with the front plate, just below the maximum diameter (Fig. 3c). The edges of the upper plates were riveted on the top of the skull, and tucked inside in the lower ones (Fig. 4d). Upon the bowl a straight wire rod is still visible, riveted with four nails and fitted with a vertical vent and a socket of 1.7cm (9 × 5.15 mm in depth) for the attachment of the crest (Fig. 4e). In the lower part of this vent a rectangular slot is positioned, running from one to the other side, for the fastening of a plume (Fig. 4f). Sometimes, as evidenced in the miniatures of the splendid *Manesse Codex*¹¹ these

⁸ From the Latin word “bis” (double) and “congius” (ancient measurement unit for liquids, see F. ZAMBALDI, *Etimologico Italiano*, Città di Castello 1889, p. 325); the “bigoncia” is quoted in the *Divina Commedia* by DANTE ALIGHIERI (*La divina comedia di Dante di nuovo alla sua vera letione ridotta con l'aiuto di molti antichissimi esemplari, con argomenti e allegorie per ciascun canto, & apostille nel margine, et indice copiosissimo di tutti i vocaboli più importanti usati dal poeta, con la position loro*, Vinegia [Venise] 1555, Paradise, IX, 55–57) inside the famous “Prophecy of Cunizza”: *Troppo sarebbe larga la bigoncia che ricevesse il sangue ferrarese, e stanco chi'l pesasse a oncia a oncia...*

⁹ R. MARCHIONNI, *Battaglie Senesi (1) Montaperti*, Siena 1996, p. 25, 28.

¹⁰ M. SCALINI, *Protezione e segno di distinzione: l'equipaggiamento difensivo nel duecento*, [in:] *Il Sabato di San Barnaba, la battaglia di Campaldino, 11 giugno 1289–1989*, Milano 1989, p. 85–86.

¹¹ *Codex Manesse, Die Miniaturen der Großen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift Insel*, ed. I.F. WALTHER, G. SIEBERT, Frankfurt am Main 1992 (cetera: *Manesse Codex*), *passim*.

helmets were surmounted by a decorative plume or crest, made of organic material like parchment, “cuir bouilli”, “papier-mache”, wood, or a copper sheet.

Very weak traces of colored pigments are noticeable on the back of the skull, and they seem to be extremely important (Fig. 3c). Even though it has not been proved by an analysis so far, the helmet was most likely painted with heraldic colors, which can be evidenced by many head defences portrayed in the artistic sources (Figs. 5–6)¹² and clearly mentioned in the sources (the 13th century poem: *Clauen ot bon et hiaurne peint a flors... = the good hauberk and the helm painted with flowers*)¹³. A royal helmet could be completely gilded, like the *Heaume* of Saint Louis in 1249 at the battle of Mansourah¹⁴.

Great helms in the 13th century

Between the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, in particular in the panoply of the armoured “miles”, the old nasal and flat-topped helmets, which left the faces of the warriors substantially uncovered, were progressively substituted by more protective new types, evolving during the 13th century from the visored helmet to the Great Helm. It was during the 13th century that the early cylindrical helmet appeared wrapping the whole head¹⁵: over time, the upper part of the helmet, the bowl, became more and more ovoid in order to better ward off blows. It was a sort of metallic “bigoncia” made by numerous plates riveted on each other, whose use – albeit with significant morphological variations – continued until the second half of the 14th century¹⁶ (Fig. 7a). More precisely, from the late 12th century¹⁷ the structure of the flat topped, conical or round-topped helmet (e.g. visible in the famous image related to the assassination of Thomas Becket from the Canterbury Psalter¹⁸) was fitted with a face guard which contained two slits for the eyes – the “sights” – and pierced with ventilation holes – the “breaths”¹⁹. This evolution of the Great Helm seems to have been developed contemporarily in various European regions. This is visible, for instance, in the Germanic environment (comprising Italy, Germany, Austria and Provence) from the late 12th or early

¹² D. EDGE, G.M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour of the Medieval Knight*, New York 1988, p. 59; see also M. SCALINI, *Protezione e segno...*, p. 86 – reconstruction of the Dargen helmet.

¹³ F. BUTIN, *Du Costume Militaire au Moyen Age et Pendant la Renaissance*, Barcelona 1971, p. 24.

¹⁴ DAUNOU MM. & NAUDET, *Rerum Gallicarum and Franciscarum scriptores, tomus vigesimus, Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, [in:] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XX, ed. D.M. BOUQUET, M.L. DELISLE, Paris 1840–1890 (cetera: *Recueil*), p. 226.

¹⁵ S. VONDRA, *Le costume militaire médiéval. Les chevaliers catalans du XIII^e au début du XV^e siècle*, Loubatières 2015, p. 54.

¹⁶ D. NICOLLE, *Medieval Warfare Source Book*, vol. I, *Warfare in Western Christendom*, London 1995, p. 192; M. VIGNOLA, *Armi e armature...*, p. 53, Fig. 1.

¹⁷ After 1180 according to C. BLAIR, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700*, London 1958, p. 30.

¹⁸ D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050–1350*, vol. I–II, London 1999, Figs. 191a–c, Harley MS 5102 Psalter, British Library, 1200–1225 AD, folio 32.

¹⁹ D. EDGE, G.M. PADDOCK, *Arms and Armour...*, p. 53.

13th century, when full visors appeared on helmets rounded on the top and enclosing the face of the “miles” (Fig. 7b)²⁰. This tendency, although mainly visible in the German area, also developed in a parallel way in other central European countries, like England, to create a helmet with flat top bowl, while in the French area the first examples of such enclosed helmets had a more ogival shape (Figs. 8–10a–b). The visor, added to the flat top bowl, created the prototypes of the Great Helms: the face begins to receive an integral protection and the proto-barrel helmet gradually took its shape. Since 1223 AD (but probably earlier) in France (Fig. 8c), Germany²¹ and in the Angevin Empire of Plantagenets (see the seal of Thierry de Maldegem dated to 1226 AD)²² – a massive production of such helmets took place, with a flat top, mask and neck protection. Germain Demay, in his analysis of the early 13th century French seals, observed that starting from 1217 AD²³ the representations of the helmets showed the back part of the bowl descending to protect the neck of the wearer, in such a way that its lower edge was positioned on the same line as the lower edge of the fixed visor. The profile of the helmets visible on the seals was more arched, in order to best fit with the wearer’s head and not weigh down on it. The ventilation openings began to be symmetrically aligned, usually on two parallel lines arriving at the ear slots, made as small openings to facilitate hearing. Demay called such helmet the “Saint Louis casque”, or “Grand Heaume” or “casque des croisades”. From 1226 to 1234, in France, the five-piece box helmet seems to have consolidated, as shown by the image of Great Helm on the St. Louis Bible of the same period (Fig. 10c). It was certainly used in the Albigensian Crusade, at least in the last phases of the war, as attested by the infamous relief of Carcassonne (Fig. 11).

²⁰ D. NICOLLE, *The Crusades, 1095–1274*, Oxford 1988, p. 15. The “Eneit or Aeneasroman” of Henrik Van Veldeke (Ms.Germ.20282) is one of the most interesting 12th- or early 13th-century German manuscripts for the portrayed military equipment, and for our topic. The illuminations include flat or almost flat-topped types with or without nasals (D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour...*, p. 175, Fig. 438:F–G). Others are either “proto-Great Helms” consisting of little more than flat-topped helmets with face-masks (*ibidem*, Fig. 438:C–D), or early forms of true Great Helm (*ibidem*, Fig. 438:E, L–Q). The figures with flat-topped Great Helms lacking face-masks seem to have mail coifs covering the entire face save for eye holes (*ibidem*, Fig. 438:F–G). According to Leslie SOUTHWICK (*The Great Helm in England*, A&A 3.1, 2006, p. 6) these miniatures are thought to date between 1220 and 1230, showing a variety of head-gear and, in particular, the faces of several warriors completely covered with mail with only the eyes exposed beneath flat-topped helmets. Such a style seems to be almost unique outside Central Asia, Byzantium and the Islamic world. Its appearance in late 12th-century Germany it is likely to have reflected Eastern European or even steppe influences. Tree figures have some kind of turban wound around their helmets (*ibidem*, Fig. 438:D, O–P), while others carry substantial crests (*ibidem*, Fig. 438:L–N, P).

²¹ C. BLAIR, *European Armour...*, p. 21, Fig. 3. See also the 13th-century frescoes showing a scene from “Iwein” by Hartmann von Aue in Rodenegg Castle, South Tyrol, Italy (Fig. 10d).

²² G. DEMAY, *Le costume au Moyen Age d’après les sceaux*, Paris 1880, p. 133.

²³ G. DEMAY (*Le costume...*, p. 132) analysed the seals of Louis, son of Philip Auguste (1214 AD); Gaucher de Joiny (1211); and Guillaume de Chauvigny (1217).

Pictorial sources indicate that the development into a separate type was completed by the middle of the 13th century²⁴. However, as demonstrated by regional variants and developmental lags, the development of the typology was not straightforward. Only in the period between the first quarter of 13th century and 1250 AD, we can observe that the protection of the whole face of the knight was certainly achieved from this box helm, characterized by a visor for the vision and ventilation openings. English, German, Italian and French artworks and manuscripts are clear proofs of the evolution and wide diffusion of these massive helmets around Western Medieval Europe (statues from Hereford, Herefordshire, late 12th – early 13th century, Cloisters Museum, New York)²⁵. The use of such head defences was quickly diffused in all parts of Western Europe, from the German Empire to Italy and the kingdom of Hungary²⁶, France, England, Spain²⁷, and arriving in the Eastern Mediterranean with the Crusades and the employment of Western equipment from the Balkan states and Latin Greece. However, as already stated, the iconography is clear in showing that there were differences in production and details, as well as in decoration.

Sometimes the face guard was reinforced with applied strips in the shape of a cross, of which the horizontal arms contains the visor slits (Figs. 3, 13a–b). The earliest actual surviving examples of this type appear to date from the last quarter of the 13th century – for instance, the two well-known helms from Dargen (today in the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, Fig. 13b)²⁸ and Årnäs (today in the Historical Museum, Stockholm, Figs. 13 c–d), respectively – or the example excavated at Rehburg (Fig. 14a) in the early 1990s²⁹. Other specimens from the late 13th century exist, but have long been classified by Laking as evident or possible forgeries³⁰.

²⁴ D. BREIDING, *Some Notes on Great Helms, Crests and Early Tournament Reinforces*, [in:] *Park Lane Arms Fair*, London 2013, p. 1.

²⁵ D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour...*, cat. 13:a–b; cathedral of Exeter, Fig. 12a–b–c; gravestone of William de Lanvalei, dead 1217, in Walkern, Fig. 12d; “Maciejowski Bible”, Paris, 1250 AD, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 638, folio 23v – Figs. 5–6.

²⁶ See the seal of Stephen V, King of Hungary from 1263, while he was still an *junior rex* (junior king) or heir to the throne, in AD 1261. The king is represented riding a horse (Fig. 14b). He bears a shield with the coat of arms of the Duchy of Styria. His helmet is similar to those depicted in the “Maciejowski Bible”. His lance is topped with a typical 13th century standard which also bears the lion rampant of the Duchy of Styria in a green field.

²⁷ One of the first instances seems to be the seal of Ramon, Viscont de Cardona, 1258 AD, S. VON-DRA, *Le costume militaire...*, p. 58.

²⁸ A. JANOWSKI, *Where is Dargen Located? A Solution of a Hundred-Year Old Riddle*, AMM 15, 2019, Fig. 2 p. 131; according to the careful analysis of this scholar, the location of Dargen has been identified in Dargin, near Bobolice, where an archaeological site – located approximately 200 m to the west of the village – was identified as a knightly residence of the families Wedels, Sanitzs or Spenings.

²⁹ D. BREIDING, *Some Notes...*, p. 1.

³⁰ G.F. LAKING, *A Record of European Armour through Seven Centuries*, vol. V, London 1922, p. 129sq.

The Great Helm³¹, in its evolution, was the ideal face protection from blows and thrusting hits. The structure of this “Helm” in the second half of the 13th century was generally still the same: it was made of five iron plates riveted together. As it is visible in the sculptures of the Wells cathedral and on the tombstone of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam in Blyth (both dated 1240 AD) it protected the face by fully enclosing it (Figs. 13a, 14c–d). One limitation was that eye-slits gave the wearer a restricted view, and ventilation holes allowed him to speak and to breathe with a voice distorted by the helmet. The fastening laces were riveted to the interior of the helmet³². These helmets are generally thought to have been worn over the mail hauberk, and supported inside by an internal padding called “padiglione” in Italy.

From the second quarter of the 13th century, the iconography shows as the full Great Helm was widely used by all Western Potentates: the Templars³³, the French, German and Flemish Knights (*Manesse Codex*, XXIX), as well as the Crusader States in general (Figs. 15b–c)³⁴, and obviously the Anglo-Norman knights, included the famous Guillaume le Marechal (Fig. 15d). The widespread employment of this helm by the various powers who contended with Italy in the 13th century is also well attested. In Northern Italy, in territories formally subjected to the German Empire, the painted cycle of Iwein at the Castle of Rodenegg already shows the warrior’s face covered with a helmet fitted with visor in the first quarter of the century, although the shape is still archaic if compared with the fully developed Great Helm³⁵. One

³¹ Called “helmvaz” and “helmhuot” or simply “Helm” in German (P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, p. 92); “elme” in mid/late 12th century France (D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour...*, p. 557); “Helm”, “Helme”, in late 13th – early 14th century England; “Helm harsnire”, “Helm harsture” in late 13th–century Netherlands (*ibidem*, p. 564); it is not easy by the way to understand which was the medieval word designating such category of helmets. The terms “helmvaz” and “helmhuot” – used, for instance, in the German epic *Nibelungenlied* – also probably refer to large and closed helmets as such. This is why some authors, therefore, associate the origin of Great Helms with the German lands. The theory can be supported by the fact that most European languages adopted the term for this type of helmets from German: “helm” or “Great Helm” in English; “heaume” in French; “elmo” in Italian, and “yelmo” in Spanish (A. DEMMIN, *Die Kriegswaffen in ihren geschichtlichen Entwicklungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart. Eine Encyclopädie der Waffenkunde*, Gera-Untermhaus 1891, p. 492–493; H. MÜLLER-HICKLER, *Über die Funde aus der Burg Tannenberg*, ZHWK 13, NF 4, 1934, p. 179; O. GAMBER, *Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Waffen (Teil 4)*, ZHWK 37, 1995, p. 19). In the written sources of the Bohemian medieval Kingdom, the candidate terms referring to Great Helms seem to be “přilba” or “přilbice” and the derivative of the German word “helm” (cf. P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, p. 92; R. D’AMATO, *Medieval German Great Helm*, [in:] *Timeline Auctions. Ancient Art and Antiquities*, 26 November 2019 – 27 November – 3 December 2019, London 2019, p. 141).

³² H. NICHOLSON, *Knight Templar, 1120–1312*, Oxford 2007, p. 63.

³³ Fig. 15a; H. NICHOLSON, *Knight Templar...*, p. 28, Pl. F and H.

³⁴ See also: the Battle of La Forbie (1244 AD), and the Defeat of the Crusades at Gaza of the manuscript of the “Corpus Christi College 16”, fol. 133v, 170v (H. NICHOLSON, *Knight Templar...*, p. 47, 55).

³⁵ M. VIGNOLA, *Armi e armature...*, p. 53.

of the first representations of Italian Helms of this typology can be found on one Illumination from the manuscript *Relatio de innovatione ecclesie Sancti Geminiani ac de translatione eius beatissimi corporis* (Ms. O.II.11, folio 9r, Archivio Capitolare, Modena, Fig. 7c). Although dated to the transitional period between the 12th and 13th centuries, the manuscript could have been completed in the early 13th century³⁶. In this miniature, two groups of *Milites* are facing each other while the grave of Saint Geminianus is open by the people of Modena, in the presence of the famous Matilde di Canossa. Six warriors are protecting their faces with an earlier form of Great Helm, lacquered in three different colours (light green, dark blue and mauve). The visor is not crossed-shaped, but leaves part of the nose uncovered and the eyes as well. A Templar fresco from 1242 of San Bevignate (Fig. 15a), where the helmet is box-shaped like in the Lucera specimen, represents a further Italic iconography, where it seems that the eye-slit is no longer a single slot, but it is divided in two separate parts. The helmets are painted in white, red and black, and one of them is surmounted by a red plume.

These earliest iconographies show the top of the helmet flat, successively evolving into the rounded one, like in the specimen from Altena³⁷. This typology, called "Heaume di Pavia" is often quoted in the 13th century Romans³⁸. In the splendid frescoes of Saint Gimignano (1290) (Fig. 16), next to a pointed Great Helm we can see a specimen with movable visor³⁹. These iconographic models show that these helmets, originally provided with a flat profile poorly adapted to the blows received vertically, developed a more appropriate ovoid shape in the last third of 13th century. The development is fully attested by Tuscany seals, by a seal of the Corporation of Saint George in Ferrara⁴⁰, an evolution that continues until the middle of the 14th century (Fig. 7a).

³⁶ We owe the information on the manuscript illumination to our colleagues from the staff of "Acta Militaria Mediaevalia".

³⁷ P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, Fig. 18:B. Some scholars support the thesis that the Altena helmet is a forgery: it is more correct to say that (maybe) it was restored in the 19th century, but that its core is a 14th century original: see *ibidem*, p. 93, 109, considering the fact that it has been dated by organic matter C14 analysis and that scholars like Schäfer, Herzog and Steeger consider it totally original. The fact that something does not satisfy our visual taste or our personal conceptions does not mean that this object is a forgery, but many scholars seem to ignore such a rule.

³⁸ L. FUNCKEN, F. FUNCKEN, *Le costume, l'armure et les armes au temps de la chevalerie*, vol. I, Tournai 1977, p. 22.

³⁹ A fact confirmed by the *Istorie Senesi (Il primo libro delle istorie senesi, due narrazioni sulla sconfitta di Montaperto*, ed. F. BELLARMATI, Siena 1844, p. 64) for the battle of Montaperti (1260 AD): *Poi mettendosi l'elmo tutto rilucente in testa, facendoselo bene allacciare dinanzi e dietro, alzando la visiera gli disse... (indeed putting the shiny helmet on his head, making it well fastened front and back, he raised the visor and said to him...)*.

⁴⁰ Today at the British Museum, E. OAKESHOTT, *The Archaeology of the Weapons, Arms and Armour from Prehistory to the Age of the Chivalry*, London 1960, Pl.11:b; I. HEATH, *Armies of the Feudal Europe, 1066–1300*, Worthing 1989, Fig. 16, p. 81; D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour...*, Fig. 597;

The helmet, “a staro” – i.e. with cylindrical shape and composed of five plates⁴¹ was well in use until the last decades of the 13th century, as demonstrated by the iconography of the seals of Cavalcante de Cavalcanti (1250–1260)⁴², the “Entrée d’Espagne” (manuscript Fr Z.21 (=257) in the Marciana Library in Venezia) and various other pieces of art. In approximately 1280 AD, the structure of the Great Helm underwent an evolution, especially in the area of central Italy. Passing through experiences like that visible on the seal of Sozzo Guicciardini⁴³, in which the simple ventilation openings were substituted by squared windows of bigger dimensions, partially closed by openwork bars destined to evolve in an ever more complex way, the craftsmen managed to conceive a true openwork ventilation system inserted between the bands of the bowl⁴⁴. In the last decade of the 13th century, the Great Helm took a backwards frontal shape in order to allow a better opening of the visor – sometimes with two, sometimes with four “sights” – and always more extended ventilation openings. The Great Helm from Traun (Linz)⁴⁵ is a good example of such an evolution. Moreover, after 1250 AD, the upper part of the Great Helm often tapered slightly, and this became more pronounced after 1275 AD⁴⁶. From 1275 on, the top of the bowl became narrower and the helm assumed a massive form, beginning a process that will drive to the reduction of the plates on the facial side⁴⁷. This is visible, for instance, on a helmet from a private collection, still unpublished (Fig. 17), which finds its immediate and concrete parallel with the helmet from Bozen⁴⁸ and Årnäs (Figs. 13c–d). If the helmet should

reconstruction in M. GIULIANI, *I nomi degli eroi’ in Scramasax*, [in:] *Il Sabato di San Barnaba, la battaglia di Campaldino, 11 giugno 1289–1989*, Milano 1989, p. 40, and many other representations (D. NICOLLE, *Medieval Warfare...*, Figs. p. 7; IDEM, *Arms and Armour...*, Figs. 616–617, 709).

⁴¹ As in the quoted example from Dargen – see also P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, Fig. 9:A.

⁴² Firenze, Bargello Museum, Inv. No. 771 (cf. M. SCALINI, *Protezione e segno...*, p. 85).

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

⁴⁴ See also the seal of Philip, Latin Emperor of Constantinople (J. GLÉNISSON, *La Guerre au Moyen Age: catalogue de l’exposition du château de Pons (Charente-maritime), juillet-août 1976*, Pons 1976, p. 76–77).

⁴⁵ P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, Fig. 10:C, here Fig. 17a–b.

⁴⁶ A. WILLIAMS, D. EDGE, *Great Helms and their Development into Helmets*, *Gla* 24, 2004, p. 123.

⁴⁷ Of the two helmets of Madeln, one is still made of 5 plates, the other of 3, see: A. WILLIAMS, D. EDGE, *Great Helms...*, p. 125.

⁴⁸ P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, Fig. 9:D; L. SOUTHWICK, *The Great...*, p. 5–77. On the authenticity of this helmet there is some scepticism among scholars. The helmet was found by a private in a tower, and it shows the same construction of the Aranäs helm: neither circumstance is so invasive as to consider the helmet a forgery, as stated by the many scholars who published about it, considering it absolutely authentic. See C. BLAIR, *European Armour...*, p. 96, Fig. 81; E. OAKESHOTT, *The Archaeology...*, p. 263, Fig. 129; H.M. CURTIS, *2,500 Years of European Helmets 800 B.C.–1700 A.D.*, North Hollywood 1978, p. 34–35; A. WILLIAMS, ‘Early Armour Metallurgy, [in:] *Techniques of Medieval Armour Reproduction. The 14th Century*, ed. B.R. PRICE, Boulder 2000, p. 112–114 (Williams even conducted a metallurgical analysis of it); for a complete bibliography see

be confirmed as original, it can be dated between 1300–1350 AD⁴⁹. A subsequent development involved larger helmets with an oval cross-section with a distinctive edge. These helmets reached to the shoulders of the wearer and the top was already convex. One of the best examples is the Great Helm from the castle of Tannenberg, dated 1350 AD or from the second half of the 14th century⁵⁰.

At the end of the 14th century, the Great Helm disappeared slowly from battlefields, mainly substituted by bascinets with a mobile visor, but it was still in use for Jousts and Tournaments⁵¹. There is evidence, however, that on the Continent, especially in Italy and Germany, the Great Helm continued in use in warfare until the 15th century⁵².

The Dating and identification of the helmet of Lucera

At the time of the discovery, the helmet was dated to the second half of the 14th century. Considering the loss of stratigraphic data, the only way to get a summary chronology of the helmet is to compare it with other similar finds found in all of Europe and with the artworks representing this typology of helmet. Looking at the head protection from Lucera, at first sight the shape suggests a dating to the second half or last quarter of the 13th century – maybe between 1260 and 1280. This is an opinion derived from the cylindrical shape of the helmet, first of all, which corresponds with the older types visible in the iconography of the 13th century (Figs. 5, 6, 10c, 13a, 14d, 15a) and from the detail of the cross-shaped visor at the height of the nose, a component visible in the sources related to the cylindrical Great Helms after 1230–1240 (Figs. 10c, 18a).

P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CISÁR, *A Unique...*, note 8. The Great Helms had a similar construction evolving during the time and both helmets (Bozen and Aranäs) are from the same Germanic area.

⁴⁹ It seems to be a German Great Helm of later typology; a good state of preservation, few traces of corrosion, mainly complete, still visible in its original shape without larger deformations; it is composed of five nailed plates: one plate forming the top, riveted by 15 or 16 iron nails; two plates comprise the visor, the top occipital plate riveted also by iron nails, part of which are riveted to the top; the lower facial plate still fastened with 14 nails, two of them attaching a T-shaped nose-guard raising on the upper plate; the back upper plate fastened by 24 rivets, also riveted to the lower plate and the top; the edge holes are still visible, destined to fix the internal padding system; the top of the helmet is convex; the visual system is divided into two parts, and on both left and right parts the remaining openings forming the ventilation system are distributed, shaped like openwork crosses. Weight – 1.6 kg; size – 28.5 cm. A substantial identical specimen of 1300 in L. SOUTHWICK, *The Knightly Great Helm and the Tournament Jousting Helm in England?*, [in:] *The Spring Park Lane Arms Fair cat. 135, Weapons*, London 2018, p. 12–91; one of the authors has inspected the helmet directly, however, metallurgical analysis is needed to confirm the complete authenticity.

⁵⁰ P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CISÁR, *A Unique...*, p. 93, Fig. 9:E.

⁵¹ K. DEVRIES, R.D. SMITH, *Medieval Weapons. An Illustrated History of their Impact*, Santa Barbara 2007, p. 176; M. SCALINI, *A bon droyt, Spade di uomini liberi, cavalieri e Santi / Epées d'hommes libres, chevaliers et saints*, Milano 2007, p. 165.

⁵² D. NICOLLE, *Medieval Warfare...*, p. 178–179; C. BLAIR, *European Armour...*, p. 73.

Based on actual surviving specimens, we can say that such reinforcement is noticeable only on the helmet from Dargen, dated to the third quarter of the 13th century⁵³ (Fig. 13b) and on the helmet from Madeln, ca. 1325–1350 (Figs. 18a–b–c)⁵⁴. However, this reinforcement attached the helmet front plates between them only on the Dargen helmet. On the helmet from Madeln, the cross-shaped reinforcing plates, also visible on the Lucera specimen, are just a clean decoration.

If the cruciform fittings on the frontal plates are features of earlier examples, a further element for dating our helmet to the second half of 13th century is suggested by the particular shape of the crest attachment system (Figs. 4d–e–f) and especially by the presence of the crest eyelet. In the period between 1260–1300 AD such elements appear on many helmets visible in the Western European iconography, especially the French (Fig. 5) and Germanic one (Figs. 25a–b). This crest holder served primarily for the attack of the crest or other decorative elements, which often reflected the heraldic symbols of the helmet's wearer⁵⁵. These decorative elements could be of different types: flag shaped, horsehairs painted with natural pigments, or small flags with the heraldry of the knight (Figs. 19, 20, 21a–b).

Several features of the Lucera helmet strengthen the proposed dating of 1260–1280 AD. Apart from the crest-holder⁵⁶, it has holes for attaching a cap of maintenance, as well as rectangular breathing holes on the frontal plate of the helmet similar to specimen from Traun near Linz (Figs. 17a–b). At the same time, there are features of earlier helmets, such as the cruciform plates on the frontal plates (Dargen). Its general appearance could induce some doubts about its authenticity, if its provenance had not been confirmed by the information in our possession given by official authorities, because its shape is uncharacteristic of the archaeological findings nowadays known to us with few exceptions. We are talking about the fact that the edges of the occipital plate of the helmet from Lucera cover the top plate of the helmet (Fig. 4e). In most other known specimens, the edges of the top plate overlap the edges of the occipital plate (Figs. 13b, 18b–c). There are however important exceptions to consider in such regard.

One is the recently published helmet from Dalečín, dated to the first quarter of the 14th century or 1340 AD at the latest⁵⁷. In this helmet, the top edge of the front segment and the top edge of the rear segment are bent inward, creating

⁵³ M. ERBSTÖSSER, *Die Kreuzzeuge, Eine Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1976, p. 83, Fig. 46; H.M. CURTIS, *2,500 Years...*, p. 25–27.

⁵⁴ R. MARTI, R. WINDLER, *Die Burg Madeln bei Pratteln / BL. Eine Neubearbeitung der Grabungen 1939/40*, Liestal 1988, Taf. 13; P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, Fig. 10:A.

⁵⁵ This is clearly visible in the *Manesse Codex*, Pl. 12–13, 15.

⁵⁶ This element is visible on helmets from the beginning of the 14th century: Küssnach (E.A. GESSLER, *Der Topfhelm von Küssnach*, ZHWK 9, 1922, p. 22–26), Traun near Linz (K. BRUNNER, F. DAIM, *Ritter, Knappen, Edelfrauen. Ideologie und Realität des Rittertums im Mittelalter*, Wien–Köln–Graz 1981, Abb. 46) and Carlake (T. CAPWELL, *The Real Fighting Stuff. Arms and Armour at Glasgow Museums*, Glasgow 2007, Fig. 4).

⁵⁷ P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, p. 114.

a simple flange, to which the top, oval occipital part of the helmet was riveted from the inside⁵⁸. Petr Žákovský, Jiří Hošek and Vlado Cisár have proposed that the shape of the top occipital plate be regarded as a chronological indicator for five-plate helmets. This was flat in older helmets dated to the 13th and early 14th century, and riveted on the top, its bent flanges overlapping the upper plates – as clearly seen on the Dargen and Bolzano (Bozen) helmets. Somewhat younger were the helmets whose occipital plates, still flat, were riveted to the other plates of the helm from inside to a flange created by the bent top plates, like in the Lucera helmet. But this rule is not applicable here, if the Lucera helmet can be dated to the last quarter of the 13th century AD.

Unfortunately, we have only few examples dated to the 13th century: the helmets from Dargen, Rehburg⁵⁹ (Fig. 14a) and possible helmet fragments from Montfort castle⁶⁰ (Fig. 22d)⁶¹. The images do not allow us to judge in a clear way whether the helmet's bowl scheme was the same on all helmets and the edges of the frontal plate were superimposed over the edges of the occipital plate. What is clear from the iconography is that the top part is sometimes clearly nailed (Figs. 6a–b, 23a), and the line of the overlapping top plate is clearly understandable (Figs. 13a–14c) but sometimes the nailing is not visible (Fig. 14d), and the line of the top plate is

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 98, Fig. 6, 8. The same detail can be seen on a series of Great Helms recently sold by Timeline Auctions in London. The first of them (Fig. 21c), dated to ca. 1300 AD (R. D'AMATO, *Medieval German...*, p. 127, 141), is composed of five plates nailed between them, and the plate forming the top is riveted from the inside, with iron nails, to the top edge of the front segment and to the top edge of the rear segment which are also bent inward, creating the same flange visible on the Dalečín helmet. The second helmet (Fig. 21d), dated ca. 1350 AD (R. D'AMATO, *Medieval German Great Helm*, [in:] *Timeline Auctions. Antiquities & Ancient Art, 25 February 2020 – 26 February – 02 March 2020*, London 2020, p. 164) it is also composed of five plates nailed between them: the plate forming the top is riveted by 15 iron nails, the same riveting from inside the front and back upper plates. The third helmet too, of future publication, presents the same characteristics, although it can be dated to approximately 1320 (Fig. 22a–b). All these helmets obviously need a metallurgical analysis.

⁵⁹ E. COSACK, *Neuere archäologische Funde aus dem Regierungsbezirk Hannover. Ein Katalog besonderer Objekte*, NNU 63, 1994, p. 95–122; J. SCHWEEN, *Topfhelm*, [in:] *Die Weser – Ein Fluss in Europa*, ed. N. HUMBURG, J. SCHWEEN, Holzminden 2000, p. 330, cat. no. 60).

⁶⁰ B. DEAN, *The Exploration of a Crusader's Fortress (Montfort) in Palestine*, MMAB 22.9, 1927, Fig. 53.

⁶¹ A. BOAS, G. KHAMISY, *Montfort. History, Early Research and Recent Studies of the Principal Fortress of the Teutonic Order*, Leiden 2017 [= MMe, 107], p. 195, 203, 205–206, 336; the piece is still published there as a possible Great Helm (p. 205–206), although some of the scholars believe, contrary to our opinion, that the interpretation of the fragment of Montfort was the result of a long living legend created by B. Dean, who was desperate to find a spectacular item related to arms and armour on the site. Some scholars – examining this modest, extremely corroded relic at the MET (inv.28.99.17) – could hardly believe that such an object was produced by a craftsman, who lacked the required skill ever left a medieval armourer's workshop. Considering the poor state of the find, we can hardly believe that the Dean opinion, who grew up with a medieval helmet at home, could be confirmed or dismissed. However, we all should be cautious with far-fetched hypotheses on the identification of the find.

missing. This could be an iconographical element that could help us to understand if the top plate overlapped or was overlapped by the occipital and rear plates: it seems that both systems were used in the second half of the 13th century.

In our opinion, some variations could take place with the evolution of these type of helmets during the 13th century, when both stylistic and structural experimentation took place: the shape of the helmet was changed, and by the end of the 13th century a cap of maintenance appears on the helmet⁶² (Fig. 23b). Unfortunately, for what concerns the specimen of Lucera, the context of the find itself does not allow for an understanding of the chronology of the helmet. It is possible that during its use the helmet could have been subjected to repeated alterations, for example: not only were the small round holes for air exchange added in the frontal part, but also holes for attaching the cap of maintenance, and even the crest-holder could be a further addition. Judging from the iconographic sources we have examined, the very shape of the helmet testifies to its manufacture in the last quarter of the 13th century⁶³.

⁶² The owners of Great Helms, who wore open-faced helmets with an aventail to protect the neck, could thus choose to take the Great Helm off after the first contact in battle and let it hang from a chain down their back. This is why they needed – as it is possible to see on the Cangrande della Scala statue (P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, Fig. 12:c) – another extra metallic protection of the head. This is quite visible on many German gravestones of the 14th century, where knights, represented in full armour, are wearing a “bascinet” or a “cervelliere” on the head and their Great Helm beside them (*ibidem*, Fig. 11, 12a–b). For instance, this can be seen in the *Manesse Codex*, p. 150; see also L.G. BOCCIA, F. ROSSI, M. MORIN, *Armi ed armature lombarde*, Milano 1980, p. 37).

⁶³ Another possible element of dating could be represented by a couple of swords, may be found in the same context, a fact confirmed to one of the authors by the personnel of the Museum. The swords, until now, have not been published or studied. These swords had the typical shape of the swords of the second half of the 13th century (Fig. 22c), which can be compared with the image of “Maciejowski Bible” (Fig. 6a). According to the classification of Oakeshott, they should belong to the type XVI or XVIa of the cavalry swords, the so-called “estoc” (E. OAKESHOTT, *Records of the Medieval Sword*, Woodbridge 1991, p. 61sq; IDEM, *The Swords in the Age of Chivalry*, Gateshead 1998, Fig. 34) of which they present the main characteristics. We can note, for instance, the broad double-edged blade of the most preserved specimen, with shallow central fuller over two thirds of its length on each side, the fuller towards the forte on each side, the iron hilt comprising straight quillons of circular section widening to the tips, the long flat tapering tang and the large compressed wheel pommel. The strongly tapering blade is of medium length (28”–32”), the upper half broad, of a strong section, and one still shows the well-marked, deep fuller which extends a little over half the length of the blade; the lower half tapers to an acute point, although the actual state of the sword does not present any solid four-sided “flattened diamond” section. The grip is of average length (about 4”); the tang is stout, and the fuller is running up into it. The most preserved specimen shows a variant of the “wheel” pommel. They also correspond to some swords of type K and K1 (XVIa Oakeshott) published by M. ALEKSIĆ, *Mediaeval Swords from Southeastern Europe. Materials from 12th to 15th Century*, Beograd 2007, pls. 1, 4, 11.4. Both Oakeshott and Aleksić date such typology to the early 14th century but a sword of 1300 could have been in use 20/30 years before its hypothetical chronology. Another possible interpretation is that the type (especially the one of the sword without a pommel) can be considered as a XIIIa sword according to the Oakeshott classification, mainly used

The Material culture of the helmet

If the dating hypothesis is correct, the find could be dated to the end of the “Hohenstaufen” era and the beginning of the Anjou period. It would be interesting to answer the question: who was the owner of the helmet? A Swabian or an Angevin warrior? Somebody else?

The information collected from the local people was the following: a famous bandit of the 16th century, the abruzzese Marco Sciarra, fighting against the Pope and the Kingdom of Spain, sacked Lucera in 1592 AD, and began looting the house of the nobility. According to popular belief, the helmet fell into the hands of robbers who used it as a chestnut roasting pan while patrolling the tower of the castle that controlled the area. It is possible that the helmet and swords from Lucera were kept in one of the houses of the castle as relics from the 13th century AD, since two brothers, Theoden (Teodino) and Mark (Marco) Skassa (Scassa) – the Wrathful – were with Saint Louis during the ninth Crusade. After the band of the Sciarra escaped from Lucera, the helmet and swords were left in the tower under a layer of debris, which were safely preserved until the arrival of archaeologists. However, this information cannot be confirmed by any document.

Certainly, the fact that the helmet was found inside a tower of the new fortress built by Charles on the site of the Frederick II Palace is one of the first and stronger elements in favor of the Angevin thesis. If we examine the iconography, the helmet shows a strong similarity as well with the image of the French Manuscript

from the last quarter of 13th century until the 15th century (see M. ALEKSIĆ, *Mediaeval Swords...*, p. 46; D. CULIC, A. PRALEA, *A Medieval Sword discovered in Maramureș*, AMP 35, 2013, p. 3sqq). The same can be said of the XVa swords, according to the analysis of Prof. Głosek (M. GŁOSEK, *Miecze środkowoeuropejskie z X–XV wieku*, Warszawa 1984, p. 181). Their characteristic pommel and the presence of the socket in the tang could confirm it, paralleling such swords with the description of the French swords at the battle of Benevento (1266 AD) in which the technological innovation brought by the Angevin on the field was the presence of “estoc” swords. According the chronicle of the Benevento, the French cavalrymen of Charles d’Anjou could not harm the German knights with slashing hits vibrated from above, because of the plates armour (*doubles armeures, duplici tegmine loricati*) of the Manfredi’s “milites” (*Recueil*, p. 424–425): *Et cum densitas armorum, quibus hostes erant munitissimi, ictus Francorum vibratos in aëre repelleret, Franci mucronibus gracilibus et acutis sub humeris ipsorum, ubi inermis patebat aditus, dum levent brachia, transforantes, per lateras viscerum gladios scapulo tenus immergebant* (trans.: *When the French saw and noticed this, they took the small swords that were with them, and shouted to strike in the armpits, where the Germans were more lightly armored*). Also A.B. HOFFMEYER, *Arms and Armour in Spain. A Short Survey*, vol. I, *The Bronze Age to the End of the High Middle Ages*, Madrid 1972, p. 33 mentions swords able to easily penetrate the armour and the helmets of the knights in 14th century. Certainly, we cannot say that some original specimens of swords are from one or the other medieval culture based solely on written or schematic figural sources. These kinds of swords were popular in whole of Europe, and we have similar specimen from France as well as from Germany (if XIIIa, see E. OAKESHOTT, *Records of...*, p. 98, 101, 106; if XVIa see p. 153, 156). In this context, and without a deep analysis of them, they are of little utility for the helmet’s dating, but a mention was relevant.

of Saint Louis (Fig. 10c). Nor should the comparison with one of the most important iconographic documents for the representation of the Great Helms – i.e. the “Maciejowski Bible”, completed in France ca. 1250⁶⁴ – be neglected. Five plates form the Lucera helmet, which can also be seen on the helmets of the Bible (Figs. 5, 6, 23); some helmets of the Maciejowski miniatures show an identical crest holder attachment (Fig. 24a); the crossed visor of the Lucera helmet is characterised by the same “fleur de lys” (or clover) at the extremities visible for the most part on the helmets represented in the Morgan Bible (Fig. 23), again a typical characteristic of the helmets between 1250 and 1270. The same detail is visible on some helmets on the Chartres Cathedral windows (Fig. 24b).

On the other hand, we cannot exclude that the helm belonged to a “miles” of the Ghibellini faction of Hohenstaufen. We have already noted that the general development of Great Helms was starting in the early 13th century, based on round shapes with straight sides and a flat occipital plate with a distinct edge, and this happened probably inside the territories formerly under the German Empire. This evolution is well known thanks to the preserved beautiful aquamaniles⁶⁵. In the Bargello Museum in Firenze one of these aquamaniles has been preserved, classified as made in the Swabian Kingdom of Sicily or Saxony in about 1250 (Figs. 25a–b). The helmet of the warrior is very similar to the Lucera one, with his crossed visor and the same square fastening system for the crest. A very similar helmet is also worn by a “miles” on a second German aquamanile, similarly dated, and preserved in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 25c) and by one preserved in the Civico Museo of Bologna (Fig. 25d)⁶⁶. The bulk of these water vessels was made in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, and Saxony in particular produced them in abundance. The helmet of the aquamanile from Besançon, also executed in lower Saxony, and the similar specimen in the National Museum in Copenhagen (Figs. 26a–b) also show affinities with the Lucera specimen (Fig. 3).

However, there can be various hypotheses. The circumstances and the location of the find cannot exclude the possibility that the helmet could be a war booty taken from the Imperial Army, or simply worn by a mercenary of both armies. There is another question about the iconography of the Maciejowski miniatures. It is certainly true that they were made in a French workshop but it is not certain that the iconography of the represented warriors refers only to French knights. The images represent Biblical warriors dressed in 13th-century costumes, and very often the enemies of the heroes (the Israelites) were portrayed as the enemies of the people

⁶⁴ D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour...*, cat. 49.

⁶⁵ M. SCALINI, *A bon droyt...*, p. 132–133; P. ŽÁKOVSKÝ, J. HOŠEK, V. CÍŠÁR, *A Unique...*, p. 95, Fig. 4).

⁶⁶ See M.G. D'APUZZO, M. MEDICA, *L'Aquamanile del Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna*, Bologna 2013.

to whom the miniaturist or the commissioner belongs. We can see that in the miniature of the folio 13 ("Gideon fights the Midianites") one of the Midianite warriors has on his shield Imperial Heraldry (Fig. 26c). So many "evil" warriors represented in the manuscript wearing Great Helms can be also iconographical images of the German knights. Again, this cannot be the rule because in the miniature of folio 24r (Fig. 23b) the same heraldry is represented on the shields of the Saul warriors! In conclusion, the magnificent miniatures of the "Maciejowski Bible" represent the medieval costumes of the 13th-century Western potentates according to the taste of artist. Certainly, they were not fictionally created costumes, and the details confirm that they were copied from the material culture of the time and from the equipment of actual knights – but probably not with the intention to illustrate the difference between the "good" French knights and their "evil" opponents. The identification of the portrayed knights can be done only on the basis of an attentive heraldic study, and it is beyond the purpose of this paper.

Conclusion: the authenticity of the helmet and further actions

Unfortunately, the helmet – despite having been restored, immediately exhibited in a museum, and the subject of some local conferences – has been largely neglected by the scientific community. And that is certainly not because its honest discoverer failed to inform the scientific community. Maffulli was not an academic, much less a member of a museum community: he was a worker who accidentally made an incredible discovery. After making it, he did the only thing possible for a man of his cultural formation: he informed the local authorities, had the helmet published in a local newspaper and even restored the helmet at his own expense. The fact that the discovery of this extremely important helmet was not immediately brought to the knowledge of the scientific community cannot be attributed to Maffulli, for whom it was not his responsibility. If anything, it can be attributed to a lack of willingness on the part of the Soprintendenza of those years to publish a fundamental medieval war instrument, which was considered less important than a simple Greek vase. Still, the experts of Medieval war equipment were (and are still today) very few in Italy.

The answer to the question 'who was the owner of the Lucera helmet' for now remains unknown. There are elements to support both theories and therefore the problem will probably be unsolved for a long time. It is clear that such a splendid helmet was worn by an important warrior, a "miles", maybe fighting in one of the famous battles of 13th century Italy. However, reality – as a colleague observed – was more complicated than we think. These items were exported, looted, gifted. What it is certain is that this find has extraordinary meaning for the understanding of the strategic importance of the Lucera fortress in the second half of the 13th century. From a military point of view, thanks to its unique shape, the helmet allows us to add more knowledge to the morphology and evolution of such

artefacts. Further studies on the helmet are still necessary: e.g. a detailed micro-analysis of some helmet fragments could help to understand the original heraldry painting, the composition of the steel and, by analyzing the mixture of carbon, steel and iron, the provenance of the helmet and the logic of its construction. The identification of the color pigments will also certainly help in formulate a more correct hypothesis on the material culture of origin.

We are hoping that this contribution can push the Italian Authorities to promote additional scientific research (on the metal and the pigment, mainly) through ENEA, the National Agency for New Technologies, Energy and Sustainable Economic Development (one of more qualified at the European level), or another qualified laboratory (preferably Italian), to enhance further the importance of this wonderful piece of the Italian Middle Ages.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

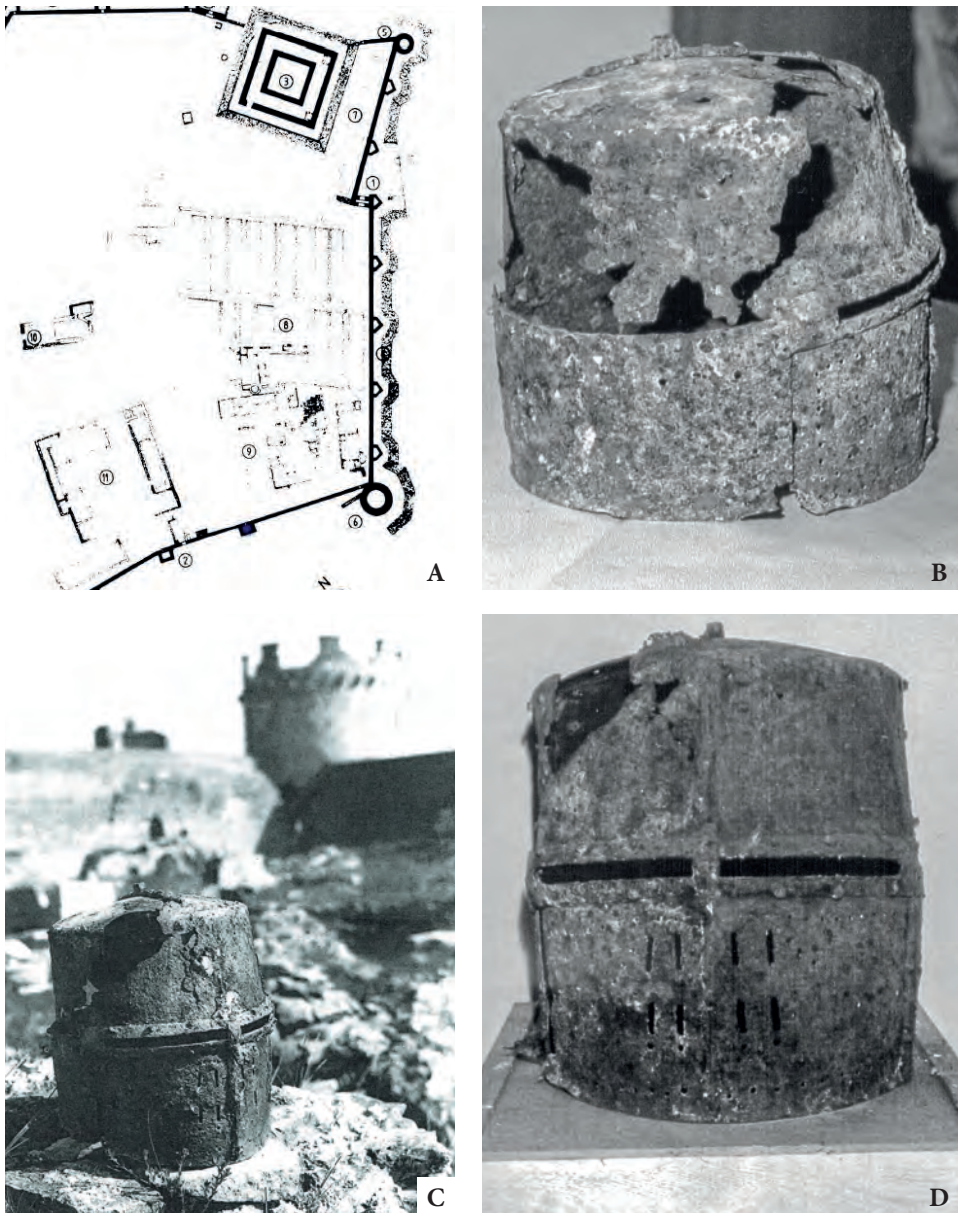


Fig. 1a. Map of the fortress of Lucera. The tower where the helmet was found has been marked with a blue colour, ex Tomaioli, 2005, p. 27, fig. 4; **b.** The Great Helm from Lucera, photo before the restoration, photo TEDESCHI, 1989. Courtesy photo Dr.ssa P. Russo; **c.** Photo from the newspaper “The Centro” of Lucera, 28 April 1987; **d.** The Great Helm from Lucera, cleaning phase 1A, photo Tedeschi, 1989. Courtesy photo Dr.ssa P. Russo.

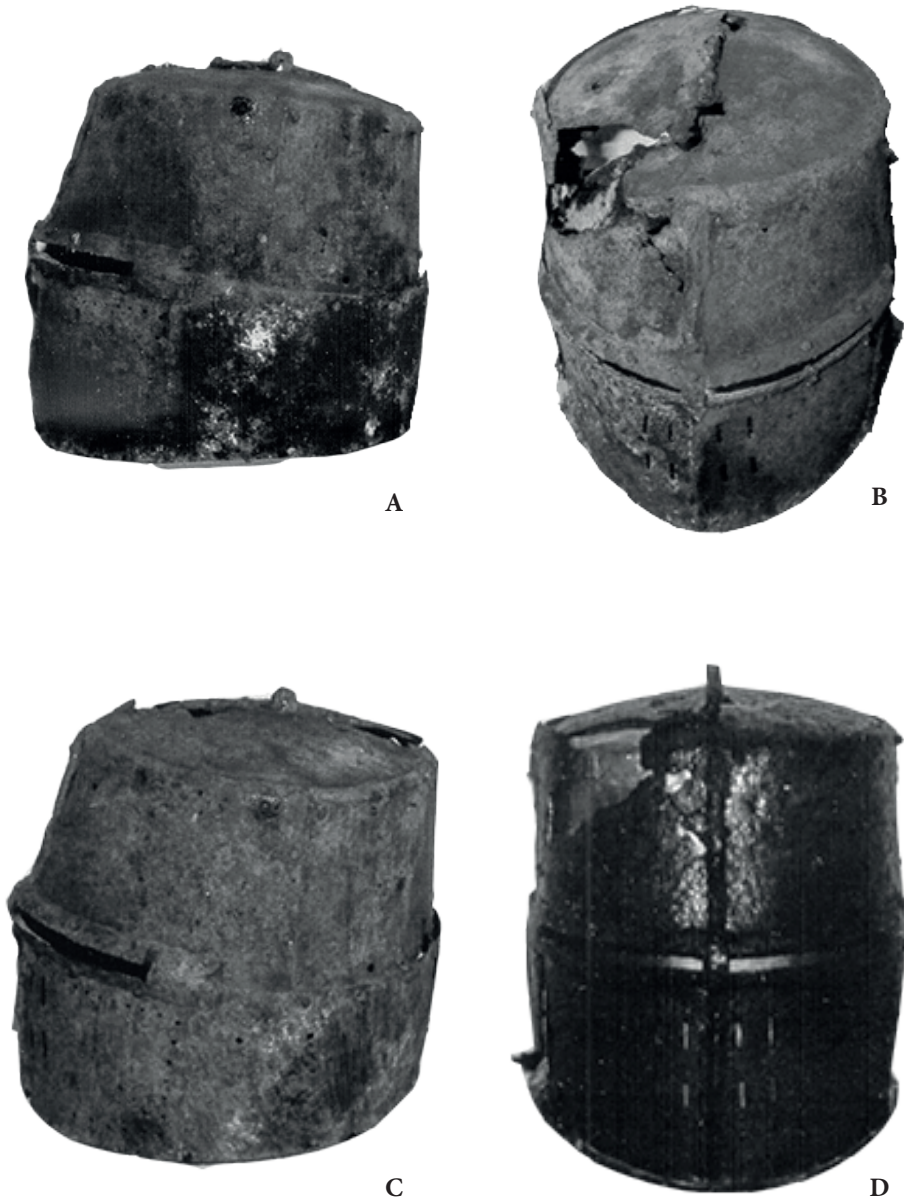


Fig. 2a. The Great Helm from Lucera, cleaning phase 1B, photo Tedeschi, 1989. Courtesy photo Dr.ssa P. Russo; **b.** and **c.** The Great Helm from Lucera, cleaning phase 1C, photo Tedeschi, 1989. Courtesy photo Dr.ssa P. Russo; **d.** The Great Helm from Lucera, cleaning final phase A, photo Tedeschi, 1989. Courtesy photo Dr.ssa P. Russo.



A



B



C



D

Fig. 3a-b-c-d. The Great Helm from Lucera, second half of the 13th century, Lucera, Civico Museo Fiorelli. Photo R. D'AMATO.

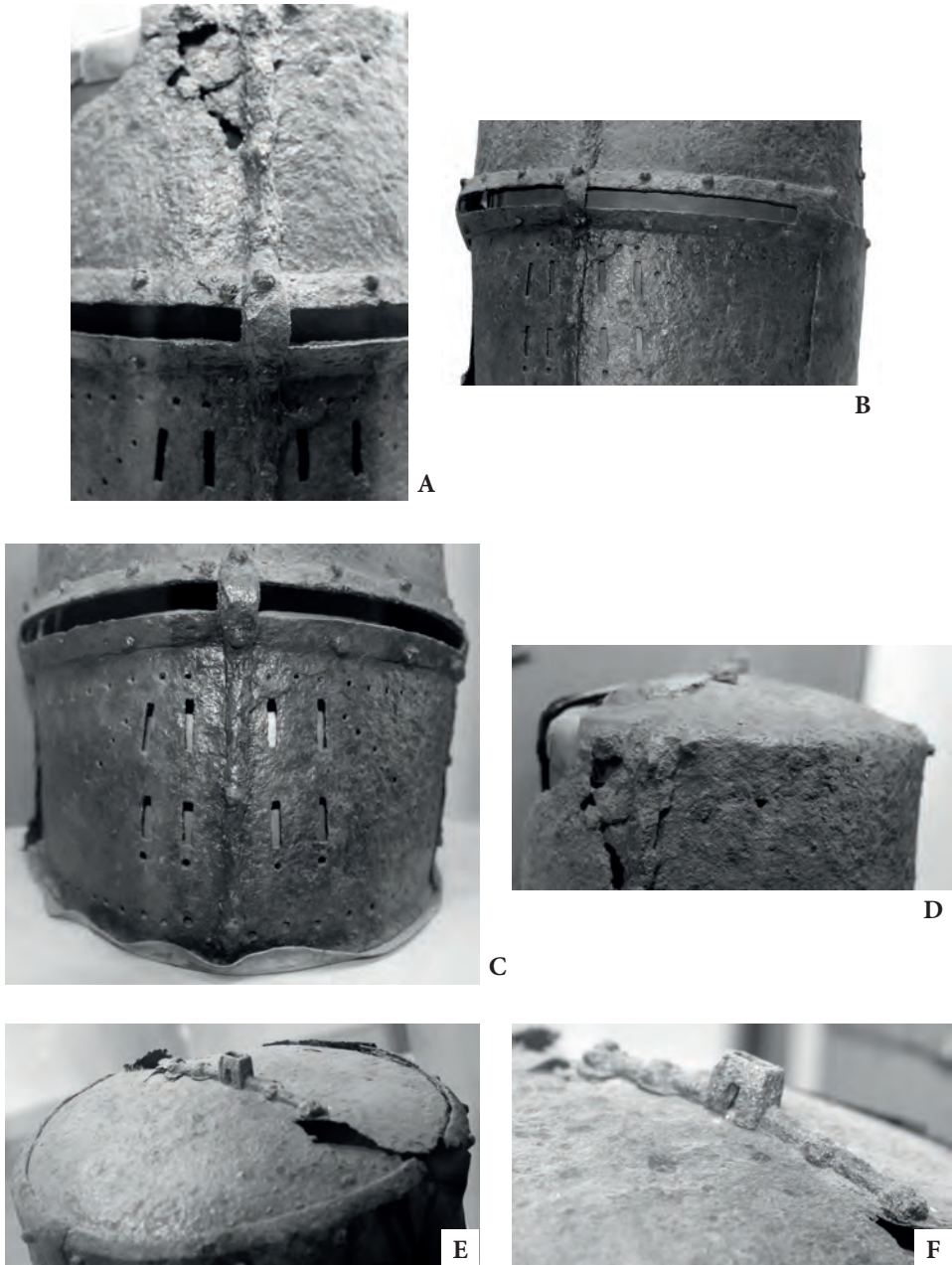


Fig. 4. The Great Helm from Lucera, Civico Museo Fiorelli: **a** – detail of the crossed visor; **b** – detail of the ventilation system; **c** – detail of the lower frontal plates and of the crossed visor; **d** – detail of the top frontal occipital plate overlapping the flat top; **e** – detail of the flat top plate with the plume attachment system; **f** – detail of plume fastening system. Photo R. D'AMATO.



Fig. 5. “Maciejowski Bible”, France, ca. 1250–1260: The end of the war between David and Absalom, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS. 16, from Wikimedia Commons.



A



B

Fig. 6. “Maciejowski Bible”, France, ca. 1250–1260: **a** – Saul victorious over the Ammonites, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. 638 folio 23v; **b** – Knights in battle wearing Great Helms, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. 638, folio 42r. Courtesy photo S. POPOV.



A



B



C

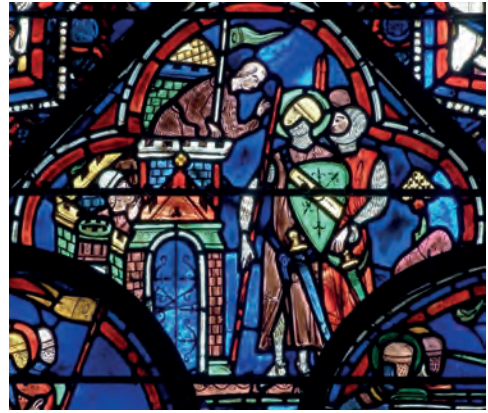
Fig. 7a – Detail of scene with Knights, fresco in Abbazia di S. Maria in Silvis, Sesto al Reghena (PN), half of the 14th century AD. Photo R. D'AMATO; **b** – “Eneit or Aeneas _roman”, Henrik Van Veldeke, folio 50r, Ms. Germ. 20282, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, after Wikimedia Commons; **c** – Illumination from the manuscript *Relatio de innovatione ecclesie Sancti Geminiani ac de translatione eius beatissimi corporis* (Ms. O. II.11, folio 9r, Archivio Capitolare, Modena, courtesy photo Wikimedia Commons).



Fig. 8a – “The Emperor Constantine dreams of Charlemagne”, Panel 3 from The Legends of Charlemagne window in Chartres Cathedral, ca. 1225, Chartres; **b** – “The duel between Roland and Ferragut (or King Marsile)”, Panel 16 from The Legends of Charlemagne window in Chartres Cathedral, ca. 1225, Chartres; **c** – “Charlemagne defeating the Saracens”, Panel 5 from The Legends of Charlemagne window in Chartres Cathedral, ca. 1225, Chartres; **d** – Julian leaves for the Crusade together with his companions, Panel 12 from the Life of Saint Julian the Hospitallier, window in Chartres Cathedral, ca. 1219–1225. Photos R. D’AMATO.



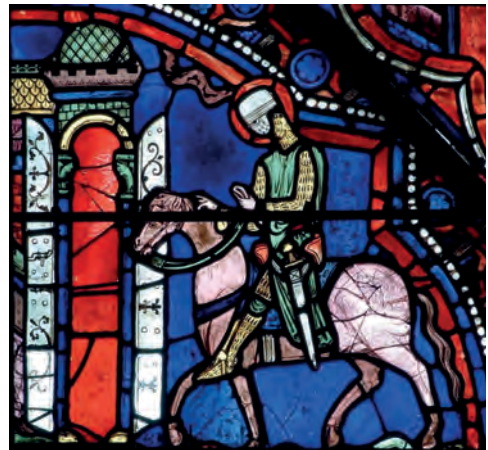
A



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D

Fig. 9a – Scene of battle; **b** – Julian and other knights at the doors of a city; **c** – Julian prepares to leave for his home; **d** – Julian comes back home. Panels 13, 14, 16, 17 from the Life of Saint Julian the Hospitaller, window in Chartres Cathedral, ca. 1219–1225, Chartres. Photo R. D'AMATO.



A



B



C



D

Fig. 10a – Julian kills his parents by mistake; **b** – Julian meets his wife. Panels 18, 19 from the Life of Saint Julian the Hospitaller, window in Chartres Cathedral, ca. 1219–1225, Chartres. Photo R. D'AMATO; **c** – Fighting between a Saracen and Christian warrior, Bible of Saint Louis, 1226–1234 AD, courtesy image of Pavel Alekseychik; **d** – Anonymous, 'the duel between Aschelon and Ywain', fresco from "Iwein" by Hartmann von Aue, in situ, Rodenegg Castle, South Tyrol, Italy, first half of the 13th century AD, Wikimedia Commons.



A



B



C



D

Fig. 11a–b–c–d. Stone panel in the Carcassonne cathedral, siege of a city and details of the knights wearing Great Helms, 1229–1240 AD. Photos R. D'AMATO.



A



B



C



D

Fig. 12a-b-c – Knights wearing Great Helms, Exeter Cathedral, England, in situ, wooden panels of chorus. Courtesy photos of A. KUCHARCZYK; **d** – Gravestone of William de Lanvalei, dead 1217, Walkern, Saint Mary Church. Courtesy photos of A. KUCHARCZYK.



A



B



C



D

Fig. 13a – ca. 1240, Tombstone of a knight with a Great Helm (Kirkstead Knight), Church of St Leonard's Without, Kirkstead, Lincolnshire, England. Photo by Heritage UK; **b** – German Great Helm from “Schlossberg” in Dargen, Pomerania, second half of 13th century, Museum für Deutsche Geschichte, Berlin. Photo by Wikimedia Commons; **c-d** – Great Helm from the Arnäs Castle, early 14th century, Stockholm, Staten Historiska Museum. Photo R. D'AMATO.

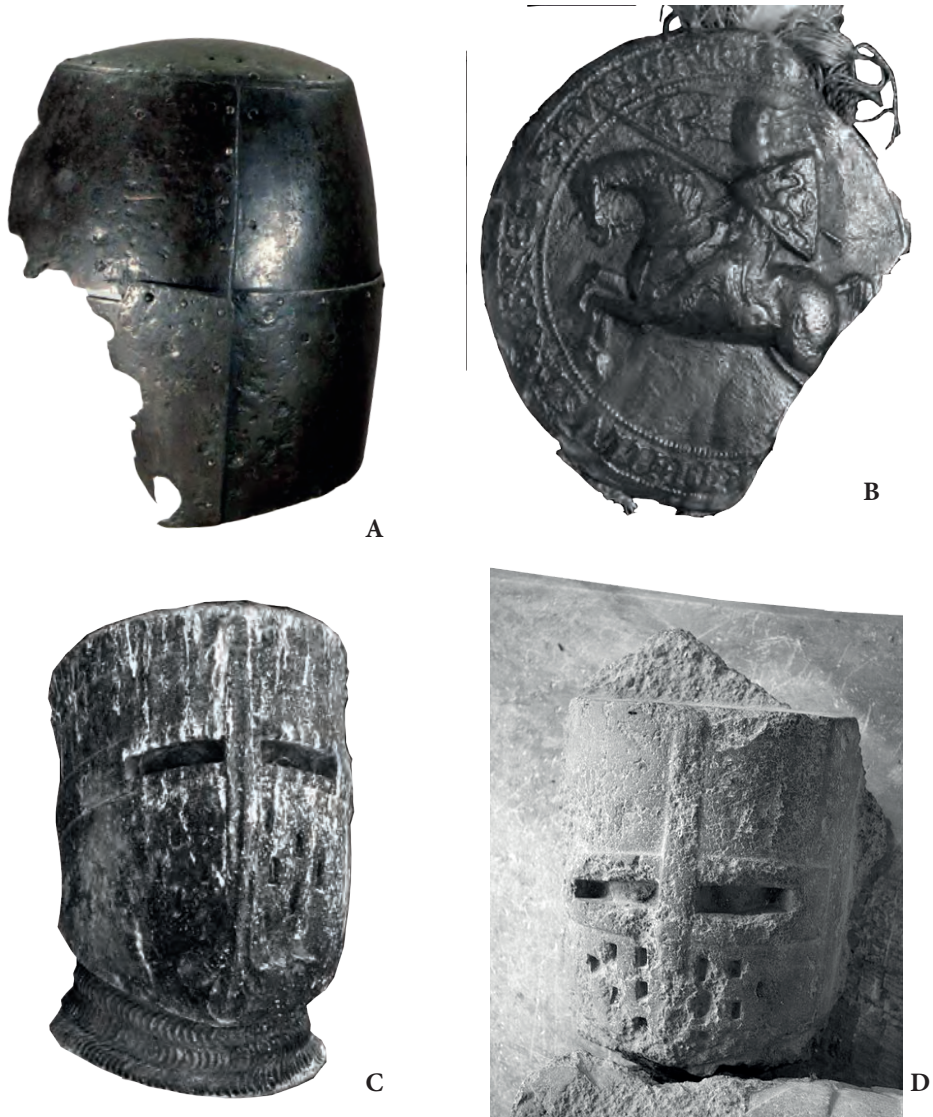


Fig. 14a – Great Helm, probably German, found at Rehburg, Germany, ca. 1275–1300; Heimatmuseum, Inv. no. 18, Rehburg-Loccum (after Breiding, 2013); **b** – Seal of King-junior Stephen of Eastern Hungary, later Stephen V, King of Hungary (1270–1272 AD), ex MOL, DL-DF:538. *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica*, A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa. (Hungarian Diplomatic Collection. A database of archival sources of medieval Hungary), Veszprem; **c** – Knights statue on the Well Cathedral façade, Wells, England, circa AD 1230–1240, in situ, after Edge-Paddock, 1988; **d** – Detail of the Great Helm from the tombstone of Sir Thomas (or Percival?) Fitzwilliam in Blyth, circa 1240 AD, in situ, Sts Mary & Martin’s church, Blyth, England. Courtesy photo local Parrish.



A



B



C



D

Fig. 15a – Fighting between the Templars and Saracens at Nablus in 1242, detail of a fresco of the Controfacciata, frescoes of the second master, Church of San Bevignate, Perugia, ca. 1260. Courtesy photo A. SALIMBETI; **b–c–d** – Cambridge Manuscript of the Corpus Christi College 16: **b** – The battle of Bouvines, folio 41r; **c** – The Battle among Christians and Saracens in Damietta (1244), folio 58v; **d** – Guillaume le Marechal (1230 AD), folio 91v. Courtesy of the Cambridge University.



A



B



C

Fig. 16a–b–c. Knights tournament, battle and hunting scenes dedicated to Charles of Anjou, frescoes cycle of the late 13th century (1290), Azzo di Masetto, Dante Hall – Town Hall in San Gimignano. Courtesy photos R. PAGANI.

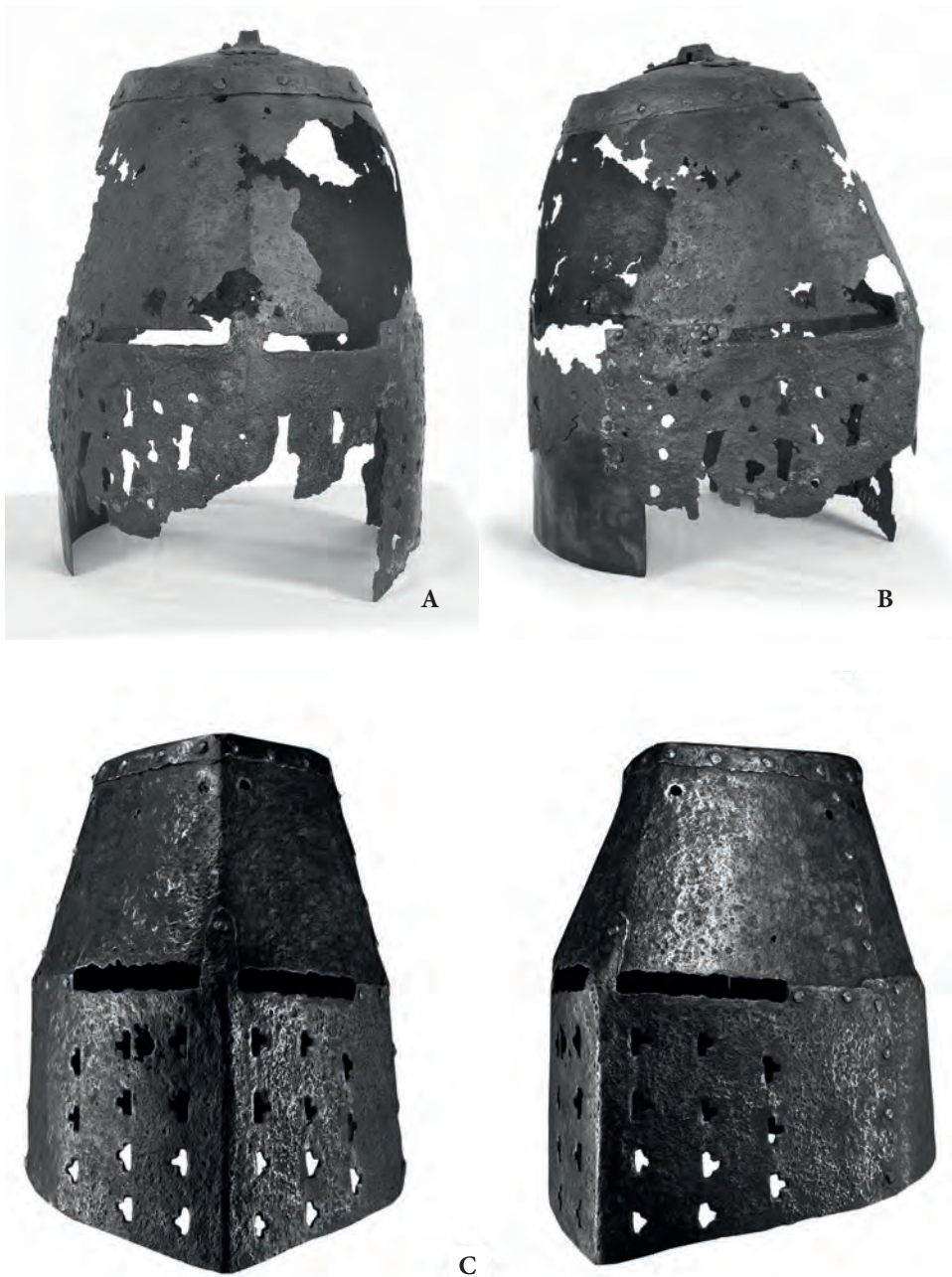


Fig. 17a-b – Great Helm from River Traun, early 14th century AD, Österreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz. Courtesy Photo of Museum; **c** – German Great Helm from circa 1300–1350 AD, European Private Collection. Photo courtesy Timeline Auctions.

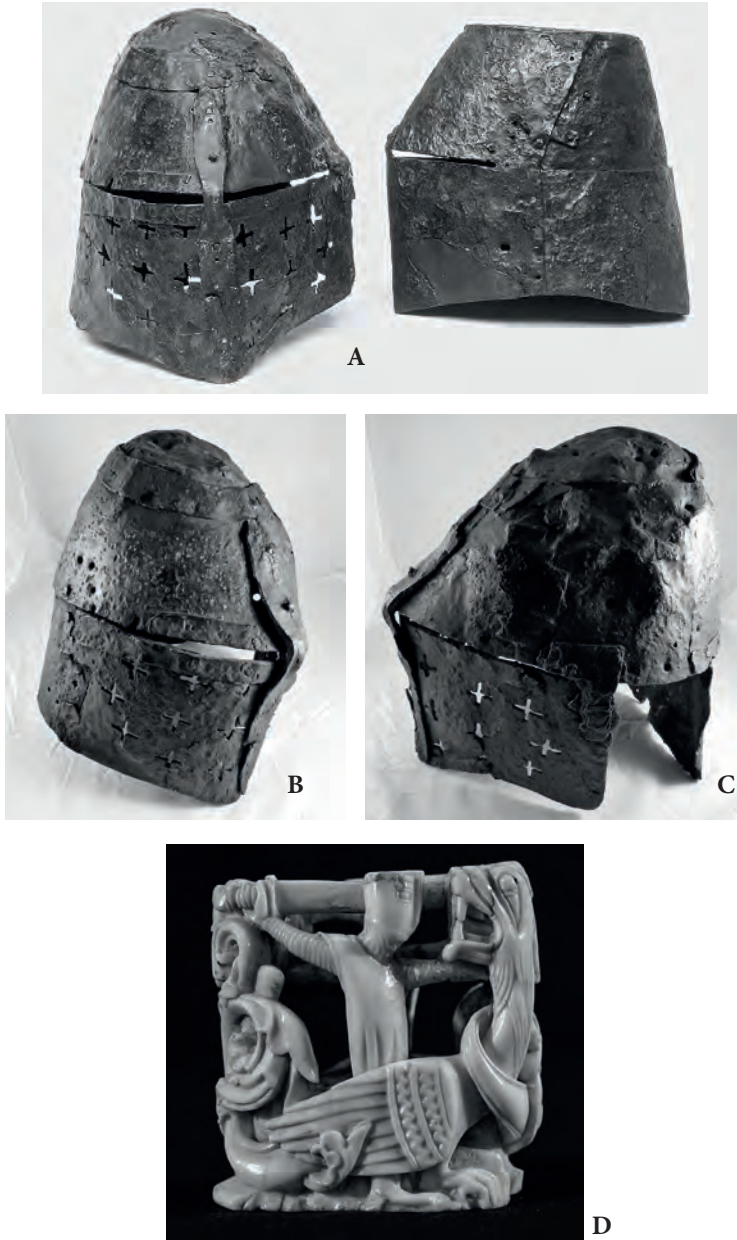


Fig. 18a–b–c – Two probably Swiss Great Helms found at Madeln Castle near Pratteln in Swit_zerland, Kantonsmuseum Baselland, Liesberg, Inv. nos. 53.1.211 and 53.1.212, the later example from ca. 1340–1350, the earlier example of ca. 1310–1320 (**18b** – after Breiding 2013; **18a–b**. Photo from Wikimedia Commons); **18d** – Ivory chess piece, representing a miles covered by a Grand Heaume, half of 13th century AD, Musée Antoine Vivenel, Compiègne. Photo courtesy of the Museum.



Fig. 19a–b–c–d. Miniatures from the manuscript of Wilhelm von Orlens – BSB Cgm 63, Germany, 1260–1300 AD, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, courtesy of the Library, Licence Metadata.



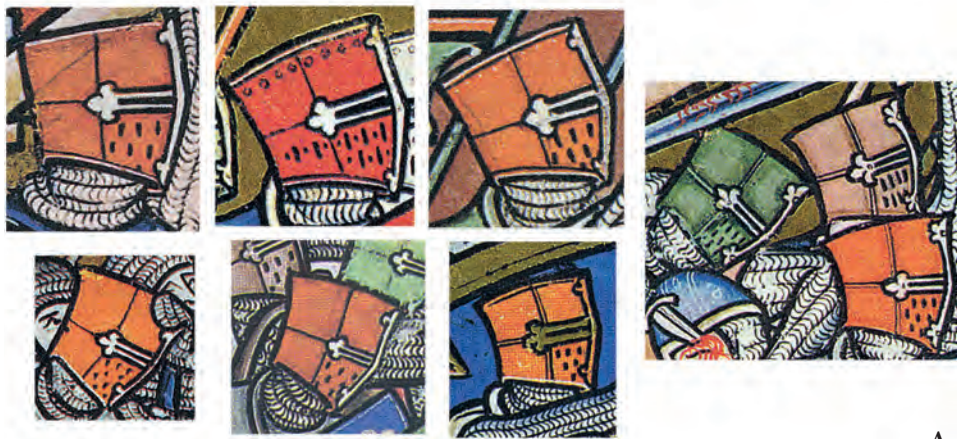
Fig. 20a–b–c–d. Miniatures from the manuscript of Wilhelm von Orlens – BSB Cgm 63, Germany, 1260–1300 AD, Bayerische Staatbibliothek, courtesy of the Library, Licence Metadata.



Fig. 21a–b – Miniatures from the manuscript of Wilhelm von Orlens – BSB Cgm 63, Germany, 1260–1300 AD, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, courtesy of the Library, Licence Metadata; **c** – German Great Helm from ca. 1300, from European Private Collection. Photo courtesy Timeline Auctions; **d** – German Great Helm from ca. 1350 from European Private Collection. Photo courtesy Timeline Auctions.



Fig. 22a–b. German Great Helm from circa 1300–1320 AD, European Private Collection. Photo courtesy Timeline Auctions; **c.** Swords, possibly from the second half of the 13th century, Civico Museo Fiorelli in Lucera. Photo R. D'AMATO; **d.** Possible fragment of a Great Helm found in the Castle of Montfort, Palestine, second half of 13th century (probably 1266–1271 AD), drawing of ANDREA SALIMBETI EX DEAN, 1927.



A



B

Fig. 23a. Great Helmets' impression from the "Maciejowski Bible", France, ca. 1250–1260: Ms. 638, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Courtesy images S. POPOV; **b.** "Maciejowski Bible", France, ca. 1250, Ms. 638, "The army of Saul", detail from folio 24r, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Courtesy image S. POPOV.



A



B

Fig. 24a. “Maciejowski Bible”, France, ca. 1250: Knights in battle wearing Great Helms, MS M.638, detail from folio 41r, Morgan Pierpont Library, New York. Courtesy photo S. POPOV; **b.** Louis Prince of France, Upper Rose Windows of Chartres Cathedral, second half of the 13th century AD, in situ, Chartres, France. Photo R. D’AMATO.



A



B



C



D

Figs. 25a–b. Aquamanile, Made in Sicily or Germany, Swabian work from 1250 AD, Museo del Bargello in Firenze, inv. No 328C. Photo R. D'AMATO; **c.** German aquamanile from Lower Saxony, ca. 1250 AD, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Inv. No. 64.101.1492. Photo Museum Public Domain; **d.** Aquamanile, Germany, ca. 1250, Museo Civico Medievale in Bologna, Inv. No. 1511, from d'Apuzzo, Medica.



A



B



C



D



Fig. 26a–b. Aquamanile, French or German, Lower Saxony, ca. 1250, Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen, Inv. No. AKG165960. Photos courtesy Museum; **c.** “Gedeon’s victory over the Midianites”, “Maciejowski Bible” France, 1250 AD, MS M.638, detail from folio 13v, Morgan Pierpont Library, New York. Courtesy photo S. POPOV; **d.** Great Helm, late 13th–14th century AD, or later, Hisart Museum, Istanbul, photo R. D’AMATO, courtesy of the museum.

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RECEPTION OF JOHN V.A. FINE JR.'S *THE BOSNIAN CHURCH: A NEW INTERPRETATION:* INTERESTING SLEEVE OF A NEVER ENDING HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DEBATE*

Abstract. Historiography about the medieval Bosnian Church is a vast and complicated labyrinth, with many different sections and subsections regarding its teachings, where authors are least likely to find a compromise, or some common ground. Very often, the ruling ideologies have intertwined their interests and influences in this field of medieval study, causing the emergence of very intense emotions in wider circles of population. One remarkable episode in history of research and study of the Bosnian Church is the occurrence of medievalist from United States of America, John V.A. Fine Jr., who arrived in Bosnia and Yugoslavia at the peak of the Cold War. Fine proved to be a very meticulous researcher, who produced a book under the title: *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries* which immediately caused disturbance and wide range of reactions. With his aligning with the historiographical stream which doesn't see the Bosnian Church as a dualistic heretical institution, rather a monastic community independent from both of the big churches of the time, Fine gave additional fuel to this theory, a theory somewhat weakened in that period as its main protagonist Jaroslav Šidak had a change of mind. The main goal of this paper is to study the immediate reactions on Fine's thesis, in forms of reviews of his book, as well its influence in the subsequent decades of the historiographical studies of the Bosnian Church.

Keywords: Bosnian Church, John V.A. Fine Jr., heresy, medieval Bosnia, historiography

Attitude towards history in general, and medieval studies in particular in Socialist Yugoslavia does not even closely resemble the attitude in the most of countries on the east side of the Iron Curtain. The pressure by the State and the Party rarely affected the work of historians and their writings¹. As an argument for

* This paper was presented as an online lecture on *The Bogomil seminar: Bogomil heresiology, its Aspects, Concepts, Reflections, Implications and Heritage*, organized by Waldemar Ceran Research Centre *Ceraneum*, University of Lodz and Radboud University Nijmegen on June 16th 2021.

¹ S. KOREN, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945–1960)*, Zagreb 2012, p. 118; B. JANKOVIĆ, *Mijenjanje sebe same. Preobrazbe hrvatske historiografije kasnog socijalizma*, Zagreb 2016, p. 20.

this theory there are some contemporary testimonies by historians of that time, as well as assessments from independent foreign scholars². However, despite the mentioned relaxed atmosphere in the historical studies, and generally good relations that Yugoslavia had with the Western political centres, the sudden arrival of the American scholar John V.A. Fine Jr. in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the task of researching for his thesis regarding the history of the Bosnian Church, most definitely caused some commotion. Suspicions regarding his possible spying duties inevitably had to arise, and even survived to the modern period in some irrelevant literature. However, as far as we can conclude from later writings from Fine Jr., during his stay in Bosnia and Yugoslavia, he did not experience anything but a traditional hospitality of the people he worked with.

John Van Antwerp Fine Jr., was born on 9. September 1939 in Williamstown, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, U.S.A., in the family of renowned historian of ancient period John Van Antwerp Fine Sr., Professor of Greek History in the Classics Department of Princeton University and Elizabeth Bunting Fine, also a classicist who taught Latin and Greek in a private school³. He graduated at Harvard University, and earned his PhD at the University of Michigan in 1968 where he taught until the retirement. Fine's most important publications include two volumes on early and late medieval Balkans, a synthesis on Bosnian overall history that he wrote with his former student Robert Donia, and book about pre-modern history of Croatia⁴. However, his definitely most important and most famous book is the one with which we will deal in this paper, dedicated to the Bosnian Church, one of the most prominent features of Bosnian medieval history. Originally, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and its Place in State and Society form the 13th to the 15th Centuries* was published in 1975, and then translated (unfortunately, very poorly) to Bosnian 30 years later, while its second edition on English was published in 2007⁵. Beside these books Fine

² Cf. the testimony of a leading Yugoslavian medievalist in: С. БИРКОВИЋ, *О историографију и методологију*, Београд 2007, p. 208–209. Also cf. the reply of John V.A. Fine on one nationalist writing where it is claimed that a ruling ideology actually buried medieval studies in socialist Yugoslavia: J. FINE JR., *Letters-Lettres*, ERH 2.2, 1995, p. 281.

³ These biographical data are taken from a booklet published on the occasion of a *tribute and symposium in honor of John V.A. Fine Jr., professor of history*, organized at University of Michigan on September 29, 2007.

⁴ J. FINE JR., *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, Ann Arbor 1983; IDEM, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 1987; IDEM, *When Ethnicity did not Matter in the Balkans. A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, Ann Arbor 2006; IDEM, R. DONIA, *Bosnia and Hercegovina. A Tradition Betrayed*, London 1994.

⁵ J. FINE JR., *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and its Place in State and Society form the 13th to the 15th Centuries*, New York–London 1975; IDEM, *Bosanska crkva: novo tumačenje. Studija o Bosanskoj crkvi, njenom mjestu u državi i društvu od 13. do 15. stoljeća*,

contributed to the historiography about medieval Bosnia with several scientific articles which did not have nearly as significant impact as the *New Interpretation*⁶.

In order to fully understand the significance of this book for this paper, and its place in the historiography about Bosnian Church, it is essential primarily to understand the development of this branch of medieval studies in Bosnia, and then to overview the reactions on Fine's books and its influence on modern historiography.

Short review of historiography about the Bosnian Church

One of the most prominent features in medieval Bosnia studies is an overwhelming lack of the domestic sources, especially those not linked with high political affairs, or with everyday economic and diplomatic relations with Dubrovnik/Ragusa. Centuries after the collapse of the Bosnian Kingdom in 1463 were very unfriendly to the medieval legacy, as thousands of these documents and charters perished without a trace.

That fact in particular, the lack of information on customs and teachings of krstjani from Bosnia, combined with a constantly intense political situation in the modern-day South-Eastern Europe, resulted with very heterogeneous theories in historiography, very often irreconcilably in conflict with one another.

These historiographical debates began with the very first book dedicated to the Bosnian Church, published in 1867 when Božidar Petranović, a lawyer and secretary of the Orthodox diocese in Šibenik, wrote his book *Bogomils, the Bosnian Church and krstjani. An Historical Treatise* inside which he lays the foundation

trans. T. PRAŠTALO, Sarajevo 2005; IDEM, *The Bosnian Church. Its Place in State and Society from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, London 2007.

⁶ Four of these articles are about the Bosnian Church and were published before the book, or soon after its publication: J. FINE JR., *Aristodios and Rastudije. A Re-examination of the Question*, GIBH 16, 1965, p. 223–229; IDEM, *Улога босанске цркве у јавном животу средњовековне Босне*, GIBH 19, 1970–1971, p. 19–29; IDEM, *Zaključci mojih posljednjih istraživanja o pitanju Bosanske crkve*, [in:] *Bogomislam in the Balkans in the Light of the Latest Research*, ed. Lj. LAPE, A. BENAC, S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, Skopje 1982, p. 127–133; IDEM, *Mid-Fifteenth Century Sources on the Bosnian Church: their Problems and Significance*, MHu 12, 1984, p. 17–31. One additional paper is dedicated to another religious topic from medieval period: IDEM, *Mysteries about the Newly Discovered Srebrenica-Visoko Bishopric in Bosnia (1434–1441)*, EEQ 8, 1974, p. 29–43. The remaining articles are devoted to more themes from political history: IDEM, *Was the Bosnian Banate Subjected to Hungary in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century?*, EEQ 3, 1969, p. 167–177; IDEM, *Новооткривени извор о приликама у Босни 1400. године*, GIBH 38, 1987, p. 107–109; IDEM, *The Medieval and Ottoman Roots of Modern Bosnian Society*, [in:] *The Muslims of Bosnia – Herzegovina. Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, ed. M. PINSON, Cambridge 1994, p. 1–21; IDEM, *A Tale of Three Fortresses. Controversies Surrounding the Turkish Conquest of Smederevo, of an Unnamed Fortress at the Junction of the Sava and Bosna, and of Bobovac*, [in:] *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, ed. T.S. MILLER, J.W. NESBITT, Washington 1995, p. 181–196.

of the historiographical theory linking the Bosnian Church with the Serbian Orthodox Confession⁷. This provoked a reaction from Franjo Rački, a famous Croatian historian and catholic priest, who researched the issue of heresy in Bosnia for some time, compelling him to publish his analyses as soon as possible. This happened two years later, in 1869, when his three-part article *Bogomils and Patarens* was published in a magazine *Rad* by the Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb⁸. There, on more than 250 pages, he formulated his views on Bosnian heresy, linking it with other heretical movements in Europe, like Cathars in France, patarens in Italy and bogomils in Bulgaria, promoting the Bosnian krstjani as a missing link between those dualistic heretics. This way, two “main standpoints” were created, and in the following decades the historians from Croatia (like Ferdo Šišić, Ćiro Truhelka and others) followed the Rački framework, while those from Serbia (like Glušac or Tomić) accepted the Petranović approach, even further radicalizing it. Only at the eve of the Second World War, a third option emerged. A young historian from Croatia, Jaroslav Šidak, in his PhD thesis “The Question of the Bosnian Church in our historiography, from Petranović to Glušac” with the subtitle “A contribution to the solution of the so-called Bogomil question”, through meticulous critique of the previous writings, promoted his view on the Bosnian Church. He saw this institution and its members not as dualistic heretics, or as a branch of Eastern Orthodoxy, but as a schismatic unreformed organization which didn’t have theological but structural differences with the Roman Church⁹. This way a third and final substantial historiographical framework regarding the teachings of Bosnian Church had emerged.

After World War II, especially after the establishment of University of Sarajevo and the Academy of Science and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1950s, an era of intense historiographical production about the Bosnian Church had begun. Many authors researched and published their findings, classifying themselves among one of the three main historiographical branches, sometimes with their own nuances which created somewhat different opinions on different subtopics. It is interesting to notice several important changes. The Petranović’s branch almost disappeared with only a few slightly important followers after the WWII; Inside the Rački’s frame, most important contributors were the famous Serbian medievalist Sima Ćirković, and his student Pejo Ćošković who formed a special historiographical thesis called “syncretic theory” with which he advocated that the Bosnian Church was formed by joining the parts of the Bosnian chapter which remained behind after the dislocation of the diocese, with the local heretical community;

⁷ Б. ПЕТРАНОВИЋ, *Богомили. Црква босанска и крстјани. Историчка расправа*, Задар 1867.

⁸ F. RAČKI, *Bogomili i Patareni*, RJAZU 7, 1869, p. 86–179, RJAZU 8, 1869, p. 121–187, RJAZU 10, 1870, p. 160–263; IDEM, *Bogomili i Patareni*, Zagreb 1870; IDEM, *Bogomili i Patareni*, Beograd 1931, p. 335–599; IDEM, *Bogomili i Patareni*, Zagreb 2003.

⁹ J. ŠIDAK, *Problem ‘bosanske crkve’ u našoj historiografiji od Petranovića do Gluša (Prilog rješenju t. zv. Bogumilskog pitanja)*, RJAZU 259, 1937, p. 37–182.

In the meantime out of the blue, Šidak decided to change his opinion, and shifted himself among the followers of Rački – a decision which was never adequately explained by Šidak. However, his historiographical branch didn't collapse, quite the opposite, it continued to develop and to attract new researchers (the main protagonist of our lecture being one of them). After the bloody dissolution of the Yugoslavia, and terrible wars that had been waged in these areas, medieval science continued to develop in different areas, but very rarely did young researchers choose the Bosnian Church as a subject of their work¹⁰.

This was a very brief sketch of the labyrinth which John V.A. Fine Jr. decided to enter when he arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the first time in the late 1960s and early 1970s. We can only imagine what sort of turbulence the arrival of an American historian at the peak of the Cold War caused in a socialist state which, to be honest, wasn't truly behind the Iron Curtain, although under deep influence of Marxist ideology. From the "Acknowledgements" in Fine's book we can see that he was warmly welcomed in Bosnia and Yugoslavia, and didn't have any obstacles in his research.

One episode from the time when Fine was in Bosnia for his research is of particular importance. The predominant ideology of the Yugoslav socialist society and its approach to the past was very closely linked to the branch of historiographical theories regarding the teaching of the Bosnian Church as heretic which is confirmed by the following testimony of Marianne Wenzel, another foreign researcher of Bosnian medieval past:

When I was a student, one evening in the 1960s I sat drinking loza on the floor of the studio of the artists Mile Ćorović and Mladen Kolobarić on the Sweet Corner in Sarajevo where I often went to paint. This studio was then part of the Workers' University, but is now a restaurant. John Fine was there, in course of collecting material for his important book *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation* (New York and London, 1975). Both John Fine and I thought at that time, we were researching Bogomil culture – tombstones and the Bosnian Church. «Tell me», asked John Fine, «Have you found anything Bogomil about the stećci!» «No», I said honestly, «Not a trace. How about the Bosnian Church? Have you found Bogomilism there?» «No», said John «Nothing in the Bosnian Church was provable as Bogomil! And I've been hunting a long time». Together, then and there, we decided between us, there was nothing at all in Bosnian culture that was Bogomil, in spite of all we had been told to believe. The next day I went to see my mentor in the National Museum, Dr. Alojz Benac, who had inspired and encouraged the production of my book about stećci, Ukrašni motivi na stećcima,

¹⁰ There are several authors who track and analyze everything that has been published about the Bosnian Church. On this way a special section of medieval bibliography was created. These are those overviews: J. ŠIDAK, *Pitanje 'Crkve bosanske' u novijoj literaturi*, GIBH 5, 1953, p. 139–160; IDEM, *Današnje stanje pitanja 'Crkve bosanske' u historijskoj nauci*, HZb 7, 1954, p. 129–142; IDEM, *Problem heretičke 'Crkve bosanske' u najnovijoj historiografiji (1962–75)*, HZb 27–28, 1974–1975, p. 139–182; P. ČOŠKOVIĆ, *Četvrt stoljeća historiografije o Crkvi bosanskoj*, [in:] *Istorijska nauka o Bosni i Hercegovini u razdoblju 1990–2000*, ed. E. REDŽIĆ, Sarajevo 2003, p. 31–54; DŽ. DAUTOVIĆ, *Crkva bosanska: moderni historiografski tokovi, rasprave i kontroverze (2005–2015)*, HTra 15, 2015, p. 127–160.

allowing me help from the members of his staff, Vljako Palavestra, Nada Miletić and Đuro Basler – the last of which, now deceased, was always a devoted follower of the Bogomilian ideal. «Dr. Benac», I said, «There is something I have to tell you. Last night I conferred with John Fine, who is doing his thesis on the Bosnian Church. We concluded between us, there is nothing we can find that is Bogomil either on stećci, or about the Bosnian Church. I don't think Bogomils made stećci. I don't think they ever were here». «I know that», he said. «I have always known that. But it is not something I can say. You can say it, and I will help you».¹¹

Receptions of *A New Interpretation*

Reception of *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation* can be divided in three main types. First the reviews published immediately after the publication of the book, then the deeper evaluations of his hypothesis in the writings of eminent scholars and ultimately the current perception which his books enjoy in modern historiography.

I managed to identify nine reviews of this book, published in the period from 1976 to 1979. They have several similar issues: most of them were written by scholars of Yugoslav origin, but none of them were specialists in Bosnian medieval history, or in fact medievalist from Yugoslavia. How can we explain the silence of Yugoslavian or Bosnian medievalists? Well, the first explanation must be the language barrier – at that time Russian and French were taught in schools, with English being quite exotic. The culture of book-reviewing also wasn't very widespread in Yugoslav magazines of that time, and finally the fact that Fine enjoyed very fine relations with the most of Yugoslav medievalists, so they perhaps felt some sort of collegiality which inhibited possible critique.

One of the earliest reviews was that of Paul Mojzes, professor of Religious studies at Rosemont College in his review published in "Church History" in 1976, who presented very short, mostly informative, but also highly commendable evaluation. Fine was characterized as rare example of *expert knowledge of a Balkan state by a person of non-Balkan origin*. The review was closed with the sentence: *I expect the book to become the classic work on the Bosnian Church and recommend it to all libraries as well as Eastern European and medieval historians*¹². However, his predictions that *any general medieval church history which is to be written from now on will have to take most seriously this new interpretation of the history of the church in Bosnia from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century*, proved to be too optimistic since this region remains blind spot in the most of the modern-day published synthesis regarding the medieval church history¹³.

¹¹ M. WENZEL, *Bosnian Style on Tombstones and Metal*, Sarajevo 1999, p. 165–166.

¹² P. MOJZES, [rec.:] *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation*. By JOHN V.A. FINE, JR... – ChH 45, 1976, p. 251–252.

¹³ For example, J. Fine has not been cited, nor the Bosnian case was closely researched in: F.D. LOGAN, *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*, London–New York 2002; C. HOFFMAN BERMAN,

Even though Bariša Krekić, a Serbian medievalist and lecturer at the UCLA, was part of the process of making this book¹⁴, his review, published at the "Slavic Review" in 1977, was mostly restrained and with huge reservation towards Fine's conclusions. He did describe the book as a welcome and useful addition to the debate about the Bosnian Church, especially regarding the introduction of considerable amount of anthropological material, but the main thesis of the nature of teachings of the Bosnian Church was evaluated as questionable, while Fine's attitude towards the sources was shown as speculative¹⁵. Krekić himself was not a specialist in medieval Bosnian history¹⁶, but he obviously belonged to that historiographical stream which was linking krstjani from Bosnia with the dualistic heretical movements.

In "Canadian Slavonic Papers" from 1978¹⁷, a Bosnian born emigrant from Yugoslavia and anthropologist from the University of Calgary, Vladimir Markotić, notorious for his contributions to cryptozoology and search for Bigfoot¹⁸, wrote a quite unfavorable review of *The Bosnian Church*. Being loyal to the idea that krstjani belonged to the dualistic network, he concluded that Fine, inside his book, *does not shake even for one moment the idea that the Bosnian Church was dualistic*. However, he did pay homage to Fine's criticism of the writings of Dominik Mandić.

The review published in "The Catholic Historical Review" by historian of the modern period Joseph Wieczynski was also short, with basic information, with one very interesting account. He stated: *Scholars who are not specialists in Bosnian history will find much to like and admire in this study [...] For the specialist in Bosnian religious history, here is a mine of material for disagreement and debate. It is safe to say, however, that no serious scholar will remain unaffected by what Professor Fine has done*¹⁹. Very similar is a review of Frank Wozniak where it is stated: *In the end, however, what Professor Fine has produced in this extremely convincing analysis of the Bosnian Church is more than a new interpretation of the intricate religious*

Medieval Religion. New Approaches, New York–London 2005; J.H. LYNCH, P.C. ADAMO, *The Medieval Church. A Brief History*, London–New York 2014.

¹⁴ At least, according to J. Fine in "Acknowledgements" of his book: [...] *Professors Edward Keenan and especially Barisa Krekic whose careful reading spared me from a variety of embarrassing errors*. J. FINE, *The Bosnian Church*..., p. ii.

¹⁵ B. KREKIĆ, [rec.:] *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation*... – SRev 36, 1977, p. 147–148.

¹⁶ A great expert on medieval Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Adriatic region, Krekić wrote only four articles linked with medieval Bosnia, which did not caused a great attention in domestic historiographies: B. KREKIĆ, *Prilog istoriji mletačko-balkanske trgovine druge polovine XIV veka*, GFNS 2, 1957, p. 11–19; IDEM, *Mleci i unutrašnjost Balkana u četrnaestom veku*, ZPBI 21, 1982, p. 143–158; IDEM, *Dva priloga bosanskoj istoriji prve polovine petnaestog vijeka*, GIBH 37, 1986, p. 129–142; IDEM, *Ćirkulacija informacija između Dubrovnika i Bosne u prvoj polovini XV vijeka*, GIBH 39, 1988, p. 50–56.

¹⁷ V. MARKOTIĆ, [rec.:] *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation*. JOHN V.A. FINE, Jr... – CSP 20, 1978, p. 125–126.

¹⁸ Cf. <https://searcharchives.ucalgary.ca/index.php/dr-vladimir-markotic-fonds> [15 IV 2022].

¹⁹ J.L. WIECZYNSKI, [rec.:] *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation*... – CHR 64, 1978, p. 306–307.

*problems of Bosnia in the later Middle Ages. He has given us a thorough discussion of the political history of medieval Bosnia and Hercegovina, a political history which is intricate in itself but the explanation of which serves as a further important contribution of this work*²⁰.

Theologian Josip Horak in "Journal of Church and State", wrote a quite positive review stating that the book was excellent, and an enormous contribution to the topic, clear of burdens of either nationalistic or religious partiality so characteristic for domestic scholars. The only critique in this short review refers to Fine's statement that the Bosnian Church did not attempt to establish close ties with the peasant population (p. 387). Of course, the reviewer himself made, for that time, a frequent mistake – linking the medieval Bosnian tombstones *stećci* exclusively with the members and believers of the Bosnian confession²¹. Vasko Simoniti, a historian of the period 16th–18th Centuries, and a current Minister of Culture of Slovenia (since 2020) in review published in Slovenian magazine "Zgodovinski časopis", wasn't too impressed with Fine's arguments, mostly with his description of Bosnia as a backward and uneducated country, and instead of Fine's book, he recommended another publication from the same year *Studije o "Crkvi bosanskoj" i bogumilstvu* by Jaroslav Šidak²². George P. Majeska, Professor of Russian and Byzantine History at the University of Maryland, considers Fine's book [...] *an extremely lucid study of a confusing historical Phenomenon*. He is also the only author who emphasized the political role of the Hungarian kingdom in the process of dealing with heresy in Bosnia²³.

Apart from these reviews, one stands out as an exception though it can barely be designated as a review, more as a profound analysis of Fine's thesis with all the features of a paper. It is a text of Srećko M. Džaja, a historian of Bosnian origin, with a German work address, who is one of the renowned modern researchers of Bosnian heresy. This text was initially published in 1978/1979 in German and in domestic language and then, after the publication of the second edition of the Fine's book it appeared again as a shorter version in German in 2008²⁴. In these reviews, most importantly, Džaja discards Fine's interpretation of the writings

²⁰ F.E. WOZNIAK, [rec.:] *John V.A. Fine Jr., The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation...* – BS 20, 1979, p. 185–187.

²¹ J. HORAK, [rec.:] *The Bosnian Church, A New Interpretation...* – JCSt 21, 1979, p. 583–584.

²² V. SIMONITI, [rec.:] *John V.A. Fine, Jr., The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation...* – ZČ 33, 1979, p. 190–191.

²³ G.P. MAJESKA, [rec.:] *John V.A. Fine, Jr. The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation...* – AHR 82, 1977, p. 346–347.

²⁴ S.M. DŽAJA, [rec.:] *Noch eine fragliche Interpretation der bosnischen mittelalterlichen Konfessionsgeschichte*, MZBa 1, 1978, p. 247–254; IDEM, *Fineova interpretacija bosanske srednjovjekovne konfesionalne povijesti*, [in:] *Povijesno-teološki simpozij u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti bosanske kraljice Katarine*, ed. J. TURČINOVIĆ, Sarajevo 1979, p. 52–59; IDEM, [rec.:] *John Fine, The Bosnian Church...* – SF 67, 2008, p. 431–435.

of Mauro Orbini, chronicler from the beginning of 17th Century, one of main arguments for the existence of two different religious groups in medieval Bosnia²⁵. Later, Džaja acknowledges Fine's explanation of the political situation in medieval Bosnia as mostly successful but overly based on Serbian interpretations. Fine's interpretation of Bosnian medieval peasantry he considers one-sided and based on the ethnological material from later centuries, after massive migrations caused by the Ottoman conquest. Džaja also noticed one factual mistake in Fine's translation of a very important source from Dubrovnik – when allegedly Bosnians referred to their monks as *patarens*, while the correct translation shows a different meaning. In conclusion, Džaja states that Fine's interpretation represents a distinctly sociopolitical interpretation of the Bosnian confessional history, and as such it indirectly manifests all the limitations of such approach.

Probably the main authority for the history of the Bosnian Church in the second half of the 20th Century – Croatian historian Jaroslav Šidak also gave his insight on Fine's thesis. It should be noted that *A New Interpretation* was published in the same year as previously mentioned Šidak's collection of previously published articles, named *Studies on the Bosnian Church and Bogomilism*²⁶. So, *A New interpretation* was a subject in a subsequently published article titled *Heretical Bosnian Church*, published in 1977²⁷. Šidak was also critical of Fine's methodology. Applying some sociological methods, which themselves should be a subject of a discussion, he refuted a common opinion of close connections between *krstjani* and the goals of nobility and state power. For him, Fine's methodological treatment of sources and results of previous research cannot always be evaluated as flawless. The main positive feature of Fine's book according to Šidak was that, with his exhaustive knowledge of Yugoslav literature, Fine would bring the problem of medieval Bosnian history much closer to the Anglo-American audience. At one point, Šidak stated that with his concept Fine actually *returned to the original thesis of the author of these lines*. We already stressed the significance that this apostasy by J. Šidak had in the second part of his career regarding the teachings of the Bosnian Church. He himself justified that move with some, very vague explanations

²⁵ M. Orbini presumed that in medieval Bosnia existed two groups of heretics, *patarens* and *manichaeans*, who lived next to each other. M. ORBINI, *Il regno degli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni historia*, Pesaro 1601, p. 354: *Il sudetto Frate Pellegrino fù fatto Vescouo di Bosna dopò hauer conuertiti i Patarini heretici: de' quali vn'altra forte era era in Bosna, chiamati Manichei*. J. Fine liked M. Orbini's idea of two different religious groups, although not their identification: *It is clear that Orbini did not clearly differentiate between the two movements and at times attributed to one what should have been attributed to the other. Yet his general idea does provide a means for resolving our dilemma. In fact, it is the only solution that does not require the discarding or ignoring of a large number of sources. Thus the possibility that Bosnia contained both a dualist heresy and a schismatic non-dualist Bosnian Church is seriously examined in this study*. J. FINE, *The Bosnian Church...*, p. 3–4.

²⁶ J. ŠIDAK, *Studije o "Crkvi bosanskoj" i bogumilstvu*, Zagreb 1975.

²⁷ IDEM, *Heretička "Crkva bosanska"*, Slo 27, 1977, p. 149–184.

involving the writings of a French historian Antoine Dondaine and his arguments. However, Šidak never cordially defended the thesis of the heretical nature of Bosnian krstjani the way he defended his original thesis.

Switching back to the evaluations of *A New Interpretation* among historians we arrive to the next one by Sima Ćirković which was, among the majority of historians researching the Bosnian medieval period, including John Fine himself, considered as the most important medievalist. Fine was very close with Ćirković, a lecturer at the University of Belgrade, learning mostly from him a lot of details about the political and religious history of medieval Bosnia. Even in a previously mentioned review by Srećko Džaja, Fine is criticized that his view of the Bosnian Middle Ages is too closely linked with the view by Ćirković. Inside his very influential chapter titled “Bosnian Church in the Bosnian state”, from 1987, Ćirković commends Fine’s analysis of a highly interesting manuscript called Batal’s gospel, which contained the list of the previous religious leaders of the Bosnian krstjani community. Fine was, along with Alexander Solovjev, one of first authors who tried to find historical data on those men mentioned on that list. However, Ćirković did not share Fine’s reservation toward the originality of one Bosnian charters, specifically one issued by the nobleman Juraj Vojsalić to his subordinates, the family of Radivojevići in 1434, where the Franciscans were mentioned as the moral guarantors of the contents of the charter, the role previously reserved for the members of the Bosnian Church. This evaluation was extended with a critique of one of the main features of Fine’s hypothesis – the one suggesting weakness of influence by the Bosnian Church on the political life of the Bosnian state²⁸.

I already stated that the main follower of Ćirković’s view on the teaching of the Bosnian Church was his student Pejo Ćošković, who defended his PhD thesis “The Bosnian Church in the 15th Century” in 1988, but published only in 2005, due to the outbreak of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He regarded Fine as the most ardent defender of the catholic origin and canonical teachings of the Bosnian Church. He repeated the already listed critiques regarding the sociological methods used in *A New Interpretation*. Ćošković didn’t have a problem to emphasize the positive sides of Fine’s analyses as well, such as the very well conducted research regarding the role of krstjani in diplomatic missions for Bosnian noblemen²⁹.

Major importance of *A New Interpretation* was its power to bring the Bosnian Church and Bosnian medieval history to the front of the medievalist scene of the world, where knowledge about medieval Bosnia was generally very limited³⁰. Without going into a detailed review of Fine’s reception in world historiography,

²⁸ S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Bosanska crkva u bosanskoj državi*, [in:] *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine I. Društvo i privreda srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, ed. E. REĐIĆ, Sarajevo 1987, p. 223–227.

²⁹ P. ČOŠKOVIĆ, *Crkva bosanska u XV. stoljeću*, Sarajevo 2005, p. 68.

³⁰ A blame for that situation lies on the bourden of domestic authors who in a previous decades rarely published on some of the world languages. Cf. DŽ. DAUTOVIĆ, *Novi prilozi poznavanju vjerskih prilika srednjovjekovne Bosne u inostranoj historiografiji*, Bfr 48, 2018, p. 203–212.

which would fall outside the scope of this paper, we can conclude that, the reception in those circles was also polarized, with an overwhelming majority of authors disagreeing with Fine's conclusions. For example, in his chapter in *The New Cambridge Medieval Studies* vol. V, Bernard Hamilton used Fine even more often than the book by Franjo Šanjek³¹, but in his thoughts on Bosnian heresy he was much closer to the latter one³². On the other hand, Fine and his theories were of enormous value for the analyses of young German medievalist Manuel Lorenz, for his very interesting paper *Bogomilen, Katharer und bosnische 'Christen'. Der Transfer dualistischer Häresien zwischen Orient und Okzident*³³.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, I will try to summarize main features of John V.A. Fine Jr.'s hypothesis, with the current state of medieval science regarding the Bosnian Church.

- 1) Bosnian Church was an institution which existed in medieval Bosnia from the middle of the 13th Century, until the Ottoman conquests in third quarter of 15th Century. – Fine was indeed one of the first historians who correctly stated that the Bosnian Church was created around the half of the 13th Century. In the previous decades, krstjani existed in Bosnia, but solely as a monastic community.

³¹ F. Šanjek's book also had a great impact on the foreign authors who wrote about the Bosnian Church, since it is published in French: F. ŠANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques et le mouvement cathare, XI^e–XV^e siècles*, Paris 1976. This author was one of the main protagonists of Rački's theory about teachings of the Bosnian Church and its connections with the western heretical movements. J. Fine was not impressed a lot with this book. In his review: J. FINE JR., [rec.:] *Franjo Šanjek, Les Chrétiens bosniaques...* – S 53, 1978, p. 414–416 he stated: *Beyond a basic disagreement over the theology of the church – and it should be stressed that to date far more scholars have accepted the position Šanjek takes than the various variant versions produced by myself and others – I have serious reservations about Šanjek's book. [...] Šanjek never produces a consecutive history of the church or any aspect of it. Although he comments on the role of the church in the state and on the relations between it and the nobility, these important issues are covered superficially [...] Šanjek has a tendency to illustrate points rather than to prove them and frequently generalizes from one or two examples. [...] I do not criticize Šanjek for coming to a dualist conclusion; fine scholars (such as Babić, Ćirković, Kniewald, and Šidak) have come to the same conclusion after weighing the evidence. Šanjek, however, fails to see the contradictions in the sources as a serious problem, requiring an attempt at reconciling the conflicting information.*

³² B. HAMILTON, *The Albigensian Crusade and Heresy*, [in:] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. V, ed. D. ABULAFIA, Cambridge 1999, p. 164–180. Similar disagreement can be found in: J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, Y. STOYANOV, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650 – c. 1450*, Manchester–New York 1998, p. 47, 51, 52; Y.P. STOYANOV, *The Other God. Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, Yale 2000.

³³ M. LORENZ, *Bogomilen, Katharer und bosnische "Christen". Der Transfer dualistischer Häresien zwischen Orient und Okzident (11.–13. jh.)*, [in:] *Vermitteln – Übersetzen – Begegnen. Transferphänomene im europäischen Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Interdisziplinäre Annäherungen*, ed. B.J. NEMES, A. RABUS, Göttingen 2011, p. 87–136.

It is unfortunate that he didn't firmly connect this process with the transfer of the Bosnian bishopric to the territory of the Hungarian kings³⁴. Modern medieval science usually moves the date of creation of the Bosnian Church a little bit further – at the 1270s – 1280s³⁵. Regarding the end of its existence, it must be corrected that Ottomans didn't have anything with that – actually, Bosnian king Stephen Tomaš in 1459 ordered the termination of its activity³⁶. In the following years members of the Bosnian Church managed to preserve their existence, as well as their followers, and we can trace them through the Ottoman lists of taxpayers almost to the beginning of the 17th Century³⁷.

- 2) Bosnian Church wasn't a part of heretical dualistic movements, neither a part of Eastern Orthodox Church, but an independent organization.
- 3) The ingenious idea of the existence of two separate religious groups in medieval Bosnia – Theory that the Bosnian Church was in its nature a schismatic and not a heretic organization, while simultaneously in Bosnia another group of heretics existed which were the bearers of dualistic heresy, was very original, and seemingly acceptable conclusion given the information from the sources. However, it didn't have a solid proof foundation, and today it is mostly rejected in historiography.
- 4) Bosnian medieval society was uneducated and predominantly peasant, so it didn't have any theologians, or need for a deep understanding of faith. – This is one of the most problematic statements. First of all, without any necessity, the peasant society was linked with the religious institution. I am not sure whether anyone marked, to illustrate the point, English medieval bishops as uneducated because of the fact that medieval English society was also predominantly rural, as were many other societies in that period. Secondly, the Bosnian bishops before the 12th Century were of Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, therefore even though maybe they didn't know the Latin language, it cannot be said that they were illiterate. With such characterization, the author fell into the same trap as anti-heretical agitators which he criticizes in the book.
- 5) The Bosnian Church didn't play an important role in the medieval Bosnian state. – As we could see, this statement was disputed almost immediately after the publication of *A New Interpretation*. Failure to spot the significance of the

³⁴ About that process see: D. LOVRENOVIĆ, *Translatio sedis i uspostava novog konfesionalnog identiteta u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni – I*, [in:] *Franjevački samostan u Gučoj Gori*, ed. V. VALJAN, Guča Gora–Sarajevo 2010, p. 113–125; DŽ. DAUTOVIĆ, *Regio nullius dioecesis: kako je Bosna ostala bez biskupije? Procesi i posljedice*, [in:] *Prijelomne godine bosanskohercegovačke prošlosti (I)*, ed. S. BEŠLIJA, Sarajevo 2021, p. 75–92.

³⁵ S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Bosanska crkva...*, p. 210.

³⁶ P. ČOŠKOVIĆ, *Tomašev progon sljedbenika Crkve bosanske 1459.*, [in:] *Migracije i Bosna i Hercegovina*, Sarajevo 1990, p. 43–48.

³⁷ Cf. *Opširni popis Bosanskog sandžaka iz 1604. godine*, vol. I–IV, Sarajevo 2000.

Bosnian Church for the medieval Bosnian State really is the main, and maybe the only drastically wrong conception of Fine's hypothesis. During the Middle Ages the cooperation between secular and religious authorities was of inestimable importance for the proper function of the legal norms and interrelations between the crown and nobility, and so on. We have several sources that indicate that the spiritual leader of the Bosnian Church, an official with the rank of djed, was at the same time also a supreme judicial authority³⁸.

- 6) The Bosnian Church was a monastery organization. – This statement is impossible to dispute, albeit some authors in recent publications are trying to do just that. Of course, the Bosnian Church was built from the monastery organization of Bosnian krstjani, and prominent members of that community also were the members of the hierarchy of the Bosnian Church.
- 7) A very successful spread of Islam in Bosnia was the result of disappearance of some strong Christian religious organization in that area. – This is very important conclusion that shows how Fine did understand the complexity of the Bosnian religious mixture. It would be even better if he identified two main reasons for that situation: the transfer of the Bosnian bishopric to the Đakovo around 1250, and the termination of the Bosnian Church by king Tomaš in 1459.
- 8) Medieval Bosnian tombstones – called stećci are not exclusively used by the members of the Bosnian Church and their devotees. – With this conclusion Fine was way ahead of other historians, and only the recent analyses of the importance of these tombstones for the cultural history of medieval Bosnia, conducted by Dubravko Lovrenović, offer definite proof that an inter-confessional nature was one of the main features of stećci³⁹.

At very end, I have to say that the book *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation* by John V.A. Fine Jr., represents one very particular example of all the problems that historian encounters while researching this topic. Fine's book deviates significantly from the usual historiographical standpoints among the Yugoslavian and post-Yugoslavian historians. True, we can classify it as one branch of the Old Šidak's frame, but it is so different from others that we can freely name it as Fine's historiographical theory. Among everything that was written about medieval Bosnia from foreign historians, Fine's contributions are by far of superior quality and I am hoping that *A New Interpretation* will get at least a new translation, of better quality, in Bosnian language.

³⁸ P. ČOŠKOVIĆ, *Ogledanje krivnje u srednjovjekovnoj bosanskoj državi*, [in:] *Bogišić i kultura sjećanja*, ed. J. KREGAR, Zagreb 2011, p. 338–356.

³⁹ D. LOVRENOVIĆ, *Stećci. Bosansko i humsko mramorje srednjeg vijeka*, Zagreb 2013, p. 315–360; DŽ. DAUTOVIĆ, *Crkva bosanska i stećci*, HMI 6, 2020, p. 11–44.

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THE ATTACK OF THE RUS' ON CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE LIGHT OF THE *CHRONICON BRUXELLENSE**

Abstract. The *Chronicon Bruxellense* does not simply provide useful information on the date of the date (year, month, and day) of the Rus' attack on the Constantinople (18 June 860), but is crucial for a deeper understanding of nature of this chronicle and his sources. The article reveals important details about the date and structure of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*. It also offers his sources of description of Rus' raid and identifies George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle as the principal model. By seeking to construction the victory over the Rus', his anonymous author presents as a skilled compiler. This paper engages with recent discussion on the first attack of Rus' on the Constantinople, while also contributing to the renewed interest in the reception of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* in the late Byzantine literature.

Keywords: the *Chronicon Bruxellense*, George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle, Constantinople, Rus', Byzantine Empire

In 1894, the prominent Belgian scholar Franz Cumont published the so-called *Chronicon Bruxellense*, which survived in manuscript 11376 of the Royal Library of Brussels¹. This brief anonymous chronicle is a list of Roman emperors, beginning with Julius Caesar and ending with the death of Roman III Argyros in 1034, with very short entries or notes dedicated to each emperor. The *Chronicon Bruxellense* has unique information that is not found anywhere in the Byzantine literature². One such piece of information is the exact date (year, month, and day) of the first Rus' attack on Constantinople. According to the *Chronicon Bruxellense* this major date was June 18, 860³. The text contains this full date in three forms which are in complete accordance with each other (by indiction, by the year of Emperor Michael's reign, and by the Byzantine era from the creation of the world).

* I wish to thank the Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme in Paris for supporting my research during much of the time. I thank the anonymous reviewers for their careful reading of my article and their many insightful comments and suggestions.

¹ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, vol. I, *Chroniques byzantines du manuscrit 11376*, ed. F. CUMONT, Gand 1894 (cetera: *Anecdota Bruxellensia*).

² L. NEVILLE, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, Cambridge 2018, p. 135–136.

³ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 33, 15–21.

The emergence of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* caused a real furore among Russian scholars⁴. Much later Alexander Vasiliev wrote the following: *I remember very well our excitement and surprise when we became familiar with the publication of the noted Belgian scholar, Franz Cumont*⁵. Although many scholars (such as V.G. Vasilievski, E.E. Golubinskii and other) believed that 860 was the year of the Rus' attack on Constantinople, the shock caused by the *Chronicon Bruxellense* was justified⁶. A longtime discussion about the date of the first Rus' attack on Constantinople was in full swing when Franz Cumont edited his work. These debates ended in the light of the impact the *Chronicon Bruxellense* had⁷. Now no one doubted that this text was reliable. After Carl de Boor's paper *Der Angriff der Rhos auf Byzanz*, the date June 18, 860 was accepted by all scholars⁸. Skeptics remained of course, but mostly in Ukrainian and Russian academia⁹. In fact, this date of the Rus' attack has no alternative¹⁰. It agrees very well with all other sources and today we have not reflection on the *Chronicon Bruxellense*.

This text, preserved in a single manuscript dating back to the thirteenth century (codex 11376 of the Royal Library of Brussels, fols. 155–165), is interesting in many respects¹¹. First and foremost as a source for Byzantine historiography, since it provides substantial information about the *Chronicon Bruxellense* which is otherwise unknown. However, this brief Byzantine chronicle is not without its problems. Traditionally, its text is conditionally divided into three parts. The first part contains the reign of emperors from Julius Caesar to Constantinius. The second one adds the lists of emperors from Constantine to Michael III. The third one describes the lists of emperors from Basil I to Romanos III Argyros¹². Therefore, the structure of these parts is also heterogeneous: the first and the third parts in-

⁴ В. ВАСИЛЬЕВСКИЙ, *Год первого нашествия русских на Константинополь*, ВВ 1, 1894, p. 258–259.

⁵ A. VASILIEV, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, Cambridge 1946, p. 102.

⁶ Е. ГОЛУБИНСКИЙ, *История русской церкви*, vol. I, Москва 1997, p. 40.

⁷ П. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Поход 860 г. на Константинополь и первое крещение Руси в средневековых письменных источниках*, [in:] *Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы. Материалы и исследования. Проблемы источниковедения*, ed. Е. МЕЛЬНИКОВА, Москва 2003, p. 10–11.

⁸ C. DE BOOR, *Der Angriff der Rhos auf Byzanz*, BZ 4, 1895, p. 445–446.

⁹ М. HRUSHEVSKY, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. I, *From Prehistory to the Eleventh Century*, Edmonton–Toronto 1997, p. 437–439. These arguments are elaborated in A. KAZHDAN, *Joseph the Hymnographer and the First Russian Attack on Constantinople*, [in:] *From Byzantium to Iran. In Honour of Nina Garsoïan*, ed. J.-P. МАНÉ, R. THOMSON, Atlanta 1996, p. 187–196.

¹⁰ For more information on this topic, see S. FRANKLIN, J. SHEPARD, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200*, London–New York 1996, p. 50–52; А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки начальной Руси*, Київ 2015, p. 139–140; J. SHEPARD, *Photios' Sermons on the Rus Attack of 860: the Questions of his Origins, and of the Route of the Rus*, [in:] *Prosopon Rhomaikon. Ergänzende Studien zur Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, ed. A. ВЕИНАММЕР, В. КРÖНУНГ, С. ЛУДВИГ, Berlin–Boston 2017 [= Mil.S, 68], p. 111–128.

¹¹ For a description of this manuscript, see A. KÜLZER, *Studien zum Chronicon Bruxellense*, B 61, 1991, p. 415–422.

¹² *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 16–18, 10; 18, 12 – 33, 21; 34, 1–23.

clude limited details, but part two is the most extensive. It contains both detailed entries and some events from each emperor's reign.

The passage about the Rus' attack is crucial for understanding the origins, dating and structure of this chronicle. Thus, in his seminary work, Andreas Külzer suggests that the date and the passage about the Rus' invasion during the reign of Michael III was taken from a "local chronicle"¹³. On the one hand, Külzer admits that this hypothetical "local chronicle" was lost. In other words, he claims that it was only available for the author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*. On the other hand, Külzer believes that the second part of the chronicle, including the passage about the Rus' invasion, could be written in the 860s. According to his short observation, it was a work of a contemporary of the Rus' attack, who noted the exact date of the event¹⁴. In his two works, Peter Schreiner developed similar ideas. In his opinion, the author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* used this "local chronicle" only until the reign of Basil I. Schreiner also believes that parts two and three of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* were compiled at different times, however, he provides little evidence for this scenario¹⁵. Thus, Schreiner states that the entry dedicated to the emperors Michael III and Basil I has a so-called structural "failure". He remarks: *The fact that their reigns were named twice – in the final words of part two and the first words of part three – and also that the stylistic design of the third part was completely different clearly speaks about the "failure" at this place. This observation is important for the note about the Rus' at the end of the second part. It does not belong to the editor of the third part, who worked in the 11th century, but refers directly to the period of the reign of Michael III*¹⁶.

As I will show below, these observations are thus not reliable evidence. If this "local chronicle" was surprisingly accessible to the author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*, then it bypassed all the Byzantine authors who wrote about the first attack of the Rus' on Constantinople. Moreover, there is no certainly that parts two and three of the chronicle could be written at different times. It is difficult to assert that the "second part" of the chronicle or the "local chronicle" were available to the same author who prepared the third part of the chronicle up to the 1030s. In light of the above, certain issues of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* need to be raised. The core of my argument resides in a new analysis of the origins of the narrative about the Rus' in this source. Therefore, my first chapter focuses on the third part of the chronicle and the emergence of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*, the second chapter explores the evidence of the late origins of the story about the attack of the Rus' on Constantinople, while the third we shall see how the compiler of the *Chronicon*

¹³ A. KÜLZER, *Studien zum Chronicon Bruxellense...*, p. 447.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ P. SCHREINER, *Miscellanea Byzantino-Russica*, BB 52, 1991, p. 152; EADEM, *Orbis Byzantinus. Byzanz und seine Nachbarn. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1970–2011*, Bucuresti 2013 [= FMHA, 12], p. 196–199.

¹⁶ P. SCHREINER, *Miscellanea Byzantino-Russica...*, p. 152.

Bruxellense appropriated historical citations from other works, when constructing the entries about the Rus' attack.

The Lists of emperors from Basil I to Romanos III Argyros

The author gives no clue as to his identity. One might speculate, however, (as Franz Cumont noted) that the compiler of the texts lived during the reign of Romanos III Argyros and may have been a clergyman in the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople, but the text provides no information about the author's position¹⁷. It must be significant that the chronicle on fols. 155–165 is not comprised of independent texts written by many authors at different times (as imagined by many scholars). According to my observations, only one scribe was working on fols. 155–165. In this regard, the *Chronicon Bruxellense* is not a "collection" of early historical notes or texts, but it is a later short chronicle that appears to have been written after 1030s. This was evidently the time when many authors, both anonymous and Michael Psellos, wrote short chronicles on the period from Julius Caesar to Michael VII or Alexios Comnenos¹⁸.

In this context, little attention was paid to the third part of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*. Unlike other parts, it does not contain different entries regarding prominent events or passages dedicated to the churches, but it retains the identical structure and main rubrics describing certain chronology of the emperor's life and death:

μς'. Βασίλειος ἐκ Μακεδόνων μετὰ Μιχαήλ ἔτος ἐν μῆνας δ' καὶ μόνος ἔτη ιθ' παρὰ ἡμέρας κδ'.
 μζ'. Λέων ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτη κς' παρὰ ἡμέρας γ' .
 μη'. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ αὐτάδελφος αὐτοῦ ἔτος ἐν ἡμέρας κδ' .
 μθ'. Κωνσταντῖνος υἱὸς Λέοντος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτη ε'· οὗτος δέ
 ἐστὶν ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ.
 ν'. Ῥωμανὸς σὺν Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ γαμβρῷ ἔτη κς' .
 να'. Κωνσταντῖνος σὺν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμανῷ ἔτη ιε' παρὰ ἡμέρας κζ' .
 νβ'. Ῥωμανὸς ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου ἔτη γ' μῆνας γ' .

The author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* adds very little to his list of the emperors. In this case he cites Constantine's epithet πορφυρογέννητος ("born in the purple"), which served to emphasize the legitimacy of the seven-year-old boy on the throne. In addition, he writes correctly that Constantine VII began to reign under his mother's supervision.

νγ'. Νικηφόρος ὁ Φωκᾶς ἔτη ς' μῆνας γ' ἡμέρας κζ'· ὅς καὶ ἐσφάγη ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἔσωθεν τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτοῦ.

¹⁷ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 15–16.

¹⁸ *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos*, ed. J. AERTS, Berlin 1990 [= *CFHB*, 30] (cetera: MICHAEL PSELLOS).

νδ'. Ἰωάννης ὁ Τζιμισκῆς ὁ τὸν Νικηφόρον ἀνελὼν ἔτη ζ' ἡμέρας λ' ¹⁹.

Next, the anonymous author has his primary focus on Nicephorus II Phocas. He remarks that Nicephorus II Phocas was brutally assassinated in his palace (ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ). The stories about the assassination of the emperor in his own bedroom are thought to have been composed after December 11, 969. These popular stories are very problematic for this time period. During the reign of John Tzimiskes, his name was removed from this narration²⁰. Some writers preferred not to mention it, but wrote about Theophano's involvement of in this killing²¹. In contrast to this period, which is pro-Tzimiskes in tone, later authors such as Leon Diaconus, John Geometres and others revealed the whole picture of the murder²². In this context, the *Chronicon Bruxellense* directly calls John Tzimiskes a murderer. It indicates that the anonymous author wrote from a great distance in time. Like Psellos' *Historia Syntomos*, he could find a detailed account of the assassination of Nicephorus II Phocas in *many detailed writings that were published both by contemporaries and by authors shortly after*²³. It is possible that the anonymous author could use oral tradition, but this assumption depends very much on the time when the chronicle was written²⁴.

In this context, two late short Byzantine chronicles on the period from Constantine the Great to Alexios I Comnenos (*Chronik 15* and *16*, edited by Peter Schreiner), surprisingly contain information very similar to the *Chronicon Bruxellense*²⁵. They are also shown to have somewhat more links between these texts. The content of these accounts is John Tzimiskes' coup against Nicephorus II Phocas. Both the *Chronicon Bruxellense* and *Chronik 16* (*Vind. gr.* 133, fols. 124–125, dating back to the 13th century) present us with a very similar example:

¹⁹ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 34, 12–15.

²⁰ L. PETIT, *Office inédit en l'honneur de Nicéphore Phocas*, BZ 13, 1904, p. 328–42; D. SULLIVAN, *The Rise and Fall of Nikephoros II Phokas. Five Contemporary Texts in Annotated Translations*, Leiden 2018 [= BAus, 23], p. 192–196.

²¹ M. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*, vol. I, Vienna 2003 [= WBS, 24.1], p. 313.

²² *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae libri decem*, ed. C.B. HASE, Bonn 1829 [= CSHB, 30], p. 85–91; JEAN GÉOMÈTRE, *Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques*, ed., trans., com. E. VAN OPSTALL, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= MMe, 75], №61, 80, p. 209–216, 281–288; *Vita of Athanasios of Athos, Version B*, ed. J. NORET, [in:] *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, Turnhout 1982 [= CC.SG, 9], p. 178–179.

²³ MICHAEL PSELLOS, 105, p. 99.

²⁴ R. MORRIS, *The Two Faces of Nikephoros Phokas*, BMGS 12, 1988, p. 83–115; S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIC, *L'écho du culte de Nicéphore Phocas chez les Slaves des Balkans*, [in:] *Le saint, le moine et le paysan. Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*, ed. O. DELOUIS, S. MÉTIVIER, P. PAGÈS, Paris 2016, p. 375–394.

²⁵ *Chronica Byzantina breviora = Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. I, ed. P. SCHREINER, Wien 1975 [= CFHB, 12.1], p. 156–162 (the *Chronicle 15*), p. 163–168 (the *Chronicle 16*).

<i>Chronicon Bruxellense</i>	<i>Chronik 15</i> , p. 158	<i>Chronik 16</i> , p. 165
Νικηφόρος ὁ Φωκάς... καὶ ἐσφάγη ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἔσωθεν τοῦ <u>κοιτῶνος</u> αὐτοῦ	Νικηφόρος ὁ Φωκάς... ἐσφάγη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τζιμισχῆ	ἐσφάγη δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Νικηφόρος ἐν τῷ <u>κοιτῶνι</u> αὐτοῦ

Consequently, *Chronik 16* was obviously a model for the anonymous author or vice versa. If *Chronik 16* was probably written in the 1120s, then the *Chronicon Bruxellense* could be composed after this time. However, the relationship between this passage of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* and *Chronik 16* was never clarified. Thus, it seems likely that the anonymous author of *Chronik 16* could read about the reign of Nicephorus II Phocas and John I Tzimiskes from the *Chronicon Bruxellense*.

After a brief statement about the death of Nicephorus II Phocas, the final passages of the text are as follows:

νε'. Βασίλειος ὁ νέος ὁ Βουλγαρκοτόνος πορφυρογέννητος καὶ τροπαιοῦχος, φιλοπόλεμος ὢν καὶ φιλόχρυσος, πολλὰ κατεργασάμενος κατὰ τοῦ Βουλγάρων ἔθους ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἐτέρων πολλῶν τροπαία καὶ νίκας βασιλεύει σὺν Κωνσταντίνῳ αὐτοῦ ἔτη ν'.

νς'. Κωνσταντίνος μόνος ἔτη τρία.

νζ'. Ῥωμανὸς ὁ τούτου γαμβρὸς ὁ λεγόμενος παρωνύμως Ἀργυρόπουλος χρηστὸς τοῖς ἡθεσι καὶ σοφὸς τῷ λόγῳ ἔτη ε' μῆνας ε'²⁶.

What is most interesting, however, is the author's assumption about "Basil the younger, the Bulgar-slayer born in the purple chamber". It is certainly plausible to consider that the epithet Βουλγαρκοτόνος was not used by any contemporaries of Basil II. The anonymous author refers to Basil II as "the Bulgar-slayer", but unlike other epithets, such as νέος and πορφυρογέννητος, this appellation is not found in any historical texts before the Bulgarian confrontation in 1185–1186²⁷. In this regard Paul Stephenson suggests that "the Bulgar-slayer" of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* was almost certainly an interpolation by a late-thirteenth-century scribe²⁸. However, Angel Nikolov has recently made it clear that the epithet is found in some texts dating back to the late 11th century²⁹. This last statement seems convincing to me, but we have another possibility for its dating, suggesting that the mention of the "the Bulgar-slayer" was a reference about Basil II in the middle

²⁶ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 34, 16–23.

²⁷ P. STEPHENSON, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*, Cambridge 2003, p. 66–80, see p. 71.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

²⁹ A. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΒ, *On Basil II's cognomen 'The Bulgar-Slayer'*, [in:] *Европейският югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура. Международна конференция. София, 6–8 октомври 2014 г.*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2015, p. 578–584.

of the 11th century. Paul Stephenson claims that the third part of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* may not have been transcribed in full, and *later entries may have been omitted*³⁰. There is no certainty, because the final praise in the *Chronicon Bruxellense* of the morals and wisdom of Romanus III indicates that the author wrote soon after the death of the emperor.

The Anomaly of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*

The author gives us a brief section on the reign of Michael III:

ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιη', η', ἔτους ςτξη', τῷ ε' ἔτει τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ ἦλθον ῥῶς σὺν ναυσὶ διακοσίαις, οἱ διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς παννυμῆτου Θεοτόκου κατεκυριεύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἠττήθησάν τε καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν³¹.

During his reign, on the 18th of June of the 8th indiction in the year 6368, the fifth year of his reign, the Rus' came in 200 ships and were, through the intercession of the all-hymned Mother of God, overpowered by the Christians, utterly defeated and destroyed.

In the light of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*, the raid of the Rus' was very unfortunate. According to our source, the Rus' were "utterly defeated and destroyed". How are we to understand these words about the catastrophe in Constantinople? It is noticeable that this narrative of the Rus' total defeat contradicts other sources which describe the event in more detail than the *Chronicon Bruxellense*. Among them is the testimony of patriarch Photios, who wrote two homilies on the attack of the Rus' in the summer of 860³². Photios made some observations about these warriors from the North, but he did not write anywhere that they were defeated³³. Thus, in the second homily, Photios wrote that *truly is this most-holy garment the raiment of God's Mother! It embraced the walls, and the foes inexplicably showed their backs; the city put it around itself, and the camp of the enemy was broken up as at a signal; the city bedecked itself with it, and the enemy were deprived of the hopes which bore them on. For immediately as the Virgin's garment went round the walls, the barbarians gave up the siege and broke camp, while we were delivered from impending capture and were granted unexpected salvation*³⁴. Next, he

³⁰ P. STEPHENSON, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer...*, p. 69.

³¹ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 33, 15–21.

³² PHOTIOS, *Homiliai*, ed. B. LAOURDAS, Thessaloniki 1959 (cetera: PHOTIOS), p. 29–52; *The Homilies of Photius*, trans. C. MANGO Washington DC 1958 [= DOT, 3], p. 82–110.

³³ C. ZUCKERMAN, *Deux étapes de la formation de l'ancien État russe*, [in:] *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie Byzance et Orient*, ed. M. KAZANSKI, A. NERCESSIAN, C. ZUCKERMAN, Paris 2000 [= RByz, 7], p. 95–121, see p. 103.

³⁴ PHOTIOS, p. 45; *The Homilies of Photius*, trans. C. MANGO, p. 102.

declared with all clarity that *unexpected was the enemy's invasion, unhopd-for appeared their departure*³⁵. This is not the place to provide a full commentary on these important passages, but we can see that Photios knew nothing about the “destruction” of the Rus’ bands.

It is important for us that the other contemporaries are also silent regarding the issue of the terrible defeat of the Rus’. Thus, in his *Life of Patriarch Ignatius*, Nicetas David the Paphlagonian writes that *for at that time the bloodthirsty Scythian race called Rus’ advanced across the Black Sea to the Bosphorus plundering every region and all the monasteries*³⁶. Moreover, he remarks that *and recently when the Rus’ ravaged the island, they cast the altar of this chapel to the ground and it was Ignatius who reconsecrated it*³⁷. Furthermore, in his letter to Emperor Michael III, Pope Nicholas I said that *after having massacred many men, have burnt churches of the Saints and the suburbs of Constantinople (postremo non ecclesias sanctorum, interfectis numerosis hominibus, ac suburban Constantinopoleos, quae et muris ejus pene contigua sunt, incendimus) [...] there is no punishment whatsoever inflicted on those who are pagans (et vere de istis nulla fit ultio, qui pagani sunt)*³⁸. In other words, Pope Nicholas I claimed that the bands of the Rus’ escaped without interference. If the brief statement in the *Chronicon Bruxellense* comes from the same original source (as many scholars believe), then how can we explain that all texts about the defeat of the Rus’ written by contemporaries are silent?

It poses two major problems for the student of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*. There is probably no information on the defeat of the Rus’ in Byzantine literature before the middle of the tenth century. This story is preserved in different variants with minor changes in some chronicles which were clearly composed in Constantinople between 946 and 980s. We do not know the source and date of this invention of the victory over the Rus’ in 860. It is possible that this story was not completed under the supervision of Constantine VII, because one of his authors, known commonly as Theophanes Continuatus, wrote very vaguely about the first campaign of the Rus’: *the attack of the Rhos – these being a savage and wild Scythian nation – devastated the lands of the Romans, burning the Pontus and the very Euxine to ashes, and surrounding the city itself. But after Photios, who held direction of the Church, had entreated the Divinity, the Rhos had their fill of divine wrath and returned home*³⁹.

³⁵ PHOTIOS, p. 45; *The Homilies of Photius*, trans. C. MANGO, p. 103.

³⁶ NICETAS DAVID, *The Life of Patriarch Ignatius*, §28, ed., trans. A. SMITHIES, J. DUFFY, Washington 2013 [= DOT, 13] (cetera: NICETAS DAVID), p. 44–45.

³⁷ NICETAS DAVID, p. 69.

³⁸ *Nicolai I Papae epistolae*, ed. E. PERELS, Berlin 1925 [= MGH.E, 6], p. 479–480.

³⁹ *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I–IV*, IV, 33, ed. J.M. FEATHERSTONE, J. SIGNES-CODOÑER, Boston–Berlin 2015 [= CFHB, 53] (cetera: *Theophanes Continuatus*), p. 279.

The story is found in different versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete. These versions provide limited history on the defeat of the northern barbarians at Constantinople⁴⁰. Though they are different in approach, however, none of them dared to turn a successful campaign of the Rus' into a full catastrophe. If scholars imagine some "local chronicle" as a source of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*, then how are we to understand the omission of this mysterious text from different versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete or rather all chronicles of the mid-10th century? Is it possible to do without making up this "lost city chronicle of Constantinople"?

Constructing the victory over the Rus'

Let us try to identify the sources of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* or rather of the section on the reign of Michael III. Warren Treadgold has recently summarized that *the chronicler's main source was the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete*⁴¹. However, Treadgold's correct observation requires some clarification here. Which version of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete was available to our author? Why didn't he take the information about the first attack of the Rus' from this source? It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the phraseology and content of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* frequently coincide with different versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete⁴². Unfortunately, the anonymous author does not provide many details. As a matter of fact, all instances of the use of the number of ships (200) of the Rus' described by the *Chronicon Bruxellense* are found only in Redaction A (Theodosius of Melitene, Leo Grammaticus) and Redaction B ("Continuation of George the Monk") of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete⁴³.

⁴⁰ Leonis Grammatici *Chronographia*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1842 [= *CSHB*, 31], p. 240–241; *Theodosii Meliteni qui fertur Chronographia. Ex codice graeco Regiae bibliothecae monacensis*, ed. Th. TAFEL, Munich 1859, p. 168; *Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1838 [= *CSHB*, 31], p. 826–827.

⁴¹ W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke 2013, p. 268.

⁴² *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae*, ed. S. WAHLGREN, Berlin 2006 (cetera: SYMEON), p. 246, 259 – 247, 273.

⁴³ *Книги временныя и образне Георгия мниха. Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем древнерусском переводе*, vol. II, *Продолжение хроники Георгия Амартола по Ватиканскому списку*, ed. В.М. ИСТРИН, Петроград 1920, p. 10, 34 – 11, 13; PSEUDO-SYMEON, *Chronicle*, ed. (partial) I. BEKKER, Bonn 1838 [= *CSHB*, 35], p. 674, 18 – 675, 3.

<i>Chronicon Bruxellense</i>	Symeon the Logothete, p. 246, 259 – 247, 273	Pseudo-Symeon, p. 674, 18 – 675, 3	George Monachus Continuatus, p. 10, 34 – 11, 13
<p>ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιη΄, ἡ΄, ἔτους ζετῆ΄, τῷ ε΄ ἔτει τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ ἦλθον Ῥῶς <u>σὺν ναυσὶ διακοσίαις</u>,</p> <p>οἱ διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανυμνήτου Θεοτόκου κατεκυριεύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἠττήθησάν τε καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν</p>	<p>οἱ δὲ Ῥῶς φθάσαντες ἔνδοθεν γενέσθαι τοῦ Ἱεροῦ πολὺν εἰργάσαντο φόρον Χριστιανῶν καὶ ἀθῶον αἶμα ἐξέχεον. ὑπῆρχον δὲ <u>πλοῖα διακόσια</u>, ἃ περιεκύκλωσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολὺν φόρον τοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἐνεποίησαν.</p> <p>ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καταλαβὼν μόλις ἴσχυσε διαπερᾶσαι καὶ δὴ σὺν τῷ πατριάρχῃ Φωτίῳ εἰς τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις ναὸν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μητρὸς παρεγένετο κάκει τὸ θεῖον ἐξίλεοῦνται καὶ εὐμενίζονται.</p> <p>εἶτα μεθ’ ὑμνωδίας τὸ ἅγιον ἐξαγαγόντες τῆς Θεοτόκου ὠμοφόριον τῇ θαλάσῃ ἄκρως προσέβαψαν, καὶ νηνεμίας οὔσης εὐθὺς ἀνέμων ἐπιφορὰ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἠρεμούσης κυμάτων ἐπαναστάσεις ἀλλεπάλληλοι ἐγεγόνθησαν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀθέων Ῥῶς πλοῖα κατεάγησαν, ὀλίγων ἐκπεφευγῶτων τὸν κίνδυνον.</p>	<p>... καταλαβόντα δηλοῖ τὴν τῶν Ῥῶς ἄφιξιν, <u>πλοίων οὐσαν διακοσίων</u>.</p> <p>(Τῷ ι΄ αὐτοῦ ἔτει)</p> <p>Οἱ δὲ Ῥῶς ἔνδοθεν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ φθάσαντες πολὺν εἰργάσαντο φόρον. περιεκύκλωσιν οὖν τὴν πόλιν.</p> <p>καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως μόλις διαπερᾶσαι ἰσχύσαντος, εὐθὺς σὺν τῷ πατριάρχῃ Φωτίῳ τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις τῆς Θεοτόκου ναὸν καταλαμβάνουσι,</p> <p>καὶ μεθ’ ὑμνωδιῶν τὸ ἅγιον τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐξαγαγόντες μαφόριον τῇ θαλάσῃ ἄκρως προσέβαψαν, καὶ νηνεμίας οὔσης εὐθὺς ἀνέμων ἐπιφοραὶ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἠρεμούσης κυμάτων ἐπαναστάσεις ἀλλεπάλληλοι ἐγεγόνθησαν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀθέων Ῥῶς πλοῖα κατεάγησαν, ὀλίγων ἐκπεφευγῶτων τὸν κίνδυνον.</p>	<p>οἱ δὲ Ῥῶς ἔνδοθεν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ γεγονότες πολὺν φόρον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν κατεργάσαντο καὶ <u>διακοσίους πλοίοις</u> τὴν πόλιν ἐκύκλωσαν.</p> <p>ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καταλαβὼν μόλις διαπερᾶσαι ἐξίσχυσε καὶ σὺν τῷ πατριάρχῃ Φωτίῳ εἰς τὸν ἐν Βλαχέρναις τῆς Θεοτόκου καταλαβόντες ναὸν πάννυχον ἰκετηρίαν ἐτέλεσαν.</p> <p>Εἶτα τὸ Θεῖον τῆς τοῦ Θεοτόκου ὠμοφόριον μεθ’ ὑμνωδίας ἐξενεγκότες τῇ θαλάσῃ ἄκρως προσέβαψαν, καὶ νηνεμίας οὔσης εὐθὺς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης κατεστορεσμένης ὑπαρχούσης</p> <p>εὐθὺς λαίλαψ ἀνέμου ἠγείρετο καὶ κυμάτων βιαιῶν ἐπιφορὰ ἀλλεπάλληλοι τὰ τῶν ἀθέων. Ῥῶς πλοῖα διαταράττουσα καὶ</p>

<i>Chronicon Bruxellense</i>	Symeon the Logothete, p. 246, 259 – 247, 273	Pseudo-Symeon, p. 674, 18 – 675, 3	George Monachus Continuatus, p. 10, 34 – 11, 13
			τῆ προσαρασσοῦσα καὶ κατεάσσοῦσα, ὡς ὀλίγα ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν τοιοῦτον κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια μετὰ ἥττης ὑποστρέψαι.

It is noteworthy that Theophanes Continuatus does not provide any information on the number of ships⁴⁴. In this context, later Byzantine historians such as John Scylitzes, who apparently based their works on Theophanes Continuatus's narrative of the attack of 860, missed these details of the campaign⁴⁵. One can discern a common thread running through these episodes of the attack of the Rus'. In addition to the number of ships, these similarities include a final story with "the intercession of the all-hymned Mother of God". Thus, different versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete provide a short narrative on how a violent storm arose and scattered the Rus' ships. There are, however, additional themes in Symeon the Logothete's account of the attack of the Rus' that are far less pronounced in episodes from the *Chronicon Bruxellense*. Attention is paid not only to the defeat of the Rus' but also to their departure. If the anonymous author said that the Rus' were "overpowered by the Christians" and "utterly defeated and destroyed", the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete contained a similar story where only a small part of the Rus' returned home. It is no exaggeration to say that the *Chronicon Bruxellense* offers not so much an account of the Rus' attack as a narrative of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete. There seems to be no need to postulate any significant sources for the *Chronicon Bruxellense*'s account of the reign of Michael III other than one of the versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete. How can we identify this chronicle? In order to support the identification of Symeon the Logothete's narrative as a source for the *Chronicon Bruxellense*, we can cite internal and external evidence.

Following the unprecedented interest of our author to chronology, some versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete provide special chronological rubrics on the reign of Michael III:

⁴⁴ *Theophanes Continuatus*, IV, 33, p. 279.

⁴⁵ IOANNIS SCYLITZAE, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. THURN, Berlin–New York 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5] (cetera: IOANNIS SCYLITZAE), p. 107, 44–49.

<i>Chronicon Bruxellense</i>	Pseudo-Symeon	George Monachus Continuatus
με' Μιχαήλ υἱὸς Θεοφίλου σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρα ἔτη δ', καὶ μόνος ἔτη ι', καὶ σὺν Βασιλείῳ ἔτος ἕν μηνας δ'	Κόσμου ἔτος ςτλε' τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτος ωλε', Ῥω- μαίων βασιλεὺς Μιχαήλ καὶ Θεοδώρα ἔτη ιδ', μόνος ἔτη ιβ', καὶ σὺν Βασιλείῳ ἔτος α' μῆνας δ', ὁμοῦ ἔτη κζ' μῆνας δ'	Μετὰ δὲ Θεόφιλον ΜΙΧΑ- ΗΛ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διευθυνεῖν καταλαμβάνεται σὺν μητρὶ Θεοδώρα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα. Καὶ ἐβασίλευσε σὺν μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτη δ', καὶ μόνος ἔτι δέκα, καὶ σὺν Βασιλείῳ ἔτος ἕν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρες

It is extremely important that the anonymous author repeated George Monachus Continuatus's mistake in the chronological section of the reign of Michael III. Similarly to George Monachus Continuatus, he erroneously claims that Michael III reigned together with Theodora for 4 years (instead of the 14-year term). As we can see, coincidences between the *Chronicon Bruxellense* and George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle do not end there. Thus, the anonymous author replaced the entries about the reign of Michael III from George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle, where the emperor was named twice. Paradoxically, it was a major evidence of the so-called structural "failure". However, the anonymous author simply copied this specific chronological form from his source. In other words, in its description of the chronology of the reign of Michael III and the attack of the Rus', the *Chronicon Bruxellense* modified the text of George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle.

The anonymous author did not modify many items to contribute to his narrative of the attack of the Rus'. The element of his narrative was to create a full chronology for the raids of the Rus' that consisted largely of existing information brought over from George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle. More important, however, and revealing of his working methods, is the fact that after George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle he added a complete sequence for the date of the defeat of the Rus'. It seems likely that the anonymous author borrowed chronology from his main source. As mentioned above, the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* took George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle as his foremost model.

There are many parallels between two part of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* and George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle⁴⁶. In fact, the anonymous author often repeated information (dates, events, names and lexical forms) from this source.

⁴⁶ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 18–25.

As Cumont already noted, the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* added very little to these versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete⁴⁷. Unlike George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle or some versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete, the *Chronicon Bruxellense* has unique data such as the full date (year, month, and day) of the first Rus' attack on Constantinople. According to the chronological network of George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle, the anonymous author mistakenly repeated the structure of the chronological section of the reign of Michael III. On this basis, he was able to calculate that the Rus' arrived during the 10th year of the reign of Michael III. Nonetheless, it does not apply to the month and day of the attack. If the anonymous author calculated the indiction, then how and where could he find other chronological details (the month and day)?

As we have seen earlier several times, the main purpose of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* was to create a short narrative. On the one hand, the anonymous author seemingly extensively uses George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle, constructing his narrative of the reign of Michael III. In fact, the *Chronicon Bruxellense*'s description of the first Rus' attack on Constantinople is very similar to the passages from George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle. On the other hand, the anonymous author adapted his main source, but neither the month nor the day of the attack was mentioned there. How did the anonymous author know that? In addition, a number of scholars, including de Boor, Schreiner, and Külzer, have suggested a possible connection between the date of the Rus' attack in the *Chronicon Bruxellense* and the lost "local chronicle"⁴⁸. The absence of traces of this mysterious text anywhere, while there are over 60 MS copies of various versions of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete⁴⁹, diminishes asymptotically the veracity of this hypothesis. Scholars who believe in an early composition date of part two of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* tend to argue that the anonymous author did not calculate the date of the attack, but obtained it from outside. But where exactly would that be? According to the information concerning the collection of relics given in the *Chronicon Bruxellense*⁵⁰, we can postulate that another source of information was liturgical memory.

⁴⁷ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 26, n. 1, 27, n. 1.

⁴⁸ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 33, n. 2; P. SCHREINER, *Miscellanea Byzantino-Russica...*, p. 152; A. KÜLZER, *Studien zum Chronicon Bruxellense...*, p. 447. Or is it possible to assume that this lost "local chronicle" was a "common source" also used by George Monachus Continuatus? This idea, however, is undermined by a wider analysis of the reigns from Michael III to Constantine VII, which suggest to me a much simpler solution of the puzzle: the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* read George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle.

⁴⁹ SYMEON, p. 27–28.

⁵⁰ *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, I, p. 19, 21–22, 26–27.

After the Rus' siege and their sudden return to their home, the Robe of the Virgin Mary was regarded as the Palladium of Constantinople⁵¹. This is emphasized by the *Synaxarium* – that these relicts were awarded as divine gifts and a sure defence to this illustrious great city which is devoted to the Theotokos. Thus celebrates their arrival with magnificent and celebratory feast-days⁵². The commemoration of the deposition of the Robe took place in Constantinople on July 2⁵³. Specifically, the anonymous author could know that those final stage of the siege was associated with the feast day of the Virgin. In this context, he mentioned the date of the attack, which was not so far removed from these feast days. Finally, he could learn (from the same George Monachus Continuatus's chronicle on the attack of 941) that an attack of the Rus' on Constantinople was in June⁵⁴. It is very likely that the author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* was a contemporary of the last Rus' attack of 1043, which lasted for two months, from June to August⁵⁵. The *Chronicon Bruxellense* was probably written around this time.

The next source of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* was the *Chronicle* of Theophanes⁵⁶. Both Franz Cumont in his edition of the Greek text and Andreas Külzer in his paper correctly note that the anonymous author widely used the *Chronicle* of Theophanes⁵⁷. In particular, Cumont cites many examples from the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (especially in his narrative on the period from Constantine to Michael III) but the attack of Rus' was unrecognized. This is manifested in the simple fact that the author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* borrows some fragments from Theophanes' description of the siege of Constantinople of 629:

Theoph., p. 315–316	<i>Chronicon Bruxellense</i>
<p>τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανυμνήτου θεοτόκου συνεργήσαντος, καὶ πολέμου κροτηθέντος χάλαξα παραδόξως κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων κατηνέχθη καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπάταξεν...</p> <p>καὶ ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ θεομήτορος παρθένου ἠττήθησαν</p>	<p>ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιη', η', ἔτους ςτζη', τῷ ε' ἔτει τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ ἦλθον Ῥῶς σὺν ναυσι διακοσίαις, οἱ διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανυμνήτου Θεοτόκου κατεκυριεύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἠττήθησαν τε καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν.</p>

⁵¹ A. VASILIEV, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860...*, p. 222.

⁵² *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. DELEHAYE, Brussels 1902, p. 935, trans. J. WORTLEY, *The Marian Relics at Constantinople*, GRBS 45, 2005, p. 171–187, see p. 174–175.

⁵³ J. WORTLEY, *The Marian Relics at Constantinople...*, p. 175.

⁵⁴ *Книги временныя и образне Георгия мниха...*, p. 60, 25 – 61, 30.

⁵⁵ IOANNIS SCYLITZAE, p. 430.

⁵⁶ *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1883.

⁵⁷ A. KÜLZER, *Studien zum Chronicon Bruxellense...*, p. 433, 440.

It is very important that the author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* was a late reader of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes. Federico Montinaro has recently shown that the reception of Theophanes' *Chronicle* was active among the Byzantine historians from Constantine VII to John Zonaras⁵⁸. In this context, the anonymous author also used some of Theophanes' words to describe the attack of the Rus'. It is likely that only the story about the help of the most holy Theotokos was of interest to him.

The Influence of the *Chronicon Bruxellense*?

Although the *Chronicon Bruxellense* was not a popular chronicle for reading, its influence is felt in some late texts. It is evident in the writings of John the Oxite and Theodore Laskaris. In his shorter piece addressed to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, dated by Paul Gautier back to after 1091, John the Oxite, the patriarch of Antioch, mentioned the defeat of the Rus' at Constantinople during the reign of Michael III⁵⁹. Providing a stinging critique of Komnenian rule, John the Oxite wrote the following: *Do you not hear that in the reign of Michael, Theophilus' son, the Tauroscythians, having attacked with a heavy fleet and taken (the country) all around, held the whole (city) as if in nets? After the Emperor, with the Archbishop and the whole population of the city, had come to the Church of Blachernae and all together made prayers to God, the very holy garment of the Mother of God was dipped in the sea*⁶⁰. Next, John the Oxite places much emphasis on the utter catastrophe of the first raid of the Rus'⁶¹. The same idea – from the defeat to victory over the Rus' – is expressed in the *Chronicon Bruxellense* in very similar terms. It is noticeable that John the Oxite read some texts which showed the attack of the Rus' as a total defeat for the invaders. Though the author of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* does not discuss this himself, it is reasonable to assume that he wrote his text for the monastery where he spent the years of his life. It is possible to suggest that John the Oxite could know something about the Rus' from the *Chronicon Bruxellense*. This is a very strong indication that the story about the total disaster

⁵⁸ F. MONTINARO, *The Chronicle of Theophanes in the Indirect Tradition*, TM 19, 2015, p. 177–205.

⁵⁹ P. GAUTIER, *Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis I^{er} Comnène*, REB 28, 1970, p. 5–55, see p. 39, 17 – 41, 1.

⁶⁰ A. VASILIEV, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860...*, p. 222.

⁶¹ P. GAUTIER, *Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis I^{er} Comnène...*, p. 39, 17 – 41, 1: Οὐκ ἀκούεις διτι εν ταῖς του βασιλέως Μιχαήλ ἡμέραις, του Θεοφίλου παιδός, Ταυροσκύθαι βαρεῖ στόλω προσενηχθέντες και κύκλω διαλαβόντες ὡσπερ εντός δικτύων ἀπασαν εἶχον, του δε βασιλέως σὺν ἀρχιερεῖ και παντί τω της πόλεως πλήθει το εν Βλαχέρναις καταλαβόντων τέμενος και κοινή το θεῖον ἐξίλασαμένων, εἶτα βάπτεται μεν κατά της θαλάσσης ἀκρας το ἅγιον της Θεομήτορος ράκος (μαφόριον σὺνηθες τοῦτο καλεῖν), γίνεται δ'εὐθύς θαῦμα εκπληκτον και παράδοξον; Ἐκ γαρ σταθεράς μεσημβρίας και νηνεμίας ἀθρόον ἐκταραχθεῖσα ἡ θάλασσα πάντων των βαρβάρων σὺν αὐτοῖς βυθίζει τα σκάφη, ολίγων κομιδὴ περιλειφθέντων δσοι δηλονότι ἤρκουν τοις οἰκοι τήν καινήν ἀγγεῖλαι συμφοράν. Και τί μοι δεῖ πλειόνων και παλαιότερων υποδειγμάτων.

of the Rus' raid in 860 was composed and shared in public no earlier than the mid-eleventh century. The tension would reach a breaking point in the late eleventh – mid-thirteenth century, when Theodore Laskaris mentions the first attack of the Rus' in his *Oration on the Virgin to be Read in the Celebration of the Akathistos*⁶². He goes on to describe the gloomy event in the same negative terms, and then draws even more attention to the *great and strange spectacle of destruction*⁶³. One can in fact read the following on the defeat of the Rus' in Theodore Laskaris' *Oration: The striking was not from the air, but the wind was rising from the bottom; rudders were twisted; sails torn up; prows of boats sunk; and the enemies who were close to the shore, not knowing what had happened, hurriedly tried to escape only to be drowned*⁶⁴. There are parallels in imagery with the *Chronicon Bruxellense*, making it clear that perhaps Theodore Laskaris simply used more suitable expressions, drawn from this short chronicle.

Let us return to the question posed in the beginning of the essay: what are the broader implications of the *Chronicon Bruxellense* for our understanding of the nature of its section on the reign of Michael III? Many scholars have worked diligently to portray the account of the Rus' attack in the *Chronicon Bruxellense* as an available or anything that might be identified as a "lost" chronicle. However, it is argued that the *Chronicon Bruxellense* is not a relevant text for the reconstruction of the events of 860, but it presents compiler techniques of a later Byzantine author.

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⁶² A. GIANNOULI, *Eine Rede auf das Akathistos-Fest (BHG 1140, CPG 8197) und Theodoros II. Dukas Laskaris*, JÖB 51, 2001, p. 259–283; D. ANGELOV, *The Byzantine Hellene. The Life of Emperor Theodore Laskaris and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 2019, p. 322.

⁶³ A. GIANNOULI, *Eine Rede auf das Akathistos-Fest...*, p. 273.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 274, trans. A. VASILIEV, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860...*, p. 104.

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*Повесть о юноше и чародее в славянской книжности**

Abstract. A Narrative about a Young Man and the Magician Mesites in the Slavonic Medieval Tradition. This article is devoted to the study of the Narrative about the Young Man and Magician that widely circulated in the Medieval Slavonic tradition. The authors analyze the existing versions of the Narrative that formed part of the Svodny Paterik and Prolog, and also establish the closest Greek sources. The study explores various Slavonic and Greek recensions of the Narrative and offers their textual analysis. The Slavonic and Greek versions of the text are placed in the Appendix.

Keywords: Athanasius of Alexandria, young man, magician, Mesites, patrician, Theodulus, eparch, notarius, Constantinople, Prolog, Paterik

В средневековой славянской книжности было широко распространено повествование о чародее по имени Месит, или, в других версиях, о безымянном волхве и юноше, которому Бог воздал за преданность. Оно упомянуто как входящее в ранние русские четьи сборники¹, Прологи² и Патерики³. Несколько раз оно было опубликовано в разных версиях по разным источникам⁴.

* Настоящая статья является частью более обширного проекта по выявлению и систематизации полного списка текстов, приписываемых Афанасию Александрийскому в славянской традиции (будь то его подлинных сочинений, либо подложных). Главным итогом данного исследования будет книга Slavonic Athanasiana. (Исследование В.В. Литвиненко подержано программой No. UNCE/HUM/016 Исследовательского центра Карлова университета и проектом GAČR 22-08389S “Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria, *Oration on the Celebration of Easter: Critical Edition of the Old Slavonic Version*”).

¹ О.В. Творогов, *Древнерусские четьи сборники XII–XIV вв. (Статья первая)*, [in:] *ТОДЛ*, vol. XLI, Ленинград 1988, p. 197–214.

² Л.В. Прокопенко, *Состав и источники Пролога за сентябрьскую половину года по спискам XII – начала XV в.*, [in:] *ЛИИКЯ 2006–2009*, Москва 2010, p. 158–312.

³ С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази в българската средновековна литература*, София 1980.

⁴ *Литературные сборники XVII века. Пролог*, Москва 1978; С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази...*, p. 253–255; *Великие Минеи Четии, собр. Всероссийским митрополитом Макарием*,

В научной литературе это сочинение не получило устойчивого названия. В ряде списков Пролога текст имеет название «Слово о Месите-Чародее». Именно так его называет и О.Д. Журавель, исследовавшая его сюжетные параллели в разных литературных произведениях⁵. С. Николова пользуется условным названием «Юноша и Волхв». Такая разница обусловлена тем, что лишь в одной из славянских версий у волшебника («чародея») есть имя, тогда как во второй он («волхв») остается безымянным. В Каталоге памятников древнерусской письменности это сочинение не имеет специального обозначения и представлено лишь в виде двух разных инципитов; при этом связь между ними не указана: (1) «Слышахом и се некия поведаяща, яко в царство, рече, Маврикия»⁶; (2) «В Костянтине граде бысть некий чародеи лукавый человек»⁷.

В сочинении говорится о юноше, которого некий проживающий в Константинополе чародей по имени Месит, или, в иной версии, безымянный волхв, пожелал сделать слугой дьявола и взял с собою в бесовский город на пир демонов. Царь бесов спросил юношу, слуга ли он ему, и юноша, перекрестившись, ответил, что он слуга Бога. После этого бесовский город пал и исчез. Юноша вернулся в Константинополь и там через некоторое время поступил в услужение благочестивому патрицию. Когда они вместе молились перед иконой Спаса, патриций увидел, что образ смотрит не на него, а на юношу. После молитв и просьб от образа был глас, что патрицию Бог всего лишь благодарен – за его добрые дела, а юноше должен – за его верность и самоотверженность.

Исследователями неоднократно отмечались сюжетные параллели к данному сочинению в различных литературных, фольклорных и даже библейских текстах⁸; мотив о дьявольском граде и пире бесов в этом произведении был исследован в работе О.Д. Журавель⁹.

При этом сочинение остается малоизученным и неизвестно, откуда оно вошло в славянские сборники. Неизвестна история текста и не выяснен характер соотношения текстов в разных сборниках. Не исследован и жанр.

изд. Археографической комиссией, vol. 1, 2 декабря, Москва 1912 (cetera: ВМЧ), col. 47–49; ВМЧ, 31 декабря, col. 2685–2688.

⁵ О.Д. Журавель, *Сюжет о договоре человека с дьяволом в древнерусской литературе*, Новосибирск 1996, p. 157–195, 227.

⁶ *Каталог памятников древнерусской книжности XI–XIV вв.*, ed. О.В. Творогов, А.А. Романова, Ф. Томсон, А.А. Турилов, Д.М. Буланин, Санкт-Петербург 2014 (cetera: КПДК), p. 346.

⁷ КПДК, p. 886.

⁸ Н.Н. Дурново, *Легенда о заключенном бесе в византийской и старинной русской литературе*, [in:] *Древности. Труды славянской комиссии МАО*, vol. IV.1, Москва 1907, p. 151; М.О. Скрипиль, *Повесть о Савве Грудцыне*, [in:] *ТОДЛ*, vol. III, Москва–Ленинград 1985, p. 125; В.Е. Багно, *Договор человека с дьяволом в «Повести о Савве Грудцыне» и в европейской литературной традиции*, [in:] *ТОДЛ*, vol. XL, Ленинград 1985, p. 368.

⁹ О.Д. Журавель, *Сюжет о договоре человека с дьяволом...*

В дальнейшем данное сочинение мы будем условно называть *Повестью о юноше и чародее*.

Вопрос *Повести о юноше и чародее* встал перед нами в связи с найденным нами греческим источником весьма распространенного и значимого для древнерусской книжности текста *Слово о различных образах спасения и о покаянии*. Греческий оригинал *Слова* был опубликован в 1903 году Н.С. Суворовым¹⁰, но публикация оказалась вне внимания как славистов, так и византологов. Текст не вошел в РГ и не был указан в СРГ, а его изучение ограничилось лишь комментарием первого публикатора.

Повесть о юноше и чародее входит в указанное греческое сочинение, где представляет собой иллюстрацию к одному из путей спасения, названного самым последним в перечне различных вариантов обретения вечной жизни, и, по мнению автора, являющегося самым эффективным. Этот путь спасения обозначен как исповедание Бога перед враждебно настроенным владыкой.

Слово о различных образах спасения и о покаянии нашло широкий отклик в славянской книжности. Нами выявлены два перевода *Слова* на славянский. Один из них включался в сборник Измарагд (в обе старшие редакции), другой – в Софийскую Кормчую¹¹.

Однако необходимо отметить, что *Повесть о юноше и чародее* ни в одну из славянских переводных версий *Слова* не вошла¹². Почему эта часть была исключена из славянского перевода – остается пока неизвестным. Возможно, причина заключается в том, что *Повесть* была достаточно известной в славянской книжности и вне *Слова о различных образах спасения и о покаянии*. У славян *Повесть* была широко распространена. Представляется, что судьба данного текста заслуживает отдельного исследования как в качестве возможного славянского дериватива от изученного нами греческого сочинения, так и само по себе.

В славянской книжности имеются две версии *Повести о юноше и чародее*. Одна из них постоянно входила в Сводный Патерик, другая – в Пролог на 2 декабря. Основные различия между этими двумя версиями можно представить следующим образом:

¹⁰ Н.С. СУВОРОВ, *К истории нравственного учения в восточной церкви*, ВВ 10.1–2, 1903, р. 55–61.

¹¹ И.М. Грицевская, В.В. Литвиненко, *Слово о различных образах спасения и о покаянии Псевдо-Афанасия Александрийского в славянских сборниках «Измарагд», Slo 72, 2022, р. 249–293; ПРЕМ, Афанасий Александрийский в Софийской Кормчей, ДРВМ (в печати).*

¹² Следует отметить, что переводчику версии *Слова* из Софийской Кормчей данный пример был известен: текст здесь заканчивается указанием на противостояние нечестивому владыке как последний из путей спасения души, хотя сам пример и не приведен: поуч. ꙗ. Иже аще кто прѣ невѣрными. не оубояв са страха нхъ исповѣсть хѣ. в то чѣ простѣша са всѣ грѣси его. љже сътвори в житїи сѣ. гъ рѣ аще кто исповѣсть ма прѣ члкъ. исповѣ и азъ его прѣ оцмъ мой иже ѣ на нбѣхъ. В Измарагдѣ этот путь исключен вовсе.

Основные элементы текста	Версия Пролога на 2 декабря	Версия Сводного Патерики
Заглавие	Слово о Месите чародее / Слово о Месите чародее и о прелести диаволе / Слово святого Феодула патрикия иже бе в цесарство великаго Феодосия ¹³	Без названия ¹⁴
Инципиты	Въ константиѣ градѣ въ нѣкъзи чародѣи. и лоукавзи члѣкъ. глмзи мѣситѣ	Слышашѹ и си нѣкъзи повѣдающа. яко въ црѣтѣ рѣ маврикіа црѣ. въ нѣкъзи волховѣ въ костѣ // нгѣнѣ градѣ
Обозначения персонажей	Чародей Месит, отрок, патриций (Феодул)	Волхв, юноша, патриций
Место и время	Константинополь, в царство Маврикия / Феодосия	Константинополь, в царство Маврикия
Обозначение бесов и царя	Синец; царь бесовский	Мурин; князь муринов
Икона	Образ Спаса на месте Плефрон (Фрефрон)	Образ Спаса
Концовка текста	Рассказ о дальнейшей судьбе патриция Феодула, о его пострижении и преставлении в «старости добрей» по прошествии многих лет благочестивой жизни	Нравоучительный вывод, обращенный к «братии»; обращается внимание на слова Бога, который рабъ своему глетѣ, яко блггодарю та и долженъ ти есмѣ, и достоиню мѣзюу

Какова же природа версий этого текста? Является ли их различие плодом трудов славянского книжника, или это переводы различных греческих версий? К сожалению, греческие версии текста также являются малоисследованными: им не посвящено ни одной специальной работы, не проанализирована история текста. По нашим данным, можно выделить три редакции греческого текста:

¹³ В рецензии на настоящую статью анонимный рецензент указал следующее: В проложной традиции наблюдаются две текстологических ветви, в одной из них чтение озаглавлено «Слово о Месите чародее» или «Слово о Месите чародее и о прелести диаволе», а в другой оно названо «Слово святого Феодула патрикия иже бе в цесарство великаго Феодосия». Обе версии заглавий представлены в старших списках Пролога. Так, в списках пространной редакции Тип. 161, сер. XIV в., Син. 247, втор. пол. XIV в. читается «Слово о Месите чародее», а в Соф. 1324, XIII в., Пог. 59, 1-й четверти XIV в. выписано «Слово Феодула патрикия».

¹⁴ Вне патерики в одном из списков обозначено «От старчества» (ср. далее).

1. Редакция в составе компиляций: (а) Вопросоответ № 18 Псевдо-Анастасия Синаита; (б) *Слово о различных образах спасения и о покаянии*:

Повесть о юноше и чародее вошла в состав Вопросоответа № 18 Псевдо-Анастасия и издана М. Ричардом (M. Riachard) и Дж.А. Мунитизом (J.A. Munitiz) в приложении к критическому изданию подлинных *Вопросоответов* Анастасия Синаита¹⁵. По мнению издателей, Псевдо-Анастасиев Вопросоответ № 18 был частью малочисленной группы греческих списков “B”, возникшей в XI или XII вв. и включавшей в себя набор из 42 Вопросоответов Анастасия (21 подлинного и 21 подложного).

Эта же редакция Повести о юноше и чародее (с незначительными отличиями) вошла в состав пространной версии *Слова о различных образах спасения и о покаянии*, опубликованной Н.С. Суворовым по мюнхенскому списку X в. (Cod. Monac. Gr. 498, лл. 227–230)¹⁶.

Как в Псевдо-Анастасиевом Вопросоответе № 18, так и в *Слове о различных образах спасения и о покаянии*, *Повесть о юноше и чародее* не является самостоятельной, но входит в качестве «прилога». Вопросоответ № 18 Псевдо-Анастасия является достаточно обширным компилятивным текстом с весьма разнообразной тематикой. При этом сам вопрос сформулирован в начале текста следующим образом: *Как мы можем не осуждать того, кто открыто грешит?*¹⁷. *Повесть о юноше и чародее* является заключительной частью компиляции и в содержательном отношении связана с ней (и упомянутым вопросом в частности) лишь весьма условно.

В *Слове о различных образах спасения и о покаянии* исследуемая повесть является иллюстрацией к описанию последнего из образов спасения – а именно верности Богу перед лицом враждебного владыки. Так же как и в Вопросоответе № 18, содержательная связь повести с остальной частью текста тоже весьма условна; и здесь *Повесть о юноше и чародее* является заключительной частью компиляции.

Отметим, что эта же редакция Повести могла встречаться в греческой рукописной традиции и вне компиляций. В качестве примера можно привести текст Повести, вошедший в греческий сборник ГИМ, Синодальное собр. гр. 163, № 345, лл. 188об.–189¹⁸. О принадлежности к данной редакции свидетельствует инципит¹⁹ (к сожалению, рукопись оказалась для нас недоступна). В составе Син. гр. 163, № 345 *Повесть о юноше и чародее*

¹⁵ M. RICHARD, J. MUNITIZ, *Anastasioi Sinaitae. Quaestiones et Responsiones*, Leuven 2006, p. 202.

¹⁶ Н.С. СУВОРОВ, *К истории нравственного учения...*, p. 60–61.

¹⁷ Публикация перевода на современный русский язык cf. *Анастасий Синаит. Вопросы и ответы*, trans. А.И. СИДОРОВА, Москва 2015, p. 156–159.

¹⁸ Л.В. ПРОКОПЕНКО, *Состав и источники Пролога...*, p. 238.

¹⁹ ВЛАДИМИР, АРХИМ., *Систематическое описание рукописей Московской Синодальной (патриаршей) библиотеки*, part 1, *Рукописи греческие*, Москва 1894, p. 505: Ἐπί τῶν χρόνων Μανρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως γέγονε ἐν (инципит по Син. гр. 163, № 345).

примыкает к *Aprophthegmata Patrum*, но не входит в неё. Л.В. Прокопенко в качестве источника *Повести* в Прологе указала на статью в Син. гр. 163²⁰.

2. Редакция вне компиляций. *Повесть о юноше и чародее* в этой редакции была издана Добшутцем (Dobschütz) вместе с рядом других легенд о чудотворных иконах по списку Cod. Monac. Reg. Gr. 226, XIII в., лл. 112–113, с разночтениями по трём другим спискам XIV в.²¹

3. Редакция Франциска Комбефиса (François Combefis). В этой редакции *Повесть о юноше и чародее* была издана Ф. Комбефисом (1605–1679 гг.) по парижским рукописям во втором томе его собрания патристических творений *Novum Auctarium Graeco-Latinae Bibliothecae Patrum*, Paris 1648, 656a–657d. В этой редакции *Повесть о юноше и чародее* существенно отличается от предыдущих двух и имеет более развёрнутое содержание, создающее впечатление пересказа.

Как же соотносятся славянские версии памятника с греческими редакциями? Чтобы ответить на этот вопрос, необходимо сначала проанализировать более подробно историю славянских текстов и выделить вариант, наиболее приближенный к архетипу перевода.

Версия Пролога

Календарный сборник уставного чтения Пролог возник в Древней Руси в XII в.; он включает в себя тексты двух групп: синаксарные тексты (жития, тексты о праздниках), а также тексты несинаксарные, нравоучительные. Происхождение этих групп текстов различно. Если агиографические тексты восходят к переводному южнославянскому сборнику Синаксарю, то нравоучительные тексты были добавлены на Руси. По наблюдениям Л.В. Прокопенко, несинаксарные тексты Пролога представляют собой переработку уже существовавших славянских переводов и имеют устойчивый состав²². Именно к этой несинаксарной части можно отнести и *Повесть о юноше и чародее*.

В науке принято выделять две редакции Пролога: Краткую и Пространную. Исследования Е.А. Фет и Л.В. Прокопенко привели к выводу, что

²⁰ Л.В. ПРОКОПЕНКО, *Состав и источники Пролога...*, p. 238.

²¹ E. DOBSCHÜTZ, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig 1899, p. 226–232. Начальная часть текста опубликована в F. NAU, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, vol. VIII, Paris 1903, p. 93–94 по рукописи Cod. Gr. de Paris 1596, лл. 557–560 в разделе под названием «Жизни и истории аскетов IV–VII вв.». Этот текст совпадает со 2-й греческой редакцией, опубликованной Добшутцем (Dobschütz). Инципит Повести в издании Добшутца: Καλὸν τοῖνυν καὶ πάνυ πρέπον ἐστὶν καὶ τοῦδε ἐπιμνησθῆναι τοῦ ἑξαίσιου καὶ παραδόξου θαύματος, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Μαυρίκιου τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν τις ἀνθρώπος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Μεσίτης καλοῦμενος.

²² Л.В. ПРОКОПЕНКО, *Состав и источники Пролога...*, p. 161–162.

Краткая редакция была составлена в результате соединения Синаксаря, пришедшего от южных славян, и нравоучительных статей из Пространной редакции и, таким образом, является вторичной²³. Повесть о юноше и чародее включалась на 2 декабря как в Пространную, так и в Краткую редакции²⁴.

Таким образом, можно полагать, что сочинение было добавлено в Прологи на Руси, причём первичный текст должен читаться в Пространной редакции. Отметим, что именно текст Пространной редакции вошел в ВМЧ на 2 декабря, и, по наблюдениям Прокопенко, он базировался на списке Пролога Пространной редакции второй половины XIV в., ГИМ, Синодальное собр., № 247²⁵.

В качестве важной черты проложного текста и в отличие от любой из греческих версий необходимо отметить то, что во всех проложных списках патриций носит имя Феодула. Откуда взялось это имя? Ответ на этот вопрос связан с датой, к которой в русском календаре оказался прикреплен текст *Повести*, являющийся, по-видимому, некалендарным в греческой книжности. На 3 декабря в Прологах имеется память преподобного Феодула епарха. Именно из проложного *Жития* этого святого взяты сведения для завершающего абзаца, отсутствующего в греческих источниках и повествующего о дальнейшей судьбе патриция Феодула. В *Житии* говорится, что Феодул, патрикїе и епархъ преторомъ²⁶, жил во время великого Феодосия. Возмущившись творящимся в обществе насилием, он отказался от власти и богатства, раздал своё имущество нищим и стал монашествовать в Едессе «на некоем столпе», совершая различные аскетические подвиги. Однажды он предпринял путешествие в Дамаск, чтобы узнать о подвиге милосердия некоего Корнилия. После этого Феодул вернулся на свой столп и, мало поживъ лѣта, с надежею благою ко Господу ѿиде²⁷. Несомненно, образ патриция из *Повести о юноше и чародее* контаминирован в Прологах с образом святого патриция и епарха Феодула. Как видим, текст завершающего абзаца *Повести* явно излагает судьбу этого персонажа в соответствии с текстом проложного *Жития* Феодула патриция и епарха.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 377–378; Е.А. Фет, *Пролог*, [in:] *Словарь книжников и книжности древней Руси*, выпуск 1, Ленинград 1987, p. 377–378.

²⁴ Л.В. Прокопенко, *Состав и источники Пролога...*, p. 160. Cf. также Л.В. Прокопенко, *Славяно-русский Пролог по древнейшим рукописям. Тексты, источники, комментарий*, <http://prolog-manuscript.org/sigla.php> [3 I 2022].

²⁵ ГИМ, Синодальное собр., № 247, вторая половина XIV в. Cf. об этой рукописи: Т.Н. Протасьева, *Описание рукописей Синодального собрания (не вошедших в описание А.В. Горского и К.И. Невоструева)*, part 2, Москва 1973, p. 50; *Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописей XI–XIV вв., хранящихся в СССР*, [in:] *Археографический ежегодник за 1965 год*, Москва 1966, p. 230.

²⁶ Л.В. Прокопенко, *Состав и источники Пролога...*, p. 237.

²⁷ ВМЧ, 3 декабря, col. 86–88.

В изученных нами трёх списках Пролога Пространной редакции (ВМЧ, Синодальное собр. 247, кол. 47–49, далее Син. 247; РГАДА ф. 381, Тип. № 161, середина XIV в., л. 168–168об., далее Тип. 161; РГАДА ф. 381, Тип. № 165, нач. XIV в., л. 86–86об.; далее Тип. 165)²⁸ текст различается лишь незначительно. Однако одно отличие необходимо указать. В Син. 247 и Тип. 161 текст назван *Во тѣхъ днѣхъ слѣдъ о мѣсѣтѣхъ чародѣи*. Как видно, здесь пока еще нет четкого обоснования включения этого сочинения в число текстов на предложенную календарную дату. Однако в Тип. 165 текст уже жестко прикреплен к календарю посредством включения в цикл текстов, посвященных патрицию Феодулу: *Въ тѣхъ днѣхъ памѣтѣ прѣбываго вѣща нашего Феодула, патрениа иже бѣ во црѣтво великого Феодосыа епархъ бѣ въ константинѣ гѣра*. Таким образом, в этом списке контаминация двух фигур – святого патриция Феодула времен Феодосия и патриция времен Маврикия – еще более выражена, чем в прочих списках.

В Краткой редакции Пролога текст *Повесть о юноше и чародее* уже постоянно начинается именно так, как он начинался в Тип. 165, а патриций уже постоянно и уверенно ассоциируется с Феодулом патрицием и епархом.

Отметим, что текст Краткой редакции явно вторичен по отношению к тексту Пространной редакции, а списки содержат много искажений. Так, юноша был взят к себе Меситом не «в образе скорописца» (то есть на должность нотариуса-писца, секретаря), а «в образе скопца» (РГАДА ф. 381, № 156, XIII в., л. 91–91об.; РГАДА ф. 381, № 155, XIV в., лл. 88–89. Однако в Прологе Краткой редакции РГАДА ф. 381, № 157, нач. XIV в., лл. 68об.–69об. – «в образе скорописца»). В текстах Краткой редакции имеется множество сокращений по сравнению как с Пространной редакцией Пролога, так и с греческими версиями.

Таким образом, анализ текста *Слова о Месите-Чародее* вполне подтверждает версию первичности Пространной редакции Пролога.

В соответствии с приведенными выше наблюдениями Л.В. Прокопенко, несинаксарные тексты Пролога представляли собой готовые переводы, ко времени создания Пространной редакции Пролога (XII в.), уже бытовавшие в русской книжности. Можно предположить, что *Повесть о юноше и чародее* имеет такую же судьбу, и ее перевод к моменту создания Пролога уже был известен на Руси. Однако на настоящий момент нам не известны ранние списки проложной версии вне Пролога.

²⁸ Фотокопии Прологов Типографского собрания имеются в свободном доступе: <http://rgada.info/kueh/index.php?T1=%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B3&Sk=30&B1=%D0%9D%D0%B0%D0%B9%D1%82%D0%B8> [17 V 2022]. Фотокопии Син. 247 имеются в свободном доступе: <http://rgada.info/kueh/index.php?T1=%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B3&Sk=30&B1=%D0%9D%D0%B0%D0%B9%D1%82%D0%B8> [17 V 2022].

Какая версия греческого текста послужила источником для проложной версии²⁹?

Наш анализ показал, что славянская версия из Пролога Пространной редакции является дословным переводом греческого текста, вошедшего в редакцию из компиляций. Обе известные нам компиляции (Вопросоответ 18 Псевдо-Анастасия³⁰ и *Слово о различных образах спасения и о покаянии*³¹) содержат практически идентичный текст. В редких случаях, где между ними есть различия, славянская версия сочинения, как правило, следует за текстом *Слова*, нежели за вопросоответом Псевдо-Анастасия.

Во-первых, славянская версия в точности совпадает с текстом *Слова* в тех случаях, где Вопросоответ № 18 отличается добавочными фрагментами (выделенные квадратными скобками):

№	Версия в составе Вопросоответа № 18 (изд. Richard, Munitiz)	Версия в составе <i>Слова о различных образах спасения и о покаянии</i> (изд. Суворовым)	Версия в составе Пролога Пространной редакции. Москва, ГИМ, Син. собр. 247, 2-я пол. XIV в.
1	ἔλαβεν [αὐτόν, καὶ καθεσθέντες ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτῶν]	ἔλαβεν	полѣтъ
2	εἰσῆλθον ἀμφοτέροι [ὃ τε Μεσίτης καὶ ὁ Χριστιανὸς παῖς]	εἰσῆλθον ἀμφοτέροι	внидоста вѣа
3	Λέγει ὁ προκαθήμενος [Βασιλεὺς] πρὸς τὸν παῖδα·	Λέγει ὁ προκαθήμενος πρὸς τὸν παῖδα·	и рѣ сѣдѣи кѣз отроку.
4	Δρομαῖος οὖν καθεσθεῖς [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου] ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν τῇ πόλει	Δρομαῖος οὖν καθεσθεῖς ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν τῇ πόλει	и всѣдѣз оубо борзо въ градѣ гнаше
5	εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, [καὶ εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον]	εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον	шелз кѣсть въ тму кромѣшнюю
6	σὺ γὰρ γινώσκεις, [δέσποτα]	σὺ γὰρ γινώσκεις,	тъзи самъ вѣси

²⁹ Л.В. Прокопенко указывает в качестве славянского источника текст из Сводного Патерика в РГБ, Троицкое собр., ф. 304/1, № 704, XVI в.; в качестве греческого источника – опубликованную Добшутцем греческую версию. Это наблюдение верно лишь отчасти, так как данные версии представляют собой только смысловую, но не текстуальную параллель. При этом необходимо отметить, что исследовательницей указан также греческий сборник Син. гр. 163, текст из которого, судя по инципиту, содержит более точное соответствие. Cf.: Л.В. Прокопенко, *Состав и источники Пролога...*, р. 238.

³⁰ В версии, изданной М. RICHARD, J. MUNITIZ, *Anastasioi Sinaitae...*, р. 202.

³¹ В версии, изданной Н.С. СУВОРОВЫМ, *К истории нравственного учения...*, р. 60–61.

Во-вторых, славянская версия совпадает с текстом *Слова* в ряде случаев, где Вопросоответ № 18 отличается другим порядком слов (№ 4), пропуском (№ 2), и альтернативным чтением (№№ 1, 3):

№	Версия в составе Вопросоответа № 18 (изд. Richard, Munitiz)	Версия в составе <i>Слова о различных образах спасения и о покаянии</i> (изд. Суворовым)	Версия в Прологе Пространной редакции. Москва, ГИМ, Син. собр. 247, 2-я пол. XIV в.
1	Ἀλεκρίθη ὁ παῖς καὶ εἶπεν·	Ἀλεκρίθη ὁ παῖς λέγων	ѡвѣща отрокъ гла
2	συγκαθήμενοι	συγκαθήμενοι αὐτῷ	сѣбѣацци с нимь
3	ἔρχονται ἀμφότεροι, ὃ τε πατρίκιος καὶ ὁ παῖς, ἀναχωροῦντες προσεύξασθαι εἰς τὴν τιμίαν καὶ πανσεβάσιμον εἰκόνα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	ἔρχονται ἀμφότεροι ἀναχωροῦντες προσεύξασθαι εἰς τὸν Σωτῆρα τὸν εἰς τὸ Πλῆθρον.	придоѣа оба помолит са оу спѣа на мѣстѣ нарицаемѣмь фрѣфронъ.
4	ἠσπάσατο τὸν Μεσίτην ἀσμένως	ἠσπάσατο ἀσμένως τὸν μεσίτην	цѣлова. радостнѣ месита

Таким образом, мы можем обозначить *Слово о различных образах спасения и о покаянии* как еще один источник нравоучительных текстов, вошедших в Пролог на русской почве.

Повесть о юноше и чародее в Сводном Патерике

Вторая славянская версия текста вошла в так называемый Сводный Патерик, известный в многочисленных славянских рукописях с XIV по XVIII вв. и бывший весьма популярным у славян³². Патерик (и *Повесть о юноше и чародее* в его составе) был опубликован дважды. Первая публикация была в составе в ВМЧ на 31 декабря. Научное издание по пяти спискам XIV в. болгарского происхождения было проведено С. Николовой³³.

Сводный Патерик возник, как считает исследовавший его И.П. Ерёмин, в XIV в. в Болгарии³⁴, и является не переводом, а компиляцией, созданной на

³² И.П. ЕРЕМИН, *Сводный Патерик у південно-слов'янських, українському та московському письменствах (Продолжение)*, [in:] *Записки Історично-філологічного відділу Української Академії наук*, Київ 1927, р. 83.

³³ Болгарские списки XIV в. Сводного Патерика, по которым проведена публикация С. Николовой включают в себя: Зографский мон., № 83[164(II B5)] (cetera: Зографский); Хиландарский мон., № 418 (cetera: Хиландарский); ГИМ, Синодальное собр., № 949 (cetera: Синодальный); НБКМ № 1036 (cetera: НБКМ); ГИМ, Хлудовское собр., № 237 (cetera: Хлудовский). Описание рукописей cf. С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази...*, р. 384–388.

³⁴ О времени появления Сводного Патерика имеются иные мнения, cf. С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази...*, р. 21–22.

базе уже существовавших славянских переводов³⁵. *Повесть о юноше и чародее* входила в архетип Сводного Патерика, поскольку оно имеется во всех его редакциях. И.П. Ерёмин, останавливаясь на *Слове* в составе Патерика³⁶, отмечает его сюжетное сходство с текстом из Пролога на 2 декабря, но справедливо полагает, что данный текст (как и ряд других) в Сводном Патерике не был заимствован из Пролога, поскольку имеет иную «стилистическую конструкцию»³⁷.

В работе И.П. Ерёмина был выделен целый ряд редакций Сводного Патерика. Главным различием этих редакций является порядок и репертуар входящих в него текстов. *Повесть о юноше и чародее* может входить в сборник под разными номерами. Так, описывая состав Патерика, Ерёмин упоминает его под номером 72³⁸. В издании, выполненном С. Николовой по болгарским спискам, сочинение в составе Сводного Патерика имеет номер 78.

Публикуя *Повесть о юноше и чародее* в составе Патерика, С. Николова отмечает ряд различий между ранними болгарскими списками. Большинство из них весьма незначительны. Можно отметить несколько мелких различий: перестановка слов, пропуск союза «и», разница в форме слов (например, «приступль – приступи»), добавление местоимения «себе»: «сѣвѣмъ сеѣ». Одно различие более значимое. В Зографском списке, который выбран С. Николовой как основной, и в Синодальном списке один фрагмент имеет краткое чтение, а в трёх других списках, используемых в публикации (Хиландарской, НБКМ и Хлудова) – более развернутое и с весьма важным уникальным акцентом о долге Бога перед верным ему человеком (см. подчеркнутый фрагмент в таблице ниже):

Краткое чтение	Развернутое чтение
тебе Ѹбо бл҃гдара јако ѿ ѿ же дарова тї. прїносїшї мї млтѣна. и сего јако въ мнозѣ страстѣ, и въ врѣма нѣжы. не ѿверже са мене и вѣры своеж. нѣ исповѣда. ѿца и сїа и стго д҃ха.	тебе оубо благодарю јако ѿ них же даровах ти приносиши млтѣна. <u>семи же оуноши дѣлаженѣ есмѣ. и любя его</u> <u>и бл҃годара.</u> јако въ мнозѣ страстѣ и въ время нужны не ѿвержеса мене и вѣры своега. но исповѣда ѿца и сїа и стго д҃ха.

³⁵ И.П. ЕРЕМИН, *Сводный Патерик...*, р. 78.

³⁶ В своей статье И.П. ЕРЕМИН дает *Слову о юноше и волхве* следующее рабочее название: «Повесть про лукавого чародея, хотевшего искутить юношу».

³⁷ И.П. ЕРЕМИН, *Сводный Патерик...*, р. 78–79.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, р. 91. И.П. Ерёмин отмечает сюжетное сходство «Повести про лукавого чародея, хотевшего искутить юношу» с текстом из Пролога на 2 декабря, но справедливо считает, что данный текст (как и ряд других) в Сводном Патерике не был заимствован из Пролога, поскольку имеет иную «стилистическую конструкцию» (И.П. ЕРЕМИН, *Сводный Патерик...*, р. 78–79).

На Русь *Повесть о юноше и чародее* пришла в составе разных редакций Сводного Патерика, поскольку в русских списках также сохраняется различие краткой и развернутой версии. Так, краткий вид фрагмента читается в русской рукописи, содержащей Сводный Патерик РГБ, Троицкое собр., ф. 304/1, № 704 (*Повесть о юноше и чародее* здесь включена под номером 87), а также в чтении ВМЧ.

Однако на Руси были и списки с развернутым чтением. Это тесно связанный со Сводным Патериком русский список конца XIV в. РГБ, собр. Беляева № 54³⁹. Также полная версия данного фрагмента читается в *Повести* в составе еще одного известного сборника, а именно Стишного Пролога. Дело в том, что *Повесть* была добавлена в Стишной Пролог⁴⁰ Кирилло-Белозерской и Московской редакций на 12 сентября в составе группы из 38 поучений, характерных только для этих двух редакций и отсутствующих в других разновидностях Простого и Стишного Пролога⁴¹. Текст *Повести* из Стишного Пролога (по РГБ, Троиц. собр. 304/1, № 704) практически полностью соответствует тексту Сводного Патерика, содержащего развернутую редакцию фрагмента о благодарности Бога. В Стишной Пролог текст *Повести* вошел под названием «От Старчества».

Каковы же греческие источники патериковой версии? Как соотносятся версии Пролога и Патерика? Не является ли одна версия переработкой другой⁴²? В настоящий момент мы с уверенностью можем обозначить в качестве источника патериковой версии *греческий* текст 2-й редакции (издан Добшутцем). Соотношение славянского и греческого текста требует некоторых пояснений.

Во-первых, славянский перевод отличается сокращенной передачей греческого текста, а в некоторых случаях опущен ряд крупных фрагментов (см. подчеркнутые фрагменты в таблице ниже):

³⁹ Об этом сборнике и его связи со Сводным Патериком cf. И.П. Еремин, *Сводный Патерик...*; С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази...*

⁴⁰ Стишной Пролог является болгарским переводным памятником XIV в., распространявшимся на Русь с XV в. В ходе его распространения возник ряд русских редакций, в том числе Московская и Кирилло-Белозерская. Кирилло-Белозерская редакция возникла на основе Московской. Наиболее ранний годовой комплект Стишного пролога Московской редакции был переписан около 1429 г. Cf. М.В. Чистякова, *Новые данные о родстве Московской и Кирилло-Белозерской редакций Стишного Пролога (сентябрь–ноябрь)*, SVI 59, 2014, p. 46. Текст *Повести о юноше и чародее* в составе Стишного Пролога cf. в РГБ, ф. 304/1, № 717, л. 289–290об.

⁴¹ М.В. Чистякова, *Новые данные...*, p. 46.

⁴² Отметим, что С. Николова проанализировала источники рассказов из Сводного Патерика, однако источник рассказа о юноше и волхве остался неидентифицированным (С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази...*, p. 391).

№	Ποίηση ο νεογέννητο και μαγεία в издании Добшутца	Ποίηση ο νεογέννητο και μαγεία в РГБ, Троиц. собр. 304/1, № 704, XVI в.
1	ἐν μιᾷ [οὖν] τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐσπέρας ἤδη γε- νομένης παρεσκεύασεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἐμβρόντη- τος καὶ παμβέβηλος ἐφ’ ἵππου καθεσθέντα συνοδοιοπορῆσαι αὐτῷ. καὶ δὴ ἐσπέρας οὔσης βαθείας ὄξυτάτοις ἵπποις ἐπιβάντες ἐξῆλθον οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ τῆς πόλεως.	въ едѣнѣ дѣво вѣрѣ. ѿмоли его вѣсѣстї на конѣ, и съ нимъ изыггї изъ градѣ.
2	εἶτα ἀποβάντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν δεσμευσάντων ἔν τινι δένδρῳ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου, κρούει ὁ Μεσί- της εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα τοῦ κάστρου.	и сѣсѣши имѣ. и прѣвѣзавшїе конѣ свои. тѣмъкнѣ влѣхв въ двѣри.
3	τοῦ οἰκτροῦ καὶ ἐλαχίστου οἰκέτου σου. ἐλέησον οὖν με, φιλάνθρωπε, καὶ συγχώ- ρησον, ἀνεξίκακε, ὡς πλάσμα τῶν ἀχρά- ντων σου χειρῶν ὑπάρχοντα. σὺ γὰρ εἶ μό- νος θεὸς ἀναμάρτητος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ σοὶ πρέπει ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.	Нет
4	λοιπὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπάντων εὐχαριστή- σωμεν ἅμα τε καὶ δοξάσωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἳ τε ἀναγινώσκοντες ταῦτα καὶ οἳ ἀκούοντες πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὴν μίαν θεότητά τε καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τρισὶν γνωριζομένην ὑποστάσει<ν> ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ, μεγα- λωσύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, ἀμήν.	Нет

Во-вторых, в переводе имеется много случаев существенной переработки греческого текста (см. подчеркнутые фрагменты в таблице ниже):

№	Ποίηση ο νεογέννητο και μαγεία в издании Добшутца	Ποίηση ο νεογέννητο και μαγεία в РГБ, Троиц. собр. 304/1, № 704, XVI в.
1	καὶ μιὰρᾶ αὐτοῦ <u>τέχνη</u> ἐνσπείραι τῷ τού- του νοῖ.	и влѣшебнѣи хѣтросѣтї на дѣтї.
2	λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ δειλαιὸς Μεσίτης.	ѡвѣтѣвав’ же влѣхвѣ.
3	<u>τότε ἐπληρώτησε</u> καὶ τὸν νοτάριον ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου δῆθεν καθήμενος.	тогда вѣпросї юношѣ князѣ вѣсовѣскын.
4	<u>ἀλλὰ</u> παραχρῆμα λαβὼν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ἵππους καὶ <u>καθεσθεὶς ἐφ’</u> ἐνὶ αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο <u>ταχέως ἐπὶ τὴν</u> θεοφύλακτον πόλιν.	иѣ вѣсѣдѣ на конѣ. и сѣзъ констандинѣ градѣ вѣккорѣ сѣстрѣмї сѣ.

№	<i>Ποῦτα οἱ νεοῦσι καὶ μαγίαι в издании Добшутца</i>	<i>Ποῦτα οἱ νεοῦσι καὶ μαγίαι в РГБ, Троиц. собр. 304/1, № 704, XVI в.</i>
5	βλέπουσα ἡ ἅγια καὶ ἄχραντος εἰκῶν πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλέστατον νοτάριον εἶπεν τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ πατρικίῳ.	зрѣщи же вбраздъ къ юноши. и къ патрiкiю ѿвѣща.
6	νοτάριος μόνος καὶ οἱ δύο ἵπποι δεδεμένοι.	юноша внѣ вбрѣте са, и прѣвазанiи конiи.

В-третьих, несмотря на приведенные выше случаи, перевод, как правило, довольно точно следует за ходом изложения 2-й греческой редакции и нередко передает текст либо дословно, либо очень близко к дословному переводу:

№	<i>Ποῦτα οἱ νεοῦσι καὶ μαγίαι в издании Добшутца</i>	<i>Ποῦτα οἱ νεοῦσι καὶ μαγίαι в РГБ, Троиц. собр. 304/1, № 704, XVI в.</i>
1	καὶ προσάγοντες, ἕως οὗ ἤγαγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τινα χαμοτρίκλινον παμμεγέθη, ἐν ᾧ καὶ εὖρον	и послѣдѣдѣще емѣ. дондѣ прiидошѣ въ нѣскѣкѣ полатѣ зѣло велiкѣ. въ неи же вбрѣтошѣ
2	ὑπερβάλλον ἐν τῇ μαγικῇ αὐτοῦ τέχνῃ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ αἰῶνος φαρμακοὺς.	и толико сiленѣ съи влѣшевнѣо хѣтротѣкѣ. елико прѣвезѣтi емѣ вѣса иже ѿ вѣка влѣхѣви.
3	ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ τοὺς δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων συγκαθημένους.	и вѣи ѣво сѣхѣкѣ. вдеенѣкѣ его. дрѣзiи же ѿшѣкѣ емѣ.
4	ὁ δὲ ἀποδέχεται αὐτὸν ἐμμενῶς λέγων πρὸς αὐτόν· 'τί ἐστιν, κύριε Μεσίτα; γίνονται πάντα τὰ θελήματά σου;'	внѣ же прiѣтѣ его сѣ лювоѣиѣ рекѣтѣ кѣ немѣ. чѣто хѣиѣши ѣи мои, сѣтѣ ли тѣвѣ ѣго дѣна ѣ вѣсѣ.
5	ὄρων πάντας Αἰθίοπας ὄντας καὶ βδελυττόμενος τοῦ πλησιάσαι τινὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀπελθὼν ἔστην ὀπίσω τοῦ ἀθλίου Μεσίτου.	зрѣше вѣса мѣрiны сѣица. и гнѣшадѣше са пои прѣвѣжiи са едiномѣ и. шѣ. же и стоаше прi нечѣстѣвѣмѣ. внѣ влѣхѣвѣ.
6	εὐθέως ἔπεσεν ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθήμενος, ὁ θρόνος ἀπόλωλεν, αἱ λαμπάδες ἐσβέσθησαν	ѣвѣ паде на зѣмла, иже на прѣстоѣ сѣдѣи. и прѣстоѣ ѣ погыбе. и свѣтiлнiцi ѣгасѣшѣ. моурiни
7	τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ εἶπεν εὐχαριστεῖν τὰ μέγιστα, τῷ δὲ καὶ χρεωστεῖν ἀπολογεῖσθαι πάμπολλα.	рабѣтѣ своемѣ глѣтѣтѣ, iако блѣгодарѣтѣ и длѣженѣтѣ тi емѣ. и достоиѣкѣ мѣзѣтѣ, вѣзѣамѣтѣ ти.

Таким образом, славянский текст представляет собой достаточно вольный перевод греческого оригинала.

Как было показано выше, славянские тексты могли иметь вариант с развернутым и кратким фрагментом фразы о благодарности Бога. Сравнивая с греческим источником, мы можем с уверенностью сказать, что краткий вариант ближе к оригиналу, нежели развернутый:

Хиландарский + Синодальный + Хлудовский (Николова, <i>Патеричните разкази...</i> , с. 255)	Сѣмѹ же юноши длѣженъ есмѹ и люба его и бл(а)годарѹ
РГБ, собр. Беляева № 54, XIV в.	сѣмѹ же оуноши длѣженъ есмѹ. и люба его и бл҃годарѹ
Стишной Пролог	сѣмоу ꙗко же долженъ есмь
Зографский + НБКМ (Николова, <i>Патеричните разкази...</i> , с. 255)	Нет
РГБ, Троиц, собр. 304/1, № 704, XVI в.	Нет
ВМЧ	Нет
Греч.	Нет

Как и несинаксарная часть Пролога, Сводный Патерик формировался на базе уже имеющихся славянских переводов. Но нам неизвестны на настоящий момент ранние списки патериковой версии *Повести о юноше и чародее*, существовавшие вне Патерика (текст в сборнике XIV в. Бел. № 56 вторичен, текстологически более удалён от греческого оригинала).

Подводя итоги, можно сделать следующие выводы. Анализ возможных греческих источников однозначно подтверждает правильность предположения о том, что проложная и патериковая славянские версии являются переводами двух разных греческих редакций.

Славянская проложная версия является дословным переводом текста редакции, входящего в компиляцию *Слова о различных образах спасения и о покаянии*. Славянская патериковая версия является свободным переводом греческого текста, изданного Добшутцем; наиболее близкой к греческому оригиналу является славянская версия с краткой формой фрагмента о благодарности Богу. Текст патериковой версии входит также в Стишной Пролог Кирилло-Белозерской и Московской редакций.

Как несинаксарная часть Пролога, так и Сводный Патерик формировались, по мнению исследователей, на базе уже имевшихся в наличии славянских переводов. Таким образом, эти тексты должны были существовать в книжности раньше, нежели возникли указанные сборники. Однако на

настоящем этапе исследований нами не найдено никаких свидетельств о более раннем автономном существовании обеих версий. Указанные факты приводят к выводу, что разные версии *Повести* могли быть переведены специально для включения в состав названных сборников. Данный вывод является значимым для изучения формирования как Пролога, так и Свободного Патерика.

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Приложение

Повесть о юноше и чародее⁴³

Греческая редакция 1:

München, BSB, Cod. Monac. Gr. 498, X в., лл. 227–230, изд. Н. С. Суворов, *К истории нравственного учения в восточной церкви*, ВВ X.1–2, 1903, с. 60–61

Славянская редакция 1 (Проложная редакция):

Пролог Пространной редакции, Москва, ГИМ, Синопальное собр. 247, 2-я пол. XIV в., лл. 145(б)–146(а)

Греческая редакция 2: München, BSB, Cod. Monac. Gr. 226, XIII в., лл. 112–113, изд. E. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig 1899), стр. 226**–232**

Славянская редакция 2 (Патерикова редакция):

Москва, РГБ, Троицкое собр. 304Д, № 704, XVI в. (Скитский патерик с добавлениями), лл. 72об(б)–73об(б)

Ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως μέγιστου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει φαρμακὸς τις πολυτρότατος λεγόμενος μεσίτης. Οὗτος προσελέφετό τινα παῖδα ὡς ἐν στήματι νοταρίου, ἀγνοοῦντα ὅτι φαρμακὸς ἔστιν ὁ αὐτὸς μεσίτης. Βουλόμενος οὖν πλανῆσαι καὶ προσάξει αὐτὸν τῷ διαβολῷ ὁ αὐτὸς μεσίτης.

[в. 1450в.] Во ꙗзъ дѣнь [О2XIII] с... о мѣсѣтѣ чародѣи : Въ константиноградѣ быи нѣкыи ѹлѣбкѣ ѹродѣи лускавѣ. Глемзани мѣсѣтѣ. То приналѣ отроуѣ во вѣрауѣ скорпикца. не вѣдушио немѹ ꙗко то мѣсѣтѣ ѹродѣи несть. хотани же прелестиги него. и приведе него къ дьяволу. лускавзине тѣ мѣсѣтѣ ѹродѣи.

Καλὸν τοῖνον καὶ πάνυ πρέπον ἔστιν καὶ τοῦδε ἐπιτηρηθῆναι τοῦ ἕξαισιου καὶ παραδόξου θαύματος, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Μεσίτης καλούμενος,

[в. 720б] Сльшашѣ и сѣ нѣкыкѣ побѣдѣсѣ ца. ꙗко въ цр҃кви ꙗ маверікіа цр҃кѣ. быи нѣквн влѣбѣ въ константинѣ градѣ.

ὕπερβαλλων ἐν τῇ μαυρικῇ αὐτοῦ τέχνῃ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ αἰῶνος φαρμακοῦς.

и толикѣ силенъ сѣи влѣблѣвнѣюжъ хѣтрѣстїжъ. еликѣ прѣвзъгнѣтї выдѣ вѣса иже ѿ вѣкѣ влѣбхѣи.

⁴³ Наиболее близки сходства между греческими и славянскими версиями *Повести о юноше и чародее* подчеркнуты.

οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ τρισάθλιος καὶ
ἐπάρατος Μεσίτης ἐκτίρατό ποτέ
τινα νοτίριον πάνυ φιλόχριστον
καὶ φοβούμενον τὸν θεόν. ὄθεν
βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἀποπλανῆσαι τῆς
εὐθείας ὁδοῦ καὶ τῇ ἐναγεί καὶ μισρᾷ
αὐτοῦ τέχνη ἐνοσπεῖραι τῷ τούτου
νοί,

сѣ етѣжа лиовезъ съ нѣскои ѿношиж
хрѣстолубѣва ерѣща, и вѣрѣща сѧ бѣ.
нѣдѣшнѣ сѧ еліко мощно прѣвѣзѣтигѣ
егу, и вѣрѣшенигѣ хрѣстѣтѣ нѣдѣнѣ.

ἐν μιᾷ ὄν τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἐλαβεν καὶ
ἐκαβαλίκευσεν, ἐξελεύσας τῆς
πόλεως εἰς ἔρημόν τινα καὶ ἀοικητρον
τριοδίας τόπον.

Въ едѣнигъ оубо вѣтеръ поитъ и стрѣка
нзиласта нгъ прѣдѣ. на нѣскои пугѣ
мѣсто. и не животинои.

ἐν μιᾷ [οὗν] τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐσπέρας
ἤδη γενομένης παρεσκεύασεν αὐτὸν
ὁ ἐμβρόντητος καὶ παμφέβηλος ἐφ'
ἵππου καθεσθέντα συνοδοπορῆσαι
αὐτῷ, καὶ δι' ἐσπέρας οὐσῆς βαθείας
ὀξυτάτοις ἵπποις ἐπιβάντες ἐξηλθον
οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ τῆς πόλεως

въ едѣнигъ дѣо вѣтѣ, дѣмоу егѣ вѣсѣтѣ на
кѣнѣ, и сѣ нѣмѣ нгънѣтѣ нгъ гѣдѣ.

Καὶ ἰδὺ λοιπὸν βραδείας ἴρας
οὐσῆς καταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς τινα
τόπον καὶ θεωροῦσι κάστρον καὶ
πολεῶνας σιδηρούς·

и оубже поздѣнигъ гѣмѣ сѣнѣ. дѣмѣста
мѣста нѣскоиго. и оубрѣста гѣмѣ гѣмѣ
же вѣрѣта жѣлѣзна.

καὶ περὶ τὸ μεσονύκτιον
περιπατούντων αὐτῶν εἰς ἔρημον
καὶ πεδιάσιμον τόπον. ἐν ᾧ οὕτε
οἰκήσεις οὕτε κτήματα ἐτύχχανον τὸ
σύνολον, εὐρίσκουσιν ἐξαιφνης ὡς
δῆθεν κάστρον.

и кѣ проношигѣ гѣдѣнѣ нѣмѣ по нѣскоѣ
[ε. 73(α)] поно равиѣ. вѣтѣ нѣже нѣже сѣла
вѣхѣ. нѣ живѣши вѣтѣ нѣ. хѣдѣши же нѣ
по такѣвомаѣ поно. вѣнѣздѣнѣтѣ нѣрѣтѣ
шиж гѣдѣ.

κρούσαντος δὲ τοῦ μεσίτου,
εἰσῆλθον ἀμφοτέροι καὶ εὐρίσκουσι
ναὸν παμμεγέθη καὶ πολύφωτα
Χρυσᾶ καὶ λαμπάδας καὶ φῶτα
καὶ σκάμνα καὶ ὑπουργοὺς τινὰς
καθεζομένους ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ
εὐωνύμων, πάντας αἰθιοπάς ὄντας,
εἶτα καὶ τινὰ παμμεγέθη ὁμοίως
αἰθίοπα καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ θρόνον
ὑψηλοῦ ἐν σχήματι βασιλέως,

ТЪЛКНУВШО ЖЕ МЕСИТУ ВО ВРАТА,
И А ^(α. 1456α.β) ВНЕ ѠВЕРЗОША СЯ ВРАТА
И ВНИДОУЩА ѠБЕ. И ОВЕРЖОУЩА ХРА-
МЪ ПРВЕБЕЛИКЪ, И В НЕМЪ СЕВТИМНИКЪ
ЗЛАТЪ, И СЕВТИЦА ГОРАЩА. И СТОЛЪ
И СЛУГЪ МНОГЪ. И НЪБЕЗМА СЪДАЩА
ОУСНУЮ И ѠШНОЮ. ВСА СИНЬЦА СУЩА.
ТА ЖЕ И НЪКОУЕТО БЕЛИКА СИНЬЦА СУЩА.
НА ПРЕСТОЛѢ ВЪКОУЕ СЪДАЩА. ВЪ
ВЕРХѢ ЦРА

2. εἶτα ἀποβάντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ
τῶν ἕπτων καὶ τοὺς ἕπτους αὐτῶν
δεσμευσάντων ἐν τινὶ δένδρῳ τοῦ
τόπου ἐκείνου, κρούει ὁ Μεσίτης εἰς
τὸν πυλῶνα τοῦ κᾶστρου.

И СЪРЪВШІИ ИМЪ. И ПРІБЕЛЪЗАВШІЕ КОНА СВОѢ.
ТЛЪКНУКЪ ВЪХУЕ ВЪ ДЪВЕРІИ.

καὶ εὐθέως ἀνοίξαντες αὐτοῖς οἱ
ἔνδον ὄντες Αἰθίοπες πλείπολλοι καὶ
ἀναρίθμητοι ὑπήντων καὶ ἰσπάζοντο
τὸν Μεσίτην προσαγορευόντες
προοδοποιοῦντες καὶ προσάγοντες.
ὥς οὕ

И ѠВЕРЗОУШКЪ ИМЪ. ОВЕРТААХУКЪ И ЦУБЛО—
БААХУКЪ ВЪХУЕВЪ МНЕСТВА СЕѠИМЪ.
ВЕСЕДЪЖИМЕ И ПОСЛЕДЪЖИМЕ СВОДЪ. А ОУДЪ
ПРІДОУШКЪ ВЪ НЪБЕКЪКЪ ПЛАТЪКЪ. ЗЪЛО
ВЕЛІКЪ. ВЪ НЕИ ЖЕ ѠВЕРЖОУШКЪ

ἤγαγον αὐτοὺς εἰς πνα.
χαψοτρικέλινον παμμεγέθη. ἐν ᾧ καὶ
εὐρον ἄπειρα καὶ πολύφανα ἀργυρά
καίμανα καὶ κηράπτας χρυσοῦς
ἄπτοντας καὶ

σκάμνα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐνωπύμων
καὶ θρόνον ὑψηλὸν καὶ πύνα Αἰθίοπα
μέγαν

нѣкоего мѣрна сѣдациа, и ини прѣгли
множества. ѿ дѣснѣхъ и ѿ шѣдѣхъ его,
и множество сѣтлѣиіхъ горацѣи златѣи
же и срѣзгѣиі.

καὶ δυσειδῆ καθέζομενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ τοὺς δὲ
ἐξ ἐνωπύμων συγκαθημένους.

и вѣи дѣсо сѣхѣхъ. вѣдѣснѣхъ его. дрѣзѣи
же ѿшѣдѣхъ емѣ.

3. εἶτα προσαγορεύει ὁ Μεσίτης
καὶ προσπίπτει τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου
καθεζομένῳ.

прѣтѣрпѣ же вѣдѣхѣхъ. и прѣпѣдѣе кѣз нопѣдѣ.
иже на прѣсѣтѣхѣ сѣдациомѣхъ вѣиоцѣхѣ.

ὄς καὶ ἐδέξατο καὶ ἠσπίασατο
ἀσμένως τὸν μεσίτην καὶ ἐπέτρεψε
τεθεῖναι αὐτῷ θρόνον πλησίον αὐτοῦ
καὶ καθεσθῆναι, εἰπών· καλῶς ἦλθεν
ὁ κύριος μεσίτης, ὁ γνήσιος ἡμῶν
φίλος καὶ ὑπουργός.

иже приа и цѣлова. радѣстнѣхъ мѣсѣтѣ.
и повѣлѣе немѣ поставити стѣла и вѣлихѣ
сѣсе сѣстѣи. рѣкѣхъ дѣснѣхѣхъ прѣдѣе мѣсѣтѣ
сѣмо приенгѣи нѣмшѣ дрѣгѣхъ и оутѣдѣ-
никѣхъ.

Μετὰ οὖν τὸ καθεσθῆναι αὐτὸν,
ἰστοιμένῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ὄπισθεν τοῦ
θρόνου τοῦ μεσίτου, ἀποβλέψας
εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ δῆθεν προκαθεζόμενος
βασιλεὺς τῶν δαμόνων λέγει πρὸς
τὸν μεσίτην· τί ἤγαγες τούτων τὸν
παῖδα ἄδε;

И сѣдѣши же немѣ. отрокѣ же стѣпѣши
за стѣломѣ мѣсѣтѣвомѣхъ. И вѣзгѣрѣхѣхъ на
нѣхъ прѣдѣзѣдѣацинѣхъ прѣдѣ вѣсѣвѣсѣхъ. и глѣдѣ
мѣсѣтѣви. ѣтѣо приенѣдѣе отрокѣ сѣтѣо сѣмо.

ὁ δὲ ἀποδέχεται αὐτὸν ἐμμενῶς.
λέγων πρὸς αὐτόν· τί ἐστίν, κύριε
Μεσίτα; γίνονται πάντα τὰ θελήματά
σου·

внѣхъ же прѣрѣхѣ его сѣз лѣвосѣйхѣхъ. рѣкѣхъ кѣ
немѣхъ. ѣтѣо хѣтѣишѣи гѣи мѣи, сѣхъ лѣтѣрѣхъ
ѣгѣдѣна дѣ вѣзѣхъ.

Απεκρίθη ὁ μεσίτης λέγων· δούλος σου ἔστι, δέσποτα, καὶ αὐτός σὺν ἐμοί.

Ѡвѣрѣиавъ мѣсѣтъ гл҃а раба неговѣ вѣлѣко твоеа и съ со мною.

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ἄθλιος | ἔφη· ὡαί, δέσποτα, καὶ τοῦτου χάριν ἦλθον προσκυνῆσαί σοι καὶ εὐχαριστῆσαι τὰ μέγιστα· λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ δῆθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθήμενος·

καὶ ἐτι πλέον σοι χαρισθῆσεται, κέλευσον· καθέζου, τότε ὁ Μεσίτης ἐκάθισεν πρωτοκάθεδρος ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ σκάμνῳ. 4. ἐγὼ οὖν, φησὶν ὁ νοτάριος, ὁρῶν πάντας Αἰθίοπας, ὄντας καὶ βδελυγτόμενος τοῦ πλησιάσαι τινὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀπελθὼν ἔστην ὀπίσω τοῦ ἀθλίου Μεσίτου.

и еще мѣже да рече ѡмѣ дѣтѣ са, протче ѡбо сааѣи, и сѣде на прѣвѣо прѣвѣтаѣ ѡ деснѣкѣ ѣ. юноша, рен же съ влзхѣомъ взыде. зрше вѣса мѣрѣны сѣща, и рнѣша даше са поѣ [1736(6)] прѣвлѣжи са еалѣомъ ѣ. шѣ. же и ст҃аше прѣ негъзѣ стѣвѣмъ, ѡнѣ влзхѣѣ.

καὶ ἀτενίσας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ εἰς ἐμὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθεζόμενος ἠρώτα τὸν δυστήνον Μεσίτην

вззрѣѣ же на ма рѣ повѣдааше юношѣ. кнѣзъ мѣрѣновъ ѡ нѣ. и влзроѣ влзхѣа

λέγων· ὄυτος ὁ ἀνθρωπος ὁ μετὰ σου τίς ἐστί; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ δειλαῖος Μεσίτης· δούλος σου πέφρυκεν, δέσποτα.

гл҃а. γтѣ ѣ члѣкъ съ прѣшедеши съ товоѣ. ѡвѣрѣиавѣ же влзхѣѣ, рабъ твоѣ ѣ елѣко.

καὶ εὐρέθη ὁ παῖς μόνος καὶ οἱ ἵπποι ἐν τῷ τότῳ.

и оубрѣтеса отроукъ единыи на мѣстѣ. и конь оу него стоиши.

εἰς τὴν ὁ νοτάριος μόνος καὶ οἱ δύο ἵπποι δεδεμένοι.

тычѣкъ единыи юноша шнызъ шѣрѣте са. и прѣвѣзании конии.

Δρομαῖος οὖν καθεσθεις ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐρωτώμενος ἀπὸ τῶνων, ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ μεσίτης; ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων, ὅτι ἀπηλθε ἕκείνος εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, διηγούμενος πᾶσι τὰ γενόμενα.

и вѣдѣъ оубо еорго въ градѣ гнаше. и вѣграшанимъ естъ нѣвоишъ. каде нѣсть мезитъ. и ѡвѣщавазъ гѣше шенъ нѣсть въ тмау кромѣшннѡе. исповѣдаше же всѣмъ вѣзвѣшше.

6. καὶ αἶμα τοῦ ταῦτα τὰ φοβερά καὶ παράδοξα τέρατα γενέσθαι, οὐδ' ὄλως ἀνέμεινεν ὁ θεοφιλῆς ἕκείνος νοτάριος οὐδὲ ἀνεξήτησεν τὸ σύνολον τὸν Μεσίτην, ἀλλὰ παρὰρῆμα λαβὼν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ἵππους καὶ καθεσθεις ἐφ' ἐνὶ αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο ἰσχύεως ἐπὶ τῆν θεοφύλακτον πόλιν

καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἔκρουσε τὴν πύλιν τὸς πόλεως, ὅθεν τῆ ἑσπέρα ἐξεληλυθεν.

прѣше же ^{16. 730(61)} и тлазкннѣвъ дѣверѣ градъ ѡнѣжадѣ же вѣрѣ нздыоста.

εἶτα γενόμενος ἔνδον τοῦ τείχους δι-
πρεῖται τῷ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλιν ὄντι πάντα τὰ γενόμενα καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἠσύχαζεν ἰδίᾳ καθήμενος, τὸν μὲν ἄθλιον καὶ στυγητὸν Μεσίτην καταλείπων, αἰνῶν <δὲ> καὶ δοξάζων ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν κύριον.

и повѣда вратѣрѣ вѣсѣ вѣвшиаа. и идѣ вѣ до евори. нѣкомѣ же прѣтѣе повѣдавѣ.

Μετὰ οὖν τίνα χρόνον παρέμεινεν ὁ αὐτὸς παῖς πατρικίῳ τινὶ δούλῳ Χριστοῦ φιλοπτόψῳ καὶ ἐναρέτῳ,

καὶ ἐν μιᾷ ἐσπέρας, ἰδιαζούσης τῆς ὥρας, ἔρχονται ἀμφοτέροι ἀναχωροῦντες προσευδάσθαι εἰς τὸν Σωτήρα τὸν εἰς τὸ Πλέθρον.

По нѣкоемъ же лѣтѣ прѣзвѣлаше отроукаъ тѣхъ оу нѣкоего патрикїена, именованъ фендула. ниже бѣ рабъ хѣзъ. любемъ ницима и добра свѣршима дѣла.

εὐς ἡδιντὺς же вестеръ пришеде зашо γακυ ματѣ. придеста оба помолитъ са оу сѣка на мвсѣтѣ нарицаемъмъ фрѣфрону.

Καὶ ἰσταμένου τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξ εὐωνύμων τοῦ πατρικίου ἀπεστρέφετο ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ ἀπέβλεψε πρὸς αὐτόν. Εἶτα θεωρήσας ὁ πατρικίος τὸ γινόμενον μετέστησε τὸν παῖδα ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποστραφεῖσα ἡ εἰκὼν ἐβλεπε πρὸς τὸν παῖδα.

и стовашно отроку ошшою патрикїена. и зраце куз отроку. а ѿ патрикїена ѿвращаше са. оврадъ. вѣднь. вниже же патрикїни бзвмощене. постави отрока одеснью себе. и зраше куз отроку.

7. μετὰ οὖν χρόνον τινὰ προσεκολληθῆ ὁ φιλόχριστος ἐκείνος νοτάριος τινι τῶν πατρικίων. ἀνδρὶ ἐλεημονι πάνῳ καὶ φιλοχρίστῳ.

καὶ διῆ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐσπέρας οὕσῃς βαθείας ἔρχονται οἱ ἀμφοτέροι ὁμοῦ ὅ τε πατρικίος καὶ ὁ νοτάριος τοῦ εὐδασθαι εἰς τὸν γαόν τοῦ σωτήρος τὸν λεγόμενον Πλέθρον ἦτοι ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ φρέατι.

8. ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοῦς καὶ εὐχεσθαι ἰσταμένων ἀμφοτέρων ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ σεβασμιῶν εἰκόνος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπεστρέφετο ἡ ἅγια εἰκὼν καὶ ἐβλεπεν πρὸς τὸν νοτάριον. ὡς γοῦν τοῦτο ὁ πατρικίος ἐθεάσατο. μετέστησε τὸν νοτάριον εἰς τὸ ἔτερον μέρος αὐτοῦ. καὶ πάλιν ὁμοίως ἀποστραφεῖσα ἡ ἅγια καὶ σεπτῆ εἰκὼν τοῦ σωτήρος ἐβλεπεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεοφιλῆ νοτάριον.

по дѣнѣхъ же нѣкыи. шѣ прїлвпїи са. нѣкоемѣ патрїкїенѣ. мѣжѣ хрїстолубїемѣ. и мѣтнѣсѣ и вошпѣсѣ са бѣ. прѣзвѣлаше сѣвѣ. вадѣрѣж са съ нїи.

εὐς ελινтὺς δεо ѿ дїни. вѣ вестѣ глѣвоукъ. патрїкїе же и юшоша внѣз, идолѣтѣ поклонїтї са вѣ прѣвѣз сѣпа нашѣ.

επνσπїїмѣ ѡсѣма. прѣдѣз ѡсрадѣ га нїтѣ. ѱχα. ѡсрадѣз зрѣше на юннаго. пакѣ те вїдѣтѣ патрїкїе. постагї юшошж ѿ дрѣгъжк стрданы. и пакы такоде ѡсрацїзпїї са ѡсрадѣз сѣвѣз, зрѣше на юшошж.

Τότε <ό> πατρικίος ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον εἰς τὴν γῆν, κλαίων καὶ δεόμενος καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος καὶ λέγων· κύριε μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, διὰ τί ἀπέστρεψας τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ δούλου σου; σὺ γὰρ γινώσκεις, ὅτι κατὰ δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου δεομένου ἐλέους, καὶ διὰ τί ἀποστρέφεις τὸν ἀνάξιον δούλόν σου, δέσποτα;

и тогда патрикини поверже сѧ лицѣмъ своимъ на земли. плача сѧ мѡла сѧ гл҃ше. ги мои і҃се х҃е. вѣскую ѡбращаи мѣши лице свое ѡ раба твоего. тзи самъз б҃вєи. ꙗко николи же не ꙗ^{146(a)} ѡбра- тѣхъ лица моего ѡ ѡбѣска прѡсѧща мѧгнѧ ѡ мене. вѣскую ѡбращаи мѣши мене неаdstoиmаго раба твоего владко.

9. τότε λαμβάνει φρίκη καὶ φρενῶν ἔκστασις τὸν πατρικίον καὶ ῥίπτει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ σὺν δάκρυσι πολλοῖς καὶ στεναγμοῖς ἀμυθήτοις παρεκάλει τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λέγων· δέσποτα ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλόνηρωπε, ὁ εἶδος τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθενεῖαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν. μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ εὐτέλους καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου,

ἀλλ' ἐπιβλεψὼν ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἐλέησόν με. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἀμαρτωλὸς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινός, ὁμολογῶ καὶ γινώσκω καὶ ἐπίσταμαι, δέσποτα· πλὴν σὺ συγχινώσκω ἑμαυτὸν τοιαύτην ἀμαρτίαν ποιήσαντα, ὅτι οὐτως ἀποστρέφεις τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ οἰκτροῦ καὶ ἐλαχίστου οἰκέτου σου. ἐλέησον σὺν με, φιλόνηρωπε, καὶ συγχώρησον, ἀνεξικακε, ὡς πλάσμα τῶν ἀχράντων σου χειρῶν ἐπάρχοντα. σὺ γάρ εἶ μόνος θεὸς ἀναμάρτητος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ σοὶ πρέπει ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, αμήν·

н҃ѣ прѣзрѣ на мѧ и повѣлѣи мѧ. зѧне грѣшнѣз есѧ вл҃ко, сѡбѣмъ ео. ѡбѧче не сѧбѣ себе еицево сѧгрѣшнѣе сѧтворѧша. ꙗко да тѧко ѡбращаи мѣши лице свое ѡ мене.

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολλῆν ὥραν δεο-
μένου καὶ ἐξομολογουμένου, ἔρχεται
αὐτῷ φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ δε-
σπότης λέγουσα·

И тако на многѣ часѣ, исповѣдающе
сѧ немгъ, приде гласъ къ немгъ ѿ свѣтѣ
вѣлична гласа.

σοὶ μὲν εὐχαριστῶ, ὅτι ἐξ ὧν δέδοικά
σοι προσφέρεῖς μοι, τοῦτῳ δὲ καὶ
χρεωστῶ, ὅτι ἐπὶ πολλοῦ φόβου
ἐντίθεις οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, ἀλλ'
ὠμολόγησε τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

Твѣ оубо елѣдарю, како ѿ нихъ же дахъ
ти приносити ми, семгъ же долажитъ
семиъ, како въ мнозѣхъ страхѣхъ свѣрѣтъ сѧ
и не ѿверже сѧ мене, нъ исповѣда вѣдѧ
и сѣа и сѣтто дхѧ.

10. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ἐπὶ
ικανὴν ὥραν τοῦ πατρικίου λέγοντος
καὶ ἐν ολοθυμοῖς καὶ δάκρυσι
ἐξομολογουμένου, βλεπούσα ἡ
ἀγία καὶ ἄχραντος εἰκὼν πρὸς τὸν
θεοφιλέστατον νοτάριον εἶπεν τῷ
φιλοχρίστῳ πατρικίῳ·

καὶ σὲ μὲν, ὦ πατρικίε, τὰ μέγιστα
εὐχαριστῶ, ὅτι ἐξ ὧν δέδοικά σοι
προσφέρεῖς μοι καθ' ἑκάστην· ἐν
ἐλεημοσύναις καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις
καρποφορᾶς, τοῦτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
καὶ χρεωστῷ πολλὰ· ὅτι ἐν καιρῷ
ἀνάγκης καὶ πολλοῦ φόβου οὐκ
ἠρνήσατο τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ'
ὠμολόγησεν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ
ἅγιον πνεῦμα σέβεσθαι τε καὶ
προσκυνεῖν.

πάντως δὲ κάγω ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἀντα-
ποδόσεως ἀπολογεῖμαι αὐτῷ τὸν
ἀντάξιον μισθὸν τῆς τοιαύτης ὁμο-
λογίας·

11. ἤκούσατε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί,
διήγησιν φοβερὰν καὶ ἐξάίσιον,
ἐνωτίσθητε, ὦ θεῖον ἀκροατήριον,
πράγμα παντὸς ἐπαινοῦ καὶ
ὠφελείας πεπληρωμένον.

свѣдѣте лї братїе, повѣстѣхъ страшиноу,
свѣдѣште лї вѣщѣхъ, вѣдѣвшихъ поучалы
и похва ипавшихъ свѣтѣхъ.

εἶς πατρικίῳ на многѣ часѣ сѧ свѣдѣмї
гласѣ.

и исповѣдающе сѧ, зодѧ [f. 730v] шї
же свѣдѣхъ къ юности, и къ пагрїкїю
ѿвѣща.

Твѣ оубо елѣдарю, како ѿ ѿ же дарова
тї, приносїтї мї мѣтїна. и сѣтто како
вѣ, мнозѣхъ страхѣ, и вѣхъ вѣрїа нхъ жѣ,
не ѿверже сѧ мене и вѣрїи своѣхъ, нхъ
исповѣда, вѣдѧ и сѣа и сѣтто дхѧ.

вѣрїкѣ и дахъ вѣхъ вѣрїа вѣдѣмїа дѧ
нигъ мѣзѣхъ вѣдѣмїахъ емѣ.

πίως ὁ εὐπλάγχθος καὶ
φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς τῷ μὲν ἰσὺν
δοῦλων αὐτοῦ ἔπεν εὐχαριστεῖν
τὰ μέγιστα, ἰσὺ δὲ καὶ χρεωστεῖν
ἀπολογεῖσθαι πάμπολλα.


λοιπὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπάντων εὐχα-
ριστήσωμεν ἅμα τε καὶ δοξάσωμεν
καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες ὅτε ἀναγινώσκο-
ντες ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες πατέρα
καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὴν μίαν
θεότητά τε καὶ δύναμιν ἓν τρισὶν
γνωριζομένην ὑποστάσει<ν>· ὅτι
αὐτῷ πρόει δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ,
μεγαλωσύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια,
νῦν καὶ δεῖ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

си же сазшавез патриисни феоуула,
раздаа есе милъныи своеи ницимъ. и ос-
тавалъ домъ свои. иде в синаксиску гору
и бзѣ ѳерноуризець. и много потружавет
са постомъ и бдѣньемъ. и млтвми.
и многѣ пречствез. престави са къ боу.
вз старости доуруѣ ∴

ИАКО ВЪСЪХЪ ВЛКА И ГЪ РАВЪЪ СВОЕМАЪ
ГЛѢТЪ. ИАКО БЛГОДАРѢ И ДЛЪЖЕНЪ ТИ
ЕМАЪ. И ДѢСТОИИЖ МЪЪЪ. ВЪЪАМЪЪ ТИ.



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SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SLAVIC TRIBES THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE ANTI-BULGARIAN UPRISINGS ALONG THE MID-DANUBE IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 9TH CENTURY

Abstract. The article tries to answer three questions related to the tribes that came into conflict with the Bulgarian state during its expansion to the west in the first third of the 9th century. And the questions addressed in it are: 1. How many and which tribes were in conflict with the Bulgarian state?; 2. When were the lands of the Timociani annexed by the Bulgarian state?; 3. Where were the lands of the Abodriti-Praedenecenti and what caused the Bulgarian aggression towards them? After a thorough review and criticism of the sources and research on the issues under consideration, the following conclusions have been reached. From the beginning of the study of the problem how many tribes participated in the unrest against the Bulgarian state, P. Šafárik has the idea that among the tribes in the narrative sources, can be found other tribes as well. Thus appear the tribes of Bodriči (sounding, perhaps, like Krivichi), Kučani (Guduskani), Braničevci and others. After an assessment of the information in the *Annales Regni Francorum*, it turns out that the only tribes recorded in the source that had a clash with the Bulgarian state in the period were the Timociani and Abodriti-Praedenecenti. Since it is not directly related to the events that took place in 818, the question of when the Timociani lands were annexed to the Bulgarian state is hardly touched by the researchers. After research and exclusion of other possibilities, the thesis is defended that this could have happened recently after the Bulgarian conquest of Serdica in 809. With the inclusion of Serdica within the Bulgarian borders, Bulgaria controlled south of the Danube River not only the Danube plain but also the territories lying along the Thessaloniki-Danube axis. From this point on, the territories lying along this axis could be gradually taken over. Being further away from Byzantium, the lands located north of Sredets are more easily assimilated. It is in these territories that the Timociani fall. Given all the above, it can be assumed that it was after the capture and absorption of Sredets that the Bulgarian State looked northwest, but still south of the Danube river, where the Timociani lived. It seems that at this time an alliance was made with them, which turned out to be not particularly lasting. About the habitation of the Abodriti-Praedenecenti tribe in the information of 824, it is recorded that they lived in Danubian Dacia and were neighbours of the Bulgars. On the question of where this Dacia is located, which in its description does not correspond to any of the previously known Dacias, many hypotheses have been expressed, and in modern times most researchers are of the opinion that the lands of the Abodriti-Praedenecenti were located along the Left Bank of the river Danube, on the territory of modern Banat, i.e. east of the river Tisza. New evidence has been added to the localization of these habitations. In this case, the following question logically arises: provided that the Timociani lived on the Southern, Right Bank of the Danube, what caused the unfriendly relations of the Bulgarian state to the Abodriti-Praedenecenti living on the

other side of the Big River? Given the size of the Danube River, it is quite difficult to cross and to transfer the fighting to the other bank of the Danube clearly should have had serious reasons. One of the possible explanations for this could be the transfer of the Timociani to their territory, on their way to the West, thus creating a *casus belli* for the Bulgars.

Keywords: *Annales Regni Francorum*, Frankish Empire, Bulgarian Empire, Timociani, Abodriti-Praedenecenti, historical geography, struggle

The beginning of the 9th century is a time of great importance for the two emerging empires on the European continent. These are the Frankish and the Bulgarian empires. Both at this moment are ruled by some of their strongest rulers, who, among other things, founded new dynasties – Charlemagne (768–814) and Krum (ca. 796–814) and, respectively, the Carolingian and Krum dynasties. Despite their proximity (for common borders, at this point, we have no data), they know about each other¹, but there is no evidence of any tensions with each other. Rather, it can be argued that there is a mutually beneficial symbiosis between the two in relation to the divided territory of the Avar Khaganate. Only a vague report of a clash between the two states is given by the later *Monachi Sangallensis*². Despite the lack of evidence, it would be reasonable to suppose that the emergence of occasional border disputes would have been inevitable, especially during the period following the death of the two great rulers.

The bone of contention between the two empires would be the several Slavic tribes living along the middle course of the Danube. The troubles for the Bulgarian state with these tribes would begin in 818. This would lead to a local conflict with the Frankish Empire, which would culminate in 827–829. It is some previously overlooked or poorly understood aspects surrounding these tribes that this article deals with. But first, for the sake of clarity, the known facts about these particular tribes will be presented.

The most detailed account of these events is presented in the *Annales Regni Francorum* (hereafter *ARF*)³. Its chronology of the events is as follows:

¹ For the Franks' knowing of the Bulgars, see: *Annales Laurissenses Minores*, [in:] *MGH*, vol. I, Hannoverae 1926, p. 122; *Annales Regni Francorum inde ab A. 741. usque AD A. 829*, [in:] *MGH.SRG* (Separatim editi), Hannoverae 1895 (cetera: *Annales Regni Francorum*), p. 186. On the recognizing of the Franks and their eastern policy by the Bulgars, see Н. ХРИСИМОВ, *Какво цели кан Крум с подновяването на договора от 716 година?*, *Епо* 25.2, 2017, p. 420–431.

² *Monachi Sangallensis*, [in:] *MGH.SS*, vol. II, Hannoverae 1828, p. 744, 748.

³ *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 148–159, AD 818–822; *Carolingian Chronicles. Royal Frankish Annals. Nithard's Histories*, trans. B.B. WALTER, W. SCHOLZ, B. ROGERS, Ann Arbor 1972, p. 104–112.

AD 818: In autumn⁴, in addition to all other envoys, those of [...] *other peoples were also there, that is, of Abodrites⁵, of Borna, duke of the Gudusceni, and of the Timociani, who had recently revolted against (separated from the alliance with) the Bulgars and come over (moved) to our side [...]*⁶.

AD 819: A second assembly convened in the month of July in the palace of Ingelheim with the main issue discussed being the Ljudevit's rebellion. He tried to push the neighbouring tribes to war with the Franks by sending his envoys to them. *The Timociani had broken with the Bulgars and wished to come to the emperor's side, submitting to his authority. But Ljudevit blocked the move and with specious reasoning led them on to drop their plan and join his perfidious revolt⁷.*

AD 822: General assembly gathered in Frankfurt. There the emperor received embassies and gifts. *At this assembly he received embassies and presents from all the East Slavs, that is, Abodrites, Sorbs, Wilzi, Bohemians, Moravians, and Praedenecenti, and from the Avars living in Pannonia⁸.*

AD 824: After arriving in Aachen and celebrating Christmas, the emperor is informed that envoys from the ruler of Bulgaria are in Bavaria. He dispatched men to meet them and told them to wait there until the right moment for the meeting came. *The emperor also received the envoys of the Abodriti who are commonly called Praedenecenti and live in Dacia on the Danube as neighbors of the Bulgars, of whose arrival he had been informed. When they complained about vicious (unfair) aggression by the Bulgars and asked for help against them, he told them to go home and to return when the envoys of the Bulgars were to be received⁹.*

In the following year 825, in the month of May, the Council of Aachen took place. The emperor received the Bulgarian envoys, but the envoys of the Abodriti, called Praedenecenti, never came¹⁰.

This concludes the information about the tribes, a point of contention between the two early medieval empires. Although the events of these years are also found in other Frankish sources, those under consideration are not present in any other source and must be reconstructed on the basis of the *ARF* alone. Given the official nature of the *ARF*, it is safe to conclude that the account of events they describe is reliable.

Considering the situation presented in the *ARF* and the events that had occurred prior to the recording, several questions arise and will be answered here. They are as follows:

⁴ For the time when the envoys were received in the imperial court, see P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–831*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= ECEEMA, 16], p. 294.

⁵ The English translation of *Annales Regni Francorum*, cited herein, uses the form Obodrites.

⁶ *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 149; *Carolingian Chronicles...*, p. 104. All citations of the *Annales Regni Francorum* in English are according to the: *Carolingian Chronicles...* When the translation is not exact, the text has been supplemented by the author (in parentheses).

⁷ *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 150–151; *Carolingian Chronicles...*, p. 105.

⁸ *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 159; *Carolingian Chronicles...*, p. 111–112.

⁹ *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 165–166; *Carolingian Chronicles...*, p. 116.

¹⁰ *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 167; *Carolingian Chronicles...*, p. 116.

1. How many and which tribes were in conflict with the Bulgarian state?
2. When were the lands of the Timociani annexed by the Bulgarian state?
3. Where were the lands of the Abodriti-Praedenecenti and what caused the Bulgarian aggression towards them?

* * *

From the beginning of the in-depth study of the problem in the middle of the 19th century, after the pioneering research on the Slavic past by Pavel Šafárik (1795–1861), the hypothesis was put forward that as early as the beginning of the rupture with the Bulgarian state (in 816, according to him) at least three Slavic tribes (in his words – peoples) acted in favour of this collision. These are the Bodriči, Kučani and Timočani¹¹. Leaving aside the wrong year in which the events actually took place, it is striking that the Slavic tribes are very different from those attested in the sources. All of them are considered to have broken away from the union with the Bulgars. In this case, this can be seen in the light of the author's acceptance of the explanation *qui nuper a Bulgarorum societate disciverant et at nostros fines se contulerant* as referring to and explaining the actions of the three tribes mentioned in the sentence¹². Given the lack of punctuation in medieval texts, this error, considering the very early stage in which it was made, can be accepted as “normal”. Along with this, however, we also observe something very characteristic of the authors from the romantic movement of historical science, namely the introduction into scholarly circulation of historical entities that do not exist in the sources or at least not as they should be, according to the researchers of the time. This is how the Slavic “peoples” of the Bodriči, Kučani and Timočani appeared to the world. This way all three tribal names become sufficiently similar to familiar Slavic ones, i.e. it was considered normal that a Latin text does not convey the Slavic words accurately and they need to be “adapted” back. Thus, the tribal names Abodriti, Guduskani and Timočani found in the text were “adapted” to Bodriči (sounding, perhaps, like Krivichi), Kučani and the unchanged, but, perhaps, the main reason for the “adaptation” of the other two – Timočani. Given that Shafarik is one of the leading pan-Slavists, and, after all, it is the first half of the 19th century, such a “loose” interpretation of the names is easily understandable.

This trend of coining new tribes in the context of the events under consideration continues, and then, through Shafarik's writings, enters the historiographies of the Slavic states. Thus, in the works of Spyridon Palauzov (1818–1872) they are present in an identical form, just as Shafarik “identified” them earlier¹³. Konstantin Jireček (1854–1918) writes that the tribes that broke away were the Timočani,

¹¹ П. ШАФАРИК, *Славянские древности*, vol. II, pars 2, Москва 1847, p. 285–286.

¹² *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 149; *Carolingian Chronicles...*, p. 104.

¹³ С. ПАЛУЗОВ, *Век болгарского царя Симеона*, Санкт-Петербург 1852, p. 14.

living in the territory of “modern Serbia”, and the Bodriči, living along the Tisza River¹⁴. Franjo Rački (1828–1894), in his comments on the sources related to early Croatian history, connects the Timociani and the Bodriči (Abodriti, Braničevci) with the conflict with the Bulgars¹⁵. Konstantin Grot (1853–1934) also assumes that among these tribes are the Bodriči and Praedenecenti, with most of their population inhabiting the left bank of the Danube River, and a smaller part, under the name Praedenecenti from Brandic (Prandic, Predenec), i.e. Slavic Braničevo, inhabiting the right bank¹⁶.

Marin Drinov (1838–1906) is the only one of the historians of that time who delves into analysis and criticism of Shafarik’s already established conclusions. After presenting the arguments of the classicist-Slavophile, these are labelled “etymological guesswork” in relation to the tribe of Guduskani-Kučani – after the name of the Serbian town of Kučevo and the Praedenecenti-Braničevci (respectively from the name of the medieval town of Braničevo), and together with this it is stated that such claims are refuted by direct historical evidence. That’s why Drinov refers again to the primary sources of information about the tribes under consideration – the ARF, where it is stated that the Praedenecenti lived *в прилегавицей к Дунаю Дакий*, i.e. *in Dacia adjacent to the Danube (Et contermini Bulgaris Daciam Danubio adiacentem incolunt)*¹⁷. According to him, here by Dacia is meant “northern Dacia”, a point which is confirmed by another reference in the text of the ARF, where the Praedenecenti are presented as being as immediate neighbours of the northern Moravians (*Orientalium Sclavorum, id est, Abofridorum, Soraborum, Wiltzorom, Boheimorum, Marvanorum, Praedenecentorum et in Pannonia residentium Avarum legationes*)¹⁸. And as for the connection of the Guduskani with the mountain Kučai and respectively the city of Kučevo near the river Mlava, it is enough to say that their leader was Borna, duke of Dalmatian Croatia¹⁹.

Regardless of the aforementioned criticism, Shafarik’s ideas continued to be popular during the 20th century, and this trend continued and even made its way into some chrestomathic works. For example, the “father of Slavic archaeology” Lubor Niederle (1865–1944) writes that the tribes in question are the Moravians, Timociani, Abodriti and Braničevci, who, in turn, are part of the seven Slavic tribes known from the events surrounding the creation of the Bulgarian state²⁰. In the work of Vasil Zlatarski (1866–1935), the tribes participating in the events were

¹⁴ К. ИРЕЧЕК, *История болгар*, Одесса 1876, р. 179–180.

¹⁵ *Documenta Historiae Chroaticae Periodum Antiquam*, ed. F. RAČKI, Zagrabiae 1877 [= MSHSM], р. 321, 330; ИДЕМ, *Hrvatska prije XII vieka*, Zagreb 1881, р. 51–52.

¹⁶ К. ГРОТ, *Моравия и мадьяры с половины IX до начала X века*, Санкт-Петербург 1881, р. 91, н. 1.

¹⁷ М. ДРИНОВ, *Заселение Балканского полуострова славянами*, Москва 1873, р. 156, н. 83.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, р. 156, н. 84.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, р. 156.

²⁰ L. NIEDERLE, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. II, pars 1, Praha 1906, р. 415–421.

the Timocani, and together with them were the Abodriti, who inhabited the left bank of the river Danube up to the Tisza, and from the mouth of the Sava to that of the Timok, while another group of them was known as Praedenecenti or Braničevci, living on the right bank of the Danube River, in the area of the Mlava River²¹.

This line of thought would persist until the 1960s, when two consecutive studies by Vasil Gyuzelev clarified things regarding the tribes involved in these²².

In order to fully clarify the situation regarding how many and which tribes the Bulgarian state is in conflict with, we need to return to the *ARF*. To make it clear, it is necessary to trace in which year which tribes are mentioned as having a conflict with the Bulgarian state. Here's what the situation looks like:

In 818, the Abodriti, Borna, duke of the Gudusceni, and the Timociani, who had recently broken away from their alliance with the Bulgars and were heading towards Frankish borders, were admitted to the court of Louis the Pious (814–840).

Given the mention of Abodriti and Timociani here together, in one phrase (context), and the fact that a few years later the Abodriti-Praedenecenti would be threatened by the Bulgarian state, it is logical to assume that from the beginning the conflict was with these two tribes. When reasoning in this direction, it is completely normal to assume that the tribes listed in sequence broke away from the union with the Bulgars and came to the Frankish borders, as was already accepted in the studies of Shafarik and the subsequent researchers. But in order to determine whether this is actually so, an examination of several issues of philological and ethnohistorical nature would be necessary.

First of all, as V. Gyuzelev points out, there is the problem of who is meant by the final, inserted part of the sentence – all three of the afore mentioned tribes or only the Timociani. For this, he rationally explains with philological arguments that even the formal grammatical analysis of the sentence does not allow the

²¹ В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I, pars 1, *Епоха на хуно-българското надмощие*, София 1918, p. 312.

²² See: В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Баварският географ и някои въпроси на българската история от първата половина на IX век*, ГСУ.ФИФ 58.3, 1964/1965, p. 286–287; ИДЕМ, *Bulgarisch-frankische Beziehungen in den ersten Hälfte des IX. Jahrhunderts*, BBg 2, 1966, p. 25–31. Nevertheless, in some modern works, the Braničevci and similar tribes can still be encountered, as is the idea of a connection between Borna and both the Guduskani and the Timociani. Another present “scenario” is that the Timociani, Abodriti-Praedenecenti and Guduskani all broke away from the union with the Bulgars. See e.g. Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Образуване на българската народност*, София 1971, p. 246, 326; I. GOLDSTEIN, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek*, Zagreb 1995, p. 194, 295; Т. ЖИВКОВИЋ, *Јужни Словени под византијском влашћу (600–1025)*, Београд 2007, p. 192, n. 851. For the idea of connecting the Guduskani and Timociani, see: Н. ГРАЋАНИН, *Guduskani/Gudušćani – Gačani: promišljanja o etnoinimu Gačani i horonimu Gacka u svjetlu ranosrednjovjekovnih narativa i suvremenih historiografskih tumačenja*, [in:] *Gacka u srednjem vijeku. Zbornik radova*, ed. ИДЕМ, Ž. HOLJEVAČ, Zagreb–Otočac 2012, p. 55–56sq.

attribution of the phrase *qui nuper a societate Bulgarorum desciverant et ad nostros fines se contulerant* to all three tribes. Also, if the said phrase refers to all three, then the word “Timocianorum” in the main sentence would not be connected with the conjunction “et”, but rather “Timocianorumque”²³.

Moreover, the Guduskani are well-known as part of the Dalmatian Croats and never belonged to the Bulgarian group of Slavs, let alone derived from it at that time²⁴. The same applies to Borna²⁵. This is also evident from the ARF records for the following years. In connection with this tribe and the older interpretations by Shafarik and his followers, there are also examples in which his “etymological” localization connected with the Kučai mountain and the city of Kučevo in modern Eastern Serbia. It leads some researchers to the conclusion that Borna was a local prince and to the creation of new legendary stories around him, with the ancient city of Guduscum, located by the author at the fortress near Kučevo²⁶, declared to be the centre of his possessions. Such historical “interpretations” were challenged almost immediately after their appearance by Stepan Antoljak²⁷. In addition to their incorrectness, in recent years, archaeological excavations have been carried out at the site of the supposed ancient fortress of Guduscum, which unequivocally show that there is no layer from the early Middle Ages or any finds from this period at all²⁸. In summary, everything said so far about the Guduskani leads to the conclusion that from the point of view of historical data, as well as on account of the archaeological evidence, there is no possibility that they could be connected with the Danube, in the area of Iron Gates (Djerdap).

Speaking of this year and the then-mentioned Abodriti, it is hardly possible to claim that they are the same as those who came into conflict with Bulgaria in the following years. Rather, these are the well-known northern Abodriti mentioned

²³ V. GJUZELEV, *Bulgarisch-frankische...*, p. 25. However, in later studies it was noticed that the Guduskani and Timociani, in general, were placed under the command of Borna. See e.g. C.R. BOWLUS, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars. The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907*, Philadelphia 1995, p. 61; W. POHL, *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567–822*, Ithaca–London 2018, p. 318. In this case, such a hypothesis is somewhat justified, since this problem is far from the main task of the authors.

²⁴ V. GJUZELEV, *Bulgarisch-frankische...*, p. 25.

²⁵ See M. ANČIĆ, *From Carolingian Official to Croatian Ruler – The Croats and the Carolingian Empire in the First Half of the Ninth Century*, HAM 3, 1997, p. 7–13; G. BILOGRIVIĆ, *Borna, Dux Guduscanorum – Local Groups and Imperial Authority on the Carolingian Southeastern Frontier*, HAM 25.1, 2019, p. 170–176; I. GOLDSTEIN, *Hrvatski...*, p. 159sq.

²⁶ See S. PRVANOVIĆ, *Ko je bio hrvatski knez Borna (Da li je poreklom iz Istočne Srbije)*, RJAŽU 311.6, 1957, p. 301–310. Similar statements are also presented in P. KOMATINA, *The Slavs of the Mid-Danube Basin and the Bulgarian Expansion in the First Half of the 9th Century*, ЗРВИ 47, 2010, p. 57, n. 6.

²⁷ S. ANTOLJAK, *Da li bi se još nešto moglo reći o hrvatskim knezovima Borni i Ljudevitu Posavskom*, ГЗФФ.С 19, 1967, p. 130–132.

²⁸ П. ШПЕХАР, *Касноантичка остава алата са локалитета Босиљковац код Кучева*, Vim 16, 2011, p. 25–58.

in the *ARF* text, from 796 to 826, 32 times in total²⁹. To this conclusion leads their mention first in the series of the three tribes listed therein, and that there is no specification similar to what was used for them when they were mentioned in 824, or when they appeared only with the additional part *Praedenecenti*, as in 822. Their reference in the phrase in question separated from the *Timociani* (between them, after all, were the *Guduskani* headed by *Borna*) additionally shows that their namesakes, involved in a conflict with the Bulgarian state a few years later, are not described, but specified as *Praedenecenti*. Of course, the possibility cannot be excluded that at some earlier moment the *Abodriti* living along the Middle Danube parted with the northern ones and moved to where we find them, but such a study is far from the goals of the present work.

Continuing the reflections on the problems of the mentioned tribes and more specifically a possible primary connection/closeness between the *Guduskani* and the *Timociani*, special attention should be paid to their mention in the year 819. In this year, describing the battle of *Kulpa* between *Borna* and *Ljudevit*, it is said that the main reason for the defeat suffered by the former was that the *Guduskani* deserted him on the battlefield³⁰. At the same time, as already described, the *Timociani* tribe, *which, after breaking away from the alliance with the Bulgars, wanted to go over to the side of the emperor and place itself under his authority, was misled by Ludevit and lured with false persuasions not to do so, that it abandoned its previous intentions and became his ally and helper*. If the *Timociani* and the *Guduskani* had something in common, they would not be mentioned in the same context, the later betraying their leader, and the former breaking away from their union with the *Bulgars* (they alone) and during their movement to the west towards the lands of the *Franks*, joined their enemy *Ljudevit*.

The presented facts and their interpretation show that it was only the *Timociani* that took part in the initial stage of the conflict between the Middle Danube Slavs and the Bulgarian state. Along with this, from a historiographical point of view, it should be mentioned that the tradition of connecting *Guduskani* and *Timociani* is still alive in the scholarly circles of researchers from Yugoslavia and the countries that inherited it after its breakup³¹.

Further, in the year 822, during the Council of Frankfurt, the emperor received embassies and gifts *from all the Eastern Slavs*, as here, in that year and in this context, an embassy of the *Praedenecenti* is mentioned. In this specific case, it is clearly visible that *Abodriti* and *Praedenecenti* are mentioned as separate tribes, i.e. separate political entities located within the perimeter of influence/interests of the Frankish Empire. And what is even more remarkable is that the two tribes cannot be mixed/confused with each other because the *Abodriti* are at the beginning

²⁹ I. BOBA, "Abodriti qui vulgo Praedenecenti vocantur" or "Marvani Praedenecenti"? Pbg 8.2, 1984, p. 29.

³⁰ *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 151; *Carolingian Chronicles...*, p. 106.

³¹ See e.g. K. FILIPEČ, *Donja Panonija od 9. do 11. Stoljeća*, Sarajevo 2015, p. 102, n. 253.

of the list and the Praedenecenti are at its end, i.e. there is no way to say that there is a confusion on the part of the person who recorded the embassies.

Two years later, at the very end of 824, a Bulgarian delegation arrived in Bavaria and was deliberately left waiting because at the same time envoys of the *Abodriti qui vulgo Praedenecenti vocantur* arrived in Aachen. In this case, unlike two years earlier, this tribe is now represented by its primary and qualifying name. This is probably done intentionally, to make the point clear to the readers, who should not confuse these Abodriti with the northern ones. In 822, this is unnecessary because both tribes are mentioned. In this case, what we are interested in does not need to be further clarified, because, apparently, it was sufficiently known even with its complementary name.

The waiting of the Bulgarian delegation is obviously necessitated by the very complicated situation that has arisen around the south-eastern borders of the Frankish Empire. In this area, the Bulgarian state had begun “unjust, hostile” actions against the Abodriti-Praedenecenti Slavic tribe that recently appeared in the range of interests of Louis the Pious. It was for this reason that they asked for help against their attackers.

The data from 822 introduced the Abodriti-Praedenecenti into the *ARF* and the political circle of the Frankish Empire, and two years later this same tribe complained in Aachen about its aggressive Bulgarian neighbours. In the years 822–824, only this tribe is mentioned as having a conflict with the Bulgarian state.

Summarizing the information available in the *ARF*, cleared of the layers of overinterpretations, it is obvious that there were not many small tribes that were in conflict with the Bulgarian state during the short period under consideration. Two tribes stood in the way of the expansion of the Bulgarian state to the west, or at least this is what the Frankish sources mention, and, unfortunately, no Bulgar accounts of these events survive. The Timociani seceded from their alliance with the Bulgarian state in 818, and in 824 the Abodriti-Praedenecenti stood in the way of the Bulgars to the west, i.e. there is reliable information about the conflict of the Bulgarian state in those years with only two Slavic tribes.

* * *

Since it is not directly related to the events that took place in 818, the question regarding the date in which the lands of the Timociani were annexed by the Bulgarian state is hardly discussed by the researchers. In cases where this is done, it is in passing. This is how it happens with V. Zlatarski, who writes that this tribe had already become part of the Bulgarian state during the reign of khan Tervel³². As mentioned above, according to L. Niederle, the Timociani are part of the seven

³² В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 312.

Slavic tribes, i.e. they have been part of the state since its foundation³³. In more recent times, Petar Koledarov perceives the people of Timociani as guardians of the Bulgarian western border outside its central territory since its creation³⁴. Panos Sophoulis thinks that it was one of the breakaway Avar Slavic tribes, fitting into the description of “the surrounding Slavina”, which was allied with khan Krum against Byzantium, and khan Omurtag tried to incorporate it into the state’s territories³⁵.

In 2010, Predrag Komatina published a special article dealing with the problems surrounding these tribes. In it, he also addresses this issue in the context of multiple issues important from the author’s point of view. In this case, he returns to the old idea of L. Niederle, that the Timociani are part of the seven Slavic tribes that formed the basis of the state created by Khan Asparuh³⁶. New, greatly expanded, arguments for this “classical” thesis have been adduced and deserve to be presented. The probable territory inhabited by the seven tribes is represented as covering the entire territory north of the Balkan Mountains, as far as the Iron Gates. This is justified above all by the famous expression from one of the most difficult-to-understand sentences in Theophanes the Confessor: κυριευσάντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων Σκλαυινῶν ἐθνῶν τὰς λεγομένας ἑπτὰ γενεάς, τοὺς μὲν Σέβερεις κατῴκισαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔμπροσθεν κλεισουρας, εἰς δὲ τὰ πρὸς Μεσημβρίαν καὶ δύσιν πάκις Ἀβαρίας τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἑπτὰ γενεάς ὑπὸ πάκτων ὄντας³⁷, repeated in an abbreviated form by patriarch Nicephorus³⁸. Based on this information, supplemented with the above-commented and presented data from the *ARF*, the Serbian researcher tries to specify the possible territories inhabited by the Timociani. He thus accepts that these were the territories of the seven Slavic tribes – to the south reaching the Balkan Mountains, and in the west – bordering the Avars³⁹. In this case, he defines the territories of the seven Slavic tribes as located north of the Danube River, west of those of the Bulgars and north of the Balkan Mountains. To the west, they border the Avars. On this occasion, the author assumes that the territories of these tribes hardly extended to the west of the Homolje Mountains in the valley of the Morava River, ending at the Iron Gates⁴⁰. The question of where the *territories under direct Bulgarian control* were located, was left aside from the main topic of discussion, but it was presumptively accepted that these

³³ L. NIEDERLE, *Slovanské...*, p. 415–421.

³⁴ П. КОЛЕДАРОВ, *Политическа география на средновековната българска държава*, vol. I, *От 681 до 1018 г.*, София 1979, p. 25.

³⁵ P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 294.

³⁶ P. KOMATINA, *The Slavs...*, p. 55–82.

³⁷ *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 359.

³⁸ *Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum*, trans. et comm. C. MANGO, Washington 1990 [= *CFHB*, 13; *DOT*] (cetera: NICEPHORUS), p. 90–91.

³⁹ P. KOMATINA, *The Slavs...*, p. 60.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

were the lands west of the Iskar River⁴¹. The lands of the seven Slavic tribes marked in this way also include the river Timok, i.e. it is accepted that the Timociani are part of the seven Slavic tribes already mentioned by Theophanes the Confessor and Patriarch Nicephorus. The author then draws attention to the term *societas* or *Bulgarorum societas* mentioned twice in the *ARF*. For its part, it is compared with the well-known and differently interpreted, word combination at the end of the above-mentioned expression from the chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor – ὑπὸ πᾶκτων ὄντας, referring to the seven tribes⁴². This word combination is deemed equal to the much more common expression συμμαχία in Theophanes, which in turn is equated in meaning to the Latin *societas*, meaning an alliance⁴³. The author concludes that when the *ARF*'s geographical and political definitions of the Timociani are compared with the same definitions given by the Byzantine sources for the seven Slavic tribes, they largely overlap, leading to the conclusion that the Timociani are one of these seven tribes⁴⁴.

In recent years, this thesis has been adopted by researchers from the Western Balkans⁴⁵.

Regardless of this perception in scholarly circles, several things are striking about the presented thesis. First of all – those two types of sources are “synchronized”, completely different both in origin and time they describe – Byzantine, talking about events from the last quarter of the 7th century, and, accordingly, Latin (Frankish) from the first quarter of the 9th century, with only the latter being contemporary to the events discussed here. Moreover, presented in this way, the solution to the problem seems over-simplistic. Given the above, the stated reasons of Pr. Komatina on the identification of the Timociani as part of the seven Slavic tribes and, accordingly, establishing their relations with the Bulgars as early as the beginning of the Bulgarian state on the Lower Danube seems to need further elaboration.

First of all, attention should be paid to the fact that neither in the older archaeological studies on the core territory of the early medieval Bulgarian state (Dobrudja, North-Eastern Bulgaria, the Wallachian Plain) nor the modern ones, is there a tendency to determine separate territories for the Slavs and the Bulgars. Everywhere in the mentioned regions, the discovered early medieval necropolises are bi-ritual, with burials associated with the (Proto) Bulgarians, and some of the cremations with the Slavs⁴⁶. Therefore, the material unequivocally shows the absence of

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 61 and note 22 with reference to V. Zlatarski and the presence of ramparts in this region. See В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 152.

⁴² Р. КОМАТИНА, *The Slavs...*, p. 62.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 62–63.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

⁴⁵ See e.g. П. ШПЕХАР, *Централни Балкан од 7. до 11. века. Археолошка сведочанства*, Београд 2017, p. 233.

⁴⁶ For the older studies, see Ж. ВЪЖАРОВА, *Славяни и прабългари по данни от некрополите от V–XI в. на територията на България*, София 1976; Д.И. ДИМИТРОВ, *Прабългарите по Северното*

“separate” Slavic and properly Bulgarian parts within the state. Nothing speaks of its possible federative nature, and hence separate territories of the seven Slavic tribes, and that, in their context, also the territories of the Timociani should be sought.

Archaeological research is also important for clarifying several other questions related to specifying the territory of the early medieval Bulgarian state and, accordingly, the relationship of the Timociani tribe with it. First of all, the archaeological researches on the territory of the Danubian plain show the presence of a population westwards approximately to the river Iskar. More precisely, this refers to the territories in the area of the three successive ramparts with a front to the west, separated from each other by about 30–40 km and located west of the river – Ostrovsky, Hayredinsky and Lomsky⁴⁷. According to some researchers, their appearance varies between the end of the 7th to the beginning of the 9th century, and they are associated, in the first case, with the beginning of the Bulgarian state, and in the second – with the Bulgarian expansion to the west by the khans Krum and Omurtag⁴⁸. Evidence from recent archaeological surveys and C₁₄ samples indicate likely dates for the construction of the Ostrovsky rampart between 767 and 900, and within this broad time range, three narrower phases emerge, such as the stratigraphic correlation with the pottery found at the bottom of the moat, gives priority to the dates 802–845 or 853–885⁴⁹. Archaeological data from the surrounding early medieval necropolises also show that the population here appeared no earlier than the middle of the 8th – the beginning of the 9th century⁵⁰. This indirectly allows the dating of the ramparts to the beginning of the 9th century. P. Koledarov suggests that these ramparts mark the inner territory of the early medieval Bulgarian state⁵¹ and that such a central core of the state was formed after the beginning of the Bulgarian expansion in the 9th century⁵². To the west of these territories, there is almost no data for the time before the 9th century. The largest early medieval centre

и Западното Черноморие, Варна 1987, p. 183–260. For an up-to-date, summarizing study, covering and commenting on the necropolises on both banks of the Lower Danube, see: U. FIEDLER, *Studien zu Gräberfeldern des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts an der unteren Donau*, vol. I–II, Bonn 1992. Recently, there has been a tendency to link some of the cremations with the Bulgars, but this still cannot be accepted without reservations. See Л. ДОНЧЕВА-ПЕТКОВА, К. АПОСТОЛОВ, В. РУСЕВА, *Прабългарският некропол при Балчик*, София 2016.

⁴⁷ Р. РАШЕВ, *Старобългарски укрепления на Долния Дунав (VII–XI в.)*, Варна 1982, p. 65–68.

⁴⁸ See В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 152–154; П. КОЛЕДАРОВ, *Политическа...*, p. 25; Р. РАШЕВ, *Старобългарски...*, p. 68; В. ГРИГОРОВ, *Археологическо проучване на Островския вал до Кнежа*, *Архе* 52.2, 2011, p. 134.

⁴⁹ V. GRIGOROV, *The Ostrovski Rampart. Problems of Research and Chronology*, [in:] ПБА, vol. X, ed. Е. ТОДОРОВА, София 2020, p. 85.

⁵⁰ В. ГРИГОРОВ, *Археологическо...*, p. 131 and the literature cited therein; ИДЕМ, *The Ostrovski...*, p. 81.

⁵¹ П. КОЛЕДАРОВ, *Политическа...*, p. 25.

⁵² N. HRISSIMOV, *On the Origins of Komitats in the First Bulgarian Empire*, *SCer* 9, 2019, p. 429–453.

located west of the ramparts, but on the territory of modern Bulgaria – medieval Vidin, was archaeologically attested again only in the 9th century⁵³. The situation is the same with the appearance of population in the territories located west of the modern Bulgarian-Serbian border to the modern Serbian capital of Belgrade⁵⁴. P. Špehar connects the early medieval settlements of this period, located in the area of the Timok River – Gamzigrad (*Felix Romuliana*) and Acvae, precisely with those of the Timociani⁵⁵.

Regarding what was written by Theophanes the Confessor, that to the west the Bulgarian state, respectively the seven Slavic tribes, bordered with the territory of the Avar Khaganate, clarifying the problem against data from archaeology could be of use. In this case, it is clearly seen that there are no contact points between the culture of the Avar Khaganate in its late period (after 680) and that of the First Bulgarian Empire. The closest Late Avar necropolises and single graves to the Bulgarian lands are more than 100 km from the modern Bulgarian territories⁵⁶. Furthermore, the mapping of necropolises and settlements from the Late Avar period shows minimal presence along the right (southern) bank of the Danube. On the right bank, west and north of the Wallachian plain are the Carpathians, which serve as a wide, natural barrier between the two countries. Beyond the Carpathians, a greater Avar concentration is found on the territory of Transylvania, while on that of Banat, the Avar presence is minimal. All this shows that there are no direct points of contact between the territories of the Avar Khaganate and the Bulgarian state, but rather an unpopulated buffer territory, as the Bulgarian lands of this period are described by Arab travellers.

If we return to the text of Theophanes the Confessor and look for specific geographic details in it, i.e. to assume that its geographical markers are accurate, it must be borne in mind that even at a later time this kind of knowledge may be called abstract rather than concrete. It is enough just to pay attention to the

⁵³ В. ВЪЛОВ, “Баба Вида“ – замък на владетелите на средновековния Бдин, [in:] *Средновековният замък в българските земи (XII–XIV в.)*, ed. И. ДЖАМБОВ, Сопот 1987, p. 47–57.

⁵⁴ I. BUGARSKI, M. RADIŠIĆ, *The Central Balkans in the Early Middle Ages: Archaeological Testimonies to Change*, [in:] *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art*, vol. I, *Process of Byzantinisation and Serbian Archaeology*, ed. V. ВІКІЋ, Belgrade 2016, p. 91–99 and specially fig. 49.

⁵⁵ П. ШПЕХАР, *Централни...*, p. 233. About the early medieval settlement on the ruins of Felix Romuliana, see Ђ. ЈАНКОВИЋ, *Гамзиград у средњем веку*, [in:] *Felix Romuliana – Гамзиград*, ed. И. ПОПОВИЋ, Београд 2010, p. 201–212.

⁵⁶ See *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa*, vol. I–II, ed. J. SZENTPÉTERI, Budapest 2002 [= VАН, 13.1–2], karte 4. An exception is a find of a bridle of Avar type from the Late Avar period, found near Mihajlovac, Negotin municipality, Serbia, but in this case, it is a portable item that cannot be a sure starting point for a permanent Avar presence or settlement. See *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa*, vol. I..., p. 241. Specifically about the late Avar finds on the territory of modern Serbia, see И. БУГАРСКИ, Н. ЦЕРОВИЋ, *Касноаварски налази са подручја Срема и српског Подунавља из археолошке збирке раног средњег века Народног музеја у Београду*, ЗНМБ.А 25.1, 2021, p. 321–342 and specially fig. 12.

“geographical” excurses in the works of Emperor Constantine VII the Porphyrogenitus⁵⁷. Another geographical note should be made here, namely that from the point of view of modern researchers and the delineation of the western borders of the early medieval Bulgarian state, no one has gone so far as to place the borders so far to the west – all the way to the Iron Gates, as this was done by Pr. Komatina, with the idea that the Timociani are part of the seven Slavic tribes, and even that the Abodriti-Praedenedenti are also part of them?!⁵⁸

To all these factors showing the impossibility of identifying the Timochiani as one of the seven Slavic tribes, one may add that the expression *seven (Slavic) tribes* is only one of the possible translations from the passage of Theophanes the Confessor. Even more than 60 years ago, attention was paid to the possibility that the expression could also be translated as the seven genera⁵⁹ – a name that is completely appropriate for a tribe. In that case, would it be possible to look for such a large territorial extent of the areas inhabited by such a tribe?

We must turn our attention to the other “detail” found in the sources by Pr. Komatina that gave him the grounds to “synchronize” the text of Theophanes the Confessor and that of the *ARF*. This is the identification of *societas* in the *ARF* with ὑπὸ πάκτων ὄντας in Theophanes the Confessor, which in turn is identified with συμμαχία, which he elucidates well on etymological basis. However, if we go outside the context of the words and see what happened in the early years of the existence of the Bulgarian state and especially during the period of crisis in it, one can judge best the relations between Bulgars and Slavs. The very fact of the absence of further mention of the seven (Slavic) tribes in the sources can only lead us to think in the direction that they were an indisputable part of the state and the search for them could only be biased. To a large extent, this also applies to the other Slavic tribe mentioned by Theophanes in connection with the creation of the Bulgarian state – the Severi. They are mentioned only once in Theophanes after the events of 680. This happened in 764 when Emperor Constantine V Kopronimos sent people to Bulgaria in secrecy and captured the prince of the Severi, Slavun, who, as Theophanes informs us, *had done many evils in Thrace*⁶⁰. For the second time, we see the Severi acting together with the Bulgars, and also living in Bulgaria. Even in these difficult moments for the Bulgarian state, the Prince of the Severi acts in defence of the state.

Regarding the Slavs themselves, without being identified tribally, they are mentioned several times from the creation of the Bulgarian state until the beginning of the 9th century. Thus, during emperor Justinian II’s campaign to reclaim the

⁵⁷ H. WOLFRAM, *The Image of Central Europe in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus*, [in:] *Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus and his Age*, ed. A. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Athens 1989, p. 5–14.

⁵⁸ P. ΚΟΜΑΤΙΝΑ, *The Slavs...*, p. 68–74.

⁵⁹ Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *Бележки към началния период от историята на българската държава*, ИИБИ 5, 1954, p. 319–328.

⁶⁰ THEOPHANES, p. 436.

throne, headed by the Bulgarian ruler Tervel, in addition to Bulgarians, Slavs are also mentioned as taking part in it⁶¹. The situation is more complicated in the period of the crisis itself when it is said that Slavs fled to the Byzantines, but at the same time, they acted as allies of khan Telets⁶². In these years of internal instability, Slavs could be seen fleeing the state as well as fighting for it. However, when describing the battle that took place, in the context of the defeated troops of Telets, only Bulgars are mentioned everywhere⁶³.

With all the presented historical and archaeological facts, it is evident that the relations between Slavs and Bulgars have been stable enough since the time of the establishment of the Bulgarian state, and during the crisis in the middle of the 8th century they were strengthened even further, as the Slavs, in some cases, were the main supporters of statehood. Given what has been said, it can be assumed that the Timociani and their lands were recently annexed to the Bulgarian state. Their actions, compared to those of the Slavic tribes that took part in the creation of the state, show the immaturity of relations – they show a “immature” union. This points to the idea that this union was born out in times not so distant from these events, and thus comes close to P. Sophoulis’ proposition presented above. It should not be forgotten that similar actions of annexing other Slavic tribes were carried out before, even immediately after the state emerged from its period of internal political instability. Such, for example, was the case of 774, when a 12,000 strong Bulgarian army went to capture the inhabitants of Verztia and resettle them in Bulgaria⁶⁴. This shows the interest of the Bulgarian state in the Thessaloniki – Middle Danube axis even before the victorious actions of the Khans Krum and Omurtag, i.e. the idea of incorporating the Slavic tribes living on the Balkan Peninsula is earlier than the beginning of the 9th century, when we see it in the process of realization. It was on this axis – along the Timok River – that the Timociani tribe lived. This is also the reason for the Bulgarian state’s interest in their territories. To control and rule the lands along this axis you need to hold Serdica. This city, because of its central location, is the key for controlling the Balkans. The possession of the city ensures possession of a large part of the peninsula.

It was because of Serdica that the war between Byzantium and Bulgaria, which would eventually lead to the death of Emperor Nicephorus I Genicus (802–811), began. During the reign of this emperor, Peter Charanis notes that Byzantium became active in recapturing its territories in the province of Hellas from the Slavs⁶⁵. In recent years, Panos Sophoulis has shown that these actions of the ambitious emperor on the territory of the Balkans were not something isolated, but was part of a program to reconquer the Byzantine territories in this region. It has

⁶¹ THEOPHANES, p. 373.

⁶² THEOPHANES, p. 432.

⁶³ THEOPHANES, p. 433; NICEPHORUS, p. 148–149.

⁶⁴ THEOPHANES, p. 446–447.

⁶⁵ P. CHARANIS, *Nicephorus I, The Savior of Greece from the Slavs (810 A.D.)*, BMbyz 1.1, 1946, p. 75–92.

been described in detail how the military actions and campaigns of the Byzantines on the territory of Thrace and Macedonia began as early as 808. This is indirectly attested in two letters from Theodore the Studite. In these letters, he had previously written to the emperor asking for an audience and stated that Nicephorus had gone on a campaign with his son Staurakius. It is almost certain that this campaign was in the Balkans, as the emperor is not known to have personally led an army eastward after 806⁶⁶. The gradual Byzantine expansion into western Thrace continued after that. At the end of 808⁶⁷, a Byzantine expeditionary force operated in the area of the Struma River. And in this case, Theophanes omits information that would be essential for understanding the strategic goals and movements of the Byzantines. He only reports that while the army was receiving its pay, the Bulgars suddenly attacked it, killing many soldiers and officers, including the *strategoï*, and confiscating the pay (about 1,100 pounds of gold) along with the army's supply train⁶⁸. P. SORHOULIS suggests that the main purpose of this army was to keep the pressure on the local Slavs, as well as to build or repair fortifications located strategically along the river⁶⁹. In this case, the author concludes that, given the information provided by Theophanes, it seems that this Bulgarian attack was surprising but it cannot be known whether further military actions between the two sides continued. Taking into consideration one of the Early Bulgarian triumphal inscriptions, describing a battle at Serres and the city's proximity to the Struma River, it has long been assumed that the battle in question was meant there⁷⁰. Along with this, it was pointed out that, shortly before the battle, in addition to dealing with the Slavs, the emperor may have been looking for opportunities to retrieve Serdica⁷¹. Krum captured the city from the Byzantines before the Easter holidays of the following year 809⁷², and although Theophanes does not explain when it was captured by the troops of Nicephorus, it probably happened before March⁷³. An intense Byzantine year with all these events, which took place in quick succession, indirectly indicates military activity on the Bulgarian and Byzantine sides along the Struma River. In this case, it is quite possible that the capture of Serdica is connected with these events, and that the defeat of the Byzantine army along the Struma is part of these actions⁷⁴. As further proof in this direction serves the fact that the upper

⁶⁶ P. SORHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 186–187.

⁶⁷ Year 6301 according to the chronology of Theophanes.

⁶⁸ THEOPHANES, p. 484–485; P. SORHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 187.

⁶⁹ P. SORHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 187.

⁷⁰ See В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи*, София 1992, p. 153; P. SORHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 188.

⁷¹ P. SORHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 186.

⁷² The same year 6301 according to Theophanes.

⁷³ P. SORHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 187 and note 90.

⁷⁴ For the period after the beginning of the 7th century until the beginning of the 9th century, there are no archaeological traces of habitation on the territory of Serdica. For a good review and critique of the narrative and archaeological evidence on this, see: К. СТАНЕВ, *Защо през 809 г. кана субли-*

course of the Struma River is about 30 km from Serdica, and Serres is almost at the same distance from the river. Due to the presence of more than 6,000 Byzantine troops in Serdica, it can be assumed that it was the result of some military actions in the area on the part of Byzantium, and in no case can this large number be taken for a city garrison, as is often done⁷⁵. This army is hardly staying in Serdica by chance. First of all, the city was strategically important – whoever controlled it, controlled the main communication and military routes into the Balkans, and hence the peninsula itself. Control over this city predetermined many things in the future relations between Bulgaria and Byzantium. From the position of Byzantium, the possession of Serdica opened the way to the Central and Western Balkans and, above all allowed it to intervene in the partition of the collapsing Avar state. Along with that, the possession of these territories would allow Byzantium to act on the rear of the Bulgarian state. From the Bulgarian point of view, the possession of Serdica would secure the western border of the state and open the way for expansion along the Thessaloniki-Danube axis, and from there to the north and northwest – to Central Europe. Its importance is well recognized on both sides. From the Bulgarian side, this can be seen from the actions along the Struma and the capture of Serdica. On the Byzantine side, the Bulgarian actions, perhaps surprising for Byzantium, received their response with an immediate march of the emperor to Serdica, but as Theophanes says in this case – *Nikephoros pretended to be going on campaign against him on Tuesday of the Saviour's Passion week, but did not achieve anything worthy of mention*⁷⁶. Obviously, this is not quite the case, because Theophanes' text unequivocally speaks of the fact that the emperor went on a campaign against the Bulgars. On his way, he met the military commanders who escaped the massacre at Serdica, to whom he did not offer immunity, and as a result, they fled to Krum. Apparently, Nicephorus at that time had already gone against the Bulgars or in the direction of Serdica, because, as Theophanes writes, *Nikephoros tried to convince the Imperial City by means of sworn sacrae that he had celebrated the feast of Easter in the court of Kroummos*⁷⁷. I.e. at the same time when the events described in Serdica took place, a Byzantine army led by the emperor himself has

зи Крум превзема Сердика?, Ист 16.2/3, 2008, p. 38–39. P. Sophoulis suggests that Serdica was captured by the Byzantines soon after the battle by the Struma. See P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 189.

⁷⁵ See Б. ПРИМОВ, *Укрепване и териториално разширение на българската държава през първата половина на IX в.*, [in:] *История на България в четиринадесет тома*, vol. II, *Първа българска държава*, ed. Д. АНГЕЛОВ, София 1981, p. 134; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, София 1999, p. 127. For the fact that it is a 6,000-strong army, not a garrison, see К. СТАНЕВ, *Защо...*, p. 41; П. ПАВЛОВ, *Сердика-Средец-София в историята на Първото българско царство*, [in:] *ИДЕМ, Забравени и неразбрани. Събития и личности от Българското средновековие*, София 2012, p. 274–275.

⁷⁶ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, trans. et ed. С. MANGO, R. SCOTT, G. GREATREX, Oxford 1997, p. 665; THEOPHANES, p. 485.

⁷⁷ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor...*, p. 666; THEOPHANES, p. 485.

already set off in the same direction but came late – on the way he meets only the few officers (and soldiers) who survived the massacre. Because of his failure to help Serdica, the emperor proclaimed that he had celebrated Easter in Krum's aule. It seems that this march of Nicephorus was the reason why Krum only took Serdica and destroyed its walls, but immediately afterwards withdrew. Some time ago Pl. Pavlov proposed that the events that took place in Bulgaria in 811 should be called the *war for Serdica*⁷⁸, but given the analysed information presented by the author, it can be argued that this war began as early as 809, and its finale would be placed two years later with the defeat of the Byzantine army and the death of the emperor, as well as the final incorporation of Serdica in the territories of the Bulgarian state.

With the inclusion of Serdica in the Bulgarian territory, Bulgaria now controlled not only the Danubian Plain but also the territories lying along the Thessaloniki-Danube axis south of the Danube River. From the Danube, descending along the course of the Morava River, the Avar raids traditionally went in the direction of Thessaloniki⁷⁹. Serdica from that moment on would become Sredets, because of the central position it held in the Bulgarian territories. Subsequently, the territories lying along this axis can be gradually claimed. Being more distant from Byzantium, the lands north of Sredets were more easily occupied. It is in these territories that the lands of the Timociani also fall. Given all that has been stated, it can be assumed that it was after the capture and incorporation of Sredets that the Bulgarian state turned its gaze to the northwest, but south of the Danube River, where the Timociani inhabited. Apparently, it was at that moment that the alliance with them was concluded – an alliance which turned out to be short-lived.

In this case, a bad chance for this young, immature union turns out to be the situation in the central Danube basin, where at this very moment a “stir” among the Slavic tribes living there began as a result of the attacks on the Avar Khaganate by the Franks and Bulgarians, which led to the disintegration of the Khaganate and the centrifugal forces caused by it.

* * *

The *ARF* introduces the Timociani and Abodriti-Praedenecenti at different times and in different contexts, which suggests different reasons for their inclusion. Given the mention of both tribes in connection with their confrontation with the Bulgarian state, there can be no doubt about the context in which they appear, although other reasons for this can also be sought. Along with this, the chronology of events leaves no doubt that these are two separate, successive conflicts, and on this basis, it can be argued that they have different roots. In view of what has been said, it is

⁷⁸ П. ПАВЛОВ, *Сердика-Средец-София...*, p. 273–281.

⁷⁹ P. KOMATINA, *The Slavs...*, p. 61.

of great importance to determine where the lands of the Abodriti-Praedenecenti were situated and what caused the Bulgarian aggression toward them.

Regarding the settlements of the Abodriti-Praedenecenti, in the report of the year 824 in the *ARF* it is recorded that they lived in Danubian Dacia (*Daciam Danubio adjacentem incolunt*). On the question of where this Dacia is located (the description provided by the text does not correspond to any of the previously known Dacias), many hypotheses have been put forward. In the early years of research into the problem, it was assumed that this tribe lived mainly on the left bank of the Danube, and a small part under the name Braničevtsi (*praedenecenti*) lived on the other right or southern bank⁸⁰. In modern times, the majority of researchers believe that the lands of the Abodriti-Praedenecenti were located on the left bank of the Danube River, on the territory of modern Banat, i.e. east of the Tisza river⁸¹. Along with this, some authors believe that the tribe controlled the territories in their old locations – around the mouth of the Morava River⁸². With such unanimity of opinions, it might be hard to refute the thesis that the Abodriti-Praedenecenti lived in a place different from the generally accepted one, i.e. on the territory of the modern geographical area of Banat.

This location is confirmed by the sequence of enumeration of the legations in 822, where they are represented from north to south and the Praedenecenti are placed south of the Moravians (Great Moravians), adjacent to the Avars⁸³. If the Osterabtrezi tribe can be connected with the Abodriti-Praedenecenti, then, regardless of the fact that it is not subject to exact localization, it certainly lived north of the Danube river, as the official name of the Bavarian geographer suggests (*Descriptio Civitatum et Regionum ad Septetriionalem Plagam Dunabii*)⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ See the first part of the article.

⁸¹ В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Баварският...*, p. 287; ИДЕМ, *Bulgarisch-frankische...*, p. 29; П. КОЛЕДАРОВ, *Политическа...*, p. 35; S. BREZEANU, “La Bulgarie d’au – delà de l’Ister” à la lumière des sources écrites, *EB* 20.4, 1984, p. 123; J. HERRMANN, *Bulgaren, Obodriten, Franken und der Bayrische Geograph*, [in:] *Сборник в чест на акад. Димитър Ангелов*, ed. V. VELKOV, София 1994, p. 44; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История...*, p. 151; I. BÓNA, *From Dacia to Erdöelve: Transylvania in the Period of the Great Migrations (271–896)*, [in:] *History of Transylvania*, vol. I, *From the Beginnings to 1606*, ed. L. МАККАЙ, А. MÓCSY, New York 2001, p. 264–265; A. MADGEARU, *Transylvania and the Bulgarian Expansion in the 9th and 10th Centuries*, *AMN* 39/40.2, 2002/2003, p. 43; P. GEORGIEV, *The Abodriti-Praedenecenti between the Tisza and the Danube in the 9th Century*, [in:] *Avars, Bulgars and Magyars on the Middle and Lower Danube*, ed. L. DONCHEVA-РЕТКОВА, С. BALOGH, А. ТҮРК, Sofia–Piliscsaba 2014, p. 109. The same in Bulgarian language: П. ГЕОРГИЕВ, *Абодритите-преденецинти от междуречието на Тиса и Дунав през IX век*, *ГСУНЦСВПИД* 97 (16), 2011, p. 48–49; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria...*, p. 295. Best justification of the thesis in P. КОМАТИНА, *The Slavs...*, p. 69–74, but again with the assumption that the Abodriti-Praedenecenti were one of the seven (Slavic) tribes.

⁸² К. ФИЛИПЕС, *Donja Panonija...*, p. 114.

⁸³ P. КОМАТИНА, *The Slavs...*, p. 68.

⁸⁴ В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Баварският...*, p. 286.

If this is so, the following question naturally arises: on the condition that the Timochiani live on the southern, right bank of the Danube, what caused the unfriendly relations of the Bulgarian state towards the Abodriti-Praedenecenti inhabiting the other bank of the great river?

Given the size of the Danube River, it is quite difficult to cross it, and there must have been serious reasons for transferring the hostilities to its other bank. What could these reasons be? To understand what happened, we have to return again to the events that took place in this region in the first decades of the 9th century, which are described in the *ARF*. In the most dramatic year for the Abodriti-Praedenecenti – 824, during which we also get the most detailed information about them, we learn that the Bulgarian state started unfair aggression, from the point of view of the tribe in question, and also that they are neighbours of the Bulgars, i.e. inhabit territories bordering theirs.

Before the capture of the eastern territories of the Avar Khaganate by the Bulgars, the Abodriti-Praedenecenti could not have had a common border with the Bulgarian state. The Bulgarian territories are beyond the Carpathians, in the Wallachian plain, and remain far from the lands of this Slavic tribe. The situation changed after the capture of the Avar territories during Krum's wars beyond the Carpathians, when the Avar territories in Transylvania and to the left bank of the Tisza were captured⁸⁵. In the territories of Banat, Late Avar findings are relatively rare, and it can be assumed that these lands during this period were not dominated by the Khaganate⁸⁶ but were inhabited primarily by Slavic tribes.

Nevertheless, being neighbour with someone hardly gives you a proper *casus belli*. The reason for these “unfair aggression” may be related to the events arising from the struggle for the Avar succession and the events that took place a little earlier on the other side of the Danube.

Returning to the earlier events on the Bulgarian western border – the secession of the Timociani from the union and their withdrawal to the west towards the Franks in 818 – it is noticeable that they did not move much further west. In the following year, they joined one of the two warring Croatian armies and participated in the military actions under the command of Ljudevit. Determining the location of the settlements of the Timociani after the retreat from their original lands can be made possible on the basis of what we know about the lands controlled by Ljudevit and the spread of his rebellion in 819⁸⁷. After this adventure

⁸⁵ For this, see lastly Н. ХРИСИМОВ, *Земите на Първото българско царство през IX век на север и запад от Карпатите – безспорно и спорно*, [in:] *Империи и имперско наследство на Балканите. Сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на проф. Людмил Спасов*, vol. I, *Античност и средновековие*, ed. Д. В. ДИМИТРОВ et al., Пловдив 2019, p. 51–91.

⁸⁶ *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa*, vol. II..., karte 4.

⁸⁷ Perhaps in this connection, I. Bona places the Timociani in the gap between the Sava and the Danube – I. BONA, *A Kárpát-medence a IX. Században: a bolgárok*, [in:] *Magyarország története. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig*, ed. G. SZÉKELY, A. G. SZERK, A. BARTHA, Budapest 1984, p. 26.

of theirs, they are no longer mentioned. In order to reach their new territories in the Frankish Empire, the Timociani had two possible paths. One was through the then-troubled lands of the Croats, and the other, to the north across the Danube and through the lands of the Abodriti-Praedeneenti (map 1).



Map 1. The Frankish lands and their Eastern borders (according: *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic, Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, ed. M. ANČIĆ, J. SHEPARD, T. VEDRIŠ, London–New York 2018).

In the meantime, as a result of the retreat of the Timochiani to the west, the Bulgarian offensive penetrated deep along the middle course of the Danube, thereby annexing this territory to the Bulgarian state. The appearance of early medieval Belgrade dates back to this time⁸⁸, and it is entirely possible that it was also the base of the Bulgarian fleet, which would later intervene in the course of the campaigns of the Bulgarian army⁸⁹. Along with this, the lands of modern Banat, i.e. the lands of the Abodriti-Praedeneenti, are pressed from the north, east and south by Bulgarian territories, while to the west, they are bordered by the territories of the Frankish Empire. In this context, it seems quite reasonable for the

After I. Bona, a whole series of publications follow this tradition – See: J. SZENTPÉTERI, *Térképlapok a 9. századi Kárpát-medencéről*, [in:] *Az Alföld a 9. században*, vol. II, ed. M. TAKÁCS, Szeged 2017, p. 12–16.

⁸⁸ М. ЈАНКОВИЋ, *Београд и његова околина од IX до XI века*, ГГБ 52, 2005, p. 95–103.

⁸⁹ *Annales Regni Francorum*, p. 173; *Carolingian Chronicles...*, p. 122.

Abodriti-Praedenecenti to accept the Bulgarian actions as “unfair aggression”. It is entirely possible that the Timociani also chose the route west through their lands, thus creating a *casus belli* for the Bulgarians to get militarily involved against them, but this remains only in the realm of conjecture.

* * *

For a long time historians have been speculating regarding the tribes with which the Bulgarian state was in conflict in their western borders during the first decades of the 9th century. This is largely due to the authority exerted by some researchers – founders of local schools –, whose influence, in some cases, continues to impact scholarship up to this day. The tribes of the Timociani and the Abodriti-Praedenecenti appear separately and in different contexts in the only source that speaks about them, the *ARF*. Based on this, it can be argued that their conflict with the Bulgarian state began at different times and, subsequently, had different roots. For a short time, following the capture of Serdica by Krum (before the Easter holidays of 809), the Timociani were allies of the Bulgarian state, but then opted to side with the Franks. This marks the beginning of the Bulgarian expansion to the west, south of the Danube. During the course of the conquest, the Bulgars would also encounter the Abodriti-Praedenecenti, whose lands were surrounded on three sides by the Bulgarian state. As a result of this conflict, the Bulgars and the Franks entered into direct diplomatic relations with each other for the very first time.

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BULGARIANS, CUMANS, TEUTONS, AND VLACHS IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Abstract. The article refers to some aspects of the history of today's Bulgarian and Romanian territories, going back to the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. First, the author emphasizes the impact of the Teutonic Order in Burzenland on Bulgarian-Cuman relations in the period under question. The article provides a different alternative viewpoint on the events of the second decade of the 13th century. Contrary to researchers who focus on the South and the Bulgarian-Latin conflict, the author seeks a solution to the problem by analyzing events in the North, reaching the lands of Burzenland region in Eastern Transylvania. He analyses the Teutonic-Cuman conflict of 1211–1222 and the success of the Teutons in Cumania after 1215. The author concludes that the dramatic change in the Bulgarian-Cuman relations could be explained by a new source of military and political influence that emerged in the second decade of the 13th century – the Teutonic Order. Next, the paper is aimed at the highly discussed and controversial issue of Bulgarian-Vlach relations during the rule of the Assenid dynasty. Based on the written sources, the author explains the mass presence of Vlachs in the actions of the first Assenids with specific social, economic and political factors in the last two decades of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century.

Keywords: Second Bulgarian Tsardom, Cumans, Vlachs, Teutonic Order, Burzenland

The topic about the role of the Teutonic Order in the region of Burzenland, and the impact of the subsequent Teutonic conquest of Cuman territories East of the Carpathian mountains at the time of Tsar Boril (1207–1218) is understudied in Bulgarian historiography¹. Most of the Bulgarian medievalists pay attention

¹ The Cumans and their influence on Bulgarian-Hungarian and Bulgarian-Latin relations are the object of research by a number of medievalists such as: В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през сръднитъ вѣкове*, vol. III, *Второ българско царство. България при Асѣневци (1187–1280)*, София 1972; Хр. ДИМИТРОВ, *Българо-унгарски отношения през Средновековието*, София 1998; V. СТОУАНОВ, *Cumans in Bulgarian History (Eleventh–Fourteenth Centuries)*, [in:] *The Turks*, vol. I, *Early Ages*, part 9, *Turks in East Europe*, Ankara 2002, p. 680–689; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Cumani Bellatores in the Second Bulgarian State (1185–1396)*, [in:] *Annual of the Medieval Studies Department*, vol. XI, Budapest 2005, p. 223–229; Н. ИЛИЕВ, *Относно времето на потушаването на бунта срещу цар Борил във Видин*, [in:] *Известия на музеите в Северозападна България*, vol. IX, София 1984, p. 85–94; А. ДАНЧЕВА-ВАСИЛЕВА, *България и Латинската империя (1204–1261)*,

(to a greater or lesser extent) to the role of the Cumans in the political and the military plans and actions of the first rulers of the Assenid dynasty, but the role of the short-lasting, but powerful impact of the Teutonic Order in Southeastern Transylvania (between 1211–1225) on the Cumans is not in the focus of any Bulgarian medieval research. On the contrary, the settlement of the Order in Burzenland, the relations between the Teutonic knights and the Hungarian crown, as well as the Teutonic pressure on neighboring Cuman territories beyond the Carpathians, are subject of deep and comprehensive research². At the same time, both in Bulgarian and in foreign language historiography cannot be found any studies of the impact of the Teutonic-Cuman wars from the period 1211–1225 on the situation south of river Danube.

The main-body of sources on these issues consists of the chronicles of Geoffroy de Villardouin³, Nicetas Choniates⁴, Robert de Clari⁵, Henri de Valenciennes⁶, the correspondence between Pope Innocent III and King Kaloyan⁷, some letters of the Latin Emperor Henry from the period 1206–1207⁸, the history of Georgius Acropolitae⁹, the chronicle of Theodori Scutariotae¹⁰, and others. A special place among the sources is occupied by several Hungarian royal charters and papal letters from the pontiffs of Gregory IX and Honorius III, testifying to the actions of the Teutons against the Cumans in the period 1211–1225¹¹. Of great importance

София 1985; Р. ПЛ. ПАВЛОВ, *Средновековна България и Куманите. Военнополитически отношения (1186–1241)*, ТВТУ 27, 1989, р. 9–59; И. ИВАНОВ, *Свои и чужди: образът на унгарци, хуни, българи, гърци, кумани, татари, сърби и власи в „Chronica Picta” от XIV в.*, [in:] SB, vol. XXXII, София 2017, р. 153–164; И. О. КНЯЗЬКИЙ, *Половцы в Днестровско-Карпатских землях и Нижнем Подунавье в конце XII-первых десятилетиях XIII в. Социально-экономическая и политическая история Молдавии периода феодализма*, Кишинев 1988, р. 22–32; Д. РАСОВСКИЙ, *Роль половцев в войнах Асенеи в Византийской и Латинской империями (1186–1207 гг.)*, СБАН 58, 1939, р. 203–211; Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *България при Асеневици*, София 1978; F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Military Alliance between the Cumans and Bulgaria from the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom to the Mongol Invasion*, АЕМА 16, 2008–2009, р. 29–54.

² The scope of foreign language research on the Teutonic presence in Transylvania in the 13th century is impressive, but the focus is mostly on Hungarian-Teutonic relations, with Cumans present mainly through Cuman-Hungarian and Cuman-Russian relations.

³ ЖОФРОА ДЪО ВИЛАРДУЕН, *Завладяването на Константинопол*, София 1985 (cetera: VILARDUEN).

⁴ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, София 1983 [= FGHB, 11] (cetera: NICETAS CHONIATES), р. 8–94.

⁵ ROBERT DE CLARI, *La conquête de Constantinople*, Paris 1974.

⁶ АНРИ ДЪО ВАЛАНСИЕН, *История на император Анри*, София 2009 (cetera: VALANSIEN).

⁷ *Innocentius III papa – Caloiohannes rex. Латински извори за българската история*, vol. III, София 1965, р. 307–379.

⁸ *Litterae Henrici Constantinopolitani imperatoris ad dominum papam de debellatione Voullae apud Philipopolim*, [in:] PL, vol. CCXV, Paris 1855, col. 1522–1523.

⁹ *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, София 1972 [= FGHB, 8], р. 151–213.

¹⁰ *Theodori Scutariotae Compendium chronicum*, София 1972 [= FGHB, 8], р. 214–304.

¹¹ H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der Deutsche Orden im Burzenland. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung*, Köln 2000, р. 168–169; Р. ХАУТАЛА, *Панские послания в Венгрию, касающиеся пребывания теутонских рыцарей в Трансильвании (1211–1225)*, SSBP 1, 2015, р. 96–114.

are also some archaeological evidences from the areas between the Dniester, Carpathian, and Danube rivers in recent decades, which contribute to building a general picture of the nomadic presence in the period 10th–13th century¹².

Most of the researchers believe that the broken Bulgarian-Cuman relations under Boril were a consequence of the Cumans' intervention in the struggles between the Russian principalities and the Mongol invasion. However, both in Bulgarian and in foreign historiography, there is a lack of independent studies of the impact of the Teuton-Cuman wars of the period 1211–1225 on the political and military situation in Bulgaria. Analyzing the disintegration of the Bulgarian-Cuman alliance in the last years of Boril's rule, most of the researchers pay attention to the impact of the struggles between the Russian principalities, as well as the Mongol invasion as main reasons for the political turnaround after 1213–1214. According to some researchers, the chronological sequence of events was as follows.

Having secured the support of the Cumans through marriage to Kaloyan's widow – Cuman by birth, Tsar Boril continued the war against the Latin Empire in Constantinople, but suffered a defeat at Philippopolis on August 1, 1208. The following years were marked by further losses against the Latins. As a result, Tsar Boril forced into peaceful relationships with the Latin Empire. This political change threatened the traditional Bulgarian-Cuman alliance as Cumans no longer relied on raiding the rich Greek and Latin territories in Thrace. That was the reason why some Cuman chieftains entered into conflict with Boril and occupied the fortress of Vidin along with the surrounding territories between 1211 and 1213. The marriage of the Bulgarian tsar to the niece of Emperor Henry in 1213 probably further disrupted the Bulgarian-Cuman relations¹³.

The above sounds very logical from one point of perspective, but a clear contradiction can be seen (when considered) from another. On the one hand, it was precisely the conflict between Boril and the Cumans that played an important role in the loss of popularity and strong political basis, facilitating the coming candidate for the throne – Joan Assen, and his enthronement in 1218. At the same time, the new Bulgarian tsar did not change Boril's policy. Conscious of this contradiction, some authors suggest that the limited participation of the Cumans was due to

¹² A. IONITA, *Structures de pouvoir et populations au Nord du Danube aux X^e–XIII^e siècles reflétées par les découvertes funéraires*, TrRev 19.5, 2010, p. 115–134.

¹³ F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Interaction between Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples on the Lower Danube: the Cumans and the "Second Bulgarian Empire"*, [in:] *The Steppe Lands and the World beyond them. Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th Birthday*, Iași 2013, p. 311–312. Dall'Aglio accepts that the conflict between Boril and the Cumans played a key role in the loss of popularity, facilitated the arrival of the claimant John Assen and his accession to the Bulgarian throne in 1218. At the same time, the reign of the new Bulgarian ruler did not change the political alliances. John II Assen (1218–1241) confirmed peaceful relations with the Latin Empire, and the number of Cumans in his troops was limited. In summary, Dall'Aglio suggests that the limited participation of the Cumans was a consequence of their involvement in hostilities and conflicts between Russian principalities, and after 1223 and the Battle of Kalka – of the Mongol threat that directly threatened the lands of Cumania.

their interference with the feuds and conflicts between the Russian principalities and, after the Battle of Kalka of 1223 – the Mongol invasion. The above-mentioned thesis seems logical, but some questions arise: Where there any other reasons for the deterioration of the alliance before the Mongolian impact? What if the reverse sequence is also possible, i.e. the reason for Boril's military failures had been in the collapse of the traditional alliance with the Cumans as a result of a changed *status quo* years before the Mongolian impact on Cumania? What factor could cause such a deep impact on Bulgarian-Cuman relations?

According to some Hungarian sources, at the beginning of the second decade of the 13th century, the Cumans, led by three chieftains, attacked Hungarian troops who crossed the Oltenia region on their way to the fortress of Vidin. The latter had been sent in help to Tsar Boril by King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–1235), while the Cumans acted in an attempt to stop any support for the Bulgarian tsar¹⁴. Leaving aside the disputes about the year, which varies from 1210 to 1213, the information about the broken relations and even clashes between Boril and the Cumans in the Lower Danube is definitely worth paying attention to. Even if we refer to the events in question to 1211 (or 1213), this testifies to a radical change in Bulgarian-Cuman relations, and the issue raises the need to analyze additional written sources. Let us focus our attention on the latest reliable information about Cuman allies in Boril's military campaigns.

After his enthronement in Tărnovo, Boril continued the military actions against the Latins. As early as the start of the 1208 campaign, there were numerous Cuman warriors in Tsar Boril's troops¹⁵. How many of these Cumans took part in the battle of Philippopolis on August 1, 1208, remains unclear. Quite possibly, most of them left the military campaign as early as the summer, as evidenced by the written sources about the campaigns of 1205, 1206, and 1207. However, the outcome of the battle of Philippopolis led to the conclusion that this cavalry was not as numerous as in Kaloyan's campaigns in 1205 and 1206.

The next statement about the Cumans' participation in the military campaigns of Tsar Boril refers to 1211 (according to some researchers to the previous 1210)¹⁶. In April 1211, a number of Cumans appeared in Southeastern Thrace¹⁷. According to Vassil Zlatarski, the rapid withdrawal of Tsar Boril, in the same month (of April 1211), had been a result of the rebellion in Vidin in Northwestern Bulgaria in the spring of that year, supported by some Cuman chieftains¹⁸.

¹⁴ V. SPINEI, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries*, Bucharest 1986, p. 97. The most important clue is that Spinei describes these Cumans in the Wallachian lowlands, which sounds logical.

¹⁵ VALANSIEN, p. 35.

¹⁶ J. LONGNON, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin. Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade*, Genève 1978, p. 144.

¹⁷ G. PRINZING, *Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel vom 13. Januar 1212. Überlieferungsgeschichte, Neuedition und Kommentar*, B 43, 1973, p. 48–51.

¹⁸ В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 304.

However, an obvious contradiction is evident. On the one hand, in the campaign of Tsar Boril against the Latins, Cuman troops participated, but on the other hand – the rebellion in Vidin was supported by the Cumans. This contradiction can be explained in two logical ways. The first one is that there were different Cuman chieftains and troops involved in the above-mentioned actions, and the second is that the rebellion in the fortress of Vidin preceded the military campaign and the march of 1211, or even could be dated to the previous 1210. Even with accepting the second possible explanation, we can assume that these were two groups of Cumans – loyal allies of the Bulgarian ruler, and Cuman chieftains acting against Boril.

Continuing with the chronology of the Cuman participation in the military campaign, we can point out that in the summer of 1211 in the Battle of Pelagonia plain, Tsar Boril and his ally – Sebastokrator Strez, suffered a defeat by the united Latin and Epirotes' forces. There is not a clear indication of the number of the Cumans, but we can assume it was relatively low. In the same year of 1211, Boril initiated a new campaign and marched towards Thessaloniki, but again the Cumans' role and the number of their troops remains uncertain. Two years later, Boril, in alliance with Strez, set off on a march against the Kingdom of Thessaloniki, but it remains unclear whether or not the Cumans participated in the campaign. Similar was the situation about the next campaign of the Bulgarian ruler in the same year of 1213 – against the Latins and their ally – Despot Alexios Slav. This failure in the above-mentioned campaigns, lead to the assumption that Boril no longer relied on mass Cuman support. Obviously, between 1211 and 1213 there was a significant drop in the scale of the Cuman support in comparison with the period 1186–1210. The subsequent events in the period 1213–1217 also remain unclear. Certainly, we know that Boril divorced the Cuman queen and married the niece of Latin Emperor Henry I, and a marriage had been also planned between the Hungarian heir Bela (IV) and Boril's daughter.

This marked a dramatic collapse in the relations with the former allies – the Cumans. In search of the reasons behind this, we could state the following. Some of the events in the period 1205–1213 suggest that the Cumans (or at least a part of their tribes and clans) were out of control. Last but not at least, the Cumans' paganism was also an obstacle to stable political relations between the Bulgarians and the Cumans. The fact that neither the Cumans nor the Vlachs were present in the struggle of the pretender John Assen for the throne in 1217–1218 is also indicative.

Next, a possible cause of the broken alliance may be the involvement of the Danubian Cumans in a military conflict with the Teutonic Order. Despite the significant archaeological data and the number of academic studies, the history of the Cumans in the lands of today's Moldavia and Northeastern Romania remains fragmented, controversial, and obscured by mysteries and speculations. The majority of the written sources present scarce information, mainly related to the Cumans'

way of life and warfare, as well as the names of some Cuman chieftains and dynasties. Despite the archaeological material, it is still too early to conclude, because the information relates not only to the Cumans but also to the Uzi, the Petchenegs, and the Mongols. However, modern archaeological excavations in the territory of present-day Romania and Moldova provide a reliable basis for a general picture of the nomadic presence in the period of the 10th–13th centuries. Thus, this allows for analyzing the nomadic presence in territories of Romania and Moldova¹⁹. The archaeological map of the nomadic presence in the areas between the Dniester, the Carpathians, and the Danube for three centuries leads to a conclusion that the Cumans in these lands hardly exceeded 100,000 people. This calls into question the written data on the number of Cuman armies in the Bulgarian-Latin wars of about 14,000 cavalries. From another point of view, this is about the potential of some of the Cumans or the most southwestern territories of vast Cumania, with the possibility that first Assenids – Peter, Assen, and Kaloyan, attracted Cuman allies and mercenaries from other, more eastern Cuman clans and tribes.

One of the typical Cuman characteristics in the territories of the Lower Danube relates to their periodic seasonal resettlement, provoked by their nomadic way of life. There is some evidence that the spring and autumn resettlements were usually carried out at distances of up to 200 kilometers. If we trust that, the winter camps and pastures of the Cumans of Northeastern Wallachia and Moldova, which have been explicitly documented by archaeological data, were probably located no more than 200–250 km from the summer pastures in the Southeastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. We should also keep in mind the fact that archaeological findings from the lands of present-day Moldova are much more numerous than in the Wallachian plain²⁰.

Thus, the withdrawal of the Cumans from the military operations of the first Assenids in May (or June) was because of their seasonal resettlement, and movement of the herds towards fresh and green pastures. During this period, however,

¹⁹ A. IONITA, *Structures...*, p. 127–128. The author analyzes 581 nomadic burials in 156 places from the period 10th–13th century. The majority of the burial sites and of the buried individuals are on the territory of Moldova, and a small one – on the territory of Wallachia. The author summarizes that burials with weapons constitute 12–13% (of the total number). If we connect this with the assumption that in their demographic and political heyday the Cumans in these territories numbered about or not much more than 100,000 people, then the armed men would number no more than 12,000–15,000 people.

²⁰ A very bright example of the seasonal movements of the Cumans can be found in *Nicetas Choniatae's* description of the siege of *Dimotikon* by the Bulgarian Tsar Kaloyan (the end of February – May 1206). According to the author, the Bulgarians were forced to end the siege after the Cuman allies' withdrawal in late May or early June 1206. Another illustrative example can be found in the description of the siege of Adrianople (the spring of 1207) when the Cumans left the siege *because of the summer heat*. Vivid evidence of the calendar of seasonal resettlement of the Cumans is also the description of the military campaign in 1208 when Tsar Boril restarted the war against the Latins supported by significant Cuman contingents in April.

alongside the pasturing, some of the men moved to the northwest, crossing the Carpathian passages and invading Southeastern Transylvania. This was also facilitated by the distance from the Carpathian summer camps and pastures to the Southeastern Transylvania – about 100 kilometers.

The above gives reason to assume that the political situation at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century provided excellent opportunities for the Cumans, who made the most of the alliance with the dynasty of the Assenids, to enrich themselves with booty, without interrupting their seasonal resettlement. In addition to the huge gains, this alliance provided Cumans with a safe border to the south-southwest, as the Cumans' clans between the River Dniester, the Carpathian Mountains, and the Lower Danube had powerful neighbors to the west and the north.

Most probably, a large part of the Cuman allies and Bulgarian hired mercenaries at the end of the 12th and the first decade of the 13th century arrived from the lands of present-day Moldova. However, we must assume that some of the Cuman allies reached as far as the western part of the Wallachian plane. We can presume that the rebellion of the Cuman chieftains in Vidin testifies in favor of such an assumption. What was the reason for the collapse in the relations of the former allies? These factors have been already presented, but one has been underestimated by Bulgarian medievalists – the Teutonic Order in Burzenland and its military activity in the period between 1212 and 1222.

Some Latin written sources provide valuable information on the impact of the Teutonic Order activity in southeastern Transylvania on the Cumans between the Carpathian Mountains, the Lower Danube, and the River Dniester. In particular, four charters of the Hungarian King Andrew II in favor of the Teutons in Burzenland shed light on the events under question. At the beginning of the 13th century, Burzenland was inhabited mainly by German colonists, as the region was abandoned after a series of devastating Cuman raids. The first of the above mentioned king's charters – from 1211, 1212, and 1215, testifies to the placement of the Teutonic Order in Burzenland and the cause – the threat of Cuman attacks²¹. The course of action of the Teutons, set out in the Hungarian king's charter of 1211, is supported by letters from Pope Gregory IX, which cite frequent and devastating Cuman raids in the lands of Burzenland as the reason for the Teutonic settlement²². In this document, the Hungarian ruler defined the direction of the

²¹ H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der Deutsche Orden...*, p. 80–89.

²² There are two theses about the identity of the Cumans who were attacking Burzenland. According to the former, these were the Danube Cumans, who in the spring and early summer migrated with their flocks and families to the Carpathians, carrying out their attacks through seven passes. The latter thesis is based on indirect information about Cuman invasions during the winter months, suggesting these Cumans were closer to the lands of Burzenland. We can presume that the attacks were carried out through the *Buzau Pass* and other nearby passes, or more generally from areas between the present-day city of *Buzau* and the town of *Foscani* to the west-northwest. There is some evidence from the Hungarian charters and papal letters that refers to this region.

territorial expansion of the Teutons in the territories beyond the Carpathian Mountains, highlighting the danger of the Cumans to the land, called *Burzland*. The Order proved to be very effective both in defense of Burzenland and the colonists' settlement and in the subsequent expansion of the Teutonic brethren beyond the Carpathian range.

Furthermore, the charters, and the letters testify to the beginning of a Teutonic-Cuman conflict in 1211–1212. We can also assume that the Cumans between Dniester and Danube were heavily engaged, resulting in their limited involvement as allies and mercenaries in the military campaigns of Tsar Boril. Another charter of Andrew II of 1212, giving extra privileges to the Teutonic Order, can also be mentioned. According to the charter, the Teutons, who were recently positioned on the border, defeated the constant attacks of the Cumans, subjecting themselves to death to protect the kingdom²³. Another diploma of the Hungarian ruler of 1215 testifies that the Teutons completely controlled Burzenland and the border territories as they entered the Cuman lands²⁴.

Next, the documents in question testify to the increased activity of the Cumans in Transylvania at the beginning of the 13th century. Whether and how we can relate this to the Bulgarian-Hungarian conflicts in 1192–1193, 1195, and 1202–1204 remains unclear²⁵. Surely the conflict with the Hungarians broke out again in 1208 and continued *de jure* to the Bulgarian-Hungarian agreement of 1213–1214. It is also logical to accept that some of the Cumans' actions aimed at Hungaria (Transylvania) were in support of the Bulgarians. Therefore, a direct connection between Bulgarian-Hungarian conflicts at the end of the 12th – the beginning of the 13th century, the Cuman attacks on Burzenland, and the subsequent settlement of the Teutonic order in the region after 1211 could be supposed. The above indicates that the worsened situation for the Cumans north of the Lower Danube and west of the River Dniester after 1212, and especially between 1215–1222, had a significant impact on the Eastern Balkans²⁶.

²³ H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der Deutsche Orden...*, p. 164–165.

²⁴ The original of this deed from 1215 was lost, but restored according to a letter of Pope Gregory IX to Andrew II dated April 26, 1231. Zimmerman dated the charter to 1215 and Hautala agrees with him, but other historians date it to 1221 or even to 1222 (*Documente privind istoria României, Veacul XI, XII și XIII. C. Transilvania*, vol. I, 1075–1250, București 1951, p. 195, 378). I personally agree with the position of Zimmerman and Hautala.

²⁵ Хр. ДИМИТРОВ, *Българо-унгарски...*, p. 124.

²⁶ V. SPINEI, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-thirteenth Century*, Leiden 2009 [= ECEEMA, 6], p. 417. According to Spinei, even if the Teutons did not fully control the lands between the Carpathians and the Danube after 1215–1216, they certainly commanded respect and strongly influenced the region. Another researcher who sees the connection between the settlement of the Teutons in Burzenland and the changes in the Bulgarian-Cuman relations is Șerban Papacostea. In his 1993 study, Papacostea outlined a direct link between the settlement of the Teutonic Order in Burzenland and the papal strategic plans to break up the military-political alliance between Bulgarians and Cumans (Ș. PAPACOSTEA, *Români în secolul al*

Most likely, one of the general reasons for Boril's instability on the Bulgarian throne in the last years of his rule was the lack of traditional Cuman support due to the events in the north. In this situation, assuming that the revolt in Vidin can be dated to 1211 and even later, in 1213, the connection with the actions of the Teutons in the lands of the Cumans between the Dniester and the Danube seems clear. We can presume that the revolt against Boril was supported by Cuman leaders, for whom the situation on the borders of Burzenland and the emerging Bulgarian-Hungarian rapprochement posed a direct threat.

However, the written sources' data after 1211 testify to the extremely deteriorated relations between the Bulgarian tsar and the Cumans. During that period we do not encounter written information about large-scale Cuman actions south of the Danube. Probably one of the main reasons for Boril's instability on the throne in the last years of his rule was the lack of strong Cuman support due to the events in the north. The reasons for this break-up remain unclear, but there are generally two possibilities. The first relates to the participation of Cuman leaders in the revolt against Boril, and the second is a direct reflection of the events on the Teutonic-Cuman border after 1211. Likely, the two reasons are closely related.

The last of the four Hungarian royal charters, dating from 1222, reveals important information about the Teutonic territorial expansion²⁷. According to the text, the Hungarian king extended the rights of the Order over new territories in the lands of the Cumans in present-day Southern Moldova. This charter confirms the Teutonic possession of former Cuman territories east and southeast of the Carpathians and testifies that the Cumans were under strong Teutonic pressure. It is very probable that in practice, after 1215, there were no real possibilities for sending military aid to the Bulgarian ruler from clans and dynasties in today's Moldova. Most likely, due to the circumstances described above, the Cumans were neglected by the Bulgarian ruler, who sought rapprochement with Hungary and the Latin Empire.

XIII-lea între Cruciată și Imperiul Mongol, București 1993, p. 29). At the same time, Papacostea only notes that the placement of the order changed the geopolitical situation in the period 1212–1213, without examining in more detail the specific effects of this change on the Bulgarian-Cuman, Bulgarian-Hungarian and Bulgarian-Latin relations in the following years. The same position is supported by Alexandru Madgearu, who briefly touches on the connection between the placement of the Teutonic Order in Burzenland and the Bulgarian-Latin conflict, emphasizing the role of Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) in the policy of attracting Teutons to oppose a strong anti-Latin coalition (A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)*, Leiden 2017 [= ECEEMA, 41], p. 186). Other authors also point to the role of the Teutonic factor in changing the *status quo* in the southeast of the Carpathians, but there is still no detailed analysis of the impact of these events and processes on the complex political and military picture of Bulgarian-Cuman, Bulgarian-Hungarian and Bulgarian-Latin relations in the second decade of the 13th century.

²⁷ H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der Deutsche Orden...*, p. 169–172; P. HAUTALA, *Chapters of the Hungarian King Andrew II granted to the Teutonic Knights in Transylvania: Latin Texts, Translation into Russian, and Commentaries*, GHC 8, 2015, p. 23–24.

Further information on military success and the territorial expansion of the Teutons can be found in two papal letters, dated 12th and 13th December 1223, addressed to the Bishop of Transilvania and to the Archbishop of Esztergom. The Pope points out the successes of the Teutons and calls on the Bishop to assist in attracting settlers to support the military successes of the Teutonic brothers²⁸. In 1225, Hungarian-Teutonic cooperation ended dramatically with the king's entry with troops and the expulsion of the brothers from Burzenland and the kingdom, but the consequences of the order's military presence were lasting.

To sum the above up, Bulgarian tsar Boril entered into a conflict with mighty Cuman chieftains and their clans who settled in the lands between the River Dniester, the Carpathian Mountain, and the Lower Danube few years before the treaty with Hungaria of 1213 (or 1214). Moreover, the relations with the Cumans deteriorated further after the rebellion in Vidin (most probably in 1210 or 1211)²⁹. In the new situation of war between the Hungarian crown, backed by the Teutonic Order – from one side, and the Cumans – from the other, the Bulgarian-Hungarian agreement of 1213 probably excluded direct or indirect support for the former Cuman allies north of the Danube. Quite evidently, the peace and the Bulgarian-Hungarian-Latin alliance put an end to the traditional political and military support of the Cumans.

Probably, in the period 1208–1210, there started deep political conflict between Boril and some Cuman chieftains and their clans. However, the Bulgarian ruler still relied on some of his traditional allies from the lands of present-day Bessarabia, but this resource became increasingly limited and uncertain in the next few years as a result of the Teutonic-Cuman war. Faced with this problem, Tsar Boril undertook rapprochement with Hungary. In this context, the Cuman participation in the revolt against Boril can be considered as a logical and to some extent expected response to the Bulgarian-Hungarian union³⁰. The motives behind Boril's political decision could be searched in two directions: on the one hand the involvement of the Cumans in a prolonged war against the Teutonic Order, and on the other – a growing Cuman's political and military influence in Bulgaria. Whatever the main reason and motivation for the 1213 political turnaround (started most

²⁸ H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der Deutsche Orden...*, p. 175–176, 177; P. HAUTALA, *The Teutonic Knights' Military Confrontation with the Cumans during their Stay in Transylvania (1211–1225)*, GHC 8, 2015, p. 85.

²⁹ I. VÁSÁRY, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*, Cambridge 2005, p. 60.

³⁰ Хр. ДИМИТРОВ, *Българо-унгарски...*, p. 125. In this context, Hristo Dimitrov's thesis sounds convincing, as the latter believes that Hungarian aid to quell the revolt against Boril in the Vidin and Branichevo regions was not at the cost of the latter's surrender to the Bulgarian ruler. Quite the opposite. According to Dimitrov, Hungarian aid in 1213–1214 was an expression of allied relations and loyalty to Boril, and under Hungarian rule was actually not Branichevo, but the Belgrade region, taken from the Bulgarians at the beginning of Boril's rule – in 1208.

probably in 1210–1211), its consequences were long-lasting. The Cumans had never been so actively and decisively present in the military and political history of medieval Bulgaria.

We now turn to the other important ally of the first Assenids – the Vlachs. The Vlachs are quite present in the historical sources in the 11th–13th century. The image of the Vlachs in the chronicles of the Fourth Crusade is the subject of research in some works³¹, but the most important aspect in this paper is their role in the events under question. First, the sources give many examples that the Vlachs were an important factor in the military campaigns of the first Assenids at the end of the 12th and the first decade of the 13th century. According to Nicetas Choniates, with the extraordinary tax collected at the vicinity of Anhialo and by the barbarians of Haemus, called Moesians and now Vlachs, the emperor actually provoked an uprising that avenged the seized cattle and other concerns of the population. Therefore, we can conclude that the Vlachs, known as breeders, were among the first and most fierce participants in the uprising and the consequent military actions of Peter, Assen and Kaloyan in the period 1185–1207³².

Also, the information that the local ruler Dobromir Hryz did not initially take part in the uprising, but supported the emperor with 500 of his countrymen can be interpreted as information that the Vlachs, or some of them, were a militarized population serving the Empire³³. There is some evidence that such groups of the paramilitary population certainly enjoyed some privileges and tax reliefs. It could be the point which can explain the mass participation in the uprising by Vlachs whose traditional privileges and tax reliefs had been revoked, and their support for the uprising and for the cause of the established Bulgarian Tsardom as the effective return of these privileges and tax reliefs by the first Assenids.

Based on two of the best-informed authors describing the events in question – Nicetas Choniates and Joffroi de Villardouin, we can note that both use ethnonyms such as Bulgarians, Vlachs, Cumans, sometimes Scythians and Moesians. However, at the very beginning of the uprising and in the next two decades, the role of the Vlachs as part of the Assenids' army is beyond doubt. In both Choniates

³¹ F. CURTA, *Imaginea vlahilor la cronicarii Cruciadei a IV-a. Până unde răzbate ecoul discuțiilor intelectuale de la Constantinopol? The Image of the Vlachs from the Chronicles of the Fourth Crusade. How Far does the Echo of Constantinopolitan Intellectual Debates Reach?*, *ArHM* 1, 2015, p. 35. Curta draws attention to the chronicles of the Fourth Crusade where the Roman origin of the Vlachs, the legend of Troy, and the escape of the Trojans are presented in the text. According to Florin Curta, the image of the Vlachs in Nicetas Choniates' work and other Byzantine sources – on the one hand, and in the Latin chronicles of the Fourth Crusade on the other – is very different and politically determined. The author himself is not sure what the identity of the Vlachs was at that time, but according to him, the image of the Vlachs served other ideological purposes. Presumably, it was an attempt at reliable explanations for the decline of the Byzantine Empire during the Angeloy dynasty, or an attempt to build relations with the Bulgarian renewed Tsardom after the battle of Adrianople in 1205.

³² NICETAS CHONIATES, p. 26.

³³ NICETAS CHONIATES, p. 54.

and Villardouen, the ethnonym Bulgarians appears more and more often in the course of the events, and something interesting can be observed in the latter sources. According to Joffroi de Villardouen, the army of Ioannis (Tsar Kaloyan) in the military operations in the south and southeast, in Thrace, included Vlachs and Cumans, and sometimes Bulgarians, Vlachs and Cumans³⁴.

Next, while the Vlachs are present in the actions in Thrace³⁵, the sources described mainly Bulgarians and Cumans in the actions in the southwest – to the lands of the Thessalonian ruler Boniface³⁶. This observation leads to the assumption that the described Vlachs came mostly from the north central and north eastern part of the Haemus Mountains and were therefore involved the most in actions closer to the south of the Haemus – in the lands of Thrace. We do not know exactly how the Vlachs fought, but they certainly rode horses³⁷. However, Vlachs disappeared from the written sources describing the rule and the military actions of the next rulers as Boril (the later period of Boril's rule) and Joan II Asen in the period 1207–1241. It is logical to assume that it was a sequence of disturbing relations, just like the above discussed Bulgarian-Cuman relationship breakdown after 1211.

Unfortunately, the sources do not provide clear information either about the real and practical reasons for the close alliance during the uprising in 1185–1186 and the next two decades, nor a possible rupture of the relations after the death of Tsar Kaloyan. It can be underlined that this is in clear contradiction with the theses about the Vlach origin of Assenids, since the tsars after Kaloyan were from the same dynasty, i.e. if the Bulgarian-Vlach alliance was due to Vallachian origin of Assenids, the lack of massive Vlach support after the first decade of the 13th is in clear contradiction with the previous statement.

Rather, I would suggest the following thesis here. The mass participation of Vlachs in the events of the late 12th and the early 13th century is clear evidence of a mass Vlach presence in today's northern Bulgaria, of strong anti-Byzantine sentiments, and excellent relations with the first three Assenids. On the other hand, the rare mention and the disappearance of the Vlachs from the sources as Bulgarian allies after the rule of Boril cannot be accepted as a result of sudden demographic changes and mass Vlachs' resettlement. It did happen, but later, when the 14th century demographic and political situation testifies to the concentration of the Vlach population in the lands north of the Danube. What happened in the period of 13th–14th centuries?

Most likely, the political changes in the Bulgarian Tsardom, the decline of Cuman power in the lands between the Danube, the Carpathians, and the Dniester, and the new political *status quo* after the Mongol invasion, created favorable conditions for Vlachs' resettlement to the north. In the context of the above, the

³⁴ VILARDUEN, p. 91, 105, 112.

³⁵ VILARDUEN, p. 116.

³⁶ VILARDUEN, p. 133.

³⁷ VILARDUEN, p. 115.

10th–12th century's pieces of evidence of conflicts between Vlachs and local Byzantine authorities can be regarded as a reaction against stronger control and higher taxation over this pastoral population. It certainly may explain the reaction of the Vlachs and the mass support for Assenids in the revolt and the initial construction of the restored Bulgarian Tsardom. But the inevitable imposition of the feudal system and the increase of the taxes in the Second Bulgarian Tsardom in the 13th and the 14th century could be among the main reasons for the withdrawal of support for the new dynasty, and the subsequent migration of Vlachs to the lands north of the Danube River.

In conclusion, the above presented historical processes and events in the Balkans in the late 12th – first decades of the 13th century can be analyzed through a comprehensive approach, and with taking into account many political and military factors in a much wider region. In this context, the changes in the Bulgarian-Cuman and Bulgarian-Vlach relations can be considered by placing them in wider context and by analyzing the role of factors such as the Teutonic Order, the dynamics of creation and deconstruction of political and military alliances, and last but not least – the evolution of the feudal system in the period under review.

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TWO BYZANTINE SEALS FROM THE EXCAVATION OF THE MEDIEVAL FORTRESS “MALKOTO KALE” (YAMBOL REGION, BULGARIA)

Abstract. The present article aims to put into scholarly circulation two new unpublished Byzantine lead seals from the medieval fortress in the area of the village of Voden (municipality of Bolyarovo, Yambol region, Bulgaria). They were handed to the Regional Historical Museum in the town of Yambol as a result of the regular archaeological excavations of the site near the village of Voden, conducted in the period 2012–2019. The first seal dates from the last quarter of the 11th century and has a bust of the Holy Virgin with a halo and a round medallion with the image of the Infant Jesus Christ who blesses with both hands. From the legend on the reverse, it is clear that the bulla belonged to a Byzantine dignitary named Michael Tzitas, who advertises himself with the title of (*proto*)*kouropalates* and the position of *doux*. The second seal dates from the end of the 11th – the beginning of the 12th century and has an interesting and relatively rare iconographic plot depicting three military saints on the obverse, and an invocation to them on the reverse. The seal belongs to a clergyman – a metropolitan bishop of Athens, named Nicetas (Νικήτας).

Keywords: sigillography, history of the Byzantine Empire, Voden, Yambol, Bulgaria, Byzantine lead seals, Michael Tzitas, *protokouropalates*, *doux*, metropolitan of Athens, Nicetas

The role of sphragistics as a source of valuable information is beyond dispute¹. Thus, the accumulation of enough data concerning the seal finds in the Bulgarian lands is of primary importance for the scholarly research of their medieval past. Any publication of a newfound seal is of enormous importance for the study of history. The present article aims at putting into scientific circulation so far unpublished artefacts from the Regional Historical Museum of Yambol, namely, two Byzantine lead seals (bullae) and three blank lead seals or

¹ On the role and importance of sigillography for the Byzantine studies, cf. e.g. J.-C. CHEYNET, *L'apport de la sigillographie aux études byzantines*, BB 62 (87), 2003, p. 47–58. Cf. also IDEM, *L'usage des sceaux à Byzance*, RO 10, 1997, p. 23–40.

lead cores². They all originate from the excavations of “Malkoto kale” site near the village of Voden³.

The medieval fortress of “Malkoto kale” near Voden is situated on a hill with an altitude of 342 meters, accessible only from the south through a tiny saddle, due to the terrain being extremely steep from the other directions. As it has been said by the director of the excavations, there used to be a rather small fortress with an irregular quadrangular form, close to a square, with size 32 x 33 x 29 x 30 meters, closing a space slightly more than 10 ares, or 1083 square meters. It is evident from the excavations undertaken so far that we have a semi-round bastion in the NW corner of the fortress and a square tower in the middle of the western wall, situated just in front of the curtain. The thickness of the examined parts of the fortress wall is 2.00 m, built of quarry stones welded with white mortar. The preservation of the fortress walls in height varies between 2.5 and 3.8 m. At the northwest corner of the inner side of the fortress wall, there has been revealed two structural niches. The only examined entrance to the fortress is 1.55–1.60 m wide and is located in the middle of the northern fortress wall. As stated by S. Bakardzhiev, the stratigraphic observations in the research show the presence of three construction periods, the second construction period being associated with the thickening of the bastion, the extension of the premises to

² The sphragistic specimens were provided to me for reading, dating and publication by my colleague Dr. Stefan Bakardzhiev, director of the Regional History Museum – Yambol. I use the opportunity to thank him for this, as well as for the information provided to me about the archaeological context of their location.

³ The medieval fortress is located in the locality of “Malkoto kale” – 2.5 km southeast of the village of Voden, Bolyarovo municipality, Yambol region. The archaeological excavations of the site began in 2008 under the supervision of Dr. Stefan Bakardzhiev and have been carried out by a team of the Regional Historical Museum – Yambol, continuing with some interruptions until now. So far the western half of the inner space of the fortress and parts of the outer face of the western and northern fortress walls have been uncovered. For the archaeological excavations of the fortress in more detail, cf. С. БАКЪРДЖИЕВ, *Аварийни археологически проучвания на късноантичната крепост “Малкото кале” край с. Воден, община Болярово, ВЯМ 5, 2008*, р. 2; ИДЕМ, *Археологически проучвания на късноантична и средновековна крепост “Малкото кале”, с. Воден, община Болярово, област Ямбол, АОР през 2009 г. (София 2010)*, р. 425–427; ИДЕМ, *Археологически проучвания на късноантична и средновековна крепост “Малкото кале”, с. Воден, община Болярово, област Ямбол, АОР през 2012 г. (София 2013)*, р. 457–459; ИДЕМ, Т. ВЪЛЧЕВ, *Археологически проучвания на средновековна крепост “Малкото кале”, с. Воден, община Болярово, област Ямбол, АОР през 2014 г. (София 2015)*, р. 703–706; S. BAKARDZHIIEV, *The Archaeological Field School in Malkoto kale near the Village of Voden, Bulgaria*, [in:] *Proceeding of 22nd Annual Meeting EAA, Vilnius 2016*, р. 387; С. БАКЪРДЖИЕВ, Я. РУСЕВ, *Археологически проучвания на средновековна крепост “Малкото кале”, с. Воден, община Болярово, област Ямбол, АОР през 2016 г. (София 2017)*, р. 574–578; С. БАКЪРДЖИЕВ, Я. РУСЕВ, *Археологически проучвания на средновековна крепост “Малкото кале”, с. Воден, община Болярово, област Ямбол, АОР през 2018 г. (София 2019)*, р. 524–526; С. БАКЪРДЖИЕВ, Я. РУСЕВ, *Редовни археологически проучвания на средновековна крепост “Малкото кале” при с. Воден, община Болярово, АОР през 2019 г. (София 2020)*, р. 1196–1197.

the northern fortress wall and the partitioning of the interior of the room at the southern wall as well as the mortar screed of part of the yard. In the third period, a one-armed staircase was built on the inner side of the northern fortress wall. All findings, including the discovered bronze coins⁴, currently show that the medieval fortress “Malkoto kale” was built not earlier than the second half of the 11th century and was accordingly burned and abandoned somewhere in the late 12th century – probably during the passing of the troops of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa during the Third Crusade⁵.

Undoubtedly, the sphragistic specimens discovered during the excavations have a definite role in clarifying the chronology of the fortress, as both seals are related to the first construction period in the inhabitation of the site. The first of the two seals was found in 2013 in a narrow round niche with a diameter of 0.22–0.25 m, located almost in the middle of the southern fortress wall, which, however, was sealed during the internal reconstruction of the adjoining room. The second bulla published here was discovered during the archaeological season of 2019 at the entrance of the fortress, under the mortar, which marks the ground level in the northern part of the yard⁶.

⁴ The numismatic finds from the excavations of the site in the period from 2008 to 2019 so far are relatively modest – a total of five Byzantine coins, four of which are well preserved and date from the time of the emperors Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), a total of three bronze coins, and Andronicus I Comnenus (1183–1185) – a bronze scyphate. In the last two years, however, the amount of finds increased, including coins, seals, luxury ceramics, jewellery, glassware, gold buttons for clothes. The number of coins reached fifteen and the number of seals reached eight. However, the seals of the most recent finds, among which there are also those of representatives of the Batatzes family, have not yet been made available to me for reading and publication.

⁵ The interior space within the excavated part shows that initially, along with the construction of the fortress wall, along the inner face of the western and southern fortress walls a series of transitional rooms with a width of 6.00 m were built. The only separate room is in the northwest corner. Later, a whole series of narrow rooms with a width of 2.50 m was attached to the inner side of the northern fortress wall. The investigated premises form a courtyard with a rectangular shape and the following dimensions: in the north-south direction – 17.50 m, and in the east-west direction – 12.50 m. The northern half of the running level of the yard is covered with pink mortar. The studied premises are preserved in height from 0.65 to 1.90 m, and on their preserved parts the façades are decorated with mortar screeds, brick cassettes and niches, as the entrances were formed with brick arches. Decorative bricks and ceramic-plastic decorations were widely used in the construction, which shows the representative character of the studied object. The representative character of the fortress, which was probably the residence of a wealthy Byzantine noble (perhaps a *proniarios*, the centre of whose possessions was the fortress near the village of Voden?) is also supported by the finds. A large percentage of the discovered ceramics belongs to the group of luxury vessels – monochrome sgraffito, red and gold engobe coating, white clay ceramics. Among the finds are fragments of glass trays, an iron processional cross, a gilded cruciform bronze application from a small box and lead blanks, as well as the two lead seals published here. Along with these finds, the tips of arrows, spurs, bracelets, spindle whorls, coins, etc. were found. For all this, see the bibliography mentioned in the previous note.

⁶ С. БАКЪРДЖИЕВ, *Археологически проучвания на “Малкото кале” през 2012...*, p. 457–459; ИДЕМ, Я. РУСЕВ, *Археологически проучвания на “Малкото кале” през 2018...*, p. 524–526.



Seal of Michael Tzitas, (*proto*)*kuropalates* and *doux*

Obverse: Bust of Theotokos Episkepsis with outstretched arms and palms up in a gesture of prayer, with a halo and a breastplate medallion with the image of the Infant Jesus Christ. On her left side next to the halo is the letter Θ, part of the characteristic abbreviated spelling Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εοῦ), in translation – “Mother of God”. The image is framed by a partially preserved circle in the shape of a single solid line.

Reverse: Five-line inscription within a border of dots:

[+ΘΚΕΡΘ] || ΜΙΧΑΗΛ. || ΚΥΡΟΠΑΛ. || ΤΗΣΔΥΚ || . ΩΤ .. Τ,

= “[+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει)] Μιχαήλ (πρωτο)κουροπαλ[ά]τη (καὶ) δουκ(ι) [τ]ῷ Τ[ζ]ι[τ]ῶ”
i.e. “+Θεοτόκε βοήθει Μιχαήλ πρωτοκουροπαλάτη καὶ δουκὶ τῷ Τζίτῶ”

in translation: + *Mother of God, help Michael Tzitas, protokouropalates and doux.*

The dating of the seal refers to the last quarter of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century. This dating of the seal, judging by the combination of Michael’s honorary title of *protokouropalates* and the high military office of *doux* which he held, can be assigned in particular to the first ten or fifteen years of the reign of Alexius I Komnenos, and in any case, it does not go beyond the end of his reign.

The seal is mentioned in Zh. Zhekova, *Pechati na edin personazh ot “Aleksiadata”*, p. 126–127⁷.

⁷ The seal is included in the overview of the sphragistic evidence for Michael Tzitas in Zhenya Zhekova’s recent publication, without its specific description and without mentioning its metrical data (cf. Ж. ЖЕКОВА, *Печати на един персонаж от “Алексиадата”*, НСЕ 17, 2021, p. 126–127). See also below footnote 12.

It is a relatively high-quality imprint with a diameter of 16 mm. Since the lead core on which the bulla was printed, was smaller than the die used to print it, the outermost parts of the image of the Blessed Virgin (mostly the upper part of the head) on the obverse, the line of the circle in which it is inscribed and the outermost peripheral parts of the legend on the reverse side of the seal, respectively, failed to fit on the available surface. For this reason, the first line at the beginning of the legend⁸ remained outside the imprint on the reverse, also and the last letter of second line. The first letter of the name of the seal holder (M) was partially affected, as well as the first letter of the next two lines – *kappa* (K) and *tau* (T) respectively but without this making it impossible to read them. Additional mechanical deformation has caused partial erasure of the last two letters of the third line of the inscription – *alpha* (A) and *lambda* (Λ), but this partial erasure is also insufficient to impede the reading of the legend. The same applies to the *kappa* (K), partially affected by the deformation, at the end of the penultimate row. On the last line of the legend, the first letter is completely erased and almost completely – the penultimate letter sign.

The preservation of the seal, especially the size and arrangement of the letters, allows us to conclude categorically that there was no other deleted last line of letters on the reverse. The remaining space next to the preserved part of the circle of dots, despite having suffered mechanical deformation, is obviously extremely insufficient for the placement of letter characters. It could possibly fit a small decorative element or a cross, although this is very unlikely and there was nothing in this very narrow space. This is important so far as it demonstrates that the owner of the seal considered the space to be sufficient for the spelling of his surname or patronymic name only in an abbreviated form of only three (or possibly four) letters. Even in this way, it was considered to be fully identifiable by the potential addressees of the sealed correspondence, that is, it was a well-known family name or patronym. Only the first letter of the latter – *tau* (T), is clearly visible, as well as the same letter being the last written letter sign, which is the third or possibly the fourth one in the composition of the family name.

Is it possible in this situation to draw conclusions and, accordingly, reasonable assumptions about the surname (or patronym) of the *protokouropalates* and *doux* Michael in question? His position as a *doux*, attested on his seal, quite clearly shows that he belonged to the group of high-ranking Byzantine military officials. As already mentioned, the owner of the seal considered that the spelling of his surname or the patronymic name in an abbreviated form of only three or possibly four letters was quite sufficient for it to be fully recognizable in this form for the addressees of his correspondence, sealed with his bulla, i.e. it is obviously a surname well-known to his contemporaries. This suggests that in view of the way the

⁸ Only the bottom part of the letters on the top line are visible. Even so they suggest that the invocation ΘΚΡ,Θ, (i.e. Θεοτόκε βοήθει) is written.

surname or patronymic name is written in the legend on the reverse, the possible reasonable and logical variants for the latter are actually not so many.

In the small space between the first letter of the surname (or the patronym) and the last written character from it, there is a place to contain only one letter, or possibly two at most. In this case at least one of them must be such a letter that, due to the way it is written, does not take up much space, *iota* (I), for example. As this space has suffered from a blow that almost completely erased what had been written there, we cannot say with absolute certainty as to whether the virtually erased letters after the first letter of the surname or patronym are one or two. If they are two, then given the above-mentioned arguments and in the context of the well-visible and safe first and last letters (T and again T) as well as the partially preserved traces of the almost deleted second letter of the surname (or patronym), which seems to be Z, the possible reconstruction of the latter is almost inevitably reduced to T [ZI] T, that is, Τζίτρας. The name in question, Tzitas (Τζίτρας) is well-known at the time of Alexius I Comnenus, according to both written and sphragistic data. In this situation, undoubtedly, the reconstruction seems logical and justified. In its favour speaks the bulla, mentioned in 1884 by Gustave Schlumberger, of a certain Michael Tzitas, *protokouropalates* and *doux*⁹. Nowadays, we have a whole series of different seals with the name of Michael Tzitas¹⁰. The seals of Michael Tzitas as a private person published so far are very

⁹ G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin*, Paris 1884, p. 492. Seals of Michael Tzitas, *protokouropalates* and *doux* are also mentioned by Jean-Claude Cheynet, unfortunately – like G. Schlumberger – also without accompanying images, but with a description, and therefore it is not possible to draw conclusions whether these are identical with this one, which is mentioned in the passing by Schlumberger, or it is about seals from a different pair of dies (J.-C. CHEYNET, D. THÉODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Théodoridis. Les sceaux patronymiques*, Paris 2010, p. 224 and note 556). G. SCHLUMBERGER in his *Sigillographie...*, p. 740 mentions that it was M. Sorlin-Dorigny who communicated to him the seal of Michael Tzittas, *protokouropalates* and *doux* (as described on p. 492, although on p. 740 Schlumberger notes only *kouropalates*). Since the collection of M. Sorlin-Dorigny ended up in the IFEB, the specimen IFEB 712 should be the one described by Schlumberger.

¹⁰ Cf. J.-C. CHEYNET, D. THÉODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Théodoridis...*, p. 223–224; Ж. ЖЕКОВА, *Печати на един персонаж от "Алексиадама"*..., p. 125–127. To the same Michael Tzitas, who is known from the *Alexias* of Anna Comnena, belong at least two of the four groups of seals with this name and honorary titles, described by Cheynet and Theodoridis: of Michael Tzitas, *protokouropalates* and *doux*, and Michael Tzitas, as *nobelissimos*. They have practically the same iconographic plot on their obverse, namely, with a bust of the Mother of God, while the other two (as a *magistros* and as a *proedros*) have a bust of a saint, who is difficult to determine, and an image of St. Demetrios respectively (cf. J.-C. CHEYNET, D. THÉODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Théodoridis...*, p. 224; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, vol. II, Wien 2016 [= WBS, 28.2], no. 2614). Despite their chronological proximity, their association with the same person is hypothetical, although it could not be excluded. In addition, seals are known of Michael Tzitas as a private person, again with very similar busts of the Mother of God, which their publishers date either to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century, or the first half of the 12th century (cf. C. STAVRAKOS, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des numismatischen Museums Athen*, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 380; J.-C. CHEYNET,

similar in their iconography and palaeography to the bulla published here. The mode of inscription of the family name Tzitas on its reverse side practically coincides with the inscription of the same on the seal of Michael Tzitas as *protokouropalates* and *doux* mentioned by Cheynet and Theodoridis¹¹. In this situation, the reconstruction of the surname/patronym of the reverse as T [ZI] T = Τ(ζ)τ(α)ς, that is, Tzitas, can be considered completely certain and unquestionable.

The dating of the bulla of *Michael Tzitas, protokouropalates and doux*, mentioned by Cheynet and Theodoridis, refers to the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century and is synchronous with the dating of the seal published here. Taking into consideration the similarities between the seals and their coinciding dates, their owner clearly is supposed to be the same person¹² and evidently the seal published here is another parallel specimen of the bulla of *Michael Tzitas, protokouropalates and doux*¹³. We know from the written sources of the

D. THÉODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Théodoridis...*, p. 223–224, no. 213; R. MIHAJLOVSKI, *A Collection of Medieval Seals from the Fortress Kale in Skopje excavated between 2007 and 2012*, B 86, 2016, p. 292–293, no. 34; A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel...*, no. 2614). With all probability, they belong to the same Michael Tzitas to whom the seal published here is also attributed. According to Zhenya Zhekova (cf. Ж. ЖЕКОВА, *Печати на един персонаж от “Алексиадама”...*, p. 125–127), all groups of seals with the name of Michael Tzitas (with the exception of that of *Michael Tzitas, protospatharios, hypatos and judge of the velum and the Armeniakon* of the first half of the 11th century, published by Christos Stavrakos – cf. C. STAVRAKOS, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel...*, 4.1.7), regardless of the differences in their iconography, belong to the same person – the Byzantine general mentioned in the *Alexias*.

¹¹ J.-C. CHEYNET, D. THÉODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Théodoridis...*, p. 224.

¹² In the cited overview article on the seals of Michael Tzitas, Zhenya Zhekova points out that the entire group of his seals as *protokouropalates and doux* consists of four specimens printed with the same bullotyrrion, namely – the one mentioned by G. SCHLUMBERGER (*Sigillographie...*, p. 492), the one from the collection of the Institute of Byzantine Studies in Paris (Institut français d'études byzantines) – according to her – IFEB, no. 071, one specimen offered at the Pecunem auction in 2013 (*Pecunem Auction* 8/06.10.2013, lot 535), as well as the seal of Michael Tzitas from the fortress near the village of Voden published here. In fact, the specimen from the Institut français d'études byzantines is the one cited by Jean-Claude Cheyne – IFEB, no. 712 (cf. J.-C. CHEYNET, D. THÉODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Théodoridis...*, p. 224, footnote 556). The images of the last three of the four seals mentioned by Zh. Zhekova, especially in view of the fact that she also provides a photo of the reverse of the seal from the Institut français d'études byzantines (which J.-C. Cheynet only mentions, but without publishing images of it), provide a basis to her claim that they are from the same bullotyrrion. At the same time, it is strange that Zhekova includes as a separate fourth (chronologically first) parallel specimen in this group the seal of the *protokouropalates* Michael Tzitas mentioned by G. Schlumberger without description and without image. As indicated here in footnote 9, this specimen should be precisely the IFEB 712 cited by Cheynet, i.e. the four seals from this group, which Zhekova indicates are from the same bullotyrrion, are actually three. On the other hand, she missed another seal of *Michael Tzitas, protokouropalates and doux*, which Cheynet cites together with IFEB 712, namely the one from the collection of the American Numismatic Society (ANS Bellingher 14.934), so the number of the seals from this group after all is indeed four.

¹³ However, one other, albeit very unlikely, possibility should be mentioned. The lead blank on which the specimen published here was printed, as mentioned above, is smaller than the dies used

Byzantine military leader Michael Tzitas. Anna Comnena shows him as a person famous for his bravery in the battle of Nicaea in 1097, later commissioned by Alexius I Comnenus to accompany the crusaders from the last wave of the First Crusade in 1101¹⁴.

The personal name Τζίτας is known since the early Byzantine period¹⁵. It appeared as a surname (or patronym) in the second half of the 11th century and in all probability “our” Michael Tzitas, the military leader known to us from the *Alexias*, was its first or possibly second bearer, who is well-represented in the Byzantine elite from 11th–12th centuries¹⁶.



Seal of Nicetas, metropolitan of Athens

A quality imprint with a relatively high degree of preservation, despite some mechanically caused damage in the middle and at the extreme right part of its front side and, respectively, in the extreme left part of its reverse side. The diameter of the seal is 18 mm and its thickness is 2 mm. Its centring slightly deviates from the direction of the cord groove¹⁷.

for this purpose, and therefore (although highly improbable) the possibility that at the end of the second line of the legend on the reverse actually has no *alpha* (A) cannot be entirely ruled out. In this case, the reverse legend should read as follows: “[+Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει)] Μιχαήλ κουροπαλ(ά)τη (καί) δουκ(ι) [τ]ῷ Τ[ζ]ι[τ]α(α)”, i.e. +*Mother of God, help Michael Tzitas, kuropalates and doux*.

¹⁴ ANNA COMNENA, *The Alexiad*, ed. et trans. E.A.S. DAWES, Cambridge 2000, p. 193, 205.

¹⁵ Cf. P. SPECK, C. SODE, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Berlin II*, Bonn 1987, p. 208.

¹⁶ For an overview of the bearers of the surname/patronym Τζίτας known to us from various sources, see e.g. in J.-C. CHEYNET, D. THÉODORIDIS, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection Théodoridis...*, p. 224.

¹⁷ At about 12–15° relative to the openings of the channel, which are also relatively wide (2 x 4 mm in diameter) and this, too, may have influenced the appearance of the barely perceptible (more clearly visible on the obverse) line of deformation, which follows the direction of the channel.

Obverse: Full-length portraits of three uncertain military saints in military garments. Border of dots.

Each of the saints has the usual halo around his head, and with his left hand, he leans on a rounded shield resting on the ground next to his left leg. The central figure of a saint holds a spear in his right hand, and the one to his left – a sword resting on his right shoulder. The extreme right part of the figure, located to the right of the central one, has remained outside the field of the obverse, and it is generally partially deformed and somewhat half-erased from slipping, but, as far as it can be seen, he holds a sword in his right hand too. Although relatively weak, initial traces of corrosion could be seen in some limited areas. Above the left shoulder of the far-left figure, the two signs are visible $\Theta \Theta$, that is, the shortened form of the name of St. Theodore (Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος) – $\Theta \Theta$ (εόδωρος). This suggests that the saints on either side of the central figure could possibly be St. Theodore Tyrone and St. Theodore Stratilates. At the top left above the head of the central figure is also seen a sigla, which seems to be the abbreviation for ἅγιος (Θ).

Reverse: Inscription in five lines, within a border of dots:

—
 + ΑΓΙΟΙ || ΤΨΘΥΡ . || ΤΕΝΙΚΗ .. || ΤΟΝΑΘ. || ΝΟ ..
 = + ἅγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ β(οη)[θ](εἰ)τε Νική[τα] τον Αθ[η]νο[ν]
 i.e. “+ Ἄγιοι τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθεῖτε Νικήτα τῶν Αθηνῶν+”
 in translation + *God's saints, protect Nicetas (metropolitan) of Athens*¹⁸.

The seal dates back to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. No parallels known.

It should be noted that the legend on the reverse of this bulla contains an interesting and relatively rare in sphragistic objects variant of invocation in the plural, addressed to the three saints depicted on the obverse at once. The second, third, fourth and fifth lines of the legend suffered at their ends of the above-mentioned mechanically caused damage to the surface of the field, making it difficult to read the last two letters of the second line and the penultimate letter of the third and the fourth lines. The last letter of the third and, respectively, of the fourth line and the last two characters of the last, fifth line are practically almost completely erased.

The seal belongs to a clerical person named Nicetas. At first glance, the image of the obverse, that is, the three military saints could very easily lead to the opposite conclusion. We could expect such images to be depicted on the bulla of a person, belonging to the military class, not a member of the clergy. On the other hand, the lack of any title and/or position mentioned in the text of the legend

¹⁸ The verb may be βοηθεῖτε (present tense, imperative) or βοηθοῖτε (present tense, optative = may you help).

of the reverse in turn seems to lead to the conclusion that it is a seal of a private person. The relatively unusual and rare invocation on this kind of sphragistic specimen is not, however, a typical formula for a layperson. Moreover, it is crucial to read the end of the legend, where there is neither a patronymic name, nor a surname, but follows the name of a specific ecclesiastical see, which, given the preserved letters, can almost certainly be none other than that of Athens. Thus, in fact, the seal belonged to an Athenian metropolitan named Nicetas – Νικήτας τῶν Αθηνῶν.

Is it possible, however, to make an even more specific and precise attribution concerning the owner of this seal? Based on the reading of his name (Nicetas) and the dating of the seal, along with the possible reading of the end of the legend – τῶν Αθηνῶν, we could conclude that the person was the head of the metropolitan diocese of Athens. In that case, a very specific attribution can be offered with an extremely high degree of reliability: the metropolitan of Athens Nicetas III (ca. 1087–1103), who is also attested as one of the participants of the Synod of Blachernae, organized by Emperor Alexius I Comnenus in 1094¹⁹. According to an inscription from the Parthenon, the metropolitan of Athens, Nicetas III, died on April 3, 1103, which in this case is the possible *terminus ante quem* for the dating of this bulla and, accordingly, for the correspondence with the fortress near the village of Voden²⁰.

It seems wrong that V. Laurent attributes to him a metric seal known from two specimens from the first quarter of the 12th century of a homonymous metropolitan of Athens²¹. This seal, however, seems to be of a slightly later date (at least one or two decades after the death of Nicetas III) and according to the very authoritative PBW²², dates to or shortly after 1115²³. So far as for quite a long period of nearly half a century after the beginning of the second decade of the twelfth century, there is almost no data on the chronology and holders of the Athenian metropolitan cathedral (except possibly for a certain Gerasimus (?), without obvious chronological precision), it seems very probable that this metric seal belonged to another Athenian metropolitan named Nicetas (IV). This Nicetas has presumably presided over the see of Athens soon or even immediately after the successor

¹⁹ Cf. P. GAUTIER, *Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Etude prosopographique*, REB 29, 1971, p. 218, 266–267, no. III.13.

²⁰ According to Paul Gautier, the date of his death was 28 April (cf. P. GAUTIER, *Le synode des Blachernes...*, p. 266–267, footnote 5).

²¹ Н.П. ЛИХАЧЕВ, *Историческое значение италогреческой иконописи, изображения Богоматери в произведениях италогреческих иконописцев и их влияние на композиции некоторых прославленных русских икон*, Санкт Петербург 1911, p. 100; V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, vol. V, *L'Église*, Paris 1963, part 1, no. 601.

²² *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, 2016, ed. M. JEFFREYS et al. King's College London, 2017 (cetera: PBW 2016), <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk> [20 VII 2021].

²³ Cf. PBW 2016, Niketas 20301, <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Niketas/20301/> [20 VII 2021].

of Nicetas III, the metropolitan Nicephorus, whose tenure lasted until ca. 1112 (or 1121²⁴). This explains the great difference between those two types of bullae, as the one published here is that, which belonged to the Athenian metropolitan Nicetas III.

For the reader’s convenience, Table 1 below presents a list of the known names of metropolitans of Athens during the period between the 30s of the 11th century and the 60s of the 12th century²⁵.

Table 1

List of the known names of metropolitans of Athens between ca. 1030s and the 1160s.

Leo I	ca. 1030–1060
Leo II Rektor	1060/1061–1069
John V Blachernites	1069–1086
Nicetas III	ca. 1087–1103
Nicephorus	ca. 1103 – ca. 1112 (or 1121)
Gerasimus?	?
Leo III Xeros	? – 1153
George II Bourtzes	ca. 1153/1156–1160
Nicolas I Hagiotheodorites	ca. 1160/1166–1175

The unusual iconography is striking – an image of three military saints, which is uncharacteristic not only for the seals of the Athenian metropolitans, but also for representatives of the clergy in general. In fact, similar iconography is rarely found on the seals of secular people. For the metropolitans of Athens during this period, a traditional iconographic image on their seals was that of the Virgin and only those of Metropolitan John (probably the direct predecessor of Nicetas III at the head of the Athenian Diocese) had an image of St. Nicholas²⁶.

²⁴ Cf. *PBW* 2016, Nikephoros 188, <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Nikephoros/188/> [20 VII 2021].

²⁵ In this regard, cf. V. LAURENT, *La liste épiscopale de la métropole d’Athènes d’après le Synodicon d’une de ses églises suffragantes*, Bucharest 1948 [= AOC, 1], p. 272–291; cf. also J. DARROUZÈS, *Obit de deux métropolitains d’Athènes, Léon Xéros et Georges Bourtzès, d’après les inscriptions du Parthenon*, *REB* 20, 1962, p. 190–196.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l’Empire byzantin...*, vol. V, part 1, nos. 585–607 (in particular, the seal of Metropolitan John of Athens with the image of St. Nicholas is under no. 600).

* * *

In addition to these two seals, during the excavations of the medieval fortress in the “Malkoto kale” site near the village of Voden were found three blank lead seals or lead cores dating from the second half of the 11th century – 12th century. There are no traces of images on them, but at the same time, at least two of these three lead artefacts have marks that indicate that they were used²⁷. This suggests that these are not just lead cores, but that they may have been used as a kind of commercial or customs seals, possibly to seal shipments, such as luxury goods intended for the ruler of the castle or his family²⁸. Exactly these two were found practically at the same place – in sq. C-4 of the fortress plan – near the eastern wall of the northernmost of the interconnected transitional rooms, located next to the western fortress wall, one on the inside, and the other – on the outside of the wall of the room.

The artefacts published in this article undoubtedly illustrate and enrich the picture of the life in the fortified area of “Malkoto kale” near the village of Voden (Bolyarovo municipality, Yambol region) in the second half of the 11th century and the 12th century, that is, at the time of Alexius I Comnenus. More generally, they present the situation in Byzantine Thrace during this period. They fully fit into the dating of the entire existence of this site, which was proposed by its researchers, S. Bakardzhiev and his team, and in turn, fully confirm it.

The sphragistic specimens from the fortress in the area of “Malkoto kale” near the village of Voden show that especially at the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century a sufficiently influential and wealthy person resided there as an addressee of correspondence that associates him with important representatives of the higher clergy and the military-administrative elite of the empire. Such a person of the higher clergy was, by all means, the metropolitan of Athens Nicetas III, a participant in the Synod of Blachernae organized by Emperor Alexius I in 1094. Another person of similar rank, but from the Byzantine military-administrative elite, was the (*proto*)*kouropalates* and *doux* Michael Tzitas, especially having in mind that the latter was a sufficiently famous and well-placed military leader of Alexius I Comnenus and was not accidentally mentioned in Anna Comnena’s *Alexias*. In fact, the two correspondences in question could

²⁷ They are published in Н. КЪНЕВ, *Сфрагистични находки от средновековната крепост край с. Воден, Ямболска област*, [in:] *Юбилеен сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на проф. Борис Борисов* (in press), nos. 3.1–3.3. Also, a plan of the fortress in the area “Malkoto kale” near the village of Voden (fig. 6) is presented in the article, on which the exact locations of the discovered sigillo-graphic findings (including the blank lead seals) are indicated.

²⁸ The notion of an aristocratic and luxurious lifestyle of the owners of the fortified residence near the village of Voden is supported by the luxurious ceramics, ornaments, glassware, gold buttons for clothes and even oyster shells discovered during the excavations by Stefan Bakardzhiev and Yavor Rusev.

most likely be attributed to the late 80s or the first half of the 90s of the 11th century, which also leads to interesting thoughts and conclusions about the owner, the historical context and the role of the fortified site near the village of Voden.

In turn, the blank (customs or commercial) lead seals found there give a serious reason to assume that at the site of the area of "Malkoto kale" near the village of Voden certain shipments were received that seem to have been valuable enough to be sealed, that is, more expensive and luxurious goods. By the way, the fact that the exact location of one of these artefacts in question and the bulla of the (*proto*)*kouropalates* and *doux* Michael Tzitas coincides is interesting, albeit it could be just by chance. Undoubtedly, the receipt of correspondence from influential persons, one of which can hardly be reconciled with an assumption of its official character, indirectly supports the admission of the nature of the consignments as evidenced by the seals found there.

All this, and in particular – above all the seals found at the site near the village of Voden, combined with its overall appearance and character as a type of complex, discovered during archaeological excavations by Stefan Bakardzhiev and his team, quite reasonably allows the conclusion that this fortified complex seems to have in fact been a fortified residence. It was built probably in the last third (or even in the last two decades) of the 11th century as the seat of a sufficiently significant and wealthy representative of the Byzantine provincial elite, who acquired and ruled the surrounding area in the form of a *pronoia*²⁹. The owner of this fortified residence seems to have belonged to an aristocratic family with a sufficiently influential clan and personal ties.

The existence of such a *pronoia* type estate in the area of the fortified residence of "Malkoto kale" near the village of Voden is in line with the overall trend during the reign of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus to form an aristocratic military class of *pronoiarion*. Some of those men received quite extensive, in terms of income and territorial scope, *pronoiai*. This class is in fact largely a Byzantine replica of the Western European feudal knighthood, and accordingly, the existence of fortified residences of *pronoiarion*, such as the one near the village of Voden, is also an answer to the question of the existence of castles of the Byzantine aristocracy (or at least specifically from the age of the Comneni onwards). The tendency towards a larger distribution of *pronoiai* and for an increase of the representatives of that stratum under Emperor Alexius I Comnenus is connected with the need for measures to strengthen the military class in Byzantium and thus to ensure the much-needed effectiveness in dealing with the many external

²⁹ For the institution of *pronoia* and its development, cf. e.g. G. OSTROGORSKI, *Pronija: prilog istorii feudalizma u Vizantiji i u juznoslovenskim zeljama*, Beograd 1951; IDEM, *Die pronoia unter den Komnenen*, ЗРВИ 12, 1970, p. 41–54; M.C. BARTUSIS, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium. The Institution of Pronoia*, Cambridge 2013, as well as the ODB, vol. III, p. 1733–1734 and the bibliography cited there.

enemies. The trend was connected, moreover, with the aspiration of Alexius I by providing *pronoiai* in the Balkan territories of the empire to compensate, at least partly, the representatives of the Anatolian aristocracy, who lost their possessions in the last third of the 11th century as a result of the Seljuk invasion of Asia Minor, which took almost the entire Byzantine East. In that context, the “pronoia” policy of Alexius I was definitely an integral part of the very core of the system of government of the Comnenus dynasty and the formation and strengthening of the so-called *Comnenus clan*³⁰.

Undoubtedly, the receipt of correspondence by senders who were sufficiently elevated representatives of the church and military elite in Byzantium at the end of the 11th century, from their addressee in the fortified residence near the village of Voden speaks for itself, that he himself was an important person. The sphragistic data support the thesis, along with the appearance and character of the complex in the area of “Malkoto kale”, that the site in question is actually the fortified residence of the family of a Byzantine provincial noble – *pronoiarhos*.

Furthermore, it should be noted that thanks to the lead seal of the Athenian metropolitan Nicetas III (ca. 1087–1103) published here and hitherto unknown, and in view of the fact that there is a completely different type of metric seal of the metropolitan of Athens also with the name of Nicetas, which dates back to the first half of the 12th century, but is chronologically posterior to the bulla of Nicetas III introduced into scholarly circulation with this publication, it is possible to ascertain the existence of another hitherto unknown metropolitan of Athens, namely Nicetas IV. He was the head of the Athenian metropolitan diocese sometime after 1112 and definitely before the middle of the century, i.e. after metropolitan Nicephorus and before metropolitan Gerasimus, most probably in the second half of the first quarter of the twelfth century, which is a significant contribution to filling the gap in the names and chronology of the Athenian metropolitans during one of the longest “blank spots” in the history of the Athenian ecclesiastical cathedra and respectively in the list of its ecclesiastical leaders – the period between 1112/1121 and 1153/1157, when George II Bourtzes was certainly at the head of the Athenian metropolitan diocese³¹.

³⁰ The influx of Byzantine, so to speak, Anatolian aristocrats, including those of Armenian and Georgian origin, into the Balkan possessions of Byzantium in the last quarter of the 11th century is indisputable. Some of them received *pronoiai*, as a form of compensation for the estates they had lost in Asia Minor. With regard to this, it is sufficient to cite the examples of representatives of such families as Bakuriani (or Pakuriani), Arshakids, Aspjeti etc., whose increased presence in the Balkans during this period, and particularly in Thrace is evidenced by sphragistic data (cf., for example, Н. КЪНЕВ, *Нови сфрагистични находки от Поморие*, Епо 23.1, 2015 (2017), p. 35–36; Н. КЪНЕВ, О. АЛЕКСАНДРОВ, *Моливдовул на протокурупалата Пакуриан Аршакид, открит в Поморие*, ИИМ.П 2, 2017, p. 158–162, as well as the titles cited there).

³¹ In all likelihood, George II Bourtzes succeeded as Metropolitan of Athens Leo III Xeros, who is only known to have died on January 18, 1153 (cf. J. DARROUZÈS, *Obit de deux métropolités d’Athènes...*,

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p. 192; cf. also PBW 2016, Leon 225, <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Leon/225/> [20 VII 2021]), but the first absolutely certain information about George Bourtzès as Metropolitan of Athens dates back to 1156/1157 (cf. J. DARROUZÈS, *Obit de deux métropolités d’Athènes...*, p. 193–195; cf. also PBW 2016, Georgios 20103, <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/person/Georgios/20103/> [20 VII 2021]).

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WRITTEN LANGUAGES IN MOLDAVIA DURING THE REIGN OF PETER RAREȘ (1527–1538, 1541–1546)*

Abstract. The language of the Moldavian books and chancery documents written during the reign of Peter Rareș (1527–1538, 1541–1546) shows an unneglectable variability depending on the purpose, addressee and format of the texts. Using all kinds of preserved texts from this period, we have tried to describe this variability focusing on the texts written in the Cyrillic script. These texts are evaluated according to three criteria: spelling, morphosyntax and vocabulary. The most prestigious variety was the Trinovitan (Târnovo) variety of Middle Church Slavonic. Its shape in the texts, belonging to the common Church Slavonic legacy, shows the lowest impact of the Moldavian linguistic environment. The original Church Slavonic bookish texts composed in Moldavia (Macarie’s Chronicle, Enkomion to St John the New, colophons and inscriptions) show a variable proportion of Moldavian spelling and morphosyntactic markers. The chancery documents can be characterised by blending of Church Slavonic and Ruthenian (Ukrainian-based) elements. Except the Ruthenian-based documents addressed to Poland, the chancery documents are basically Church Slavonic shaped with Ruthenian infiltrations on the level of some fixed formulas, function words and few lexical items. Moreover, Slavonic letters sent to Transylvania show tiny Wallachian Slavonic influence, manifested by forms of Serbian chancery origin. Monastery charters combine CS-shaped Ruthenian formulas with Trinovitan Church Slavonic formulas, partly shared with colophons and inscriptions. Thus, the Moldavian written legacy shares common elements both with the Wallachian milieu (e.g. Romanian Cyrillic spelling of proper names, Romanian impact on morphosyntax, specific terminology etc.) as well as with a broader Ruthenian area (mainly the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Union).

Keywords: Peter Rareș, Macarie of Roman, Romanian Slavonic, Moldavia, Church Slavonic, Ruthenian, Old Romanian, Middle Bulgarian, Ukrainian

The written legacy of Slavonic culture of the Moldavian Principality¹ is claimed not just by Romanians and philologists from the Republic of Moldova, but also by neighbouring Slavonic philologies. Church Slavonic (further: CS)

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¹ The official Slavonic name was *Молдавская земля* appearing both in the documents and historiography. Macarie’s Chronicle mentions also the names *Молдовляхія* (2nd redaction, cetera: II, 480r) and

manuscripts, copied in Moldavian monasteries, represent an important part of the common Church Slavonic legacy. The Moldavian Slavonic Letters have preserved numerous texts of South Slavonic origin that could have been otherwise lost. Due to the specific history of the Moldavian territory, still divided among three modern countries, and an exceptional quality of Moldavian CS manuscripts, the medieval and early modern books from Moldavia are spread among various manuscript collections of the world. The identification of the Moldavian manuscripts in non-Romanian collections is still going on. This process is made more difficult by the fact that Moldavian books served as a model for neighbouring CS areas², especially the Orthodox communities of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Hungary, Wallachia, and Transylvania. In the traditional Bulgarian philological approach, the Moldavian CS legacy is treated as Middle Bulgarian³ and stands as one of the sources for the reconstruction of the CS used in Bulgaria of the 14th century. Especially the older Moldavian Slavonic chancery texts are traditionally treated by the Ukrainian philological tradition as a source of data on the historical Ukrainian

in the 3rd redaction (cetera: III, 266r) also *земля Молдава*. In the documents issued by Peter Rareș's Chancery, we see the following variants in other languages. In Latin, we read *terra Moldaviae, regnum Moldaviae, terra moldaviensis*. *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-românești*, vol. I, ed. A. VERESS, București 1929, no. 31. *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. XV, part 1, *Acte și scrisori din arhivele orașelor ardelenene (Bistrița, Brașov, Sibiu) 1358–1600*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, București 1911, p. 294, 334. In German, we read *Mulda* or *Molda*, which is likewise the German name of the town of *Baia*. Ed. A. VERESS, *Documente...*, no. 26; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 447. In the documents sent to Poland, the land may be called *ziemia moldawska*, but also *Valachia*, eventually *Wołochy*. *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor: Urmare la colecțiunea lui Euxodiu de Hurmuzachi Supliment 2*, vol. I, 1510–1600: *documente din arhive și biblioteci polone*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, București 1893, p. 107, 147, 139. The Slavonic (Ruthenian) term *Болѡхы* for 'Moldavia' is found in a 16th century (1552) text composed on the territory of current Ukraine. *Словник української мови XVI – першої половини XVII ст.*, vol. IV, ed. Д. Гринчишин, Львів 1997, p. 212.

² A. А. Турилов, *Межславянские культурные связи эпохи средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры Славян*, Москва 2012, p. 648–656.

³ Thus e.g. in A. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Книжнина на български език в Молдова и Влахия*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, ed. ЕАДЕМ, София 2008, p. 683; Д. МИРЧЕВА, *Редакции*, [in:] *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, vol. III, ed. Л. ГРАШЕВА, София 2003, p. 454. In both Bulgarian and Romanian philological traditions, the written legacy of Moldavia and Wallachia are considered to form part of one whole. L. DJAMO-DIACONIȚĂ, *Limba textelor slavo-române*, [in:] P. OLTEANU et al., *Slava veche și slavona românească*, București 1975, p. 264: "Romanian redaction based on Middle Bulgarian with Moldavian, Wallachian and Transylvanian subtypes"; M. MITU, *Slavona românească. Studii și texte*, București 2002, p. 16–21, considers that Romanian Slavonic as one whole is not a variety of Middle Bulgarian CS, although it was originally based on it, but it is a separate CS "redaction". For more details on the concept of "Romanian Slavonic" see V. KNOLL, *The "Romanian Slavonic language" and lexicography*, [in:] *Old Church Slavonic Heritage in Slavonic and Other Languages*, ed. I. JANUŠKOVÁ et al., Praha 2021, p. 307–309. The East Slavonic philological traditions strictly divide the Wallachian and Moldavian written traditions, focusing on the latter one, see e.g. A. А. Турилов, *Межславянские...*, p. 648–649.

phonology and dialectology⁴. The most important outcome of this approach is the lexicographic elaboration of the Moldavian chancery language by Ukrainian scholars⁵.

For an analysis of the language situation in Moldavia, we have chosen the period of reign of voivode Peter Rareș (1527–1538 and 1541–1546). The caesura between the two periods of his reign, filled by a dramatic escape of the ruler from the land occupied by Ottoman troops, his emigration and his recovery of the throne, is reflected not just by the most important original Slavonic work of the époque, the Chronicle by bishop Macarie of Roman, but also in documents and inscriptions⁶. The personality of Peter Rareș entered the CS literature also as the model ruler in the work *The Great Petition* (*Большая Челобитная*) by Ivan Peresvetov⁷.

The texts of the second quarter of the 16th century are not thus intensively studied as those of the Moldavian 15th century, renown for the great names of bookman Gavriil Uric and voivode Stephen the Great (father of Peter Rareș). Nevertheless, the texts of our target period already show a stabilised shape of both chancery and internal bookish language and thus serve as a good example of the *classical*

⁴ The article from 1993 *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (<http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CM%5CO%5CMoldaviancharters.htm> [10 V 2022]) says the Moldavian charters were written in Middle Ukrainian, which shows the influence of Middle Bulgarian and Romanian Slavonic spelling, they are important sources for the history of the Ukrainian language. The latter thought is repeated by V.V. Nimčuk adding that Old Ukrainian literary language was for a long time the official language of the Moldavian Principality. В.В. Німчук, *Молдавські Грамоти*, [in:] *Енциклопедія історії України*, vol. VII, *Mi-O*, ed. В.А. Смолий et al., Київ 2010, online: http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Moldavski_hramoty [10 V 2022]. S. Perepelycja considered the Moldavian charters of the 14th – mid-16th centuries represented a source for the research on the phonetic system of the Ukrainian nationality and the history of the Bucovinian dialect. С. ПЕРЕПЕЛИЦЯ, *Відображення українського вокалізму в молдавських грамотах XIV – сер. XVI століть*, НВЧНУ.СФ 496–497, 2010, p. 40. В. Тумоцько specifies that the Old Ukrainian Literary language was official in the Moldavian Principality between 1360 and 1653. Б. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви природного водного доквілля в українсько-молдавських грамотах XIV–XV століть*, УМ 2, 2018, p. 102.

⁵ *Словник староукраїнської мови XIV–XV ст.*, vol. I–II, ed. Л.Л. Гумецька, Київ 1977–1978 (cetera: SSUM). *Словник української мови XVI – першої половини XVII ст.*, vol. I–XVII, Львів 1994–2017 (cetera: SUM XVI). SUM XVI, vol. I, p. 46 also cites the collection of the Moldavian charters, covering also the period of our concern, among its sources.

⁶ Macarie II 473r–481v, Peter Rareș's chrysobull to the monastery Bistrița (*Молдова ын епока феудализмулуи волумул*, vol. I, *Документе славо-молдовенець*. (Вякул XV – ынтьюл пэтрар ал вякулуй XVII), ed. Л.В. ЧЕРЕПИН, КИШИНЭУ 1961, p. 50–52), undated inscription in the *Humor Tetraevangelion* (MNIR 11 341, 1473, 6v, E. LINȚA, L. DJAMO-DIAȘONIȚĂ, O. STOICOVICI, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române din București*, București 1981, p. 95–96). A Polish version of the story can be found in the letter by Peter Rareș to king Sigismund the Old from ca 1541 (*Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea*, ed. I. CORFUS, București 1979, p. 39–41).

⁷ *Сочинения Ивана Семеновича Пересветова*, ed. М.Д. КАГАН-ТАРКОВСКИЙ, Я.С. ЛУРЬЕ, [in:] *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*, vol. IX, Санкт Петербург 2006–2022, online: <http://lib.pushkinskiydom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=5115> [10 V 2022].

form of Moldavian written Slavonic varieties. Written (Cyrillic) Romanian, aside from being regularly represented by proper names in Slavonic documents, had already entered the bookish sphere of Moldavia likely at the very beginning of the 16th century by the text of the Hurmuzaki Psalter⁸.

Spoken languages

Before we touch the complicated question of the spoken languages in Moldavia of the second quarter of the 16th century, let us present the extension of this state. The borders of Moldavia of that time were described by Transylvanian diplomat Georg von Reicherstorffer⁹ working for king Ferdinand of Habsburg in 1541¹⁰. According to his book, the eastern border of Moldavia was formed by the river Nistru/Dniester (*Nester*, in Slavonic documents ДНИСТРУЪ) with the towns Chotyn (*Chotjna*, Хотѣн) and Bilhorod (*Feijerwar*, Бѣльин градъ). In the Northwest, Moldavia bordered with *Russia* (i.e. Polish-administered Ruthenian voivodeship), whose closest town was Sniatyn (*Snatijna*, Снатѣн, in Pocutia). The western borders were formed by the Carpathians (*Alpes Transsylvani*). The southern neighbour of Moldavia was Wallachia (*Valachia*)¹¹. A map of Moldavia from 1587¹² shows the border river *Myscouo fluvius* (corresponding to the river Milcov) incorrectly putting the town of Adjud (*Aczud*) on it. On the map *Polonia et Ungaria XV Geographia Universalis* from 1540¹³, the territory between Bilhorod (*Byalgrod*) and Chilia (*Kylia*, Кѣліа), which were administered by Ottomans since 1484, is called *Bessarabia*¹⁴. The area between the rivers Siret (*Seretus*, Сѣрѣт) and Bârlad (*Barlach*, Барлъд) are called here *Valachia Magna*, likely by mistake. The same map shows *Mystono fluvius* (now Milcov), without specifying its border character. The region of Pocutia (*districtus Pokucie*) was considered by Peter Rareș to be a part of

⁸ *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki I. Studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic și ediție*, ed. I. GHEȚIE, M. TEODORESCU, București 2005. Online facsimile: <https://medievalia.com.ro/manuscrise/item/ms-rom-3077> [12 V 2022].

⁹ For details on this personality see F. TEUTSCH, *Reicherstorffer, Georg*, [in:] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 27, Leipzig 1888, p. 678–679, <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11980025X.html#adbcontent> [12 V 2022]. He stayed in Moldavia during his missions in 1527 and 1534. *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. I, ed. M. HOLBAN, București 1968, p. 181–184.

¹⁰ G. A REICHERSTORFF, *Moldaviae quae olim Daciae pars chorographia*, Viennae 1541.

¹¹ Macarie I 157г загорская земля.

¹² *16th Century, Moldova*. 1587. University of Minnesota Libraries, James Ford Bell Library, umedia.lib.umn.edu/item/p16022coll251:2919 [12 V 2022].

¹³ S. MUNSTER, *Geographia universalis, vetus et nova, complectens Claudii Ptolemaei Alexandrini enarrationis libros VIII*, Basileae 1540.

¹⁴ In the Treaty between Stephen the Great and king John Albert of Poland from 1499, the term Басарабская земля is still denoting Wallachia. I. BOGDAN, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. II, București 1913, p. 423.

Moldavia as it was temporarily held by his predecessors¹⁵. Voivode Peter occupied the territory from December 1530 until his defeat by Poles in August 1531¹⁶. Since 1489¹⁷, Moldavia had also possessed two fiefs in Transylvania, namely the towns Ciceu (Чичевь, *Chicho/Chyco*, Pol. *Cziczew*) in current Bistrița-Năsăud county and Cetatea de Baltă (Кикилвара иже именуєт сѧ Балтѧ, *Kykel(l)ewar/Kykellw*, Pol. *Baltha*)¹⁸ in current Alba county. For help with pacification of supporters of king Ferdinand of Habsburg in Transylvania, voivode Peter obtained in 1529 further fiefs from king John Szápolyai (Іѡаннѣ краѧ)¹⁹: the Saxon town Bistrița (Бистрица, Бистрица, Бистрица, Быстричъскыи градъ, Lat. *Bistricia*, Ger. *Nesen*), the nearby Rodna (Родна, Lat. *Rodna*, Ger. *Rodnaw*), renown for its golden mines²⁰, and Unguraș (Болоуанъшъ, Lat. *Belwanyws/Balwanus/Balwanyos*)²¹. Following the Ottoman intervention in Moldavia in Summer and Autumn 1538, the empire annexed Tighina (Тигина), a market harbour on Nistru, and took control over the river up to Soroca (Сорока, today's Republic of Moldova)²². Moldavia itself was divided into districts called волостъ. The documents mention also an administratively separated Lower Country, whose delimitation was apparently different from the one described in the moment of its establishment in 1435²³. While in that time, just the basin of the Bârlad (Брълѧ) River was administratively distinguished (with the centre in the town of Bârlad), in the second quarter of the 16th century, also the bishopric seat of Roman was considered to be part of the Lower Country²⁴.

¹⁵ Peter Rareș's claims on Pocutia are explained in his letter to king Sigismund of Old (крь Жигмонть) from the 21st February 1531: *nobis est vera et legitima terra ipsa possessionaria [...] pro certo scimus illam terram Pokucie pertinere Moldaviam* 'for us it is a trully and legitimately possessed land [...] we know for certain that the land of Pocutia belongs to Moldavia' (*Documente privitoare la istoria românilor...*, vol. I..., p. 23). Similar words are used in the letter from 1537 to king Ferdinand: *vna porciuncula terra nomine Pokwchia, que ab antiquis fuit membrum Moldawiense* 'one small portion of land named Pocutia, which has been part of Moldavia since the old times'. *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. II, part 1, 1451–1575, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, București 1891, p. 169.

¹⁶ In the description of Peter's war for Pocutia, Macarie the Chronicler (Macarie II, 472rv) calls the region отъчьское достояніе 'father's legacy'.

¹⁷ *Istoria României în date*, ed. D. C. GIURESCU, București 2003, p. 84.

¹⁸ See Putna Annals I 453v, cf. *Славяно-молдавские летописи XV–XVI вв.*, ed. Ф. А. ГРЕКУЛ, Москва 1976, p. 64; ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 48.

¹⁹ *Istoria României...*, p. 62, Macarie II, 469r–471r.

²⁰ G. À REYCHERSDORFF, *Chorographia Transylvaniae, quae Dacia olim appellata, aliarum prouinciarum & regionum succincta descriptio & explicatio*, Viennae 1550, 11.

²¹ Cf. letters by Peter Rareș to Bistrița from the 1st and 15th July 1529, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. XV, part 1..., p. 325–326.

²² *Istoria României...*, p. 94.

²³ In the letter by voivode Iliăș to king Vladislaus III of Poland issued on the 1st September 1435. See *Documente moldovenești înainte de Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. II, ed. M. COSTĂCHESCU, București 1932, p. 682.

²⁴ Macarie II 472v прѣстоль дольняа чѧсти землѣ 'throne of the Lower part of the country'. Colophon of the Neamț Psalter from 1529 ѿ долинен митрополи ѿ Рѡманова трѣга 'from the Lower metropolia of Roman'. The most detailed description of the division of Lower/Upper Moldavia was

In our period, the administrative separation of the Lower Country is attested by the existence of a separate high official called *vornic*²⁵.

The ethnic and religious situation (*religionum & nationum genera*) of Moldavia during the reign of Peter Rareș is described by the already mentioned Georg von Reicherstorffer²⁶. The main nationality of Moldavia is called by him *populus Moldavicus*. Further ethnical groups comprise Ruthenians/East Slavs (*Rutheni*), Poles (*Sarmati*), Serbs (*Rasciani*), Armenians (*Armenii*), Bulgarians (*Bulgeri*), Tatars (*Tarthari*) and Saxons (*Saxones*). Reicherstorffer underlines the ruling freedom of confession. According to him²⁷, Ruthenians lived around Moldavian borders²⁸ (*eos Moldaviae confines constituentes*) and their language was similar to the Polish one (*sermonē à Polonico parum discrepantem proferunt*). An important ethnic group of Moldavia were Tatars, who possessed 500 homesteads (*sessiones*) and formed an important part of the Moldavian army. In the contemporary Moldavian texts, the ethnic structure of the Moldavian society is practically not reflected except for random mention of Gypsies (*цигане, Egyptii*)²⁹. Once we found a possible mention of an East Slavonic character of a village³⁰. Just the scribe of the *Jerusalem Tetraevangelion* from 1546 confessed his East Slavonic origin³¹. Nevertheless, the syntactical discrepancies of most preserved colophons³² do not allow us to suppose the Slavonic origin of the copyists. Names and performance of the chancery scribes also speak in favour of their Romanian background, which can be supported by a strict following of the fixed formulas. The ascription of some names attested in the documents to an ethnic East Slav is problematic³³. In the

given much later by Dimitrie CANTEMIR (1673–1723) in his *Descriptio Moldaviae*. He included most of today's Republic of Moldova as well as the districts of Iași and Putna to the Lower Country.

²⁵ 534 *Documente istorice slavo-române din Țara-Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul 1346–1603*, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, București 1931, p. 539.

²⁶ G. À REYCHERSDORFF, *Chorographia...*, p. 12.

²⁷ G. À REYCHERSDORFF, *Chorographia...*, p. 14.

²⁸ A more exact information on the spread of the East Slav (*Ruś*) population was provided much later in the *History of the Moldavian and Wallachian land in Polish verses (Historia polskimi rytymami o wołoskiej ziemi i moltanskiej, verses 233–236)* by great logofăt Miron Costin (1633–1691). M. COSTIN, *Istorie în versuri polone despre Moldova și Țara românească (1684)*, ed. P.P. PANAITESCU, București 1929, p. 428.

²⁹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 305.

³⁰ *Ispisoace și zapise (Documente slavo-române)*, vol. I, part 1, ed. G. GHIBĂNESCU, Iași 1906, p. 76 *село ѿ Рѣчи що са теперъ зовѣть Захорѣнїи* 'the village of East Slavs (or the village of Ruși) that is now called Zahoreani/Zahorjani'.

³¹ The Jerusalem Patriarchal Library Abraam 2, 1546, 257г *Михай дїѣ ꙗсакъ* 'scribe Mihăil, Ruthenian'.

³² These include not just the case confusion, which could be considered as a balkanism common to Bulgarian, Macedonian and East Štokavian, but especially the gender confusion, which points to a non-Slavonic language speaker.

³³ We could speculate about the East Slav origin of Ivanco (*Ивѣко* and not Ioan), the scribe of the Jerusalem Tetraevangelion from 1532 (Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Slavonic 2, 325r) or a scribe of the same name mentioned in a charter by Peter Rareș from 1528 (*Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 40).

treaty between voivode Peter Rareș and king Sigismund the Old from 1539, there is mention that the original version was written in Ruthenian³⁴.

Antun Vrančić in ca 1538³⁵ stated both Moldavians (*Moldavi, Dani, Bogdani*) and Wallachians (*Transalpini, Draguli*) called themselves *Romani*, otherwise named *Valacchi*³⁶. Vrančić³⁷ pointed out that the language was considered of “Roman” origin³⁸, but enriched with Hungarian (*Hungarice*) and Slavonic (*Illirice*), which was caused by language contact with various Slavonic nations. Another ethnical group, not mentioned by these authors, inhabiting southern Moldavia, were Hungarians. The extension of their settlement can be traced in the letter by Roman Catholic bishop Michael of Milcov from the 18th February 1518³⁹, who convoked a synod in the church of Totruș (Тотрош, Lat. *Tatros*) listing the Catholic churches of Moldavia⁴⁰.

In the Latin documents issued by Moldavian chancery in the second quarter of the 16th century, we found twice the word *vulgo* introducing a term in a vernacular language: once it concerns a Hungarian word (*tria vasa vegeticum, vulgo berbenche*)⁴¹, once a Slavonic one (*hasta vulgo copia*)⁴².

In the charter from 1531, there is a Ukrainian form of a female name Olenca (ОЛЕНКА). T. BĂLAN, *Documente bucovinene*, vol. I, (1507–1653), Cernăuți 1933, p. 32. A certain Scripcu (gen. sg. ПАНА СКРИПКА), was member the voivodal council during the first reign of voivode Peter. The personalities linked with the territories, which Miron Costin described in the 2nd half of the 17th century as being inhabited by East Slavs do not show they would be of Slavonic origin. The reason may be also social: the documents mention mostly boyars and landlords.

³⁴ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, Sup. 2, vol. I, p. 122 (1539): *foedus ex ruthena lingua in polonam conversum*.

³⁵ A. WRANCIUS Sibenicensis Dalmata, *Expeditionis Solymani in Moldaviam et Transsylvaniam libri duo. De situ Transsylvanicae, Moldaviae et Transalpiniae liber tertius*, ed. C. EPERJESSY, Budapest 1944, p. 33.

³⁶ Peter Rareș in his Latin letter to Bistrița (19 July 1546) calls Romanians in Transylvania *Walaci* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 453). In a letter from 22 March 1532, he calls himself as “voievoda Valachorum” (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 51).

³⁷ A. WRANCIUS, *Expeditionis...*, p. 38.

³⁸ “interrogantes quempiam, an sciret Valacchice, Scisne, inquit, Romane?” ‘Asking anyone, if he knows Romanian, they say “Știi românește?”’. A German letter by voivode Alexander Lăpușneanu from 1561 says “dye Moldener nennen zu yer Sprachen, wallachysch”. ‘The Moldavians call their language “Wallachian/Romanian”’. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 570.

³⁹ Ed. M. COSTĂCHESCU, *Documente...*, p. 487–489.

⁴⁰ More exact information about the Hungarian settlement in Moldavia in the Early Modern Ages can be found in G.I. NĂSTASE, *Ungurii din Moldova la 1646 după „Codex Bandinus”*, ABas 4, 1935, p. 401.

⁴¹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 328 ‘three barrels, called in vernacular tongue *berbenche*’. See *berbence* ‘Fäßchen; Tönnchen’ in *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár*, vol. I, ed. A.T. SZABÓ, Bukarest 1975, p. 806–807, Romanian *bărbântă* ‘wooden vessel made of staves, in which milk and cheese are mainly stored’. Here and further, we use <https://dexonline.ro/> [10 V 2022] as the source of the Romanian equivalents. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 328.

⁴² Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 433 ‘lance, in vernacular *копие*’. The Slavonic word is attested already in OCS. Here and further, saying a word is attested in OCS (*копие*), we mean its presence in the database *Gorazd: The Old Church Slavonic Digital Hub*, <http://gorazd.org/gulliver/> [10 V 2022].

Types of texts

The texts written in Moldavia in the second quarter of the 16th century represent a variable group both from genre and language point of view. The most prestigious of them are the manuscript books written in Church Slavonic. There is a significant number of authorised (signed and dated by the scribe) manuscripts from this period. Within the huge plenty of Moldavian unauthorised manuscripts, spread in the world collections⁴³, there are surely further ones, which will be ascribed to this period in the future⁴⁴. As we plan to focus on this issue on another place, we will limit ourselves just to a simple overview:

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in), donation (for) or storage (from)	Shelf number
1520s–1540s	<i>Miscellany</i>		From Dobrovăț	Library of the Romanian Academy, ms. sl. 541 ⁴⁵
1525–1545	<i>Barlaam and Josaphat</i>			Monastery of Dragomirna 147 ⁴⁶

⁴³ Most systematically, the work on the reconstruction of the manuscript legacy of this period was undertaken by É. TURDEANU, *Études de littérature roumaine et d'écrits slaves et grecs des principautés roumaines*, Leiden 1985, p. 191–196. In this study, twelve manuscripts are listed. Some more details on some manuscripts were provided in E. TURDEANU, *Oameni și cărți de altădată*, București 1997, p. 298–309. R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise de origine românească din colecții străine. Repertoriu*, București 1986, mentions seventeen manuscripts from these period in collections out of Romania. V. PELIN, *Manuscrise românești din secolele XIII–XIX în colecții străine (Rusia, Ucraina, Bielorusia). Catalog*, Chișinău 2017, made a revision of Constantinescu's findings listing thirteen manuscripts in the collections of the former USSR. We do not aim to make an extant bibliography of each manuscript on this place.

⁴⁴ As the following list shows, the authorized manuscripts comprise mainly the ones containing biblical texts (Tetraevangelion, Apostolos, Psalter). The composition and decoration of the luxury copies of these texts, mostly donated to a religious establishment were sponsored by the most influential (both religiously and secularly) personalities of the country.

⁴⁵ P.P. PANAITESCU, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. II, București 2003, p. 387–389; I.R. MİRCEA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantines et slaves*, Sofia 2005, p. 237; К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavonica*, София 2008, p. 126.

⁴⁶ I. IUFU, V. BRĂTULESCU, *Manuscrise slavo-române din Moldova. Fondul Mănăstirii Dragomirna*, Iași 2012, p. 129–130.

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in), donation (for) or storage (from)	Shelf number
1527	<i>Euchologion</i>		From Bisericani	Library of the Romanian Academy, ms. sl. 237 ⁴⁷
1528	<i>Apostolos</i> (Пракеꙋоꙋ)	Scr. monk Evloghie (монаха ѿвлогѣа)	For the monastery of Sălăgeni ⁴⁸	Library of the Romanian Academy, ms. sl. 21 ⁴⁹
1529	<i>Typikon</i> (Типѣи)	Scr. monk Evloghie		Monastery of Dragomirna 136 (1902/813) ⁵⁰
1529	<i>Psalter</i> (Псалтирь)	Scr. hieromonk Ioan ⁵¹ of Neamț Don. bishop Dorotei of Roman ⁵²	In Neamț (ѿ немеческа ѿбитъ ели)	Russian State Library col. 218, no. 203 ⁵³
1529	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тетраевѣль)	Scr. hieromonk Macarie ⁵⁴ Don. Barbovski ⁵⁵ , pârcălab of Suceava	In Putna (въ Пст-нон), for the church in Suceava	Monastery of Rila 9 (1/11a) ⁵⁶

⁴⁷ А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Славянскія и русскія рукописи румынскихъ библиотекъ*, С. Петербург 1905, p. 380–382; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei RPR*, vol. I, București 1959, p. 337–338.

⁴⁸ мѣнасти сѣлъцѣаской.

⁴⁹ А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Славянскія...*, p. 122–126; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele...*, vol. I, p. 32–34; É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 191–192; IDEM, *Oameni...*, p. 263–266.

⁵⁰ I. IUFU, V. BRĂTULESCU, *Manuscrite...*, p. 121–122.

⁵¹ Иеромонахъ Іоанн.

⁵² епископъ Доротеѣи ѿ двлнен митрополи.

⁵³ R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 587; В. ОВЧИННИКОВА-ПЕЛИН, *Каталогул жєнерал ал манускриселор молдовенешть пѣстрате ын УРСС. Колекция библиотечий мѣнѣстирий Нол-Нямц (сек. XIV–XIX)*, Кишинэу 1989, p. 116–118; V. PELIN, *Manuscrite...*, p. 100–101.

⁵⁴ иеромонаха Макарія.

⁵⁵ жѣпа Барѣвскои.

⁵⁶ Е. СПРОСТРАНОВЪ, *Описъ на ржкописите въ библиотека на Рилския манастирь*, София 1902, p. 14–15; É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 192–193; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 16; Б.Н. РАЙКОВ et al., *Славянски рѣкописи в Рилския манастир*, vol. I, София 1986, p. 36–37; M.M. SZÉKELY, *Manuscrite răzlețite din scriptoriul și biblioteca Mănăstirii Putna*, APu 3.1, 2007, p. 153–180. A. PASCAL, *Din istoria scrierii de carte în Mănăstirea Putna în secolele XV–XVI*, APu 7, 2012, p. 73.

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in), donation (for) or storage (from)	Shelf number
1530	<i>Psalter</i> (Ψαλτήριον)	Scr. hieromonk Macarie ⁵⁷	In Dobrovăț	Russian State Library coll. 209, no. 786 ⁵⁸
1530	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Scr. hierodeacon Teodosie ⁵⁹		State Historical Museum in Moscow, <i>Ščuk.</i> 302 ⁶⁰
1530	<i>Menaion for February</i> (Мѣнѣ Феврѣдѣ)	Scr. hieromonk Ștefan ⁶¹ , Don. hegumen Siluan ⁶²	In Putna (монастиръ пѣтноу)	Russian State Library coll. 310, no. 79 ⁶³
1531	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Scr. Antonie Bosianul	For church of Orhei, from Vorniceni	Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences 13.1.2 ⁶⁴
1532	<i>Liturgy</i> (Лѣтѣрѣя)	Scr. Spiridon of Putna ⁶⁵ Don. hegumen Siluan ⁶⁶	In Putna	Smolensk State Museum-Monument 9927 ⁶⁷
1532	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Ivanco deacon ⁶⁸ of Frățânești	In Frățânești? (Фръцѣнѣ)	Jerusalem Patriarchate Library, Slavonic 2 ⁶⁹

⁵⁷ ѿ ѿромона ѿ Мѣкаріе Добровецкын.

⁵⁸ D. MIOS, *Manuscripte slavo-române în biblioteci din străinătate*, SMIM 7, 1974, p. 278; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 102.

⁵⁹ еродѣаконъ Феодосіе.

⁶⁰ А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Опись старинныхъ славянскихъ и русскихъ рукописей собранія П.И. Щукина*, vol. II, Санктпетербургъ 1897, p. 3–4; Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 193; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 101.

⁶¹ ꙗ ѿромона ѿ Стѣфа.

⁶² архїмѣдритѣ къ нѣгѣмѣ силѣ.

⁶³ Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 193; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 621; M.M. SZÉKELY, *Manuscrise...*, p. 171–172; A. PASCAL, *Din istoria...*, p. 73; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 102–103. Online facsimile: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/310/f-310-79/> [10 V 2022].

⁶⁴ Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 193; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 350.

⁶⁵ мѡна ѿспиридѣ.

⁶⁶ Силѣанѡу нѣроуменѡу.

⁶⁷ О.П. БУГАЕВА, *Рукописи Смоленского областного краеведческого музея*, ТОДЛ 15, 1958, p. 425; A. PASCAL, *Din istoria...*, p. 69; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 103–104.

⁶⁸ нѣвако дѣпакѡ.

⁶⁹ Н.Ф. КРАСНОСЕЛЬЦЕВ, *Славянские рукописи Патриаршей библиотеки в Иерусалиме*, Казань 1889, p. 8–9; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 44; Ё. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 194–195; IDEM, *Oameni...*, p. 276–281. Online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271073513-jo/> [10 V 2022].

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in, donation (for) or storage (from))	Shelf number
1533	<i>Miscellany</i>			Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences 13.3.25 ⁷⁰
1533	<i>Typikon</i> (Ѡко црѣкѣноѣ)	Hieromonk Ion (ієромона Ѡѡ)	In Neamț (ѡ нѣмескѡ ѡбѣтѣ)	Lost ⁷¹
1534	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Ѡѣтроѣвѣгѣ)	Don. voivode Peter Rareș ⁷²	For monastery Xeropotamou ⁷³	Austrian National Library, cod. slav. 2 ⁷⁴
1535	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Ѡѣтроѡѣѣль)	Don. logofăt Toma ⁷⁵	For monastery Dobrovăț ⁷⁶	Russian National Library, Pogod. 22 ⁷⁷
1535	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Don. vistiernic Sima	For monastery Dobrovăț	Treasury of the monastery of Rila ⁷⁸
1535–1545	<i>Hagiographic Collection</i>			Monastery of Sucevița 22 ⁷⁹

⁷⁰ R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 366.

⁷¹ А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Изъ славянскихъ рукописей. Тексты и заметки*, Санктъ Петербургъ 1898, p. 58; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 783.

⁷² Пѣтрѡ воевода.

⁷³ монасти ѡропотѣскѣ ѡбѣтѣ.

⁷⁴ А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Описание южнославянских и русских рукописей заграничных библиотек*, vol. I, Вена, Берлин, Дрезден, Лейпциг, Мюнхен, Прага, Люблина, Петербургъ 1921, p. 16–17; I. BOGDAN, *Scrieri alese*, București 1968, p. 503–504; G. BIRKPELLNER, *Glagolitische und Kyrillische Handschriften in Österreich*, Wien 1975, p. 89; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 7; G. BULUȚĂ, *Manuscrite miniatе și ornate românești în colecții din Austria*, București 1990, p. 38–39; E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 298–301. Facsimile online: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14248898> [10 V 2022].

⁷⁵ па Тома логѡфѣ.

⁷⁶ Доврѡвѣ.

⁷⁷ К. ИВАНОВА, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски кирилски ръкописи в сбирката на М.П. Погодин*, София 1981, p. 82–84; E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 268–271.

⁷⁸ É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 195; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrite...*, no. 15; E. TURDEANU, *Oameni...*, p. 276–281. The manuscript is not mentioned in the Rila catalogues.

⁷⁹ O. MITRIC, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române din Biblioteca Mănăstirii Sucevița*, Suceava 1999, p. 77–78; I.R. MIRCEA, *Répertoire...*, p. 239.

Year	Text	Scribe (scr.) and/or donator (don.)	Place of origin (in, donation (for) or storage (from))	Shelf number
1542	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тетраевѣль)	Scr. Mihail ⁸⁹ , Don. vistiernic Baloș ⁹⁰ and logofăt Toader Baloșevici ⁹¹	For St Michael and Gabriel church of Suceava (Гвчѣ)	Russian State Library, coll. 98, no. 78 ⁹²
1543	<i>Pentikostarion</i> (Петодесѣтчникъ)	Scr. Crăciun (Крѣчю), Don. Teodosie, bishop of Rădăuți ⁹³		State Historical Museum in Moscow, Uvar. 391 ⁹⁴
1543	<i>Tetraevangelion</i> (Тетроѣвъль)	Don. Iiaș and Constantin, sons of Peter Rareș and Lady Elena, wife of the voivode	Maybe for the church of St Demetrius in Suceava	The treasury of St Sepulchre in Jerusalem ⁹⁵
1544	<i>Apostolos</i> (Праѣѣвъль)	Scr. priest Eremie of Bădeuți ⁹⁶ , Don. Teodosie, bishop of Rădăuți ⁹⁷	Church of St Nicholas of the bishopric of Rădăuți	Monastery of Sucevița 8 ⁹⁸
Ca 1544	<i>Tetraevangelion</i>	Scr. Ioan	From Sucevița and Jerusalem	Russian State Library, coll. 344, no. 231 ⁹⁹

⁸⁹ Михайла писара.

⁹⁰ Балавша вистѣрника.

⁹¹ Тоадѣ Балошеви логоеѣ.

⁹² D. MIOS, *Materiale românești din arhive străine*, SMIM 6, 1973, p. 336–337; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 483; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 108–109; T.В. АНИСИМОВА, Ю.С. БЕЛЯКИН, *Каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг из собрания Е.Е. Егорова*, vol. I, Москва 2018, p. 214–216. Online facsimile: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/98/f98-78/> [10 V 2022].

⁹³ Феодосіе епископ Радѣвскій.

⁹⁴ ЛЕОНИДЪ, *Систематическое описание...*, part 2, p. 117; М.В. ЩЕПКИНА et al., *Описание...*, p. 303; R. CONSTANTINESCU, *Manuscrise...*, no. 738; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 109–110 says it is currently situated in the monastery of Slatina.

⁹⁵ N. IORGA, *Doua evangheliare ale fiilor lui Petre Rareș*, BCMI 27, april–iunie, 1934, p. 87–90; É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 198–199; IDEM, *Oameni...*, p. 301–305.

⁹⁶ по Ѳремїѣ ѿ Бѣвци.

⁹⁷ Феодосіе епѣ Радѣвскій.

⁹⁸ O. MITRIC, *Catalogul...*, p. 44–48.

⁹⁹ É. TURDEANU, *Études...*, p. 194–195; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 111–112.

National Library of Ukraine is missing in the newest catalogue¹¹⁴. Apart from the main texts of the manuscripts, which belong to the common CS legacy¹¹⁵, most of the mentioned manuscripts also contain a colophon, which can be considered an original work of the copyist. The colophon may indicate the level of his active knowledge of CS. Nevertheless, in most cases, it is pretty short and made up of fixed formulas. From the Moldavian CS legacy of the period of Peter Rareș, we also have to mention three further texts that were preserved in later manuscripts. The most important is the Chronicle by bishop Macarie of Roman († 1558)¹¹⁶. The first version of this Chronicle (Macarie I), covering the period after the death of voivode Stephen the Great, was ordered by voivode Peter and great logofăt Toader Bubuiog likely in 1529¹¹⁷. This part is written in a sober reportage style referring both about Moldavian and foreign events. After his return on the throne in 1541, voivode Peter Rareș asked Macarie to write a continuation (Macarie II)¹¹⁸, which rhetorically described Peter's escape from Moldavia after the Ottoman intervention in September 1538 and his regaining of sultan's favour and finally the throne.

¹¹⁴ Л. ГНАТЕНКО et al., *Слов'янська кирилична рукописна книга XVI ст. з фондів Інституту рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені В.І. Вернадського*, Київ 2010.

¹¹⁵ The *Miscellany* from 1533 contains the Passion and Liturgy of the Moldavian patron St John the New of Suceava (А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Из истории славянской проповеди в Молдавии. Неизвестное произведения Григория Цамблака*, Санктпетербургъ 1906, p. XXII), the texts staying at the beginning of the Moldavian Slavonic literature no matter the debated identity of its authorship, out of Romania mostly ascribed to Gregory Tsamblak. For details of the discussion see А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Иоанн Новъй, Сочавский*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. XXIV, Москва 2011, p. 459–463, online: <http://www.pravenc.ru/text/471404.html> [10 V 2022]. The *Typikon* from 1533 was supposed to contain the *Прниѣла* 'Undersongs' by Filotei, a former logofăt of voivode Mircea the Old, which is the introductory work of the original CS literature in Wallachia.

¹¹⁶ On his life see e.g. M. PĂCURARIU, *Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române*, vol. I, Iași 2004, p. 423. Macarie entered the office of the bishop of Roman (Lower Country) in 1531 and he was temporarily deposed during the reign of Peter's son Iliăș Rareș.

¹¹⁷ Preserved on ff. 154–168 in the *Miscellany* (*Книга молебниѣ*), State Historical Museum in Moscow, Bars. 1411 from the 2nd half of the 16th century. On the manuscript see *Славяно-молдавские...*, p. 19–20; А.Д. ПАСКАЛЬ, *Славяно-молдавские рукописи XV–XVII вв. в собраниях Государственного Исторического Музея (Москва)*, [in:] *Академическая археография в России XVIII–XXI веков (Тихомировские чтения 2016 года: К 60-летию Археографической комиссии РАН)*, Москва 2017, p. 154. The text of Macarie I was not published separately, just in reading variants in the editions by I. BOGDAN and P.P. PANAITESCU, *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI*, București 1959, p. 77–90 and *Славяно-молдавские...*, p. 125–138, based on the final (3rd) redaction of the text.

¹¹⁸ Preserved within The *Počajiv Miscellany* (Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Počajiv 47 (116) from 1558–1561. On the contents of the manuscript see I. BOGDAN, *Scrieri alese...*, p. 273–288; *Славяно-молдавские...*, p. 16–17; V. PELIN, *Manuscrise...*, p. 118–121. It was separately published within the 1st Moldavian historiographic corpus edited by I. BOGDAN, *Vechile cronice moldovenesci până la Urechiiă*, Bucuresci 1891, p. 149–162. Later, it was published as reading variants under the editions of the 3rd redaction: I. BOGDAN, *Letopisețul lui Azarie*, București 1909, p. 96–11; *Cronicile slavo-române...*, p. 77–90 and *Славяно-молдавские...*, p. 125–138.

The second original CS text is the Enkomion to St John the New¹¹⁹, written in 1534. It is actually a reworked Passion of St John the New of Suceava. The third later preserved text is a letter likely from ca 1531–1536, now probably lost, but published by Jacimirskij¹²⁰. It is a recommendation letter written by hegumen Teodosie of Neamț to bishop Macarie of Roman about hieromonk Ioil, a candidate for the position of hegumen of Voroneț. In modern words, the letter contains Ioil's CV with a bibliography of copied manuscripts and list of monasteries, where he worked, providing interesting details on the career management of a 16th century CS scribe.

An unneglectable part of the Moldavian CS legacy is represented by inscriptions. From the examined period, we have mainly two types of them: the ktetor inscriptions and the tombstone inscriptions. From the five published ktetor inscriptions, one was made on behalf of great logofăt Toader Bubuiog¹²¹ and four on behalf of the voivode (during his first reign):

- 1530 St Nicholas church in Pobrata¹²²,
- 1532 Annunciation Church in Moldovița¹²³,
- 1532 Dormition Church in Baia¹²⁴,
- 1534 St Demetrius church in Suceava¹²⁵.

We are aware about eight tombstone inscriptions dated into this period that are mostly also linked to great logofăt Toader (Тоддѣрь великѣй логѡфѣтъ)¹²⁶ and the voivode¹²⁷. Further dated inscriptions are linked to other personal-

¹¹⁹ Похвалное еѣиѣ и славному великоуинику юѡанну новому. Preserved in the Menaion for April (Russian State Library, coll. 310, no. 81, 1467) in a copy done in 1574. For the manuscript see V. PELIN, *Manuscrite...*, p. 55–56. Full edition was done by in А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Из исторіи славянскои проповѣди...*, p. 87–95.

¹²⁰ А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Мелкіе тексты и замѣтки по старинной славянскои и русскои литературѣ*, ИОРЯС 5.4, 1900, p. 1237–1239. The text was included in the *Miscellany of hagiographic and apocryphal texts* from the early 17th century that belonged to the collection of Teofil Gepețchi and was previously situated in Moldovița.

¹²¹ It is placed in the Dormition church in Humor. *Die Inschriften aus der Bukovina. Beiträge zur Quellenkunde der Landes- und Kirchengeschichte*, vol. I, *Steininschriften*, ed. E.A. KOZAK, Wien 1903, p. 28–29. During the interregnum (reign of Stephen Lăcustă) in 1538, great vistiernic Matiaș (Матіашъ великѣи вистѣрниѣ) let also make a ktetor inscription in the church of Holy Spirit Descent in Horodniceni. *Inscripții din bisericile României*, ed. N. IORGA, București 1905, p. 64.

¹²² *Inscripții din bisericile...*, p. 56.

¹²³ *Die Inschriften...*, p. 187–188.

¹²⁴ *Inscripții din bisericile...*, p. 63.

¹²⁵ *Die Inschriften...*, p. 138.

¹²⁶ Dormition church in Humor: tomb of Maria, wife of Toader logofăt from 1527 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 33) and the tomb of Toader logofăt from 1539 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 34).

¹²⁷ In Putna, there are tombs of Maria, wife of Peter Rareș, died in 1529 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 91) and of voivode Stephen the Young from 1527 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 91). In St Demetrius Church in

ities¹²⁸. In the Zographou Monastery (Иѡѡграфѡ), there is a short donation inscription by voivode Peter from 1533¹²⁹.

The most numerous group of original Moldavian texts are the chancery documents. In these documents, the character of the language depends on the addressee of the document. The largest group of Slavonic documents is represented by charters issued by the internal chancery to secular individuals or families (mostly boyars)¹³⁰. The chancery of the first reign of voivode Peter Rareș was led by the already mentioned great logofăt Toader Bubuiog (in office 1525–1537). He was a son-in-law of Ion Tăutu, the great logofăt of Stephen the Great, under whose leadership he began his chancery career as a simple scribe¹³¹. The thoroughly signed internal chancery documents allow to reconstruct Toader's team that included: Dumitru Popovici (Дѡмитръ Поповиѡ), Petrea Popovici (Петръ Поповиѡ), Gheorghie (Гѡѡргіѡ), Grigorie Bogza/Bogzovici (Григоріѡ Богза), Ion Margire (Іѡ Маржирѡ), Cârstea Burlovici (Кръстѡ Бѡрловиѡ), Toma Cățeleana (Тѡма Кѡцѡелѡновиѡ), Cozma Cățeleanovici (Кѡзма Кѡцѡелѡновиѡ), Lazor Golâi (Лазѡ Гѡлѡи) and later also Vasilie Buzdugan (Василіѡ Бѡздѡгѡ) and Ion Florescul (Іѡ Флѡрескулѡ). The chancery of the second reign of voivode Peter was led by Mateiaș (Матіѡ лѡѡфѡ, in office 1541–1548), previously great vistiernic¹³². His team included the already mentioned Vasilie Buzdugan, Toma Florescul (Тѡма Флѡрескулѡ), Luca Popovici (Лѡка Поповиѡ), Mihăilă Borra (Михѡлѡ Борра), Dumitru Văscanovici (Дѡмитръ Вѡскановиѡ) and others. Several of the above mentioned names indicate one of the recruitment strategies of the internal chancery: at least some of the scribes used to be recruited from priest families, which provided the CS education to their (male)

Suceava, there is the tomb of Peter's son Bogdan from 1540 (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 91). In St Nicholas Church in Pobrata, there is the tomb of voivode Peter Rareș (*Inscripții din bisericile...*, p. 56).

¹²⁸ In St Demetrius Church in Suceava, there is the tomb of a pârcălab of Chotyn (1541) and of great vistiernic Toma (1543). See *Die Inschriften...*, p. 140. In the church of Zăhărești, there is a tombstone inscription of Marena, wife of pârcălab Hărovici of Chotyn. See *Die Inschriften...*, p. 213–214. In St George church in Hârlău, there was (now in the Museum of National Art of Romania, MNAR 4367) a tombstone inscription of a painter called Gheorghie. See *Inscripțiile medievale și din epoca modernă a României*, vol. I, *Orașul București (1395–1800)*, ed. A. ELIAN, București 1965, p. 506.

¹²⁹ Й. ИВАНОВЪ, *Български старини изъ Македония*, София 1931, p. 241.

¹³⁰ In our study, we work with 57 of such documents. As the planned volume V of *Documenta Romaniae Historica, series A*, which is supposed to cover this period, has not been issued yet, we use the editions in the following sources: T. BĂLAN, *Documente bucovinene*, vol. I...; vol. II, (1519–1662), Cernăuți 1934; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I; *Молдова ын епока феудализмулу волумул*, vol. II, *Документе славо-молдовенець. Вякуриле XV–XVI*, ed. Л.В. ЧЕРЕПИН et al., Кишинэу 1978; *Surte și izvoade (Documente slavo-române)*, ed. G. GHIBĂNESCU, vol. I, Iași 1906; vol. II, Iași 1906; vol. VII, Iași 1912; vol. IX, (*Documente Basarabene*), Iași 1914; vol. XVIII, Iași 1927; vol. XIX, Iași 1927; vol. XXI, Iași 1929; vol. XXIV, Iași 1930; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente inedite de la Petru Rareș*, RI 8.7–8, 1997, p. 503–515.

¹³¹ N. STOICESCU, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara românească și Moldova. Sec. XIV–XVII*, București 1971, p. 330.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 314.

members. It is worth mentioning that the scribes signing themselves as *Popovici/Попови* ‘priest’s son’ (in one case even *Калѣгерѣ* ‘monk’s son’)¹³³ dominate among the authors of the CS based monastery charters, even if they were perfectly competent in composing also linguistically different secular charters to boyars. The internal chancery letters we are working with were mostly issued in Lower Moldavia (Bârlad/Брълѣ, Hârlău/Хрълѣ, Vaslui/Васлѣи, Huși/Хѣ), eventually in Iași (Іѣ) and Suceava (Сѣчава).

A specific group of documents issued by the internal chancery and signed by the voivode, is addressed to the religious establishments. We work with nine documents sent to the monastery of Neamț (*Нѣмѣ*)¹³⁴, Moldovița (*Молдавица*)¹³⁵, Bistrița (*Бистрица*)¹³⁶, Putna (*Пѣтна*)¹³⁷ and the bishopric of Rădăuți (*Радѣвце*)¹³⁸. The scribes of these letters are mostly the same as the previous ones. A different corpus of very variable ad hoc contents (political, judicial, business) is represented by the communication with Transylvanian towns. This corpus linguistically and stylistically differs from the highly formulaic internal chancery documents. Among the 105 published documents¹³⁹ addressed to Bistrița in Transylvania, we found 79 documents issued in Latin mostly by the voivode, but also by his wife Ecaterina and various officials, 18 in German, from which just five from 1540 were issued by voivode. Five German letters were issued by the town councils of Suceava, Baia, Bistrița and Rodna. Eight letters were issued by Moldavian officials in Slavonic: one by pârcălab Dan (*Дѣ пѣръкѣлѣ*) of Câmpulung¹⁴⁰ two by Mățiaș vistiernic (future logofăt)¹⁴¹, two by Huru (*Хѣрѣ великѣи двѣни*), great vornic of the Lower Country¹⁴², one by Mihul hatman (*Михѣ хѣтманѣ*)¹⁴³ and two by Toma logofăt (*Тѣма логофѣ*)¹⁴⁴. One letter to Bistrița in Transylvania was issued by a hegumen of Moldovița¹⁴⁵.

¹³³ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 56.

¹³⁴ 15 March 1527. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124–125.

¹³⁵ 1534 (T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 16–17), 17 September 1545 (*Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375–377), 27 May 1546 (T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 44–45), 27 May 1546 (*Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58–59). The last letter concerns the donation of the skete of Sălăgeni, established by the above mentioned copist Evloghie, ex-great vistiernic, to Moldovița.

¹³⁶ 1546 (*Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50–52, 55–56). The first letter includes an original narration of Peter Rareș’s anabasis.

¹³⁷ 11 April 1546 (*Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93–95).

¹³⁸ 23rd April 1529 (T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 29–31).

¹³⁹ *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, vol. II, part 1, Bucuresci 1891; part 3, Bucuresci 1892; part 4, Bucuresci 1894; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1; ed. A. VERESS, *Documente...*

¹⁴⁰ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 525.

¹⁴¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 536, 537.

¹⁴² Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 538, 539.

¹⁴³ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 539–540.

¹⁴⁴ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 540–542.

¹⁴⁵ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531.

In contrast to the above mentioned internal documents, these letters were issued in Upper Country (Suceava, Cămpulung/Долгополе/Длъгополе). Eleven letters were sent to Brașov (Брашѣ, Брашѣ) and signed by the voivode. Eight of them are in Latin, three in Slavonic¹⁴⁶. Most of the Latin letters are linked to military activities of voivode Peter in 1529. The letters to king Ferdinand I of Habsburg¹⁴⁷ or his representatives were sent in Latin or German, the communication with his rival John Szápolyai¹⁴⁸ and his officials was issued in Latin. The communication with king Sigismund the Old of Poland was led both in Latin and Polish¹⁴⁹. A Peace Treaty with king Sigismund from 1526 was written in Slavonic¹⁵⁰. Another Slavonic letter was sent in 1531 by great vistiernic Glăvan (Глава) to the burghers of Lviv (Ливѣ)¹⁵¹. There is one preserved (and published) original of a petition by Peter Rareș written in Ottoman Turkish from ca 1530/1531¹⁵².

Moldavian Trinovitan Standard

Before the evaluation of the variability of written varieties of Moldavia in the examined period, we will shortly focus on the description of the standard variety¹⁵³. The top position of the written variety structure was occupied by Church Slavonic of the biblical-liturgical corpus. The variety used in Moldavia, influencing also neighbouring areas (Wallachia, Orthodox communities in Hungary, Poland and Lithuania), was the bookish language patterned on the standard variety of the Late period of the Second Bulgarian Empire (Trinovitan, or Tărnovo CS)¹⁵⁴. This variety was adapted by the Moldavian milieu in the first decade of the 15th century¹⁵⁵ and its model texts were elaborated mainly by the school of Gavriil

¹⁴⁶ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518–520.

¹⁴⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1.

¹⁴⁸ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 363.

¹⁴⁹ Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup.* 2, vol. I.

¹⁵⁰ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725–728.

¹⁵¹ *Исторические связи народов СССР и Румынии в XV-начале XVIII в. Документы и материалы в трех томах*, vol. I, 1408–1632, ed. Я.С. ГРОСУЛ et al., Москва 1965, no. 36.

¹⁵² *Documente turcești privind istoria României*, vol. I, 1455–1774, ed. M.A. МЕНМЕД, București 1976, p. 16–17.

¹⁵³ Cf. В.М. ЖИВОВ, *История языка русской письменности*, vol. I, Москва 2017, p. 212–213.

¹⁵⁴ The most detailed description of this variety, based on the language of the texts of patriarch Euthymius of Tărnovo can be found in И. ХАРАЛАМПИЕВ, *Езикът и езиковата реформа на Евтимий Търновски*, София 1990.

¹⁵⁵ This is linked with the recognition of the Moldavian metropolia by Constantinople patriarchate (1401), being a fruit of the political-cultural activity of voivode Alexander the Good and, according to many scholars, the activity of Gregory Tsamblak, eventually other bookmen of Bulgarian origin. Cf. П. БОЙЧЕВА, *Традициите на Търновска книжовна школа и делото на Гавриил Урик*, [in:] *Търновска книжовна школа*, vol. II, ed. П. РУСЕВ et al., Велико Търново 1980, p. 180; I. IUȚU, *Manuscrise slavo-române din mănăstirile românești*, București 2016, p. 101. The oldest dated text

Uric in the first half of the 15th century¹⁵⁶. Our description of the shape of this variety in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century will be based on four manuscripts – three Tetraevangelia¹⁵⁷ and the Twelve Books of Old Testament from 1537 (further OT). For comparison, we will also refer to Peter Rareš's Tetraevangelion from 1534¹⁵⁸, which is untypically written in Resavian¹⁵⁹, surely because of the addressee of the book (an Athos monastery). The Resavian variety of this text represents the subtype, which A.-M. Totomanova calls the Bulgarian one¹⁶⁰, whose model texts are represented by the activity of Vladislav Gramatik (active in the 2nd half of the 15th century)¹⁶¹. In our description, we will first focus on the graphematic system¹⁶² and later on the morphologic features. We will suppose the reader is familiar with the “School” Old Church Slavonic Spelling and Grammar¹⁶³.

The primary feature of the Trinovitan CS is the use of two juses¹⁶⁴: Ѡ and ѡ. In contrast to that, the Resavian CS does not use them at all. The distribution of juses corresponds to the etymological places except the following cases:

- Ѡ is written behind originally soft ρ, л, н, ч, с, which has direct impact on the grammatical forms¹⁶⁵,

from Moldavia, fully written in Trinovitan CS is the charter from 7 January 1407 written by Gárd on behalf of metropolitan Iosif and the voivode. *Documenta Romaniae Historica. A. Moldova*, vol. I, (1384–1448), ed. C. СНОДАРУ et al., București 1975, p. 29.

¹⁵⁶ There is an extant literature on his activity. The clearest overview of his legacy with bibliography and manuscript samples was provided by А.Д. ПАСКАЛЬ, *О рукописном наследии молдавского книжника Гавриила Урика из монастыря Нямац*, [in:] *Istorie și cultură. In honorem academician Andrei Eșanu*, ed. C. МАНОЛАЧЕ, Chișinău 2018, p. 343–375.

¹⁵⁷ Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Slavonic 2, from 1532 (cetera: BPI); Russian State Library, coll. 98, no. 78, from 1542 (cetera: RGB); and Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Slavonic Abraam 2, from 1546 (cetera: Abraam).

¹⁵⁸ Austrian National Library, cod. slav. 2 (cetera: ÖNB).

¹⁵⁹ However, the colophon follows the Trinovitan norm.

¹⁶⁰ А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Правопис, ресавски*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, ed. Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, София 1992, p. 352–353.

¹⁶¹ Сф. Б. ХРИСТОВА, *Опис на ръкописите на Владислав Граматик*, Велико Търново 1996.

¹⁶² Developing the scheme presented in V. KNOLL, *Čirkevní slovanština v pozdním středověku*, Praha 2019, p. 273.

¹⁶³ We allow us to remind that the scribe of the 16th century did not have such grammar on his disposal, which is evident, but still *ex silentio* supposed in some scholar publications. The scribe actually did not have any grammar at hand, but he was fully oriented on the available model texts.

¹⁶⁴ Graphemes originally designed for Common Slavonic nasal vowels.

¹⁶⁵ Matthew pericope (зач., cetera: per.) 9: BPI RGB Abraam сътворѡа vs. ÖNB сътворѡу ‘I will do’, per. 11 BPI RGB Abraam гѡа vs. ÖNB гѡю ‘I say’, per. 3 BPI поклонѡ сѡ – RGB Abraam поклѡнѡ сѡ vs. ÖNB поклѡнѡ сѡ ‘I will bow’, per. 4 BPI RGB Abraam плачѡщи сѡ vs. ÖNB плачѡщи сѡ ‘weeping’, per. 9 BPI RGB Abraam вѣсѡ – вѣсѡ vs. ÖNB всѡ – вѣсѡ (accusative singular and plural) ‘all’. We prefer the orientation per pericopes as they are marked in all Middle CS Gospel manuscripts.

The secondary traits of the Trinovitan CS contrasting with the (ideal) Resavian norm are the jer vocalisation and the reflexes of *ja/*je. The o-vocalisation (*ŭ > o) appears just in the suffix -оѣ¹⁷⁴, while the e-vocalisation (*ĭ > e) appear in the suffixes -ѣцѣ¹⁷⁵, -енѣ¹⁷⁶ and in many word stems¹⁷⁷. In a few cases, one can see differences in vocalisations among the texts¹⁷⁸. In the reflexes of *ja/*je, the common feature of the Trinovitan and Resavian spelling is the regular appearance of ѣ¹⁷⁹ and the variation of е/ѣ¹⁸⁰ in the initial position and the use of simple а/ѣ in the postvocalic position¹⁸¹. The most visible difference is the appearance of ѣ/ѣ in Resavian behind the н, л. In these positions, the Resavian ѣ/ѣ correspond to the Trinovitan ѣ/ѣ¹⁸². The clusters *rja/*sja are spelled рѣ/сѣ in Trinovitan, but ра/са in Resavian¹⁸³.

The following elements are virtually common to different Middle CS varieties. The use of jers¹⁸⁴ generally follows the jer distribution rule. According to this rule, the letter ѣ is written in the interior of a stress unit¹⁸⁵ (thus both in the

вѣса сѣщѣа – Abraam вѣса дѣти сѣщѣа vs. ÖNB вѣсѣ дѣти соуѣе ‘all the children that were’, per. 9 accusative plural BPI вѣса̀ волаѣщѣа – RGB вѣса̀ вѣлаѣщѣа – Abraam вѣса̀ вѣлаѣщѣа vs. ÖNB вѣсѣ̀ болеѣе ‘all sick people’, per. 15 accusative plural BPI каѣнаѣщѣа – RGB каѣнаѣщѣа – Abraam каѣнаѣщѣа vs. ÖNB каѣнаѣе ‘them that curse you’, per. 37 BPI дома̀шиѣа – RGB до́маш-наа – Abraam до́машнаа vs. ÖNB до́машнае ‘them of his household’.

¹⁷⁴ Matthew per. 43 BPI кро́токъ – RGB Abraam кро́токъ vs. ÖNB кро́тъкъ ‘meek’.

¹⁷⁵ Matthew per. 2 BPI прѣвѣ́нѣць – RGB прѣвѣ́нѣць – Abraam прѣвѣ́нѣць vs. ÖNB прѣвѣ́нѣць ‘firstborn son’.

¹⁷⁶ Matthew per. 55 BPI по́бѣнь – RGB Abraam по́бѣнь vs. ÖNB по́бо́нь ‘similar’.

¹⁷⁷ Matthew per. 3 BPI вѣ́ ѱѣрѣмѣ – RGB вѣсѣ́ ѱѣрѣмѣ – Abraam вѣ́ ѱѣрѣмѣ vs. ÖNB вѣсѣ́ ѱѣрѣмѣ ‘all Jerusalem’, per. 3 BPI RGB мѣнѣши – Abraam мѣнѣши vs. ÖNB мѣнѣши ‘minor’, per. 3 BPI шѣше – RGB Abraam шѣше vs. ÖNB шѣше ‘go; having gone’, per. 16 BPI RGB днѣ – Abraam днѣ vs. ÖNB днѣ ‘today’, but per. 16 RGB дѣри – Abraam дѣрь – ÖNB дѣрь ‘door’.

¹⁷⁸ Matthew per. 4 BPI вѣ́паъ – RGB ÖNB вѣ́паъ vs. Abraam вѣ́паъ ‘mourning’, per. 40 BPI ÖNB чѣсѣ vs. RGB Abraam чѣсѣ ‘why, what’, per. 4 BPI оу́мѣрѣшѣ – RGB оу́мѣрѣшѣ – Abraam оу́мѣрѣшѣ vs. ÖNB оу́мѣрѣшѣ ‘when he was dead’.

¹⁷⁹ Matthew per. 3 BPI ÖNB ѣако – RGB Abraam ѣако, per. 44 BPI ѣасти – RGB Abraam ÖNB ѣасти ‘to eat’.

¹⁸⁰ Matthew per. 3 BPI еѣда – Abraam еѣда vs. RGB ÖNB еѣда ‘when’, per. 3 BPI RGB еѣ vs. ÖNB ѣѣ ‘he is’, per. 5 BPI RGB ÖNB еѣ – Abraam еѣтъ ‘he is’.

¹⁸¹ Generally, the distribution of ѣ in the Resavian manuscripts may be very variable in the initial and postvocalic positions, especially in the texts written on the Serbian territory.

¹⁸² Preface BPI 4v RGB 7v Abraam 8r глѣтѣса занѣ vs. ÖNB 4v глѣтѣсе, занѣ ‘it is said due’, BPI 4v ѣставаѣнѣе – RGB 7v ѣставаѣнѣе – Abraam 8r ѣставаѣнѣе vs. ÖNB 4v ѣставаѣнѣе ‘remission’, Matthew per. 6 BPI ѣнѣ – RGB ѣнѣ – Abraam ѣнѣ vs. ÖNB ѣна, per. 16 BPI ѣставаѣѣмѣ – RGB ѣставаѣѣмѣ – Abraam ѣставаѣѣмѣ vs. ÖNB ѣставаѣѣмѣ ‘we forgive’.

¹⁸³ Matthew per. 3 BPI Abraam ѣрѣ – RGB ѣрѣ vs. ÖNB ѣра ‘of emperor’, per. 12 BPI RGB Abraam вѣсѣ́къ vs. ÖNB вѣсѣ́къ ‘everybody’.

¹⁸⁴ Graphemes originally denoting Common Slavonic reduced vowels.

¹⁸⁵ The concept of a *word* was not exactly defined in this time. From the spelling (and even more clearly from the early prints), it is clear that scribes distinguished (not very exactly) rather stress units, i.e. the word plus proclitics and enclitics.

пророк- 'prophet'²⁰³. The popular Middle CS manuscript (i.e. not printed) spelling feature are special o-allographs in different forms of the word око 'eye'²⁰⁴.

The presence of rich and variable diacritics is one of the main features of Middle CS. The most regularly diacritics are psila of various shapes ('), oxia ('), varia ('), iso (") and kendema ("), which is typically used in monosyllables except prepositions²⁰⁵. Nevertheless, the position of these diacritic signs as²⁰⁶ well as their combining with other types, especially kamora (') and okovavy (")²⁰⁷, is far from being regularised²⁰⁸. A certain role is also played by a different level of consistency in using the diacritics, in particular in combination with above-written letters and jer-apostroph (').

The morphological specifics of the language attested in the above mentioned Moldavian books of the second quarter of the 16th century can be divided into two main groups: the specifics linked to the spelling features and those that are not linked to them. The aspect, which influences the flexion most, are the juses. We have mentioned above several aspects, which are variable and may cause confusion or homonymy of the forms. This may be revealed e.g. in the transcription to another spelling type²⁰⁹. The ja-stems ending in л, н, р show a regular paradigm different from that of the "School" OCS Grammar manifested in the nom. sg. with -ѣ and acc. sg. with -а (homonymous with nominative and accusative plural)²¹⁰. An analogous situation rules in the paradigm of the pronoun въѣѣ 'all', where въѣѣ is nominative singular feminine and nominative and accusative plural neuter²¹¹ and въѣѣа is accusative singular feminine as well as nominative plural feminine and accusative plural masculine and feminine.

²⁰³ Matthew per. 4 BPI прѣрѣкѣ vs. RGB Abraam прѣрѣкѣ – ÖNB прѣрѣкомъ 'by the prophet'.

²⁰⁴ Matthew per. 14 BPI ѣкѣ – RGB Abraam ÖNB ѣко 'eye', per. 33 BPI ѣчи – RGB Abraam ÖNB ѣчи 'eyes'.

²⁰⁵ Preface BPI 4r RGB 7r Abraam 7v ÖNB 4r въ 'you', BPI 4v RGB 7v ÖNB 5r двѣ vs. Abraam 8r двѣ 'two'.

²⁰⁶ Matthew per. 4 BPI рѣкѣ ти vs. RGB Abraam рѣкѣ ти – ÖNB рѣкоу ти 'I will tell you', per. 10 BPI Abraam солъ земли – ÖNB солъ земли vs. RGB солъ земли 'salt of the earth'.

²⁰⁷ Such name of this diacritic sign is mentioned by И.В. Ягичъ, *Рассуждения южнославянской и русской старины о церковнославянскомъ языкѣ*, Санкт-Петербургъ 1896, p. 795.

²⁰⁸ BPI 4v ѣдѣ vs. RGB 7v ѣдѣ vs. Abraam 8r ÖNB 4v ѣдѣ 'when', BPI 4r сѣрѣкѣ – RGB 7v сѣрѣкѣ – Abraam 7v сѣрѣкѣ – ÖNB 4v сѣрѣкѣ 'that is', per. 4 BPI ѣ двѣю лѣтъ vs. Abraam ѣ двѣю лѣтъ – RGB ѣ двѣю лѣтоу vs. ÖNB ѣ двѣю лѣтоу 'from two years'.

²⁰⁹ E.g. the forms дѣш 'soul(s)' and мрѣжж 'net(s)', въ на 'in her/them' can be thus interpreted as gen. and acc. sg. and nom. and acc. pl., глѣа, сѣтворѣа can be both indicative 'I say, I do' and active present participle 'saying, doing'. Cf. also Matthew per. 6 BPI ѣ галилѣж – RGB Abraam ѣ галилѣж vs. ÖNB ѣ галилѣе 'from Galilee', per. 8 BPI въ галилѣж – RGB Abraam въ галилѣж vs. ÖNB въ галилѣю 'to Galilee'.

²¹⁰ Matthew per. 11 BPI RGB Abraam земли vs. ÖNB земля 'land', per. 4 BPI RGB Abraam въ земли vs. ÖNB въ земли 'to the land'.

²¹¹ Matthew per. 5 BPI въѣѣ страна – RGB въѣѣ страна – Abraam въѣѣ страна vs. ÖNB въѣѣ страна 'all the region', 7 BPI RGB Abraam въѣѣ црѣвѣа vs. ÖNB въѣѣа црѣвѣа 'all kingdoms', 9 BPI въѣѣа галилѣж – RGB Abraam въѣѣа галилѣж vs. ÖNB въѣѣа галилѣю 'all Galilee'.

From the perspective of the morphological features not linked with the spelling, the language of the core corpus of the Moldavian Trinovitan CS shows a coexistence of older (archaic) and younger forms²¹². From the noun forms, we must point out the younger form of the nominative plural of jo-stems on *-iŕ*²¹³ and various forms of the genitive plural of jo-stems, ja-stems and i-stems²¹⁴. In the ja-stems of the type *милостыни* ‘alms’, both archaic and younger forms can be observed²¹⁵. In the adjective flexion (including the participles and pronouns), the archaic flexion is characterised by vowel clusters (type *-аго*, *-ыхь*), while the already usual forms include just one vowel (type *-аго*, *-ыхь*)²¹⁶. The typical adjective endings are genitive singular of masculine/neuter *-аго/-ѣго*²¹⁷, dative singular *-омѣ*²¹⁸ and further ones, as e.g. *-ыхь/ихь*²¹⁹ and *-ымы/имь*²²⁰. From the younger pronoun flexion, we may mention the replacement of the original accusative singular masculine and accusative plural of all masculine and feminine of the personal pronoun of the 3rd person by an originally genitive form²²¹.

In the verb flexion, the most prominent younger feature is the ending *-мы* in the 1st plural present indicative of the athematic verbs²²². Similarly as in case of adjectives, also imperfect conjugation knows both archaic forms with vowel clusters and shorter younger forms²²³. The variation of older and younger

²¹² Besides them, the Trinovitan texts contain further morphological forms, which were typical for the original works of Late Second Bulgarian Empire authors and translators. These forms, which may be called substandard, did not enter the biblical-liturgical corpus, but as we will see later, they survived in other genres of the Moldavian Slavonic Letters.

²¹³ Preface RGB 6v *мѣжѣ* – Abraam 7r *мѣжѣ* – ÖNB 3v *моужѣ* vs. BPI 3v *мѣжѣ* ‘men’, nominative plural: RGB 7r Abraam 7v *ѡбычае наши* – ÖNB 4r *ѡбычае наши* vs. BPI 4r *ѡбычѣн на*, accusative plural: RGB 7r Abraam 7r *ѡбычѣа нашиа* vs. BPI 4r *ѡбычѣж ниѣж* vs. ÖNB 4r *ѡбычае наше* ‘our habits’.

²¹⁴ Matthew per. 7 BPI ÖNB *днѣ* vs. RGB Abraam *днѣ* ‘of days’, per. 95 BPI *костѣи* vs. RGB *кѡстѣи* – Abraam *кѡстѣи* vs. ÖNB *кѡсти* ‘of bones’, per. 28 BPI *стадо свиный* vs. ÖNB *стадо свиные* ‘herd of swine’ (adjective in RGB Abraam), per. 58 BPI RGB Abraam *мѣжѣ* – ÖNB *моужѣ* ‘of men’, but per. 75 BPI *свѣтѣль* – RGB Abraam ÖNB *свѣтѣль* ‘of witnesses’.

²¹⁵ Matthew per. 16 BPI *мѣтынѣ* vs. RGB *милостыни* – Abraam *мѣтыни* – ÖNB *мѣтыни* ‘alms’.

²¹⁶ Except the nominative singular masculine, where the reduction of the type *-ын* > *-ы* is substandard. Matthew per. 3 BPI *юудѣискѣ* – RGB *юудѣискын* vs. Abraam *юудѣискѣ* – ÖNB *юудѣискѣ* ‘of the Jews’. The spelling *-ы* is a common abbreviation of *-ын*.

²¹⁷ Matthew per. 14 BPI *великаго* – RGB ÖNB *великаго* vs. Abraam *великаго* ‘of a great one’, 15 BPI *искрънѣго* – RGB *искрънѣго* Abraam *искрънѣго* – ÖNB *искрънѣго* ‘of a sincere one’, per. 15 BPI *хѡтѣща* – RGB Abraam *хѡтѣщаго* – ÖNB *хѡтѣщаго* ‘of as willing one’.

²¹⁸ Matthew per. 46 BPI *слѣпомѣ* – RGB ÖNB *слѣпомѣ* – Abraam *слѣпомѣ* ‘to the blind one’, per. 80 BPI *послѣднемоѣ* – RGB *послѣднемоѣ* – Abraam *послѣднемоѣ* – ÖNB *послѣднемоѣ* ‘to the last one’, per. 15 BPI *просѣщомѣ* – RGB *просѣщомѣ* – Abraam *просѣщомѣ* – ÖNB *просѣщомѣ* ‘to the asking one’.

²¹⁹ Matthew per. 11 BPI Abraam ÖNB *малы* vs. RGB *малыи* ‘of small ones’.

²²⁰ Preface BPI 4v *евреискѣ языкѣ* – RGB 7v *евреискѣ языкѣ* – ÖNB 5r *евреискымъ языкѣ* – Abraam 8r *евреискѣ глаго* ‘in Hebrew language’.

²²¹ Matthew per. 3 RGB *пославъ ѣ* – Abraam *пославъ ихъ* – ÖNB *пославъ ихъ* vs. RGB *пославъ ѣ* ‘having sent them’.

²²² 19 BPI *ѣмы* – RGB ÖNB Abraam *ѣмы* ‘we eat’, 85 BPI Abraam *не вѣмы* – RGB *не вѣмы* – ÖNB *не вѣмы* ‘we do not know’.

²²³ Matthew per. 4 BPI *нехѡтѣаше* – RGB *не хѡтѣаше* vs. Abraam ÖNB *не хѡтѣаше* ‘they did not want’.

Division criterion	Types of texts	Characterization
Secular chancery texts with the preference of *ǫ > /u/ (оу, ѝ) and l-preterite.	Letters sent to Transylvania.	Primarily patterned on CS with stronger interference of Ruthenian, eventually Wallachian-South Slavonic.
	Charters to boyars.	Alternation of CS and Ruthenian formulas.
	Treaty with Poland and Glăvan's Letter.	Ruthenian with CS and Polish penetrations.

To this overview, it can be added that the intitulation of the ruler, *ꙗꙋ Пѣтрꙋ ꙗꙋевода бѣжѣю млѣтꙋю гпѣрь земли мѡлдавскои*²²⁷ remains in this official form in otherwise Trinovitan-spelled texts as colophons, inscriptions and letters for monasteries. In monastery charters, the оу instead of *ǫ appear in formulas shared with the secular internal charters. In colophons, there may be ж/оу variation²²⁸. In secular chancery texts, random Trinovitan formulas may appear (e.g. in the invocation in the Treaty with Poland). The letter by hegumen of Moldovița to the town of Bistrița shows a hybrid character.

There are two main spelling features, which are common to all types of Moldavian texts. The first one is the spelling of ы/и as /i/. This causes the possibility of the variation of ы/и especially in the Trinovitan CS texts²²⁹. In the secular chancery texts, the appearance of ы is marginal (typically in the word мы 'we' or even 'of me'), Romanian proper names lack it²³⁰. This feature is common for Romanian Slavonic texts in general. This is supported by the fact that Slavonic languages not distinguishing *y/*i surround the Romanian speaking territory. The same trait can be found in the Moldavian Polish letters written in Latin script.

²²⁷ 'John Peter voivode, by Grace of God lord of Moldavian Land'. Thus e.g. on the St Demetrius inscription in Suceava. *Die Inschriften...*, p. 138.

²²⁸ Thus бѣжѣ in the colophon of the Apostolos from 1528. Colophon of the Old Testament from 1537: плати сѣю книгоу рѣкомаа (he) payed this book called... Similarly, there is a variation in a charter for Bistrița бждѣтѣ/бѣдѣтѣ. Cf. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 56.

²²⁹ ВРІ 4г заповѣдѣи – RGB 7v Abraam 8r заповѣди vs. ÖNB 4v заповѣды 'commands'. To this example, we must add that in some Resavian manuscripts, there might be a tendency to write ы in the word end, but и in the word interior. Cf. Љ. ШТАВЪЛАНИН-ЂОРЂЕВИЋ et al., *Опис ћирилских рукописа Народне библиотеке Србије*, vol. I, Београд 1986, p. 40, 288, 293.

²³⁰ Hurmuzaki Psalter contains ы in the CS loanwords (e.g. 23r поустыня 'deserted place') and randomly in few non-Slavonic words for /i/. Cf. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 30–31.

The second and a more important common feature of Slavonic texts from Moldavia is the pronunciation of **ѣ/ѧ** as /ja/, which makes it interchangeable also with **а/ѧ**. The traces of this feature can marginally appear even in the biblical corpus²³¹; they are more frequent in the original texts of all types²³². Behind originally palatalized sibilants, we can randomly find the spelling **а** in the secular documents. This trait is typical for the East Slavonic milieu²³³. Behind vowels, the usual Trinovitan spelling of /ja/ is **ѧ**, but in the original texts, we may see more variation²³⁴. A morphological consequence of this variation is the ending confusion in the ja-stems ending in **а, ѡ, ѧ**²³⁵, eventually the preference of the ending **-ѣ** in the genitive and accusative singular jo-stems following the Trinovitan norm²³⁶. An analogical situation rules in the Romanian spelling: **ѣ/ѧ** for /ea/²³⁷ behind consonants, **ѧ/ѧ**

²³¹ Matthew per. 12 BPI **ѧрѡде** vs. RGB **ѧрѡде** vs. ÖNB **ѡрѡде** ‘thou fool’, Macarie I 162v II 466v **пѣнѣѣ** и **пожѣгѧа** ‘plundering and burning’.

²³² Theodosie’s Enkomion e.g. 200r **ѡ вѣра** ‘about the faith’, 201r **кѣтѡа** ‘oatch’, 203r **вѣнѣтрѡ** ‘inside’. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507 (internal chancery) **прѣдошѣ прѡ** ‘they came in front’, **дѣти/дѡти** ‘children’, p. 513 **за два стѧ** ‘for 200’; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 **по живѡта** ‘after the life’. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 (Treaty with Poland): **до землѣ** ‘to the lands’, **ѡ землѣ** ‘from the lands’. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518 (correspondence with Transylvania) **ѡ мѡста** ‘from the town’, p. 540 **камо сѣ дѡла**, **гдѣ сѣ дѡла** ‘where she is gone’, p. 538 **прѡже** ‘before’.

²³³ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 and *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 64 **прѣдоша** ‘they came’, *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 51 **чѡ наши** ‘of our children’.

²³⁴ Colophon of the Apostolos from 1528: **книга зовемаѧ** ‘the book called’. Macarie I 165v **вѣспрѣѧти** – II 469v **вѣспрѣѧти** ‘to take’. Theodosie’s Enkomion 200v **ѡвѣѧтъ вѡвъ** ‘he was taken’. Transylvanian correspondence, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518 **прѣѧтели** ‘to the friends’, p. 539 **прѧѧѧю** ‘to the friend’. Treaty with Poland, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 **прѧѧѧѧ** ‘to the friends’, **непрѧѧѧѧ** ‘to the enemies’, internal chancery: M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 **боѧре** ‘boyars’, p. 511 **боѧ** ‘of boyars’, p. 511 **дѣѧк** ‘scribe’; *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 267 **боѧрѡ** ‘to boyars’.

²³⁵ Matthew per. 16 nominative singular BPI **вѡла тѡѡ** vs. RGB **ѧбраѧ вѡлѣ тѡѡ** vs. ÖNB **вѡла тѡѡ**. Theodosie’s Enkomion 203v accusative singular **мѧѧѧѧ** ‘alms’. Macarie I genitive singular 157r **изъ загорскѧа землѣ** ‘from Wallachia’, accusative singular 158r **пѣнѧѧѧ землѣ** ‘to plunder the land’, 159r **пѧлѧѧѧѧ землѣ** ‘Palestinian land’, 156v (II 460v) **вѣсѣ своѡ сѧѧ** ‘all his power’. Treaty with Poland, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 **землѧ наша** ‘our land’. Correspondence with Transylvania, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 538 **ѡчѧѧѧ вѡлѣ** ‘he made a decision’. Internal chancery, *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 240 **пѣнѧѧѧѧ нашѣ землѣ** ‘they plundered our land’.

²³⁶ Also in the Treaty with Poland, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 **гѡспѡдарѣ** ‘lord’, **цѧрѣ** ‘sultan’, where we could expect the ending **-ѧ**, which is characteristic for the Ruthenian spelling of Poland and Lithuania. Cf. genitive singular in the internal documents, *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 55; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 184 **спѧѧѧѧ** ‘spătâr’.

²³⁷ Internal chancery, *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 144 **Нѣга** ‘Neaga’, p. 127 **Кѣсѧѣ** ‘Cârstea’, p. 184 **Ѥрѣѧѧѧ** ‘Urecheanul’; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 **Ѥѡѡрѧѧѧ** ‘Foforeanî’; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 129 **Дѣѧѧѧ** ‘Deleanî’. Cf. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 27–30.

behind vowels²³⁸. In contrast to Trinovitan CS, the Romanian cluster *-oa/-wa-* does not denote two syllables /oja/, but a diphthong /oa/²³⁹, that can still be spelled with a single *o*²⁴⁰. The variation of *ѣ/а/а*, which originated in the fusion of the East Bulgarian and East Slavonic spelling of CS²⁴¹ is a typical Moldavian marker.

The characteristic variation of the Trinovitan CS texts, from both Moldavia and Wallachia, is *ж/ъ /ə/*, which is a reading inherited from the Second Bulgarian Empire texts. Also this feature can be marginally found in the shared biblical corpus²⁴². It is more frequent in the original Trinovitan CS texts²⁴³ and it may appear in some letters addressed to Transylvania, concretely the letter by hegumen of Moldovița²⁴⁴ and the letter by pârcălab Dan of Câmpulung²⁴⁵. The Romanian spelling prefers *ъ* for both /ə/ and /i/²⁴⁶ in the non-initial position. The spelling *ж* may appear rather at the word end²⁴⁷. The letter *ъ* can variate with *а* in Romanian words and create confusion of etymological *ra and *rŭ²⁴⁸.

²³⁸ Internal chancery, M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 Раа 'Raia', p. 508 Збіта 'Zbiarra'; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 47 Матеіа 'Mateiaș'. The same solution is shown in the Hurmuzaki Psalter. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 29, 33.

²³⁹ Internal chancery, M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511 Тоадера 'of Toader'; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 Скрьдоаса 'Scârdoasa'.

²⁴⁰ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 Пстнишора 'Putnișoara'.

²⁴¹ See the following scheme:

CS pronunciation	ѣ	а
East Bulgarian	/ja/	/e/
Galician-Volhynian	/i/	/ja/
Moldavian	/ja/	/ja/

²⁴² Matthew per. 16 ВРІ мѣѣж vs. RGB Abraam мѣвдѣ – ÖNB мѣвѣу 'reward'. We did not find this phenomenon in Macarie's Chronicle.

²⁴³ A monastery charter, *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375 ѿкѣдѣ 'from where'.

²⁴⁴ Letter by hegumen of Moldovița, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531 нж 'but', аще въсхоциѣ 'if they want', ѿ кѣдѣ 'from where'. Cf. letter by logofăt Toma, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541 досѣ 'until now'.

²⁴⁵ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 535 сѣ 'they are', вѣдѣ 'it will be'.

²⁴⁶ Internal documents, *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 160 пана Тѣлпи 'of Sir Tâmpa', p. 161 Михѣилѣ 'Mihăilă'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 сѣла 'sălaș, dwelling', p. 159 Ромѣнескѣль 'Românescul, the Romanian', Дрѣгѣшѣ 'to Drăguș'; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 Мѣриѣ 'Maria, Mary', but *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 376 Пѣтрашка 'of Pătrășcu'.

²⁴⁷ Internal documents, *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 72 Кѣприварѣ 'Căprioară', Мѣгдѣлинѣ 'Măgdălină', but p. 71 Кѣприварѣ, *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 214 Лопатѣ 'Lopată, shovel'. The Hurmuzaki Psalter generally uses *ъ*, while the letter *ж* is very marginal. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 30.

²⁴⁸ *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 160 Крѣка 'of Cârç', пана Хрѣвора 'of Sir Hrăbor', cf. *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki...*, p. 34.

The use of the letter *s* is common for Trinovitan CS, where it is used consequently both in the word initial and in paradigm, and for Moldavian Romanian, where it denotes /dz/²⁴⁹ and it can be sometimes varied with *ʒ*²⁵⁰. In the Slavonic words of the documents, the letter *s* appears in two cases: lexicalized in the dat. sg. *сѣсѣѣ* 'to the servant'²⁵¹ and *пѣсѣи* 'money'²⁵² and randomly in other words from **z* according to the preference of individual scribes²⁵³.

In the secular chancery texts, whose main common feature is the preference of **q* > /u/, we can find the combination of Church Slavonic, Ruthenian and eventually other types of spelling. Particularly in the highly formulaic internal chancery documents, the use of elements of different origin is almost fixed.

	Internal chancery		Transylvanian correspondence	Treaty with Poland
	CS elements	Ruthenian elements		
* <i>tj</i>	Absent in formulas	<i>ч</i> regularly in <i>чѣсѣи</i> 'reading', Once <i>к</i> ²⁵⁴	<i>ц</i> , once <i>ч</i> ²⁵⁵ , randomly <i>к</i> in future auxiliary	Regularly <i>ч</i> ²⁵⁶ , but <i>ц</i> in the derivations of <i>мѣ</i> 'power' ²⁵⁷
* <i>dj</i>	<i>жд</i> regularly in <i>потвѣрждѣніѣ</i> 'confirmation'	<i>ж</i> regularly in <i>межи</i> 'between', <i>непонѣжѣ</i> 'unforced' ²⁵⁸	Only <i>жд</i>	Once <i>примежнѣни</i> ²⁵⁹

²⁴⁹ Mentions of postelnic Sturdza, e.g. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542 *Стѣсѣѣ*; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *Стѣсѣи*. Cf. other proper names, also *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 271 *ѡкъъ* *Зѣжи* 'towards Dzijă'; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345 *Хамза* 'Hamdza'.

²⁵⁰ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127 *бѣлнѣдѣ* 'mild', *бѣлнѣсѣи*, *бѣлнѣи* 'milds'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37 *Стѣсѣи* 'of Sturdza'.

²⁵¹ Thus in M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508, 513, 520; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 215, but cf. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259 *сѣсѣѣ*.

²⁵² Thus in M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508, 513 and ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 519 vs. *пѣсѣи* in ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 533; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 275 and *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 161.

²⁵³ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 56 *ѡ наше зѣмли* 'in our land', p. 55 *вѣ знаменѣи* 'by the sign', *къ западѣ* 'westwards'.

²⁵⁴ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 240 *рѣсѣи* vs. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 *рѣсѣи*.

²⁵⁵ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 537 *хѡчѣ* 'I want'.

²⁵⁶ *чѣсѣи* 'reading', *знаѡчи* 'knowing', *хѡчѣмо* 'we want', *мѡчи* 'to be able', *помѡчи* 'to help', *дѣднѣѣ* 'to the heirs'.

²⁵⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 *мѣ* 'power', *мѡцно* 'strongly', *наймѡцнѣйшѡмѣ* 'to the most powerful'.

²⁵⁸ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513 and *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93 *ниѡи* *непонѣжѣ* 'forced by anybody'; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344 and *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 *непонѣжѣни* vs. *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147 *непонѣжѣна*; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130 and *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 19 *непонѣжѣѣ*. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259, 269; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159 *межи*.

²⁵⁹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725.

	Internal chancery		Transylvanian correspondence	Treaty with Poland
	CS elements	Ruthenian elements		
-rŭ-/rĭ-	Randomly рѣ ²⁶⁹	на верѣ ²⁷⁰	Only рѣ	Держати 'to hold'
*-ār-/-āl-	Randomly ра/ла ²⁷¹	Regularly in сторо-на ²⁷²	Only -ра- ²⁷³	рѣ, ра ²⁷⁴
*-er-	Regularly рѣ	Randomly in natural phenomena ²⁷⁵	ѡ съда напѣ ²⁷⁶ , прѣлѣ ²⁷⁷	Only in перѣ, but прѣдковѣ
*e-	Always in the word едн ²⁷⁸	Once взерн ²⁷⁹	Only ε- (in εдн ²⁷⁸)	Once ²⁸⁰ вдно
Pa/po	ра ²⁸¹	рѣ-	Not attested	рѣ-/ра ²⁸²

As we have seen from the table above, the Treaty with Poland shows an impact of lexicalized Polonisms, while the Serbian impact on the spelling level is seen just in a random appearing of κ on the place of *tj²⁸³. In total, the Moldavian documents show four different reflexes of *tj. An interesting phenomenon appearing

²⁶⁹ Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 275 братѣа которѣи дрѣжали 'brothers who possessed'.

²⁷⁰ Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 259.

²⁷¹ Молдова ын епока..., vol. I, p. 55 влатами 'of marshes'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 здравіе 'health'.

²⁷² M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 ѡ иншіи сторѣи 'from other sides'; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20 and *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 129 по вѣѣк сторѣи 'on both sides'. *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 дорѣга 'path'.

²⁷³ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536 на еѣш стѣранѣ 'on one side'.

²⁷⁴ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 крѣлѣ 'of the king' vs. p. 726 крѣлю 'to the king', p. 727 врѣтити сѣ 'to return'. The lexeme здравн 'health' in Glăvan's Letter could also be a Bohemism.

²⁷⁵ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210 верѣги 'shores'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 214 оѣ верѣсти 'near the birch'.

²⁷⁶ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541.

²⁷⁷ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 538.

²⁷⁸ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 едино мѣкто 'a place', p. 513 еднѣ закѣ 'a law'; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 едно село 'a village', едного лѣтра 'a rogue'.

²⁷⁹ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 взерн 'lake' vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124 съ езеркѣми 'with small lakes'.

²⁸⁰ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727.

²⁸¹ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 разѣумѣли есмы 'we have understood'.

²⁸² Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 дорѣздѣмѣ 'he will understand' vs. вѣхнѣо разѣмѣли 'we would understand'. Cf. ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 108 на тим розбоиу 'during this robbery'.

²⁸³ For details on this spelling see В. Поломац, *Језик повеља и писѣма Српске деспотовине*, Крагујевац 2016, p. 103–108.

in the secular chancery documents is the variation of of o/ʒ, which can be of different origins:

- Ukrainian *o > ʒ before an originally reduced vowel in the next syllable²⁸⁴ is attested in the Treaty with Poland²⁸⁵, e.g. *коруко* ‘how much’, *ворудоу мочи* ‘we will be able’, *покѣ* ‘peace’ (can be also from Polish *pokój*).
- *Balkanic* variation of o/ouʒ in the unstressed syllable:
 - *o > ʒ: randomly in *даемѣ* ‘we give’²⁸⁶, *вѣдомѣ* ‘known’²⁸⁷, *ѣставши*²⁸⁸ ‘remaining’, *полѣвина*²⁸⁹ ‘half’, *мѣнасти* ‘monastery’²⁹⁰,
 - *u > o: regularly in the formula *вживали* ‘they used’, randomly in *вѣрѣни* ‘it will confirm’²⁹¹, *вночатомѣ* ‘to grandsons’²⁹² – *внѣковѣ* ‘grandsons’²⁹³, *пасико* ‘clearing’²⁹⁴, *до крѣницо* ‘to the source’²⁹⁵.

Just in the Treaty with Poland, we find the typical Ruthenian spelling of o from *e behind hardened soft sibilants²⁹⁶.

Finally, we will mention specific spelling solutions denoting (Moldavian) Romanian specific phonemes:

- /dʒ/ is spelled as ж or џ²⁹⁷,

²⁸⁴ Ю. ШЕВЕЛЬОВ, *Исторична фонологія української мови*, Харків 2002, p. 559. A similar phenomenon is *e > *u, which attested in the lexeme *заноуѣ* ‘because’ forming part of the formula of the internal chancery. Cf. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 131; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 379.

²⁸⁵ And ones in latter by great vornic Huru, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539 *пѣли* ‘you send’.

²⁸⁶ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539.

²⁸⁷ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192.

²⁸⁸ *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344, 345.

²⁸⁹ *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345.

²⁹⁰ Colophon in the *Apostolos* from 1528.

²⁹¹ Colophon in the *Apostolos* from 1528.

²⁹² *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203.

²⁹³ *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26.

²⁹⁴ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65.

²⁹⁵ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55.

²⁹⁶ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 and Glăvan’s Letter: *пришол до нас* ‘he came to us’.

²⁹⁷ *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *пан Жѣржа* ‘of Sir George’, *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 50 *Моѣциѡн* vs. p. 51 *Можециѡн*, p. 52 *Можециѡн* ‘Mogești’. *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58 *Сѣлѣѣани* ‘Sălăjani’; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 *Ноѣѣ* ‘Nogea’, *Роѣиноаса* ‘Ruginoasa’. Colophon of the *Apostolos* from 1528: *сѣлѣѣаскоѡн* ‘of Sălăjeni’. In the Hurmuzaki Psalter, the phoneme /dʒ/ is spelled џ, while the letter ж is used only in the words of Slavonic origin. Although /dʒ/ is now generally missing in most Moldavian dialects, its shift to /ʒ/ is apparently of late date. The letter џ was still used in Dosoftei’s prints in the 1670s and 1680s.

In the Cyrillic texts, the reflex of *g is generally spelled *г*, while in the Slavonic toponyms *х*³¹⁴, but maybe also *г*³¹⁵.

Morphology and morphosyntax

The morphological and morphosyntactic variation in Moldavian Slavonic texts reveals the impact of different written and spoken languages. In the following overview, we will mention the forms, which are different from the ones that are usual in the standard variety (Middle Church Slavonic).

From the noun morphology, we will start with the use of the morpheme *-ов-*, which is limited to the *u*-stems in the standard variety³¹⁶. In many Slavonic languages, this formant started soon to spread to masculine *o*-stems, eventually *jo*-stems. In South Slavonic languages, this was more typical for monosyllables³¹⁷. In Ukrainian, there has not been any limitation of the number of syllabs, but the formant has appeared in fewer flexion cases. The examined texts show the following picture:

- Dative singular (substandard CS in monosyllables and Ukrainian): Macarie I 155r (II 459r) Theodosie's Enkomion 203v *ѣви* 'to God'³¹⁸, Treaty with Poland: *кралєви* 'to the king', *приаѣлєви* 'to the friend', *царєви* 'to the sultan', Glăvan's Letter *приаѣлєви* 'to the friend'.
- Nominative plural (substandard CS in monosyllables, Ukrainian and Polish): Macarie I 159v (II 463v) *ѡгровє* 'Hungarians', II 478r *вєплєвє* 'mournings'. Internal documents: *плємєнниковє* 'nephews'³¹⁹, *ѡнѡковє* 'grandchildren'³²⁰,

³¹⁴ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 76 *Загорѣнїи* ('Zagorjani'); ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519 *Хрѣлаѡ* 'Hârlău' vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124 *съ грьлами* 'with sources' (both from *gŭrdlo*-). In Moldavian dialects, there are loanwords, where *g is reflected as /x/, e.g. *hrīb* 'bolete' (spread to Transylvania and Muntenia), *hulub* 'pigeon', *hulubiță* 'pigeon hen'. Cf. N. MIHAL, *Dictionar de regionalisme de uz școlar*, București 2007. H. ТИКТИН et al., *Rumänisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. II, Wiesbaden 2003, p. 341, 344.

³¹⁵ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 *Дорогѡнскїи* 'of Dorohoi'.

³¹⁶ Matthew, per. 1 BPI *родѡвє* – *рѡдѡвь*, RGB Abraam *рѡдѡвє* – *рѡдѡвь*, ÖNB *рѡдѡвє* – *рѡдѡвь* nominative and genitive plural 'generations'. In OCS, this lexeme mostly shows *o*-stem forms, in some cases also *u*-stem ones (e.g. in *Codex Suprasliensis* and *Codex Assemanius*).

³¹⁷ E.g. in the substandard CS forms in the Slavonic translation of the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses: nominative singular *градъ*, nominative plural *градове*, dative plural *градѡвѡмъ*, accusative plural *градѡвы*, locative plural *градѡвоухъ*. See *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses. Traducere mediobulgară*, ed. I. BOGDAN, București 1922, p. 259–260.

³¹⁸ Cf. Matthew, per. 7 BPI RGB ÖNB *ѣоу* – Abraam *ѣѡ*.

³¹⁹ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127, 140.

³²⁰ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159.

ШКОВЕ 'uncles'³²¹, ПРЪКАЛАБОВЕ 'mayors'³²². Treaty with Poland: ПРЕДКОВЕ 'ancestors', ПАНОВЕ 'sirs'.

- Genitive plural (substandard CS in monosyllables and Ukrainian) Macarie I 157v (II 461v) § МОСТѢ 'by bridges', I 164v (II 468v) ѿ ТРЪДѢ 'from sufferings', I 165r 167v (471v) ѿ ГРАДѢ 'from the towns' vs. 469r ОТЪ ГРАДЬ. Internal documents: ДЪДѢ 'of grandfathers, ancestors'³²³, БОЯРѢ 'of boyars'³²⁴, ШРИКѢ 'of privileges'³²⁵, ПРЕДКОВЪ 'of ancestors'³²⁶. Treaty with Poland: ПАНѢ 'of sirs', НЕПРИАТЕЛѢ 'of enemies', ѿ СТАРОСТѢ 'from regional chiefs' (masculine a-stem), Colophon of the Jerusalem Tetraevangelion from 1532: ПИСЦѢ 'of scribes'.
- Accusative plural (substandard CS ending): Macarie I 159v (II 464r) ГРАДѢ vs. I 167v (471r) ГРАТѢ 'towns', II 476v ВРЪГѢ 'shores'. Internal documents *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93 ВОЛОВИ 'oxes'³²⁷, СЕЛОВЕ³²⁸ 'villages' (neuter!).

A striking Ukrainian feature of the internal documents is the spread of the ending -и to dative and locative singular of a-stems (instead or besides the usual -ѣ), appearing both in common³²⁹ and proper names³³⁰. In one document, we found the Romanian -еи for dative singular in a-stem proper names³³¹. An analogical phenomenon is the ending -и in the genitive singular of ja-stems³³², which, however,

³²¹ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507.

³²² *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124.

³²³ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50.

³²⁴ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 267.

³²⁵ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98.

³²⁶ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124.

³²⁷ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93.

³²⁸ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55.

³²⁹ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 сестри – *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40 сестры 'to the sister'. *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 дочки – *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 дочки 'to the daughter'; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159 жени его 'to his wife'; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65 хотѣ тои пасици 'border of the clearing' (possessive dative). Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520 оу дръжави 'in the region'.

³³⁰ Dative: T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 сестри их Федци 'to their sister Fedca'; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 148 Мъринки 'to Mărinca'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32 продѣ... сестра их Настуи и Васоутки и Шленки 'he sold to their sister Nastuia, Vasutca and Olenca'. *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345 на Ларги 'on Larga'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37 на Нистри – *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 на Днистри vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124 на Днистрѣ 'on Nistru'.

³³¹ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 381 потвърдили есмы Мъринкеи..., Мъриней, ... и Катриней 'we have confirmed to Mărinca, Mărina and Catrina'.

³³² *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210 ѿ крѣницѣ 'from the source' vs. до крѣници 'to the source'. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 44 ѿ Молдавици 'from Moldovița'; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269 ѿ пшестини 'from the deserted place'.

can be considered a possessive dative in CS expressions³³³. A phenomenon, linked to the variation in both Middle CS and Ukrainian dialects³³⁴, is the variation of the originally i-stem ending *-їи/-єи*³³⁵, which might have spread to further declensions. In the original CS-based texts, we can find, similarly as in the biblical corpus, both younger³³⁶ and archaic forms³³⁷. The assimilation of *-їи* > *-и* can be considered to be substandard³³⁸.

The creation of the dat. pl. *-им* in different declensions, representing a simple adding of *м* to the nominative plural is very rare³³⁹. This phenomenon is typical rather for Wallachian Slavonic³⁴⁰. Another feature known from different Romanian Slavonic texts, randomly appearing in different Slavonic dialects, is the spread of the ending *-χ* to the genitive plural of noun declension. In the Moldavian chancery texts we examined, this is a marginal phenomenon³⁴¹. A more interesting

³³³ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 35 *ѡ прѣстѣль дѣци и бѣци Мѡриа* 'from the very-pure Virgin and Mother-of-God Mary' vs. *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375 *хра̃м̃ благаѡвѣщеніе прѣстѣки дѣци бѣци мѡрин* 'temple of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mother-of-God Mary'.

³³⁴ The ending *-їи* is typical for the Galician-Bucovinian dialect, while the Podolian may use *-ей*. *Атлас української мови*, vol. II, *Волинь, Наддністрянщина, Закарпаття и суміжні землі*, ed. Я.В. ЗАКРЕВСЬКА, Київ 1988, maps 197–200.

³³⁵ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 *ѡ наши дѣтїи* vs. p. 511 *ѡ дѣтїей* and T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 *ѡ дѣтєи* vs. *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 56 *ѡ дѣти наши̃*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 *дѣтєей, дѣтїий* 'from (our) children'. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124 and colophon of Logofăt Toma's Tetraevangelion from 1545 *родителєи* vs. colophon of the Tetraevangelion from 1542 *родитєлїи*.

³³⁶ In Theodosie's Enkomion, the forms *црїе* 'kings' (200v, 202r, 203r) and once *родителїе* 'parents' (203r) are used as both nominative and accusative plural. There is also the new jo-stem locative plural ending in 202r *въ мѡжє̃* 'among men', cf. Macarie II 476r *на врьзєхъ конєхъ* 'on quick horses'.

³³⁷ There may be also hyperarchaisms like in *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204 *више писанадог* 'of above written' and *исплѣнѣлаше* 'he was completing' in Theodosie's Enkomion (201r).

³³⁸ Macarie I 155r *ѡ вѣїи посѡблєни* 'about God's support', *ѡ наказани* 'about the punishment', 155v *по прѣтѣчєни лѣтоу* 'after a year', 156r *ѡ сѣмирєни* 'about the reconciliation'.

³³⁹ *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 40 and *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127 *дѣтїи* vs. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212 *дѣтї̃* 'to children'; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17 *слѡгїи* 'to servants'; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518 *прїѣтєлїи* 'to the friends'. Another curious form is 200v *гѡдѣ̃* 'of reptiles' in Theodosie's Enkomion using a jo-stem ending for an o-stem noun. The same case is represented by the form *въ храворєтєей* 'among brave deeds' in Macarie II 476r.

³⁴⁰ Another Wallachian Slavonic form is the Štokavian instrumental singular curiously placed in the otherwise Ruthenian Treaty with Poland: *и̃ сїи наши̃ книгѡ̃* 'with this our letter' that appeared there as a petrified formula. The Wallachian mediation of this form is supported by the use of the typical Wallachian Slavonic lexeme *книга* 'letter'. Cf. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 421 (1510s) *сѣ̃ книгѡ̃̃* 'with the letter'. Nevertheless, in the contemporary Wallachian Slavonic, the usual form was the common case.

³⁴¹ Treaty with Poland: *до землѣ̃* 'to the lands', *ѡ землѣ̃* 'from the lands'; *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 *ѡ вѣсѣ̃ стѣранѡ̃* 'from all side'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30 *ѡ Рѡдоѡцє̃* vs. *ѡ Рѡдоѡцє̃̃* 'from Rădăuți', p. 41 *ѡ Іасѡ̃* 'from Iași'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 254, *пови̃ Ррѡдоусѣкнє̃* 'up from Răuseni'.

variation can be found in the locative singular of Romanian pluralia tantum proper names. This is the form where we found the typical substandard CS locative plural ending *-oχ* alternating with other variants, thus ‘in Iași’ as § *Іасѡ*³⁴², § *Іѧсе*³⁴³, but ‘in Huși’ as § *Хѡѡ*³⁴⁴, оу *Хоуѧи*³⁴⁵, § *Хѡсе*³⁴⁶, оу *Хоуѧа*³⁴⁷, or without any ending § *Хѡ*³⁴⁸, or Romanized § *Хѡ*³⁴⁹. A curious ending is for is *на Іалпѡ*³⁵⁰. From the original CS texts, we found the locative plural *-oχ* in Theodosie’s Enkomion³⁵¹. Further, it can be read in Glăvan’s Letter in a syntactically random form *мѡшчанѡ* ‘burghers’ and in a Polish letter issued in Moldavia³⁵².

With these examples, we step directly into the issue of declension of Romanian nouns (mostly proper names) in the Moldavian Slavonic chancery texts. The treatment of these nouns can be divided into four main groups: assignment to a Slavonic declension, no declension, Romanian endings and combination of the previous strategies. The first approach is seen in the form § *Хрѡловѣ* ‘in Hârlău’³⁵³. The second one is preferred in the form оу *Брѡладѡ*³⁵⁴. The Romance *culme* ‘peak’ (feminine in Romanian), testified by the forms *до кѡлми*, *на кѡлми*³⁵⁵, can be motivated by both Romanian genitive-dative *culmi* and the Ukrainian-based endings discussed above. In the word *megiaș* ‘neighbouring landlord’, the scribe had doubts on the instrumental singular³⁵⁶. The forms § *Васлѡи*³⁵⁷ § *Васлѡю* ‘in Vaslui’³⁵⁸, ѡ *Врѡхѡю* ‘in Orhei’³⁵⁹ (neuters in Romanian) can be considered nominative-accusative

³⁴² T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 36; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 56.

³⁴³ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 254; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 77.

³⁴⁴ Macarie I 157v (II 461v); *Молдова ын эпока...*, vol. II, p. 272, 276; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 95; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 18; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 125, 131, 142, 221; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 359; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 61.

³⁴⁵ *Молдова ын эпока...*, vol. I, p. 52. Cf. also *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 129 по вѣкѡ стѡрѡни ‘on both sides’.

³⁴⁶ *Молдова ын эпока...*, vol. I, p. 56; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 45; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 161; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 346; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 95; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 59; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204, 212, 217.

³⁴⁷ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27.

³⁴⁸ *Молдова ын эпока...*, vol. II, p. 270.

³⁴⁹ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 72.

³⁵⁰ *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 21.

³⁵¹ 201r въ ѡникоѡ ‘among martyrs’.

³⁵² o *Thurkoch* ‘about Turks’. Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 47. In (Middle) Polish of the 1st half of the 16th century, this was likely an originally dialectal (Lesser Polish) ending, marginally used besides the more frequent *-iech*. Z. KLEMENSIEWICZ, *Historia języka polskiego*, Warszawa 1999, p. 298–299.

³⁵³ Macarie II 467r, T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30 vs. *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 377 въ Хѡрловѣ.

³⁵⁴ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 42; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 342; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 241. In *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 211, there is § *Брѡладѣ* and in *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 119 на *Брѡладѣ* ‘on the river of Bârlad’.

³⁵⁵ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210.

³⁵⁶ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 183 съ *межнѡши*, *межнѡшѡни* ‘with neighbouring landlords’.

³⁵⁷ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 128.

³⁵⁸ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 185. Cf. Macarie I 157v нѡ *Васлѡта* ‘under Vaslui’.

³⁵⁹ *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20.

Romanian forms, less probably Ukrainian forms, attested on the territory of historical Moldavia³⁶⁰. The Romanian names of persons mostly appear in nominative, genitive³⁶¹ and dative³⁶². The most interesting are the combined forms of longer names, e.g.:

Current spelling	Nom.	Dat.
Pașco Răzlog(u) ³⁶³	Пашко Ръзлогѹ	Пъшкѣ Ръзлогѹ, Пашкови Ръзлоги
Petrea Breareș(u) ³⁶⁴	Петрѣ Бѣрешоѹ	Петри Бѣрешѣ
Popa (priest) Gavril Secară ³⁶⁵	попа ГавриѠ Секаръ	попѣ Гаврилѣ Секарѣ
Sima Marcovici ³⁶⁶	Сима МарковиѠ	Сими Марковичю

A curious example of a Romanian ending are the forms used as subject of the sentences дочкѣ 'daughter'³⁶⁷ and старостѣ Текѹчскѣи 'staroste of (the district of) Tecuci'³⁶⁸. The definite forms are attested by влъндѣ – влънѣи 'meek(s)'³⁶⁹. In singular, the forms with the Romanian article -и³⁷⁰ are declined as Slavonic o-stems in singular³⁷¹. In plural, the documents show the variation of possessive form with the Slavonic dative plural -ѹ or more rarely -ѣ and Romanian genitive-dative -лѹ³⁷². The singular possessivity may be expressed by a possessive

³⁶⁰ *Атлас української мови...*, map 182 у місяці/у місяцю 'in the month'

³⁶¹ E.g. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 пана Петра Кръковича, пана Хръбора, пана Пътрашка; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 160 пана Стурзи, Петри Кръка, пана Тъмпи, пана Хръбора, пана Борчѣ; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 пѣ Жържа Болѣ.

³⁶² A curious calque is ѱ привиліи томѣ Стефанѣ 'de privil(eg)ie lui Ștefan; from privilege of Stephen'. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513.

³⁶³ *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344.

³⁶⁴ *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344.

³⁶⁵ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203.

³⁶⁶ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 71.

³⁶⁷ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65.

³⁶⁸ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55.

³⁶⁹ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127.

³⁷⁰ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 Врекѣнѣ 'Urecheanul'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32 Михоуль 'Mihul'.

³⁷¹ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 Нѣгъла 'of Neagul'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32, Попескоула 'of Popescul', Иноу Туркоулу 'to Ion Turcul; to John the Turk'.

³⁷² *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 хотара медещиѣ, медещилѣ 'border of Medești'; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 21 ѣ сетіѣ Малѣрелѣ 'in the mouth of Malure'; *Surete...*, vol. XII, p. 94 Петриканіи, Петриканилѣ 'Petricanii'; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 64, ѣ хотѣ хлапещиѣ 'on the border of Hlăpești'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 231 на илѣ Хорвдничанилѣ 'called Horodniceani'; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 381 селѣ на илѣ Кривещиѣ 'village called Crivești'; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 ѱ коренію Пъцещиѣ 'from the family of Pățești'.

adjective³⁷³. An indirect impact of Romanian can be seen in the spread of feminine endings and agreement to other genders. The classical example is the noun *монастиѣ*³⁷⁴ ‘monastery’ and the neuter jo-stems³⁷⁵ with the frequently appearing noun *привиліѣ* ‘privilege’³⁷⁶. The Romanian background in the declension is reflected in the following types of syntactic discrepancies, which can be found in all original texts:

- Common case³⁷⁷, causing the confusion of subject and object³⁷⁸, of position and direction³⁷⁹ and the expression of possessivity by juxtaposition³⁸⁰.

³⁷³ E.g. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 144 *снѣ манчѣлѣ* ‘son of Manciuil’.

³⁷⁴ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 56 *новостъзданненіи монастыри* ‘of the newly established monastery’ and T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 35 *сѣѣни монастыри* ‘of the holy monastery’ is treated as feminine. *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58 *кѣ сѣѣни монастыри* shows an i-stem ending or it reflects a confusion of dative and locative.

³⁷⁵ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *ѡ коренію* ‘from the family’. The form can be considered a common case based on accusative singular of a-stems. In T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16, there are forms *до веръшиѣ* ‘to the source’, *ѡ веръшиѣ* ‘from the source’, *на веръшиѣ* ‘on the source’. At least the last one might be treated as singular feminine. *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26 *въ нѣка вѣмѣ* ‘in some time’, Colophon of the Tetraevangelion of logofăt Toma from 1535 *въ задѣшїѣ своѣ* ‘for the saving of the soul’. *Die Inschriften...*, p. 29 common case *подръжїѣ* ‘wife’. The interference with jo-stems can be observed in the form *помощїемъ* ‘with the help’ on the ktetor inscription in Humor. *Die Inschriften...*, p. 29.

³⁷⁶ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 99 nominative singular *таѣ привилїѣ* ‘this privilege’; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513 genitive singular *ѡ привилїи*; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 accusative plural *привилїи кривїи* ‘false privileges’ and *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212 *нѣкїи привилїи* ‘some privileges’; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 instrumental plural *съ ѣдними кривїими привилїями* ‘with some false privileges’.

³⁷⁷ Common case as nominative: Macarie I 159v *и зѣмѣѣ срѣмова плѣнїи* ‘and they plundered the land of Sirmia’, 158v *сѣбрѣ минѣжѣство персь, и сїѣла велика* ‘he gathered plenty of Persians (Ottomans), a great power’, 165v *послѣ прѣвїи ѡ велїмѣ свої* ‘he set the first ones of his noblemen’, Macarie II 481r *съ царскїими сановници* ‘with sultan’s officials’. Monastery documents: T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 *ѡуцїѣ поток* ‘from the mouth of the brook’; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 125 *ѡ прчстаѣ вгонтѣрѣ* ‘of the very-pure Mother-of-God’; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26 *къ племениковѣ* ‘to the nephews’. Internal secular documents: M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 *ѡ татарїи* ‘from Tatars’, p. 513 *половина село и половина ѡ стѣ* ‘half of the village and half of the pond’. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216 *ѡ тогѣ селициѣ* ‘from this settlement’; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 345 *ѡ оуцїѣ сторони* ‘from all sides’ – *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210 *по вѣѣ сторони бѣреги* ‘on both sides of the shore’. *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 *до дорога* ‘up to the path’. Correspondence with Transylvania: ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531 *радї нѣкїи дълги* ‘because of some debts’, p. 538 *прѣде сего вѣмѣ* ‘before this time’, p. 542 *ѡ Бистрицкїи гра* ‘from the town of Bistrița’, p. 539 *ѡ проклетїи Турци* ‘from damned Turks’, p. 536 *вѣни моїи твоѣ мѣтъ* ‘we are supplicating your Grace’. Treaty with Poland *съ нашими пановѣ* ‘with our lords’. Common case as acc. (in (j)a stems) in internal documents: *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 *ѡ кръницѣ* ‘from the source’ vs. *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20 *съ кръница* ‘with the source’.

³⁷⁸ Colophon of Putna Menaion from 1530: *исписѣ сїѣ книга ... стѣѣѣ* ‘Stephen wrote this book’.

³⁷⁹ Macarie I 159v *и вѣскочи на ѣговѣѣ лѣвѣтѣ* ‘he jumped on his place’, 157v *нападѣѣ ... на зѣмїи мѣдѣвѣтѣ* ‘they attacked the land of Moldavia’. Theodosie’s Enkomion 202r *прїидѣ прѣѣ ігѣмонѣ* ‘he came in front of the ruler’. Internal documents: *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269 ‘in our Moldavian land’; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 *вила оу роуки* ‘it was in hands’; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 *на немъ вѣзрїт* ‘he looks on him’.

³⁸⁰ This is a typical construction in the colophons and ktetor inscriptions showing the names of the monastery, e.g. K. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84 *храѣ съшїєтвїѣ стѣѣѣ дѣха* ‘church of the descent of

- Random lack of gender agreement³⁸¹.
- Random lack of case agreement³⁸².
- Higher frequency of possessive dative³⁸³.

In the declension of adjectives and possessive pronouns, the interference of Ukrainian³⁸⁴ (eventually substandard CS) forms are random. All texts use the ending *-аго* of genitive singular masculine³⁸⁵ of hard declension with the exception of the Treaty with Poland³⁸⁶. The correspondence with Transylvania can randomly show the Štokavian *-га*, used in Wallachian Slavonic³⁸⁷. The ending *-ои* of the locative singular feminine or in a possessive form of the hard declension is rather used in fixed forms with Ruthenian background³⁸⁸. In Theodosie's Enkomion, we find the ending *-ом*³⁸⁹ of the locative singular existing both in substandard CS³⁹⁰ and East Slavonic³⁹¹. The non-Slavonic background of the writers is testified by

Holy Spirit'; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 187 *хра̑ в ѿмѣкѣ бл҃говѣщенїе̑* 'church of the Annunciation'; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 29 *хра̑ въ ѿмѣкѣ чїноѣ ѡспенїе̑* 'church of the honourful Dormition'.

³⁸¹ *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 59; *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 260; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 28 *на болаше крѣпостѣ* 'for a better confirmation' (part of the fixed formula); *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192 *на тоѣ мѣсто* 'on this place'. Colophon of Putna Menaion from 1530: *книга рѣкомыи* 'book called'. The masculine form of the adjective in the colophon of the Neamț Psalter from 1529 *ѿ Немечскѣ ѡвнѣбли* 'from the monastery of Neamț' can be motivated by the fact that feminine *i*-stems may be confused with masculines.

³⁸² Colophon of the Apostolos 1528 *наше даанїе* 'our donation' (object of the sentence); colophon of the Neamț Psalter from 1529 *ѡбжевна книжѣ сѣа* 'this divide book'; colophon of Putna Menaion from 1530 *даде ѿ сѣмѣ монастирѣ пѣтною* 'he gave it to the holy monastery of Putna'; colophon of Tetraevangelion from 1542 *въ ѿмѣкѣ ... трѣцѣ єдиносѣщїнѣкѣ* 'in the name of the Trinity of one substance' (the fusion of gen. and acc. of the adjective is caused by the homography of both forms in the Trinovitan spelling of the noun). Internal documents: *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 148 *хотѣ тои четвърѣтѣи чѣ* 'border of the quarter'; *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 39 *полнои заплаѣ* 'full payment', p. 55 *по старини своими хотарни* 'according to the traditional borders'. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539 *ѡ вашѣ земли* 'to your land'. Treaty with Poland *с которою сторои* 'from which side', *ѡ Молдавскѣи землю* 'to Moldavia'. Glăvan's Letter is full of such syntactical discrepancies as e.g. *ѡ наше катастѣи* 'in our register' (expected loc. sg.).

³⁸³ E.g. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 *врѣкѣ великому дѣлу* 'top of a high mountain'.

³⁸⁴ Cf. M.A. ЖОВТОВБЮХ, *Исторична граматика української мови*, Київ 1980, p. 173–174.

³⁸⁵ I.e. also in the dispositio of the internal chancery documents: *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. I, p. 40 *праваго и питомаго ѡрика* 'rightful and own privilege'.

³⁸⁶ *Найяснѣйшого* 'of the serene highness', *рускогѣ* 'Ruthenian', *литовскогѣ* 'Lithuanian', *прѣскогѣ* 'Prussian'.

³⁸⁷ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *по вашѣгѣ чѣка* 'through your man'. Cf. V. KNOLL, *Written Languages in Wallachia during the Reign of Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521)*, SCer 11, 2021, p. 247.

³⁸⁸ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375 *ѡ наши земли ѡ молдавскѣи* 'in our Moldavian land'; К. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84 *гѣрѣкѣ земли мѣдѣскѣ* 'lord of the Moldavian land'; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32 *ѡ волости черновскѣи* 'in the district of Černivci'; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 *по их доври воли* vs. S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513 *по своѣ доври воли* 'following their good will'. In possessive constructions, this may also be classified as dative, e.g. Macarie I 159г *къ прѣдѣлу ѡгърѣскѣи земли* 'to the borders of the Hungarian land'; colophon of the Rila Tetraevangelion from 1529 *въ Пѣтнои* 'in Putna'.

³⁸⁹ 201г *въ морскѣ плавѣни* 'during the sea sailing'.

³⁹⁰ See in the Trojan Story (14th century Bulgaria): *на бѣломѣ ѡбруѣскѣ* 'on the white veil'; *на бѣломѣ фарижи* 'on the white horse'. *Cyrlomethodiana Corpus*, https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_165 [10 V 2022].

³⁹¹ Cf. M.A. ЖОВТОВБЮХ, *Исторична...*, p. 173.

'to everybody', *жадного* 'none' in the Treaty with Poland vs. *ниеднѣ* 'none'⁴⁰², *ничто* vs. *нищо* 'nothing'⁴⁰³, *ѿ инши* 'from other ones'⁴⁰⁴, *боу* 'anybody'⁴⁰⁵.

The verb forms show the largest differences among the various types of texts. In the correspondence with Transylvania, we may find the confusion of the 1st singular and plural of the present tense as we know it from Wallachian Slavonic⁴⁰⁶. In the same corpus as well as the Treaty with Poland, we find the 1st plural ending *-мо* in the present tense and conditional⁴⁰⁷. The 1st plural of the verb *быти* (usually as auxiliary) shows the CS form *есмы/есми* in the Treaty with Poland and in the internal chancery documents⁴⁰⁸, while the correspondence with Transylvania uses *(ε)слю*⁴⁰⁹. In the same corpus, we find also other forms of the same verb without the initial *ε*-⁴¹⁰. The verb *имѣти* (actually *имати*) 'to have (to)' is spelled according to the 3rd (je) conjugation in the secular chancery documents⁴¹¹. In the Treaty with Poland, the Ruthenian forms without the initial unstressed *и*- are preferred⁴¹². Internal secular documents and the Treaty with Poland contain indeclinable participle forms⁴¹³.

he had'; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 275 *села цю на Кули* 'villages that are on Cula'; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 *гладъ, цю есть в долини* 'mud that is in the valley'.

⁴⁰² Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536.

⁴⁰³ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531, 540.

⁴⁰⁴ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508.

⁴⁰⁵ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269.

⁴⁰⁶ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541 *моли* 'I ask' – *не знаю* 'I do not know'. Cf. V. KNOLL, *Written Languages...*, p. 248.

⁴⁰⁷ Treaty with Poland: *свѣдѣмо* 'we promise', *бухмо развѣкли* 'we would understand'. Transylvanian correspondence, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *мы слышию* 'we hear', p. 537 *даемо знати* 'we inform'. This is the form normal in the contemporary Lithuanian chancery and some original Ruthenian texts as the Peresopnycja Tetraevangelion. *Пересопницьке евангеліє 1556–1561. Дослідження. Транслітерованний текст. Словопоказчик*, ed. І.П. ЧЕПІГА, Київ 2001, p. 44. The current Galician-Bucovinian dialects have both *-м* and *-мо*. *Атлас української мови...*, map 241. The same forms are typical for Wallachian Slavonic due to Štokavian impact, cf. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 560 (1510s) *ми знамо* 'we know'.

⁴⁰⁸ Treaty with Poland: *есмы ѿновили* 'we renewed', *свѣбили есмы* 'we promised'. Internal document, *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *есми емѣ дали* 'we gave him'. Peresopnycja Tetraevangelion uses both *есмы/есмо*. *Пересопницьке евангеліє...*, p. 426–429.

⁴⁰⁹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519 *ако слю божили* 'as we swore'. In a Polish letter issued in Moldavia, we found the form "izesmo posla... zadzierzeli" 'that we retained the envoy'. Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 108.

⁴¹⁰ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *знали слю вѣе стѣ говорили* 'we knew that you said', *снѣ дови землю* 'I conquered the land'.

⁴¹¹ 3rd singular: T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 45 *имаѣ*; 1st plural ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 *имаемо*; 3rd plural *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 *имаю*; l-participle: *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147 *има*; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 *имали*.

⁴¹² Indicative: 3rd singular *маѣ*, *имаѣ*; 1st plural *мы маемо*; 3rd plural *маю*, *имаю*. Conditional: 3rd singular *бы маѣ*.

⁴¹³ Regularly in the formula *чтѣчи* 'reading', otherwise M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 and *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 183 *рѣкчи* 'saying'; Treaty with Poland *маючи* 'having', T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 *мы видѣвши* 'having seen'.

The use of past tenses clearly divides the Trinovitan CS based texts using simple past tenses (aorist and imperfect)⁴¹⁴ and the secular chancery documents using I-preterite with the auxiliary **вѣти**. In Glăvan's Letter, there is the compound form **видилѣсмо** 'we saw'⁴¹⁵. The specifics of the charters addressed to monasteries are the endings of the 1st plural aorist **-хмо** coexisting with the standard CS **-хѣ**⁴¹⁶. In internal documents, we also found two examples of pluperfect⁴¹⁷. The future tense is created following the CS norms⁴¹⁸ in most texts. In the Treaty with Poland, the verb **мѣти**⁴¹⁹, corresponding to CS **имѣти** can be considered as future auxiliary⁴²⁰. This contrasts with the correspondence with Transylvania, showing an extraordinary variability of future tense constructions independent on the aspect:

- **имѣ** + infinitive⁴²¹,
- **вѣдѣ** + infinitive⁴²²,
- **кю** + infinitive⁴²³.

⁴¹⁴ But see the form in a letter to Braşov in ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 **вѣ знасте** 'you knew'.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. the same construction in the *Peresopnycja Tetraevanglion, Пересопницьке евангеліє...*, p. 46.

⁴¹⁶ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55 **дадохмо** 'we gave', **помиловахмо** 'we deigned'; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93 **сѣтворихмо** vs. *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58 **сѣтворихѣ** 'we did'. The same phenomenon exists in Wallachian Slavonic, cf. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 262 (1510s) **ѣчинилмо** 'we did'.

⁴¹⁷ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30 **цю вѣ ѣздѣ** 'what he had taken'; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98 **гдѣ вили сидили** 'where they had been seated'.

⁴¹⁸ **вѣдѣ** is used just for 'I will be'. For perfective verbs, the present forms are used, otherwise the **имѣти/хотѣти** + infinitive are used. E.g. Matthew per. 10, ВРІ **поміловани вѣжѣть** – RGB **поміловани вѣдѣжѣ** – Abraam **поміловани вѣдѣжѣ** – ÖNB **поміловани боудѣжѣ** 'they will be shown mercy', per. 79 ВРІ **имѣти имѣши скрѣвице на нѣси** – RGB Abraam ÖNB **имѣти имѣши скрѣвице на нѣси** 'you will have treasure in heaven', per. 80 ВРІ **хѣщѣ же ѣ сѣмоу послѣднемоу дѣти** – RGB **хѣщѣ же сѣмоу послѣднемоу дѣти** – Abraam **хѣщѣ же сѣмѣ послѣднемѣ дѣти** – ÖNB **хѣщѣ же сѣмѣ послѣднемоу дѣти** 'I want to give the one who was hired last'.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 435–436.

⁴²⁰ **мы маємо дати** 'we shall give'. The use of the auxiliary ***имѣти** is attested already in Galician documents and in the Moldavian external documents since 1400. В. РУСАНІВСЬКИЙ, *Українські грамоти XV ст.*, Київ 1965, p. 18; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 440–441.

⁴²¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 537 **ѣ имѣ порозумит имѣ** 'how will you understand him'. This is the old East Slavonic auxiliary preserved in a contracted form in Ukrainian until now, e.g. *розумитиме* 'he will understand'. М.А. ЖОВТОВРЮХ, *Історична...*, p. 213–214.

⁴²² Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 520 **къда не вѣдѣте ѣ вратити** 'if you will not return them', **вѣдѣ ѣзѣти и наплѣнити** 'he will take and fill it in', **вѣдѣ сѣтворити** 'he will do'. This is an auxiliary typical for West Slavonic languages. In Ruthenian its spread since the late 14th century seems to be linked with the documents issued by Polish and later Lithuanian rulers, *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 143. Used in the *Peresopnycja Tetraevanglion, Пересопницьке евангеліє...*, p. 45.

⁴²³ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539 **цю ке вѣдѣ трѣба** 'what will be needed', p. 519 **ке дрѣжати** 'he will hold', p. 518 **не кю ѣи дадати никомѣ** 'I will not give it to anybody', **ке хѣкѣ работати** 'he will work'. The typical Serbian chancery form mediated through Wallachian Slavonic, cf. *Documenta Romaniae Historica. В. Țara Românească*, vol. III, (1526–1535), ed. D. MIOS, Bucu-reşti 1975 (cetera: DRH B 3), p. 90 **ке вѣти** 'it will be'.

Vocabulary

The large variability of the languages in contact is significantly manifested in the vocabulary. The typical Moldavian Slavonic vocabulary is concentrated in the internal chancery documents, where the specific terms are constantly repeated. Many lexemes in the original Moldavian Slavonic texts (except biblical CS and chancery terms) are occasionalisms of very various origin. In the following short overview, we will deal with some samples of the vocabulary combining the criteria of part of speech, thematic group and source text.

We will start with the administrative terms. The ruler is called *гѣрь* (*господарь*) ‘lord’⁴²⁴ with the title *воевода* ‘voivode’⁴²⁵. This contrasts with the addressing *гѣво* (*ми*) (*господство*)⁴²⁶ ‘(my) lordship’, borrowed via the Wallachian chancery language⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴ Attested in the East Slavonic milieu since the 11th century in the meaning of ‘owner’, since the 14th century as ‘ruler’ (Polish king). *Словарь древнерусского языка (XI–XIV вв.)*, vol. II, Москва 1989–2016, p. 366; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 254–256. In Latin documents *dominus*, e.g. in ed. A. VERESS, *Documente...*, no. 31. In German *Herr*, see ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 447. In Polish *hospodar*, distinguished from *gospodarz* ‘landowner’. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup.* 2, vol. I, p. 139. Cf. *Słownik staropolski*, vol. II, ed. S. URBAŃCZYK, Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa, p. 467. *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/53481> [10 V 2022] and <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/54758> [10 V 2022]. In the Polish context, *hospodar* is used for both rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia, exceptionally of other territories (Poland, Muscovy). Further, if the term is mentioned in *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, we mark it simply as *Middle Polish*.

⁴²⁵ Both terms in e.g. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50 and in the Treaty with Poland. In Latin documents mostly *wayvoda* (e.g. ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 294, spelled *waywoda* by G. A REICHERSTORE, *Moldaviae...*), rarely *veywoda* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.2, p. 23). In German *Vaivod* (ed. A. VERESS, *Documente...*, no. 26), *Wayd* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 437), *Woyd* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 332–333). In Polish documents *woyewoda* (e.g. ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 39). Cf. *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 279–281. In the meaning of a ‘head of a region’ already in OCS. In the 16th century, the title was used as the title of the ruler of Wallachia, head of Transylvania and head of an administrative unit in Poland (Latin *palatinus*). Earlier, it was likely used as the title of a head of an administrative unit in Bulgaria and Bosnia. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние на българската държавна традиция върху институциите на Дунавските княжества (XIV–XVII в.)*, ГСУИФ 103, 2018, p. 37–39. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник из књижевних старина српских*, vol. I, Београд 1863, p. 150–152. Romanian *vo(i)evod* with variants.

⁴²⁶ This expression regularly appears in the segment listing the members of the voivodal council. In the monastery charters, it is used generally as self-addressing of the ruler, inorganically combined with 1st plural (less in 1st singular) verb forms. In the Wallachian context, this expression is used as the self-addressing of the ruler in all types of documents, see e.g. the document DRH B 3, p. 100 (1528). In Moldavian Latin documents, the self-addressing is the 1st plural (as it is usual also in the Slavonic documents), one may find just an equivalent of *гѣво ви*: *Dominaciones Vestras*. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 294.

⁴²⁷ Previously used by Serbian rulers not holding the title of king or tsar, e.g. prince Lazar, Љ. СТОЈАНОВИЋ, *Старе српске повеље и писма. Књига I. Дубровник и суседи његови. Други део*, Београд 1934, p. 120.

or even **цѣстѣіе** ‘dignity of a ruler’⁴²⁸. Ruler’s wife is called **госпож(а)**⁴²⁹. The title **цѣрь** means ‘Ottoman sultan’ in the Treaty with Poland⁴³⁰, while in Macarie’s Chronicle, it may denote both Ottoman sultan or the Moldavian ruler. **Кра** (eventually **крѣ**) means ‘Polish king’ (Sigismund the Old) in the Treaty with Poland, but ‘Hungarian king’⁴³¹ in the correspondence with Transylvania. Macarie uses both meanings. The Polish king may be addressed as **его милость** ‘his Grace’⁴³².

The title of a boyar (**воѣри**)⁴³³ is **па**⁴³⁴. Out of the internal chancery documents, there is also the form **жѣпань**⁴³⁵, while his wife is **княгиня**⁴³⁶, in the Treaty with Poland **паннѣ**⁴³⁷. The following officials⁴³⁸ have the same name as in Wallachia⁴³⁹:

⁴²⁸ OCS. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 51. Cf. in Polish documents *hospodarstwo*. Ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59. Cf. Middle Polish, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/54760> [10 V 2022].

⁴²⁹ OCS, the same title used in Wallachia. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 51, Treaty with Poland. Cf. the Latin signature of voivode Peter’s wife *Katharina Despoth coniunx Magnifici domini*. Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 393.

⁴³⁰ OCS. Thus also in Macarie II 474r, otherwise also **самодръжѣць** (Macarie I 161v). Voivode Peter’s suzerain Süleyman the Magnificent used the title **великие цѣ и силне господѣ. Љ. Стојановиѣ, Старе српске...**, p. 401–404. In Latin documents issued in Moldavia: *Imperator* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 401; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91), *Caesar* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 240). In German *Herr der Kezer, Kaiserliche Maiestät* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 390), in Polish *cesarz* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup. 2*, vol. I, p. 62) or even *czar* (ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59). The title of **сѣтѣ/сѣтѣ** ‘sultan’ (Љ. Стојановиѣ, *Старе српске...*, p. 401–404) is used as the title of a Tatar ruler by Macarie I 157v.

⁴³¹ OCS. Ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518. In a Moldavian German letter *Kunig Hans*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 329. Cf. Romanian *crai*.

⁴³² In a Polish letter *Waszmość*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup. 2*, vol. I, p. 62.

⁴³³ OCS. Macarie II 477r **старѣишина**. In Latin *boyaro* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 350), *boiero* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 428). Polish *szlachta* used in this meaning in ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup. 2*, vol. I, p. 139. Cf. Romanian *boier*.

⁴³⁴ *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 125, Polish *pan*, cf. Middle Polish, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/81494> [10 V 2022]. In German *Her*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 293. Cf. Romanian *pan* ‘title given to great Romanian boyars’.

⁴³⁵ Ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 539; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 29 (inscription in Humor), colophon of the Rila Tetraevangelion from 1529. This is the usual term in Wallachian Slavonic, cf. OCS ‘district administrator’.

⁴³⁶ Thus in *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39. Variants: **кнѣгиня** (*Die Inschriften...*, p. 140), **кнѣгиня** (*Surete...*, vol. I, p. 230). Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 479–480; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar*, [in:] *Ispisoace și zapise (Documente slavo-române)*, vol. III, part 2, (1663–1675), Iași 1912, p. 27 ‘doamna, jupâneasă. Romanian *cneaghină* ‘wife or daughter of a *cneaz* or a *tsar*’.

⁴³⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 123.

⁴³⁸ By Macarie II, 481r called **сановници**. In Latin *officiales*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 336.

⁴³⁹ The list repeating in each internal chancery document can be found e.g. in M. M. SZÉKELY, S. S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508 and in the Treaty with Poland, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DEN-

ДВОРНІЇ⁴⁴⁰ ‘general judge of the Lower or Upper Moldavia’, ПОРТА⁴⁴⁰ ‘supreme commander and head of Suceava administration’, СПАТА⁴⁴¹ ‘sword-bearer’, ПОСТЕЛНИЇ⁴⁴² ‘court judge’, ЛОГОФЕ⁴⁴³ ‘head of chancery’, КОМНІ⁴⁴⁴ ‘head of stables’, ДІІА⁴⁴⁵ ‘scribe’, ВАТА/ВАТА⁴⁴⁶ ‘head of a group of courtiers; head of local administration’, МЕДЕНИ-ЧА⁴⁴⁷ ‘personal servant of the voivode’. Specific Moldavian derivations ВИСТЪРНИЇ

SUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728. Cf. V. KNOLL, *Written Languages...*, p. 250–251. For the definitions of the officials see e.g. M. COSTIN, *Istorie în versuri...*, p. 439–444 and *Istoria României...*, p. 823–844.

⁴⁴⁰ Latin “castellanus zuchaviensis, necnon capitaneus supremus gencium” (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 350) or “castellanus Castrı Swthavienis, supremus campiductor regni Moldaviae” (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91). Polish “marszałek ziemie wołoskiej”, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 139. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 198; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 45; *Dicționarul elementelor românești din documente slavo-române 1374–1600*, ed. G. BOLOCAN, București 1981, p. 190–191; Romanian *portar*. The Wallachian *portar* had a different responsibility, corresponding to Moldavian ШІА⁴⁴¹ ‘official responsible for the reception of foreign envoys’, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 542, cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 496; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 67; *Dicționarul...*, p. 250; Romanian *ușar*.

⁴⁴¹ Spelling variant: СПЪТА⁴⁴¹, *Ispisaoce...*, vol. I.1, p. 61. Latin *supremus armiger*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91. Cf. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние...*, p. 431; SSUM, vol. II, p. 372; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 57; *Dicționarul...*, p. 219; Romanian *spătar*.

⁴⁴² Also ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 542. In Latin documents *postylnic*, *supremus cubiculariorum magister* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 375), *cubiculariorum magister* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91). Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 432; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 45; *Dicționarul...*, p. 191–192; Romanian *postelnic*.

⁴⁴³ Also К. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 140. In Macarie I 154v *словоположникъ*. In Latin *secretarius* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 370), *literatus* (p. 383), *cancellarius* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 91). Cf. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние...*, p. 53–56; SSUM, vol. I, p. 555; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 31; *Dicționarul...*, p. 126; Romanian *logofăt*.

⁴⁴⁴ Latin *chomyz* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 428). Cf. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние...*, p. 59–61; SSUM, vol. I, p. 492; *SUM XVI*, vol. XIV, p. 211; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 27; *Dicționarul...*, p. 126; Romanian *comis*.

⁴⁴⁵ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203. Otherwise ПИСА, Т. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 29; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. In Latin *notarius*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 428. In a German document *Dyack*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 355. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 301; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 14; *Dicționarul...*, p. 67–68, Romanian *diac*; *LBG*, vol. II, p. 361 *διάκος* ‘Diakon’.

⁴⁴⁶ Т. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94 mentions *vătaf* of Dorohoi. A lexeme spread as Carpathism, whose various meanings are treated in *Общекарпатский диалектологический атлас*, vol. VII, Белград–Нови Сад 2003, no. 688, map 10. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. III, p. 185 ‘head of local administration’; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 5; *Dicționarul...*, p. 257–258 ‘chef de groupe d’hommes de cour’; Romanian *vătaf*.

⁴⁴⁷ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 542. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 582; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32; *Dicționarul...*, p. 139–140; Romanian *medelnicer*, linked to *medelnița* ‘a washbasin’, Middle Hungarian *medence* (*Erdélyi...*, vol. VIII, p. 266–267), see МЕДНИЦА ‘copper receptacle’, *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.*, выпуск 9, Москва 1982, p. 61.

‘treasurer’⁴⁴⁸, his office *вистѣ*⁴⁴⁹ and his assistant *вистѣрничѣ*⁴⁵⁰, *столничелъ*⁴⁵¹. A specific term is *чашниѣ*⁴⁵² ‘cup-bearer, responsible for vineyards’. The heads of administration and defence of a town or district are called *паркала*⁴⁵³ or *староста*⁴⁵⁴. Two Latin documents use the term *camerarius* for a town representative⁴⁵⁵. Two terms of Hungarian origin, *прѣкъла*⁴⁵⁶ ‘burger, member of the town council’ and

⁴⁴⁸ Thus in M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511, 513; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 267; *Die Inschriften...*, p. 140. Spelling variants *вистѣрнѣ* (T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27), *вистѣрнѣ* (*Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 19). In Latin documents *wyster* (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 297), *wyztetek seu thesaurarius* (p. 358), *wyztternik* (p. 383), *theoloneator* (p. 297, 433). In a German document called *Fystrernnyk* (p. 332–333) or *Mayttner*, eventually *Grossmeyttner* (p. 298). Corresponding to Wallachian *vistier*. Cf. Т. ПОПОВ, *Влияние...*, p. 58–59; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 176; *SUM XVI*, vol. IV, p. 73; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 6; *Dicționarul...*, p. 261–262; Romanian *vistiernic*.

⁴⁴⁹ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37. Cf. *LBG*, vol. II, p. 275 βεστιάριον ‘Schatzkammer’.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 64–65. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 260; Romanian *visternicel*.

⁴⁵¹ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 214. Cf. G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 158; *Dicționarul...*, p. 223; Romanian *stolnicel*.

⁴⁵² Spelling variant *чъшнѣ*, T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30. In Latin *supremus magister agazonum*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.2, p. 91. Cf. Old Czech *čiešník*, *Vokabulář webový*, <http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz> [10 V 2022]; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 533; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 72; *Dicționarul...*, p. 37–38; Romanian *ceașnic*. Further, a lexeme denoted as *Old Czech* is such that is present in the database <http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz> [10 V 2022].

⁴⁵³ Thus M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508. Spelling variants *прѣкъла* in M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 611 and *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20 and *пракала* in *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212. Thus are regularly called the representatives of Chotyn, Cetatea de Baltă (both T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 26), Neamț and Roman (*Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159). In Latin documents, this official is called *castellanus* in case of Ciceu (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 306), Chotyn (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 342), Neamț (p. 350). In one Latin document, the Hungarian name *porcolab* is used without specification (p. 336). On p. 328, there is *Castellanus Cotnar et Porkolab*. The Hungarian term *Porkolab* is also used in German documents (p. 337, 346) for the representatives of Ciceu and Giurgea. In a Polish document (ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59), there is the term *burkulab choczynski*. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. X, p. 828 *porkoláb* ‘Burgvogt’; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 127; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 40 ‘părcălab, sin. staroste’; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 40; *Dicționarul...*, p. 179; Romanian *părcălab* (and variants).

⁴⁵⁴ Representatives of Putna (*Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278) and Tecuci (*Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55). In the Treaty with Poland, such term is used for the representatives of Chotyn, Černivci, but also towns on the Polish territory (Kamjjanec, Halyč). In a Polish document from 1540 (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, I. BOGDAN, *Documente...*, *Sup.* 2, vol. I, p. 145), the term *starosta* is used for representatives of Neamț and Roman. Cf. Old Czech ‘commander; representative; administrator’; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 418 *starosta* ‘praefectus regius’; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 381–382; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 58 ‘prefectus’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 220 ‘commandant d’une forteresse’; Romanian *staroste*.

⁴⁵⁵ of Trotuș and Rodna, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 360, 369.

⁴⁵⁶ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520, spelling variation *nără* (p. 518). It corresponds to the Latin term *iuratus* in ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 294, and to the German *Purger* (p. 293) related to the burghers of Baia. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. X, p. 787 *polgár* ‘Mitglied des Stadtrates, Bürgergeschworener’; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 269; *Dicționarul...*, p. 181; Romanian *părgar*.

вирѣѣ⁴⁵⁷ ‘judge, mayor’, appear only in the correspondence with Transylvania. The letter term has the Slavonic synonym сѣцѣ⁴⁵⁸ (indirect object) in the letters addressed to Brașov and once even гирѣѣ⁴⁵⁹.

A part of the Common Slavonic names⁴⁶⁰ of the family members (коренїѣ⁴⁶¹), the following East Slavonic terms are used: дочка⁴⁶² ‘daughter’, пращїѣ⁴⁶³ ‘descendant’, племенїѣ ‘cousin; nephew’⁴⁶⁴, племенница ‘cousin; niece’⁴⁶⁵, братани ‘brother’s son, nephew’⁴⁶⁶ and сестричи ‘sister’s son, nephew’⁴⁶⁷. The lexemes знѣ ‘grandson’⁴⁶⁸, знѣ ‘uncle’⁴⁶⁹, тятка ‘aunt’⁴⁷⁰ are phonologically adapted to Ruthenian. The striking Romanisms are непо ‘nephew’⁴⁷¹, непо(а)та ‘nephew; granddaughter’⁴⁷². Curiously enough, the latter terms were generally not used in the Slavonic documents of Wallachia⁴⁷³. A confusion of the meaning of the Romanian *nepot* can be observed on the tomb of voivode Stephen the Young⁴⁷⁴ build by his uncle Peter Rareș, who calls on the inscription his nephew Stephen внѣкѣ своємѣ.

⁴⁵⁷ Thus in ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531, with spelling variants вирѣѣл (indirect object, p. 520, 538), вирѣѣ (p. 542) and вирѣѣн (indirect object, p. 537). Related to the representatives of Brașov and Bistrița in Transylvania. In a German letter referred as *Rychter* ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 292. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. I, p. 904 *bíró* ‘Stadtrichter’; *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 97 вирѣѣ; *SUM XVI*, vol. II, p. 84 вирѣѣ; *Dicționarul...*, p. 17 ‘maire’; Romanian *birău*.

⁴⁵⁸ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519–520. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 400 соѣѣѣѣ. It corresponds to the Latin *iudex* in case of Bistrița, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 294.

⁴⁵⁹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539.

⁴⁶⁰ Оѣѣѣ ‘father’, бра ‘brother’, сестра ‘sister’, снѣ ‘son’, жена ‘wife’. All terms have been attested since OCS.

⁴⁶¹ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 278, cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 496 коренїѣ ‘pід’.

⁴⁶² *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 336; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 266. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 323; *SUM XVI*, vol. VIII, p. 192; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 16. In *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216, there is the expression дѣѣѣ дѣѣѣ ‘daughter’s daughter, granddaughter’.

⁴⁶³ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 225 (only in Moldavian context); G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 46–47 ‘răsnepot’.

⁴⁶⁴ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 152; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 42 ‘nepot, semintenie, văr primar, rudă’.

⁴⁶⁵ *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 148; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 152; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 42 ‘vară primară, semintenie, nepoată’.

⁴⁶⁶ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 99. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 119; *SUM XVI*, vol. III, p. 50–51; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 4 ‘nepot de frate’.

⁴⁶⁷ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 99. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 341; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 55 ‘sororius’.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 478; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 65.

⁴⁶⁹ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 473 оѣѣѣ; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 64 знѣ.

⁴⁷⁰ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 430 тетка; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 63.

⁴⁷¹ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 39; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 41–42 (exclusive to Moldavian context); G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 3 ‘filius fratris’.

⁴⁷² T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 41 (exclusive to Moldavian context).

⁴⁷³ *Dicționarul...*, p. 155. Its equivalent in Wallachian Slavonic was анѣѣѣ, see e.g. DRH B 3, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁴ *Die Inschriften...*, p. 92.

Among further terms denoting persons, we can distinguish:

- Church Slavonic terms originated by derivation

Compound nouns:

Theodosie's Enkomion: 201r **добрѣненавистѣи** 'good hater'⁴⁷⁵, 203r **васносказатель** 'fable-teller, fabulist'⁴⁷⁶. Not found in CS dictionaries: 203r **прѣдродителіе** 'ancestors', **кѣзношівецъ** 'swindle sewer'.

Macarie I 166v **пѣрѣжници** 'subjects'⁴⁷⁷, II 477r **прѣвохранителіе** 'main defensors', II 473v **прѣвоборѣ**⁴⁷⁸, II 473r **доброповѣдни** 'glorious winner; winner for a good matter'⁴⁷⁹.

Deadjective nouns (Theodosie's Enkomion): 200r **стѣжателъ** 'a person doing effort'⁴⁸⁰, 201v **привѣщникъ** 'participant'⁴⁸¹.

Deverbative noun: **вѣдокъ** 'expert'⁴⁸².

- Lexemes borrowed via the Ruthenian environment: **лотр** 'rogue'⁴⁸³, **щѣдни** 'descendant'⁴⁸⁴, **цига** 'Gypsy'⁴⁸⁵, **подданный** 'subject'⁴⁸⁶, **парсѣна** 'person'⁴⁸⁷, **мѣшчанѣ** 'burghers' (syntactically random form)⁴⁸⁸.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 266 adjective **добрѣненавистѣнь** 'μισόκαλος', *LSJ*, p. 1137 'hating the good'.

⁴⁷⁶ П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблак в Румѣния и в старата румѣнска литература*, София 1966, p. 142.

⁴⁷⁷ *Словарь русскогo...*, 16, p. 52.

⁴⁷⁸ *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 383 'πρόμαχος', *LSJ*, p. 1489 'champion'.

⁴⁷⁹ *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 267 'καλλίνικος', *LSJ*, p. 868 'gloriously triumphant'.

⁴⁸⁰ *Словарь русскогo...*, 28, p. 230 'a person gathering property; owner'.

⁴⁸¹ *Словарь русскогo...*, 19, p. 237.

⁴⁸² Macarie I 163v. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 2, p. 46 (Hamartolos' Chronicle).

⁴⁸³ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278. In Polish plural *lotrri*, ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 60. Middle Polish *lotr* 'latro; nequissimus homo', *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/63069> [10 V 2022]; *Dicționarul...*, p. 127–128 'brigand, voleur' (also in documents issued in Wallachia); Old Czech *lotr*, Romanian *lotru*.

⁴⁸⁴ Macarie I 163r. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 409 (сѣ)щѣдокъ.

⁴⁸⁵ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 526 (exclusive for Moldavian milieu); Middle Polish *cygan*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/47047> [10 V 2022], thus in a Moldavian Polish document, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 318. In Wallachian Slavonic **щѣниѣ**, DRH B 3, p. 51 (1526).

⁴⁸⁶ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 (Treaty with Poland), Latin *subditus*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 318 *subditus*. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 164–165; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 43; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 236 *poddany* 'subditus', Old Czech *poddany*.

⁴⁸⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 (Treaty with Poland). Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 127–129; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 236 *personal/parsuna* 'persona'.

⁴⁸⁸ Glăvan's Letter. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 630 **мѣщанинъ**; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 33 'orașan, târgoveț'; Middle Polish *mieszczanin* 'civis', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/66485> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *měščánin*, *měščan*.

- Romanian Slavonic lexemes (common with Wallachian Slavonic): *межѣтѣ*⁴⁸⁹ ‘neighbouring landlord’⁴⁸⁹, *прѣбѣши* ‘(political) emigrants’⁴⁹⁰.
- Grecisms⁴⁹¹: *маистрѣ* ‘master’⁴⁹², *зѣграфѣ* ‘painter’⁴⁹³.
- Hungarisms: *шокодѣмѣ* ‘annual fair’⁴⁹⁴, *содѣмѣ* ‘guarantor’⁴⁹⁵.

The next group comprises the terms related to administration, business and human settlements. Here, we will distinguish two main types of lexemes:

- Lexemes also attested in the Wallachian milieu: *хотѣ* ‘domain border’⁴⁹⁶, *книга* ‘letter’⁴⁹⁷, *хрисовѣ* ‘chrysobull’⁴⁹⁸, *катасты* ‘register’⁴⁹⁹, *мархѣ* ‘charge’;

⁴⁸⁹ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 272; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 584; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32; *Dicționarul...*, p. 140 ‘voisin’; Romanian *megiaș*. Linked to *Erdélyi...*, vol. IX, p. 200 *mezsgye* ‘Grenzrain’, Ruthenian *межа* ‘border between two plots of land’ (not used in Moldavia).

⁴⁹⁰ Macarie 160r. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 19, p. 91 ‘fugitive slave’, *Dicționarul...*, p. 193 ‘errant’; Romanian *pribeag*.

⁴⁹¹ *Inscriptiile medievale...*, p. 506.

⁴⁹² *LBG*, vol. V, p. 959 *μα(γ)ιστωρ* ‘Meister, Auseher, Lehrer’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 132 ‘moulinier’, Romanian *maistor*.

⁴⁹³ SSUM, vol. I, p. 406 *зѣграфѣ*; *LBG*, vol. III, p. 646 *ζωγραφεύς, ζωγράφος*; *Dicționarul...*, p. 270 ‘peintre d’église ou d’icônes’; Romanian *zugrav*. Also in Wallachian Slavonic.

⁴⁹⁴ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 538. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. XI, p. 853 *sokadalom* ‘Jahrmarkt’.

⁴⁹⁵ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. XII, p. 186–187 *szavatos* ‘Garant’; Moldavian Romanian *sodăș*.

⁴⁹⁶ Practically in all internal chancery documents, e.g. *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 513–514; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 68; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви докільля в українсько-молдавських грамотах XIV–XV століть (дисертація)*, Київ 2019, p. 166–167; *Dicționarul...*, p. 105 ‘frontière; borne’; *Erdélyi...*, vol. IV, p. 1175 *határ* ‘Grenzlinie’; Romanian *hotar*. Spread in the Central Europe as Carpathism, see *Общецарпатский...*, vol. VII, no. 721, map 37 Macarie’s equivalent is *прѣдѣла* (I 159r, OCS).

⁴⁹⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 457 ‘literae’. In the colophons, we find the usual meaning ‘book’. The usual Moldavian Slavonic word for ‘letter’ is *лицѣ*.

⁴⁹⁸ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520. Cf. *хрисовѣ* in DRH В 3, p. 70 (1527/1528); Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 430; А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти на българските царе*, София 2005, p. 398. Exceptional in the Moldavian context. Its closest equivalent is *привиліє*.

⁴⁹⁹ Glăvan’s Letter. In Polish plural *katastyki*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.1, p. 145. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 471 ‘register’; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 26; *Dicționarul...*, p. 32 ‘registre; livre de compte’; Middle Polish *katastyka* ‘probably measurement register and plans of land plots and borders’, <https://sprxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/57096> [10 V 2022]; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 442 *катастыкѣ* ‘tabulae’; *LBG*, vol. IV, p. 797 *κατάστιχον* ‘Verzeichnis, Inventarm Register, Liste’; Romanian *catastif*.

merchandise⁵⁰⁰, аспри ‘small mints’⁵⁰¹, селище ‘settlement; village’⁵⁰², градище ‘little hill’⁵⁰³, стлѣпъ/столпъ ‘border mark’⁵⁰⁴, *temelye* ‘base’ (within a German text)⁵⁰⁵.

- Moldavian terms shared with Ruthenian of that time: рада ‘council’⁵⁰⁶, листъ ‘letter, document’⁵⁰⁷, волостъ ‘district, county’⁵⁰⁸, привиліе ‘privilege’⁵⁰⁹, скарб ‘budget’⁵¹⁰,

⁵⁰⁰ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. VIII, p. 170–178 *marha*; Romanian *marfă*. Exceptional in the Moldavian context, the usual equivalent is *товѣ*.

⁵⁰¹ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 81 аспръ; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 2; *Dicționarul...*, p. 7 ‘petite monnaie d’argent’; LBP 2, 217 *ăспров* ‘Silbermünze’; Romanian *aspru*, plural *aspri*. Exceptional in Moldavia.

⁵⁰² *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 266. Cf. OCS; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 333–334; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 109 селище (neuter) – селища (feminine); G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 55; *Dicționarul...*, p. 213–214 ‘emplacement d’un village; village’; Romanian *siliște*.

⁵⁰³ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 259 ‘small hill’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 213–214 ‘colline, tertre; vestiges d’une cite antique’; Romanian *grădiște*.

⁵⁰⁴ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. OCS ‘column, pillar; tower’; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 58 стѣ(л)п; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 389 ‘border mark’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 221 ‘pillar, borne’; Romanian *stâlp*.

⁵⁰⁵ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 447. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 236 ‘foundation, base’; *LBG*, vol. IV, p. 670 θεμέλιον, θεμέλι ‘Fundament’, Romanian *temelie*.

⁵⁰⁶ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27. In a German *Roth*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 298. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 284; Middle Polish and Old Czech *rada*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/6148> [10 V 2022]. The Treaty of Poland knows the construction (instrumental plural) *радными паны*.

⁵⁰⁷ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531. Latin *lit(t)er(a)e*, ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 336. Polish *lysth*, ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 547; Middle Polish and Old Czech *list* ‘litterae, epistola’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/62121> [10 V 2022]. A similar Latin term is *chirographum* ‘charter’ (ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. IORGA, *Documente...*, vol. XV.1, p. 428), cf. J.F. NIERMEYER, C. VAN KIEFT, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, Leiden–Boston 2002, p. 231.

⁵⁰⁸ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203. In a Moldavian Polish document, there is *we wlosczy haliczkiej* ‘in the district of Halyč’, ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 59. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 3, p. 9 from the 12th–13th centuries in East Slavonic context ‘a region under one sovereignty’ *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 192 ‘district within the Polish kingdom or Lithuania’.

⁵⁰⁹ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510, 513; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 72. Cf. Old Czech *privilej*; Middle Polish *przywilej*, *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 234–235; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 47 ‘privilegium’; Romanian *privilie*.

⁵¹⁰ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727; ed. I. CORFUS, *Documente...*, p. 58 *skarb*. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 348; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 216–217 ‘res pretiosae; ista rebus pretiosior asservandis; fiscus regis’.

мыто 'toll'⁵¹¹, товѧ 'merchandise'⁵¹², мѧсто 'town'⁵¹³, мли 'mill'⁵¹⁴, дорога 'path, way'⁵¹⁵, сѧножѧ 'haymaking; place for haymaking'⁵¹⁶, шплѧ 'fence'⁵¹⁷.

- Specific Moldavian terms: ѡри 'inherited property; charter confirming the inherited land property'⁵¹⁸ испривиліѧ 'charter, document'⁵¹⁹, выкѡпленіѧ 'purchased land property'⁵²⁰, видивіѡ 'young horse'⁵²¹, прикоуѡтѧ 'hamlet'⁵²², стѡпа 'fulling mill'⁵²³.

The detailed descriptions of the domains in the charters provide a rich vocabulary related to the landscape and nature:

⁵¹¹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727; Glăvan's Letter. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 626; Middle Polish *myto* 'salarium; vectigal; teloneum', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/68040> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *mýto*; Romanian *mită*. OCS 'gift, bribe; wage, gain'.

⁵¹² Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 433; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 174–175 *towar* 'eam quae veneunt emunturque'.

⁵¹³ Related to Brașov. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 628; Middle Polish *miasto* 'civitas, urbs', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/66115> [10 V 2022].

⁵¹⁴ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; DISR 541. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 602; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 34; Middle Polish *młyn* 'mola', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/67113> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *mlýn*.

⁵¹⁵ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55, besides нѡ e.g. in *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 318–319; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 157; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 16 'drum'.

⁵¹⁶ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 412 (previously in Galician documents); Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 118.

⁵¹⁷ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік беларускай мовы*, vol. XXII, Мінск 2002, p. 256.

⁵¹⁸ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 148. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. X, p. 219–222 örök 'ewig, immer gültig; vom Sohn zu Sohn erbend; Erbschaft, Besitztum' SSUM, vol. II, p. 482; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 66; *Dicționarul...*, p. 248; Romanian *uric*.

⁵¹⁹ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 76 *испривилію*; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 37 *испривиліѧ коупежное* 'charter confirming a purchase'; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203 *ѡрика испривиліѧ* 'charter confirming inherited property' (object of the sentence). Originally two words 'from privilege', but frequently treated as one word by chancery scribes, cf. G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 25.

⁵²⁰ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 230. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 217; *SUM XVI*, vol. V, p. 197 (as a legal term exclusive for Moldavia), otherwise in Ruthenian general for 'purchase' as in Polish *wykupienie*, see *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 489–490.

⁵²¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. Romanian *bidiviu*.

⁵²² *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, 241 (just in Moldavian context); G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 47 'cătun'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 110–111; Romanian *pricut*.

⁵²³ SSUM, vol. II, p. 396 (exclusive for Moldavia); *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXXIII, p. 19 'wooden or metal vessel, in which is something beaten', in this meaning also in *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 441 *stępa* and standard Ukrainian, *Словник української мови*, Київ 1970–1980, <http://sum.in.ua/s/stupa> [10 V 2022]. For meanings of this lexeme related to 'mill' see Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 102–103.

- Attested in OCS: *ꙗꙗѣ потока* 'brook mouth'⁵²⁴, *поле* 'field'⁵²⁵.
- Variants of the lexemes attested in OCS: *пꙗꙗѣнна* 'deserted place'⁵²⁶, *ꙗꙗѣро*⁵²⁷ – instrumental plural *ꙗꙗѣрами* 'lake'⁵²⁸, *дѣ* 'oak'⁵²⁹ – *дѣброва* 'oak wood'⁵³⁰, *ꙗꙗѣ* 'shore'⁵³¹.
- General Slavonic: *долина* 'valley'⁵³², *ꙗꙗѣ* 'hill'⁵³³, *ꙗꙗѣ* 'ford'⁵³⁴, *ꙗꙗѣми* 'through marshes'⁵³⁵.
- Specific terms appearing in both Wallachian and Moldavian documents: *ꙗꙗѣрꙗѣ* 'upper watercourse'⁵³⁶, *дѣ* 'hill'⁵³⁷, *ꙗꙗѣ* 'highland, plateau'⁵³⁸, *ꙗꙗѣ*

⁵²⁴ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16. G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 45 *ꙗꙗѣ* 'torrens'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 144.

⁵²⁵ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 44 'campus'.

⁵²⁶ *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 21 *ꙗꙗѣ*. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 217; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 51 'desertus'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 121; Romanian *pustie*.

⁵²⁷ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 77; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 138; Romanian *iazar*.

⁵²⁸ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124.

⁵²⁹ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 330; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 17 'quercus'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 183.

⁵³⁰ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. OCS *дѣброва*. SSUM, vol. I, p. 329 *доꙗꙗѣрова/дѣброва*; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 17 'nemus'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 205–206; Romanian *dumbravă*.

⁵³¹ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. East Slavonic variant of OCS *ꙗꙗѣръкъ*. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 92–93; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 115.

⁵³² *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259. G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 16 'vallis'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 91; Romanian *dolină*.

⁵³³ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; Macarie 3, 261r. Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 80 *ꙗꙗѣ* 'rocky mountain'.

⁵³⁴ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 124; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 4 'vadum'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 161; Romanian *brod, brud*.

⁵³⁵ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 55. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 99 *ꙗꙗѣ*; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 150; Romanian *baltă*.

⁵³⁶ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 71; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 69 *ꙗꙗѣрꙗѣ* 'vrchoviště potoku'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 99 *ꙗꙗѣрꙗѣ*; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 158–159 'origine, source'; Romanian *obârşie*; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 192 *ꙗꙗѣръшь/ꙗꙗѣръшина* 'collis'.

⁵³⁷ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Also spelled *дѣ* (*Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210), or even *дѣло* (*Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55), which might have been derived from the ins. sg. *дѣло*. Cf. in the Treaty of Poland (727), *дѣло* means 'matter'. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 337; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЙ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 327 'mons'. G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 14 *дѣло* 'collis, mons'; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 82 mentions the presence of the lexeme *дѣл* in the Galician, Hutsul and Boiko dialects; Romanian *deal*.

⁵³⁸ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; DERS 268. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 384–385 *ꙗꙗѣ*; G. GHIŢĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 22 *ꙗꙗѣ*; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 89–90 *ꙗꙗѣ*; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 158–159 'plaine située sur une hauteur'; Romanian *zăpodie*.

‘swamp, marsh’⁵³⁹, писк(ѡл) ‘top of the hill’⁵⁴⁰, съ грьлами ‘with branches of the watercourse’⁵⁴¹, ѡбрѣжіе ‘hilly area’⁵⁴², маткѡ ‘riverbed’⁵⁴³, пьръѡ ‘brook’⁵⁴⁴, до лакѡ ‘lake’⁵⁴⁵, къ планинѡ ‘to the mountains’⁵⁴⁶.

- Specific for Moldavian documents: крьница ‘source’⁵⁴⁷, лѣ ‘wood, forest’⁵⁴⁸, топлица ‘hot water source’⁵⁴⁹, стѣ ‘pond; weir’⁵⁵⁰, могила ‘tumulus’⁵⁵¹, пасика ‘clearing’⁵⁵², вѣреть ‘elm’⁵⁵³, кѡлме ‘peak’⁵⁵⁴, ѡбщина ‘highland’⁵⁵⁵.

⁵³⁹ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 244; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 12; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 151; *Dicționarul...*, p. 93–94 ‘boue, motte de terre’; Romanian *glod*.

⁵⁴⁰ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 216; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 148–149; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 41; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 81; *Dicționarul...*, p. 175–176 ‘pic d’une montagne, cime’; Romanian *pisc*.

⁵⁴¹ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 268 грьла; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 141; Standard Ukrainian *гирло* ‘mouth of the river’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 92 ‘petit cours d’eau; bras d’une rivière’; Romanian *gârlă*.

⁵⁴² *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 127. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 71; *Dicționarul...*, p. 160 ‘colline, talus, pente, versant, flanc de coteau’; Romanian *obreja*.

⁵⁴³ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 185. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 581; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32 ‘matca ape’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 134 ‘lit (d’une riviere)’; Romanian *matcă*.

⁵⁴⁴ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 375. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 279 ‘proper name of a rivulet’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 182 ‘ruisseau’; Romanian *pârâu*.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55. This is the form behind the preposition до ‘up to’, it seems to be genitive plural. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 537 лак; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 137–138 лакъ; *Dicționarul...*, p. 120–121 ‘lac’; Romanian *lac*.

⁵⁴⁶ Macarie II 475v. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 150; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 120–121 ‘mountain pasture’; Ukrainian *полонина*; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 309–310 ‘mons’.

⁵⁴⁷ М.М. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 519; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 536 крьниця; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 146 крьниця/кърниця.

⁵⁴⁸ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 266. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 563; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 31 ‘nemus’.

⁵⁴⁹ Т. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 35, 44. Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 149 теплица, attested in Hutsul and Galician dialects.

⁵⁵⁰ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 20. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 377–378; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 57 ‘palus’; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 139.

⁵⁵¹ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 604; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 88–89; *Dicționarul...*, p. 147–148 ‘butte, tertre, monticule’.

⁵⁵² *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 128; G. ГНИВĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 41 ‘apiarium’; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 126.

⁵⁵³ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 93; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 185–186.

⁵⁵⁴ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 527 коѡлма ‘mountain pass’; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 81; *Dicționarul...*, p. 60 ‘cime, sommet’.

⁵⁵⁵ Т. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 71; Б.В. ТИМОЧКО, *Назви...*, p. 90 provides equivalents from Galician and Hutsul dialects; *Dicționarul...*, p. 158 ‘crête d’une montagne ou d’une colline, entre deux sommets’; Romanian *obcină*.

The curious names of religious persons and establishments comprise *игѹмѣ* 'hegumen, head of a monastery'⁵⁵⁶, *игѹмена* 'head of a small monastic community'⁵⁵⁷, *игѹменство* 'office of a monastic superior function'⁵⁵⁸, *проигѹмѣ* 'former hegumen'⁵⁵⁹, *молѣбни* 'a person praying on behalf of somebody else'⁵⁶⁰, *свѣщенноинокъ* 'hieromonk; monk-priest'⁵⁶¹, *калѣгѣ* 'monk'⁵⁶², *архимандритъ* 'hegumen of a large monastery'⁵⁶³, *епѣкпъ* 'bishop'⁵⁶⁴, *митрополи* 'metropolitan bishop, head of the local church'⁵⁶⁵, *ѣвискъ* 'Roman Catholic bishop'⁵⁶⁶. The deminutives of 'monastery' are *монастири*, *монастирѣ*⁵⁶⁷.

Let us mention some abstract terms not included in the biblical CS.

- Specific Church Slavonic terms (original CS texts): *здѣшїе* 'salvation of the soul; office in the memory of a defunct person'⁵⁶⁸, *рѣторство* 'rhetoricity'⁵⁶⁹, *окроченїе* 'surrounding'⁵⁷⁰, *порекло* 'nickname'⁵⁷¹, *сторица* 'hundred'⁵⁷², *крѣвопролитїе* 'bloodshed'⁵⁷³, *скѣдство* 'need'⁵⁷⁴, *трѣвь* 'call'⁵⁷⁵, *блѣгохваленїе* 'good appraisal'⁵⁷⁶.

⁵⁵⁶ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58. In OCS; Romanian *egumen, igumen*; G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 601 ἡγουμενος.

⁵⁵⁷ *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58.

⁵⁵⁸ Macarie I 163v. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 6, p. 85; Romanian *igumenie*; G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 601 ἡγουμενεia.

⁵⁵⁹ Colophon of the Liturgy from 1532. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 20, p. 137; Romanian *proegumen/ proigumen*; LBG, vol. VI, p. 1394 προηγουμενος 'Exabt'.

⁵⁶⁰ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 538; *Словарь русскогo...*, 9, p. 241; Romanian *molebnic* 'title held by the officiating clergy'.

⁵⁶¹ Macarie I 154v. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 23, p. 233.

⁵⁶² *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 147; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58. In OCS; Romanian *călugăr*; LBG, vol. IV, p. 749 καλόγερος 'Mönch'.

⁵⁶³ Colophon of Putna Menaion from 1530. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 1, p. 52; Romanian *arhimandrit*. E.A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Romani and Byzantine Periods*, New York 1900, p. 258 ἀρχιμανδριτης 'archimandrite, the chief of one or more monasteries'.

⁵⁶⁴ Colophon of the Apostolos from 1528. In OCS; Romanian *episcop*; G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 532 ἐπίσκοπος.

⁵⁶⁵ Macarie I 163v; colophon of the Apostolos from 1528. Cf. OCS; *Словарь русскогo...*, 9, p. 180; Romanian *mitropolit*. G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 554 μητροπολιτης.

⁵⁶⁶ Macarie I 166r. Cf. SUM XVI, vol. II, p. 86 вискъпъ.

⁵⁶⁷ Both *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 9, p. 258 монастырѣкъ, монастырѣць; LBG, vol. V, p. 1037 μοναστηρίδιον, μοναστηρίτζιον.

⁵⁶⁸ K. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 124; *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58. Cf. *Словарь русскогo...*, 12, p. 347.

⁵⁶⁹ Macarie I 154r. Cf. LSJ, p. 1569 ῥητορεία 'oratory'.

⁵⁷⁰ Macarie I 156v. *Словарь русскогo...*, 5, p. 347.

⁵⁷¹ Macarie II 480v. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 369; Ъ. ДАНИЧИТЬ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 369 'cognomen'; Romanian *poreclă*.

⁵⁷² Colophon of the Neamț Psalter from 1529. *Словарь русскогo...*, 28, p. 95.

⁵⁷³ Macarie I 155v. *Словарь русскогo...*, 8, p. 65.

⁵⁷⁴ Macarie I 154v. *Словарь русскогo...*, 25, p. 40.

⁵⁷⁵ Theodosie's Enkomion 201r. *Словарь русскогo...*, 30, p. 194 трѣвь.

⁵⁷⁶ Theodosie's Enkomion 202r. *Syriillomethodiana: Григорий Цамблак, Похвално слово за Врѣбница*, https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_101 [10 V 2022]. *Словарь русскогo...*, 1, p. 227.

- Specific Romanian Slavonic terms (internal chancery and communication with Transylvania): **ХИТЛѢНСТВО** ‘betrayal, perfidy’⁵⁷⁷, **МАРТОРІА** ‘testimony’⁵⁷⁸, **ТЬКМІЕ** ‘agreement’⁵⁷⁹, **ДАТОРІЕ** ‘debt’⁵⁸⁰, **ПОХТА** ‘willingness’⁵⁸¹, **ФОЛО** ‘profit’⁵⁸², **ВЪКАТА** ‘piece’⁵⁸³, **КОЛА** ‘gave’⁵⁸⁴, **ГЛАВА** ‘beginning or end’⁵⁸⁵.
- Specific Ruthenian terms (mostly in the Treaty with Poland): **БРАТЕНІЕ** ‘fraternising, agreement’⁵⁸⁶, **ЕДНАНІЕ** ‘agreement’⁵⁸⁷, **ШКОДА** ‘damage’⁵⁸⁸, **ПОТРЕБИЗНА** ‘need’⁵⁸⁹, **ВТИСК** ‘pressure, compulsion’⁵⁹⁰, **НАТИСК** ‘oppression, pressure’⁵⁹¹,

⁵⁷⁷ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 with two spelling variants **ХИТЛѢНСТВО**, **ХИКЛѢНСТВО**; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728 **ХИТЛѢНСТВО**. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. V, p. 177 *hitlenség* ‘Treulosigkeit, Untreue’; *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 507; Romanian *hitlenie* (*viclenie*). Contemporary attestation in Wallachia: DRH B 3, p. 92 (1528).

⁵⁷⁸ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 253; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 578; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32; *Dicționarul...*, p. 138–139 ‘témoignage’ (in Wallachia, the form *мартуріа* is preferred); Rom. *mărturie*; *LSJ* *μαρτυρία*.

⁵⁷⁹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 435 **ТОКМѢЖ(А)**; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 62 **ТОКМѢЖ**; Romanian *tocmeală*. Cf. in contemporary Wallachian Slavonic **ТАКМѢЖ**, DRH B 3, p. 124 (1540).

⁵⁸⁰ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531. Rom. *datorie*. Not found in contemporary Wallachian Slavonic (equivalent: **ДЛЪ**, e.g. DRH B 3, p. 29 (1526)).

⁵⁸¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541; *Dicționarul...*, p. 186 ‘désir, plaisir’; Romanian *pohtă* > *poftă*. Not found in Wallachian Slavonic.

⁵⁸² Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 541; *Dicționarul...*, p. 82 ‘gain, avantage’ (attested both in Wallachia and Moldavia); Romanian *folos*.

⁵⁸³ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 130; *Dicționarul...*, p. 24–25 ‘morceau’; Romanian *bucată*.

⁵⁸⁴ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 50 ‘don, présent’; Romanian *colac*; *SUM XVI*, vol. XIV, p. 172–173 ‘plaited bread’ and Middle Polish *kołacz*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/58415> [10 V 2022] ‘torta, placenta, maza’.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55 **ВЪ ГЛАВО ПОЛѢ** ‘to the end of the field’. A calque from Romanian *cap* ‘beginning or end’. Found only here.

⁵⁸⁶ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. III, p. 53.

⁵⁸⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 345; Middle Polish *jednanie*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/55864> [10 V 2022].

⁵⁸⁸ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. II, p. 559–560. Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536, 541 use its CS (and South Slavonic and Wallachian Slavonic) equivalent **ПАРЪБА**.

⁵⁸⁹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXVII, p. 322; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 498 *potrzebiza*.

⁵⁹⁰ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXXV, p. 268–269 **УТИСКЪ/ВТИСКЪ**; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 293 *ucisk* ‘actus cogendi’.

⁵⁹¹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 27; Middle Polish *nacisk*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/63624> [10 V 2022].

НАГАБАНІЕ ‘oppression’⁵⁹², ВЧИНѢ ‘deed’⁵⁹³, ЛАСКА ‘grace’⁵⁹⁴, ДОВѢ ‘argument, evidence’⁵⁹⁵, ЗАЧЕПКА ‘conflict’⁵⁹⁶, ОЧИНЗНА ‘inherited territory’⁵⁹⁷, СПРАВЕДЛИВОСТ ‘justice’⁵⁹⁸, НИЗГОДА ‘discrepancy’⁵⁹⁹, ЖАЛОБА ‘complaint, lawsuit’⁶⁰⁰.

- Specific South Slavonic: НАРѢКА ‘request’⁶⁰¹.

From the adjectives, we will mention just a few specific terms. In the description of the documents, there is an opposition between ПРАВЫИ ‘rightful’ and ПИТОМЫИ ‘own’⁶⁰² on one hand and КРИВЫИ ‘false, invalid’⁶⁰³ and СКАЖЕНЫИ ‘damaged, invalid’⁶⁰⁴ on the other hand. There are several terms denoting ‘above mentioned’: ВИШЕРЕЧЕНЫИ⁶⁰⁵, ПРЕДРЕЧЕННЫИ⁶⁰⁶, ВИШЕПИСАНЫИ⁶⁰⁷. Among addressing adjectives,

⁵⁹² Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XVIII, p. 345; Middle Polish *nagabanie* ‘inquietatio, interpellatio, vexatio’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/63999> [10 V 2022].

⁵⁹³ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXXV, p. 349 *вчинкъ/вчинокъ*; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 301–303 ‘factum, facinus; malefactum’.

⁵⁹⁴ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 539; Middle Polish *łaska* ‘gratia, benevolentia’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/62777> [10 V 2022].

⁵⁹⁵ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. VIII, p. 75; Middle Polish *dowód* ‘argumentum, documentum, probatio’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/49607> [10 V 2022].

⁵⁹⁶ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. XI, p. 47; Middle Polish *zaczepka*.

⁵⁹⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 111 *очинзна*; Middle Polish *o(j)czyzna* ‘patrimonium, patria’.

⁵⁹⁸ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 373; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 366–368 *sprawiedliwość*.

⁵⁹⁹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XX, p. 109 *незгода*; Middle Polish *niezgoda* ‘dissenatio, discrepantia, adversitas’.

⁶⁰⁰ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 353; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 543–544 *żaloba* ‘accusatio’.

⁶⁰¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542. *Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика*, <https://www.srpskirecnik.com/stranica/3/612> [10 V 2022].

⁶⁰² Both e.g. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 149–150, 222.

⁶⁰³ T. BĀLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27. Cf. in a similar meaning *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XVI, p. 138; Middle Polish *krzywý* ‘pravus’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/60461#znaczenie-9> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *křivý*.

⁶⁰⁴ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 347; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VIII, p. 226–229 *skazony* ‘violatus; non observatus; abrogatus’.

⁶⁰⁵ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 225.

⁶⁰⁶ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40. In *OCS, SSUM*, vol. II, p. 226–227.

⁶⁰⁷ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 48. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 223.

we will show *найпачнѣйшій* ‘the brightest’⁶⁰⁸, *вѣлможнѣи* ‘powerful’⁶⁰⁹, *чѣтно* *ѡрождѣннѣи* ‘honourfully born; noble’⁶¹⁰. Interesting South Slavonisms in the Transylvanian correspondence are *врѣдѣ* ‘precious’⁶¹¹, *сѣгашнѣи* ‘current’⁶¹². A curious CS adjective is *сѣвлнѣи* ‘great, strong’⁶¹³. Ruthenian adverbs from the chancery documents include *пожиточно* ‘usefully’⁶¹⁴, *звѣлащѣ* ‘especially’⁶¹⁵, *потѣемно* ‘secretly’⁶¹⁶, *досѣ* ‘enough’⁶¹⁷.

The richness of Macarie’s and Theodosie’s CS adjectives and adverbs possessing more than two stems can be basically divided into two groups:

- Lexemes appearing in the Chronicle by Constantine Manasses (Mainly in Macarie II): *256r* *грьддоумень* ‘proud-minded’⁶¹⁸, *длѣгоногы* ‘long-legged’⁶¹⁹, *звѣровидѣнѣ* ‘beast-looking’⁶²⁰, *земнородѣнѣ* ‘local’⁶²¹, *злокъзненѣ* ‘malicious’⁶²², *злопроходѣнѣ* ‘bad-winged’⁶²³, *крѣпконирѣнѣ* ‘having firm towers’⁶²⁴, *лъвопаростѣнѣ* ‘furious as a lion’⁶²⁵, *младдородѣнѣ* ‘young-born’⁶²⁶, *многдорѣвѣнѣ* ‘having

⁶⁰⁸ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. SSUM, vol. II, p. 17; Middle Polish *najjasniejszy*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/55693#znaczenie-22> [10 V 2022].

⁶⁰⁹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 162–163; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 23 *wielmożny* ‘illustis, nobilis, gloriosus’; Old Czech *velmožný*.

⁶¹⁰ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 482–483; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 435 *urodzony* ‘nobili loco natus’.

⁶¹¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 541. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 163 ‘dignus; qui valet’.

⁶¹² Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520. Cf. *Речник на българския език*, <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/сегашен/> [10 V 2022].

⁶¹³ Macarie I 155v. *Словарь русского...*, 5, p. 372.

⁶¹⁴ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXV, p. 389; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 565 *pożyteczno*.

⁶¹⁵ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SUM XVI, vol. XI, p. 114. *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 511–512 ‘prasertim, imprimis’.

⁶¹⁶ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 208; Middle Polish *potajemnie*, Old Czech *potajemně*.

⁶¹⁷ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 322; Middle Polish *dosyć* ‘satis’, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/49420#znaczenie-1> [10 V 2022].

⁶¹⁸ Macarie II 472v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 260 ‘σοβαρόφρων’.

⁶¹⁹ Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 264 ‘πτηνόπους’.

⁶²⁰ Macarie II 474r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 278 ‘θηριώδης’.

⁶²¹ Macarie II 475v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 282 ‘γηγενής’.

⁶²² Macarie II 478r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 284 ‘κακομήχανος’.

⁶²³ Macarie II 476r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 284 ‘δύσβατος’.

⁶²⁴ Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 306 ‘καρτερότειχος’.

⁶²⁵ Macarie II 476v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 310 ‘λεοντόθυμος’.

⁶²⁶ Macarie II 477v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 315 ‘νεογένης’.

many trees⁶²⁷, *МНОГОКЪЗНЕНЬ* ‘very cunning’⁶²⁸, *МНОГОМЖТЕНЬ* ‘turbulent’⁶²⁹, *ОСТРОВРЪХЪ* ‘having sharp peak’⁶³⁰, *СВЕРЪПОДЫХАНЕНЬ* ‘furiously blowing’⁶³¹, *СТАРОРОДЕНЬ* ‘old’⁶³², *ТВРЪДОНЫРЕНЬ* ‘having firm towers’⁶³³, *ТВРЪДРОСТЪБНЕНЬ* ‘having hard walls’⁶³⁴, *ТАЖКОГЛАСЕНЬ* ‘having deep voice’⁶³⁵, *ТАЖКОРОУАН* ‘heavy roaring’⁶³⁶, *ТАЖКОУМЕНЬ* ‘heavy-minded’⁶³⁷, *ХОУДОПЕРЪ* ‘bad-feathered’⁶³⁸.

- Lexemes missing in this source: *ЛЮБОТРУДНЪ* ‘diligently’⁶³⁹, *ЗЛАТОПЛЕТЕНЬ* ‘gold-knitted’⁶⁴⁰, *ПРЪНОВЪСПОМИНАЕМЪ* ‘always recorded’⁶⁴¹, *ЇТОПОЧИВЕНЬ* ‘defuncted as a Saint’⁶⁴², *ХРИСТОИМЕНИТЬ* ‘Christian’⁶⁴³, *КРАТЪКОРИЗЕНЬ* ‘having short shirt’⁶⁴⁴, *ЧАСТОВЪЗДЫХАТЕЛЕНЬ* ‘often sighing’⁶⁴⁵, *ЧЛОВЪККОЛЮБЕЗЕНЬ* ‘loving the humans’⁶⁴⁶, *СКОТООУМЕНЬ* ‘smart as cattle, stupid’⁶⁴⁷, *БГОМЖЖЕНЬ* ‘brave in the name of God’⁶⁴⁸, *МНОГОСЛОВИМЪ* и *МНОГОИМУВИТЕНЬ* ‘very famous and having much property, rich’⁶⁴⁹.

The specific verbs of the Moldavian Slavonic texts can be divided into the following groups:

⁶²⁷ Macarie II 476v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 414 ‘πολύξυλος’.

⁶²⁸ Macarie II 473v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 316 ‘πολυμήχανος’.

⁶²⁹ Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 316 ‘πολυτάραχος’.

⁶³⁰ Macarie II 475v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 347.

⁶³¹ Macarie II 474r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 284 ‘ἀγριόπνοος’.

⁶³² Macarie II 476r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 316 ‘πρεσβυγένης’.

⁶³³ Macarie II 480v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 434 ‘ὄχυρόπυργος’.

⁶³⁴ Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 428 ‘ἔϋπυργος’.

⁶³⁵ Macarie II 477r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 434 ‘βαρύδουπος’.

⁶³⁶ Macarie II 474r. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 434 ‘βαρύβρομος’.

⁶³⁷ Macarie II 474rv. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 278 ‘βαρύφρων’.

⁶³⁸ Macarie II 474v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 446 ‘ἀπαλόπτερυξ’.

⁶³⁹ Macarie I 154r. *Словарь русского...*, 8, p. 66. Cf. *LSJ*, p. 1938 φιλοπόνως.

⁶⁴⁰ Macarie I 155r. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, Vindobonae 1862–1865, p. 227 ‘ex auro plexus’. Cf. *LBG*, vol. VIII, p. 2023 χρυσόπλεκτος.

⁶⁴¹ Macarie I 155r. *Словарь русского...*, 20, p. 19. Cf. *LSJ*, p. 26 ἀειμνημόνευτος.

⁶⁴² Macarie I 164v. К. ИВАНОВА, *Български...*, p. 84 *Їтопочивши*. Here about people, which did not become Saint, showing respect to them. *Словарь русского...*, 23, p. 215.

⁶⁴³ Macarie I 167r. И. И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. III, *Санктпетербургъ* 1912, p. 1405.

⁶⁴⁴ Macarie II 474v. Not found in CS dictionaries.

⁶⁴⁵ Macarie II 475r. Not found in CS dictionaries.

⁶⁴⁶ Macarie II 480r. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon...*, p. 1119 ‘homines amando’.

⁶⁴⁷ Macarie II 476r *Словарь русского...*, 23, p. 12. Cf. *LBG*, vol. IV, p. 891 κτηνόφρων.

⁶⁴⁸ Theodosie’s Enkomion 200r. Not found in CS dictionaries.

⁶⁴⁹ Theodosie’s Enkomion 202r. The expression was present already in the original Passion of St John the new, see П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 162–163. Cf. πολύλογος και πολυχρήματος. Cf. *LSJ*, p. 1439, 1446.

- Verbs of non-Slavonic origin shared with Romanian: *посокоитити* 'to note; to remark'⁶⁵⁰, *кѣлтовати* 'to spend'⁶⁵¹.
- Moldavian Slavonic adaptations missing in Romanian: *вживати* 'to use'⁶⁵², *встла(ви)ти* 'to remain'⁶⁵³.
- Verbs of Slavonic origin shared with Romanian: *шпирати* 'to retain'⁶⁵⁴, *тѣкмити/токмити* 'to agree, to establish'⁶⁵⁵, *торговати* 'to trade'⁶⁵⁶, *хотарити* 'to form border; to border'⁶⁵⁷, *мартѣрисити/мартѣрисати* 'to testify'⁶⁵⁸, *доби(ва)ти* 'to achieve; to conquer'⁶⁵⁹, *ра(з)сипати* 'to destroy'⁶⁶⁰, *неволисати сѧ* 'to make effort'⁶⁶¹, *валовати* 'to assail'⁶⁶².

⁶⁵⁰ *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55. Romanian *a socoti*. The verb *сокоитити* is attested in the Wallachian Slavonic context, see ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 91, 125 (1480s).

⁶⁵¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539; Romanian *a cheltui*. Cf. *Erdélyi...*, vol. VII, p. 336 *költ* 'ausgeber'. Attested in Wallachia, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 51 (1430s/1440s).

⁶⁵² Partv of the regular formula, e.g. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 466–467, otherwise in Ruthenian *оуживати/вживати*; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 69 'incolere, reviviscere'.

⁶⁵³ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 47. Maybe a misspelling from *вставити* (OCS).

⁶⁵⁴ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531. Cf. G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 70 'claudere'. In contemporary Wallachian Slavonic usually corresponds to *здръжжати* (e.g. DRH B 3, p. 10 from 1526) or *запрѣтити* ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 338 (1535/1545). In older Wallachian documents *шпрѣти*, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 385. Romanian *a opri*.

⁶⁵⁵ Present in all types of chancery documents. *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 52; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518, 531. In Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727 *пѣтокмити*. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 212, 435, 412; cf. G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 45–46 *пѣтокмити* 'aequi parare'. Romanian *a (se) (in)tocmi*. In Wallachian Slavonic *оутѣкмити/оутокмити* (DRH B 3, p. 30, 1526), *оутакмити* (DRH B 3, p. 65, 1527).

⁶⁵⁶ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 438; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 62 'mercarî'. In Wallachia *тѣрговати*, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 227 (1510s); Romanian *a târgui*.

⁶⁵⁷ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 514; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 68; *Erdélyi...*, vol. IV, p. 1189 *határoz* 'begrenzen, abmarken, Grenze abzeichnen'; Wallachian Slavonic *хотарисати*, DRH B 3, p. 74 (1527); Romanian *a hotări* 'to decide; to establish limits'.

⁶⁵⁸ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 183, 240. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 578; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 32 *мартѣрисати*; in Wallachia *мартѣрисати*, DRH B 4, p. 25 (1536). Romanian *a mărturisi*.

⁶⁵⁹ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 311; *SUM XVI*, vol. VIII, p. 67–68; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 15 'a câștiga, a răpune'. In contemporary Wallachian Slavonic *дѣстигити* (DRH B 3, p. 81, 1538), in older documents *добити* 'to conquer', ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 144 (1477/1481); Romanian *a dobândi*.

⁶⁶⁰ Colophon of the *Apostolos* 1528; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540. In this meaning *Словарь русскогo...*, 22, p. 77; Romanian *a risipi*.

⁶⁶¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540. Attested in Wallachian Slavonic, e.g. ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 211 (1508/1510). Not found in dictionaries. Romanian *a se nevoi*.

⁶⁶² Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 520. Cf. *SUM XVI*, vol. III, p. 171; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 4; Romanian *a învăli*.

- Ruthenian verbs: тѣгати 'to sue'⁶⁶³, жаловати 'to complain'⁶⁶⁴, жадати 'to request'⁶⁶⁵, изнайти/изнаходити 'to find'⁶⁶⁶, лишити 'to leave'⁶⁶⁷, вожити 'to swear'⁶⁶⁸, пригодити сѧ 'to happen'⁶⁶⁹, норовити 'to urge'⁶⁷⁰, діітковати 'to thank'⁶⁷¹, поршити 'to break (law)'⁶⁷², прислѣхати 'to belong'⁶⁷³, разррити 'to destroy'⁶⁷⁴, весѣдати/всадити 'to settle'⁶⁷⁵, загѣвити 'to loose'⁶⁷⁶, заховати 'to retain'⁶⁷⁷, слѣвовати/слѣвити 'to promise'⁶⁷⁸, вѣплѣдити 'to expel'⁶⁷⁹, мѣшкати

⁶⁶³ Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 276; T. BĀLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 26; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 455; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 63 'a se pârî; protendere'.

⁶⁶⁴ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 354; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 553 'coram iudice accusare'.

⁶⁶⁵ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 352. *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 562–565 'rogare, quaerere'.

⁶⁶⁶ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 204, 241; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 275; Macarie I 158r йснахѣдѣ 'having found out'. SSUM, vol. I, p. 402–403 (и)знайти.

⁶⁶⁷ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520, 538. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 552–553; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 31 'a lăsa'.

⁶⁶⁸ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 519, 525. Cf. G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 3 'a jură'; *Словарь русского...*, 1, p. 274.

⁶⁶⁹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 236–237. The same document also contains the (O)CS equivalent прилѣчити сѧ.

⁶⁷⁰ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 520. Cf. *Словник української мови...*, <http://sum.in.ua/s/norovyty> [10 V 2022].

⁶⁷¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 539. SSUM, vol. I, p. 343 дяковати; Middle Polish *dziękować* 'gratias agere', <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/50943> [10 V 2022]; Old Czech *děkovati*.

⁶⁷² M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513; colophon of the Apostolos from 1528. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 199; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VI, p. 412 poruszyć '(praecepta) violare'; Old Czech *porušiti*.

⁶⁷³ *Surete...*, vol. XIX, p. 58; Молдова ын епока..., vol. I, p. 52. SSUM, vol. II, p. 246; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 48.

⁶⁷⁴ Молдова ын епока..., vol. I, p. 52. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 287–288 разррити; G. GHIVĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 52 разррити 'a strica'.

⁶⁷⁵ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510 весѣдати; Молдова ын епока..., vol. II, p. 269 всадити. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 92, 93 осадити/осѣсти; *Словник української мови...*, <http://sum.in.ua/s/osidaty> [10 V 2022], <http://sum.in.ua/s/osadzhuvaty> [10 V 2022]; *osidatu/osicitu/osaditulu/osadzhatu/osadzhuvatu*.

⁶⁷⁶ T. BĀLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 374; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 78–79 zgubić 'perdere, delere'.

⁶⁷⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 388; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 53–54 zachować 'retinere'; Old Czech *zachovati*.

⁶⁷⁸ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 359–360; Middle Polish *slubować*; Old Czech *slibovati*.

⁶⁷⁹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. SSUM, vol. I, p. 209; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 518 wypędzić 'expellere'; Old Czech *vypuditi*.

‘to waver’⁶⁸⁰, *Дорозѣмѣти* ‘to find out’⁶⁸¹, *вернѣти сѧ – вѣрѣти* ‘to return’⁶⁸², *выйти* ‘to go out’⁶⁸³, *притисноути* ‘to force’⁶⁸⁴, *зламати* ‘to break’⁶⁸⁵, *приказити* ‘to foil, to frustrate’⁶⁸⁶.

- Church Slavonic verbs with a prefix: *прѣтрьколити сѧ* ‘to turn around’⁶⁸⁷, *прѣдвѣспомѣнѣти* ‘to mention before’⁶⁸⁸, *прѣхуѣити* ‘to blaspheme in advance’⁶⁸⁹, *поукрасити* ‘to ornate’⁶⁹⁰, *промѣнити (промежи собою)* ‘to exchange’⁶⁹¹.
- Church Slavonic verbs enlarged with an adjective/adverb stem: *вѣдословити* (usual CS *владословити*) ‘to say crazy things’⁶⁹², *длъгословствовати* ‘to speak longly’⁶⁹³, *малодѣшъствовати* ‘to show fear’⁶⁹⁴.

The Moldavian Slavonic texts include a large variety of function words of different origin. In the internal chancery documents and the Treaty with Poland, there is an important layer of Ruthenian prepositions: ѿ⁶⁹⁵, very typically appearing

⁶⁸⁰ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. HSBM 18, 30, thus Ukr., Pol. *mieszkać*, ES XVII, *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. IV, p. 242 *mieszkać* ‘morari’; Old Czech *meškati* (primary meaning is ‘to waiver’).

⁶⁸¹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 320.

⁶⁸² Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726, 727. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 165 *вернѣти*; SUM XVI, vol. V, p. 18 *вѣрѣти сѧ*; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 324–325 *wrócić* ‘reverti’. T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 shows the (O)CS (eventually Czech) equivalent *вратити*.

⁶⁸³ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 216; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. X, p. 474 *wyjé* ‘exire’. See the (O)CS, eventually South Slavonic equivalents in the Transylvanian correspondence: ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 540 *излазити*, p. 540 *излѣзти*.

⁶⁸⁴ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *Гістарычны слоўнік...*, vol. XXIX, p. 30–31; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VII, p. 243 *przycisnąć* ‘alicui rei obligare’; Old Czech *přítisknutí*.

⁶⁸⁵ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. SSUM, vol. I, p. 399; *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. XI, p. 389 *zlamać* ‘frangere’; Old Czech *zlámati*.

⁶⁸⁶ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *Słownik staropolski...*, vol. VII, p. 134 *przekazić* ‘praecludere; impedire’; Old Czech *překaziti*.

⁶⁸⁷ Macarie II 472v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 390. Not found in CS dictionaries. Bulgarian *търколя се* ‘to wriggle’, *Речник на българския език*, <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/търколям/> [10 V 2022].

⁶⁸⁸ Macarie I 163v. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 18, p. 183.

⁶⁸⁹ Theodosie’s Enkomion 203r. Not found in CS dictionaries.

⁶⁹⁰ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 51 (monastery charter). Not found in CS dictionaries.

⁶⁹¹ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 119. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 20, p. 167.

⁶⁹² Theodosie’s Enkomion 203r. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 1, p. 250.

⁶⁹³ Macarie I 154v. Cf. *Cronica lui Constantin Manasses...*, p. 264 ‘μακρηγορεῖν’.

⁶⁹⁴ Macarie I 155r. Cf. *Словарь русского...*, 9, p. 16–17.

⁶⁹⁵ E.g. *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 278 ѿ *наши ѿ молдавскон земли* – *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 212 ѿ *нашен молдавскон земли* ‘in our Moldavian land’. *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 130 оу *Брълѧ* ‘in Bârlad’.

before toponyms, *подди* ‘close to; along’⁶⁹⁶, *межи* ‘between’⁶⁹⁷, *черѣ* ‘through’⁶⁹⁸, *до* ‘to’ in the position meaning⁶⁹⁹. In the Treaty with Poland, there are also specific Ruthenian-Polish forms *къ* ‘to, for, towards’⁷⁰⁰, *зъ* ‘with’⁷⁰¹, *водде* and *поддѣг* ‘according to’⁷⁰². An exceptionally interesting type of prepositions, appearing especially in the internal documents, are the compound prepositions. The regularly used ones are *промежи* ‘between’⁷⁰³ and *ѡкъ* ‘towards’⁷⁰⁴. The prepositions *ѡ срѣ* ‘from the centre of’⁷⁰⁵, *ѡпрѣ ѡ* ‘except’⁷⁰⁶, *къ прѣтѣ* ‘against’⁷⁰⁷ are occasionalisms, *въ на* ‘on’ seems to be a mistyping⁷⁰⁸. The variability of adverbs and conjunctions will be displayed in the following two tables:

But compare *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 *оу дрѣгѣи стѣлѣ* ‘up to the second border assign’, *ѡ едѣи вѣрѣстѣ* ‘to an elm’. The Ruthenian *ѡ* thus joins two different prepositions, *vŭ ‘in, to’ and *u ‘by, near’. Due to the North Bulgarian and Štokavian impact, we find a similar phenomenon in Wallachian Slavonic.

⁶⁹⁶ In the Treaty with Poland as ‘according to’, Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727 *подди нас* ‘with us, near us’; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65 *подди вѣкли* ‘along (the brook) Beala’; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 *подди село* ‘along the village’, *подди потока* ‘along the brook’. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 166.

⁶⁹⁷ *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 269; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 71; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 728. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 583.

⁶⁹⁸ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 94; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 210. In *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184, there is the CS equivalent *сквозѣ* (OCS *сквозѣ*).

⁶⁹⁹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 *пришѣ до на* ‘he came to us’; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 531 *аор.: прѣидѣ до на* ‘he came to us’. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 267.

⁷⁰⁰ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726 *къ шкодѣ* ‘to the detriment’. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 525; Middle Polish *ku szkodzie*, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/60613> [10 V 2022].

⁷⁰¹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. The documents show the variation, e.g. *зъ войсками* ‘with the troops’, *съ Тѡурки* ‘with Turks’.

⁷⁰² Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 184; vol. II, p. 166.

⁷⁰³ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 119, 380.

⁷⁰⁴ *Молдова ѡн епока...*, vol. II, p. 271 *ѡкъ Сижи* ‘to Zija’; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 *ѡкъ Ѡничани* ‘towards Oniceni’; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65 *ѡкъ Брѣгѣѡѡ* ‘towards Bârgăuani’; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. II, p. 16 *ѡкъ Молдова* ‘towards (the river) Moldova’; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17, 20 *ѡкъ вѣстока* ‘eastwards’. Cf. G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 71 ‘de la, despre’. Cf. Romanian *de la, de către*.

⁷⁰⁵ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204 *ѡ срѣ пасики* ‘from the centre of the clearing’. Cf. Romanian *dintru*.

⁷⁰⁶ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184 *прѣдали... панѣ Ялботи самѡноу ѡпрѣ ѡ его вратѣа* ‘they sold (it) just to Sir Albota, not to his brothers’.

⁷⁰⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727 *къ прѣтѣ царѣви Тѣрецѡмѣ* ‘against Turkish sultan’.

⁷⁰⁸ *Inscripții din bisericile...*, p. 56 *въ на четвѣртомъ лѣтѣ* ‘in the 4th year’.

Adverbs

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
also	ТАКОЖДЕ ⁷⁰⁹	ТАКО ^{ж710} , ТИ ^{ж711} combination: ТИ ^ж ТАКОЖ- ДЕ ^{ре712}	mixed type: ТАКОЖДЕ ^{ре713}
always	ВЪСЕГДА, ВЪИНЖ ⁷¹⁴	ЗАВЪКДЫ ⁷¹⁵	
then	ТОГДА ⁷¹⁶	ТОДИ ⁷¹⁷ , ПА ^{ж718}	
together	ВЪКЪПЪ ⁷¹⁹ , КЪПНО ⁷²⁰		ЗАЕДНО ⁷²¹
very	СЪКЛВ ⁷²²	ВЕЛИИ ⁷²³	(ВЕЛИИ)

⁷⁰⁹ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 148, 538, Macarie I 167r.

⁷¹⁰ M. M. SZÉKELY, S. S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 259; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 344; *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 17; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 119; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 418; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 61.

⁷¹¹ *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 93; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140, 184; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 71; ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 542, 538. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 425–426; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 61 ‘pariter’; *Slovník staropolski...*, vol. IX, p. 150–151 ‘et (etiam)’.

⁷¹² *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 26.

⁷¹³ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 203; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 215; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 65; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 32; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 184; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 240. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 418; G. GHIBĂNESCU, *Slovar...*, p. 61 ‘pariter’. The form used in the Serbian and contemporary Wallachian chancery was ТАКОЖРЕ, Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 274; DRH B 3, p. 77 (1528) and 137 (1529).

⁷¹⁴ Matthew per. per 75, RGB 54v; per. 108, RGB 77r.

⁷¹⁵ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 372.

⁷¹⁶ Macarie I 155r, 158rv, 163r, etc.

⁷¹⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 434
ТОГДИ.

⁷¹⁸ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 729. Cf. SSUM, vol. II, p. 121.

⁷¹⁹ Macarie I 163r, II 464v; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 275.

⁷²⁰ Macarie I 161v.

⁷²¹ Ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 518; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727; SSUM, vol. I, p. 375; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 370–371 ‘una’. In Wallachian Slavonic usually КЪПНО (even ѠКЪПНО, DRH B 3, p. 325, 1535), in some documents ЗАЕДНО, ed. G. G. TOCILESCU, 534 *Documente...*, p. 394 (1480s).

⁷²² Matthew, per. 3, RGB 12v.

⁷²³ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 163; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 109 ‘valde’.

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
now	ннѣ ⁷²⁴	тѣпѣ ⁷²⁵	сѣдд ⁷²⁶
back	вѣсплѣтъ ⁷²⁷	назад ⁷²⁸	
how much	колико ⁷²⁹	коуако ⁷³⁰	(колико)
where	гдѣ, камо ⁷³¹	гдѣ ⁷³² , кѣдд ⁷³³	

Conjunctions

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
that	тако ⁷³⁴	ѡ ⁷³⁵ , аж(ѣ) ⁷³⁶ , и ⁷³⁷	ѣрѣ ⁷³⁸

⁷²⁴ Macarie I 159r.

⁷²⁵ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 535. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 428.

⁷²⁶ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518, 539, 540, 541. On the same place also ѡ сѣдд ‘from now’. Used in the Wallachian and Serbian chancery, cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 233; DRH B 3, p. 65 (1527).

⁷²⁷ Macarie I 159v.

⁷²⁸ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 538. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 14.

⁷²⁹ *Surete...*, vol. IX, p. 21; *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 204.

⁷³⁰ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 727. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 489.

⁷³¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540 (both words as direction).

⁷³² *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 55; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725 (position).

⁷³³ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511 (position). *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 526 (direction).

⁷³⁴ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531; Macarie I 154v and *passim*.

⁷³⁵ Included in the promulgario formula, e.g. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 507. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 76.

⁷³⁶ Glăvan’s Letter; *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 240; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27 разоуѣмѣли єєны ѡ бѣдѣ ‘we have understood that she was’.

⁷³⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. *SSUM*, vol. II, p. 425; Middle Polish, <https://spxvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/55374> [10 V 2022].

⁷³⁸ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518 (letter to Brașov). Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 523–524. In Wallachian Slavonic see e.g. DRH B 3, p. 244 (1533/1534).

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
in order to	да ⁷³⁹	дбы ⁷⁴⁰ mixed: како аби ⁷⁴¹ , да аби ⁷⁴² , аби да ⁷⁴³	како да ⁷⁴⁴
or	или ⁷⁴⁵	абѡ, лиѡ ⁷⁴⁶	
when	егда ⁷⁴⁷	коли ⁷⁴⁸	къда ⁷⁴⁹
until	дондеже ⁷⁵⁰	д ⁷⁵¹ , покѡда ⁷⁵²	докле ⁷⁵³
if	аще ⁷⁵⁴ , аще ли ⁷⁵⁵	коли бы ⁷⁵⁶ , естли ⁷⁵⁷	ако ⁷⁵⁸ , ако ли ⁷⁵⁹

⁷³⁹ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 60.

⁷⁴⁰ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 61; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519, 539; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 725. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 63; Middle Polish and Old Czech *aby*, <https://spixvi.edu.pl/indeks/haslo/5182> [10 V 2022].

⁷⁴¹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 535, 538.

⁷⁴² Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 538.

⁷⁴³ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539.

⁷⁴⁴ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 513; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540. In Wallachian see DRH B 3, p. 239 (1533).

⁷⁴⁵ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269; Macarie II 476v.

⁷⁴⁶ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 63, 545.

⁷⁴⁷ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 50; Macarie I 157r.

⁷⁴⁸ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 510; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 538; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. Cf. SSUM, vol. I, p. 487.

⁷⁴⁹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519 (letter to Brașov). Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 516, in Wallachian Slavonic see DRH B 3, p. 352 (1535).

⁷⁵⁰ Macarie I 160r, II 476r.

⁷⁵¹ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726.

⁷⁵² *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140.

⁷⁵³ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 743 'quousque'. In Wallachian Slavonic e.g. DRH B 3, p. 361 (1535).

⁷⁵⁴ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531.

⁷⁵⁵ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 540; *Surete...*, vol. XXI, p. 98.

⁷⁵⁶ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726.

⁷⁵⁷ Ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726.

⁷⁵⁸ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 518. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 6. In Wallachian Slavonic e.g. DRH B 3, p. 15 (1526).

⁷⁵⁹ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539.

Meaning	CS	Ruthenian	Wallachian – South Slavonic
but	нж ⁷⁶⁰ , ѡбачѣ ⁷⁶¹	(али) ⁷⁶²	(али)
because	понеж(ѣ) ⁷⁶³ , занѣжѣ ⁷⁶⁴	тѡмѣ ѡ ⁷⁶⁵ , занѣжѣ ⁷⁶⁶	(понежѣ)
as	како ⁷⁶⁷	ѣк(ѡ) ⁷⁶⁸	(како)
therefore	тѣмъжѣ ⁷⁶⁹	прѡтѡ ⁷⁷⁰ ннѡ ⁷⁷¹	
yet	ѣще ⁷⁷²	(ѣще)	ѣще ⁷⁷³
And also	и, а ⁷⁷⁴	та ⁷⁷⁵	тѣре ⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁶⁰ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531.

⁷⁶¹ Macarie I, p. 165r.

⁷⁶² In all types of chancery documents. M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 509; *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 269; *Surete...*, vol. II, p. 337; *Surete...*, vol. XXIV, p. 147; *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159; *Ispisoace...*, vol. I.1, p. 61; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 536, 541; ed. E. DE HURMUZAKI, N. DENSUȘIANU, *Documente...*, vol. II.3, p. 726. The conjunction али appears in the Moldavian chancery documents before any CS and South Slavic impact (since 1393), but within the Ruthenian context, it is exclusive to the Moldavian milieu. Other Ruthenian varieties use алѣ, also attested in Moldavian Slavonic, cf. *SSUM*, vol. I, p. 68–69, 71.

⁷⁶³ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. II, p. 272, 275; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 535, 539.

⁷⁶⁴ *Surete...*, vol. I, p. 376 (monastery document).

⁷⁶⁵ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 519.

⁷⁶⁶ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511.

⁷⁶⁷ M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 511; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 535, 539.

⁷⁶⁸ *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 192; ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 531, 535, 537, 541.

⁷⁶⁹ *Молдова ын епока...*, vol. I, p. 40.

⁷⁷⁰ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 539; Glăvan's Letter.

⁷⁷¹ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27; M.M. SZÉKELY, S.S. GOROVEI, *Documente...*, p. 508.

⁷⁷² *Surete...*, vol. XVIII, p. 140; T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 27.

⁷⁷³ *Surete...*, vol. VII, p. 159.

⁷⁷⁴ Regular in all chancery documents.

⁷⁷⁵ T. BĂLAN, *Documente...*, vol. I, p. 30. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИТЬ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 414–415.

⁷⁷⁶ Ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, *534 Documente...*, p. 520.

Written varieties in Moldavia

The variability of written Slavonic in Moldavia developed from the first decade of the 15th century through the interaction of Ruthenian and the Trinovitan variety of Middle Church Slavonic. This base was being gradually enriched by the elements of Romanian vernacular and South Slavonic elements mediated through the Wallachian milieu. In the 2nd quarter of the 16th century, most of Moldavian texts were CS based or showed a strong CS influence. In the chancery documents (except the communication with Poland), the clearly Ruthenian elements mostly appeared in the shape of fixed formulas, few repeating lexemes and morphological forms and a set of function words spread among the CS-shaped forms, whose syntactic distribution was influenced by non-Slavonic origin of scribes. The most regular remnant of the Ruthenian base of the chancery language was the preference of the 1-preterite and /u/ reflex of *ǫ in the secular chancery documents, which was supported by the Štokavian-based Wallachian impact in the letters addressed to Transylvanian towns. This contrasted with the use of simple past tenses (aorist and imperfect) and the reflex /ə/ (ѣ, eventually ѣ) for *ǫ dominating in the rest of Moldavian production.

The most prestigious variety used in Moldavia was Trinovitan Church Slavonic, whose model form, minimally impacted by the complicated Moldavian language environment, was represented by texts of the biblical-liturgical corpus. These were the texts, thoroughly copied from their models patterned on the legacy of the Late Second Bulgarian Empire. Nevertheless, the Moldavian tradition might have further regularised some tiny orthographic details. The original bookish texts (preserved in manuscript books) comprising the historiographic (Macarie's Chronicle), hagiographic (Enkomion to St John the New) and small formulaic writings (colophons and inscriptions) tried to imitate the same models. In contrast to the shared corpus, the original texts contain more visible traces of Moldavian origin, especially the ѣ/ѣ/ѣ/ѣ variation and syntactical discrepancies, revealing the variable level of active knowledge of CS of the Romanian-speaking authors. From the examined period, we have one important Resavian book from Moldavia, dedicated to the monastery of Xeropotamou of Athos.

The internal chancery documents consist of CS-shaped formulas of Ruthenian origin, whose non-CS elements are concentrated mainly in the *dispositio*. The monastery charters are enriched with further Trinovitan CS formulas, similar or identical to those used in ktetor inscriptions and colophons. The most variable corpus comprises the correspondence with Transylvanian towns, which, despite its superficial CS shape, includes both Ruthenian and South Slavic elements. The Slavonic documents addressed to Poland (here represented mainly by the Treaty with Poland) are Ruthenian-based. On one hand, they show some similarities with the

contemporarily dominant Ruthenian variety – the Lithuanian chancery language (e.g. Polonisms, random *ě > ɛ, *u-/vŭ- > в-, *мати* ‘to have (to)’), untypical for the Ruthenian elements of the internal chancery. On the other hand, they also reflect the Moldavian linguistic reality: the typical spellings of the internal chancery (ѣ /ja/, variation of вѣ-/ѣ-, random *ě > и) and the syntactical discrepancies.

The Moldavian milieu also shows the following important similarities with the Wallachian environment:

- The Trinovitan CS being the most prestigious language variety.
- The presence of similar syntactical discrepancies, linked to the Romanian background of scribes and writers.
- The Romanian spelling system of Romanian proper names.
- A part of specific administrative, legal and landscape terminology.
- Randomly appearing elements of the (originally) Serbian chancery language.

The 16th century brought the increase of language variability into international communication. During the reign of Peter Rareș, the official correspondence with Poland was submitted to a language shift, replacing the traditional Ruthenian with Polish (partly keeping also Latin). In the official communication with Hungary and Transylvanian towns, the Latin language remained the main medium, while in the correspondence among Moldavian and Transylvanian town councils or with concrete persons of (Transylvanian) Saxon origin, the (Early High) German was applied.

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GNESIOI FILOI: GEORGE SYNCELLUS AND THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR – ADDENDA

Abstract. The paper provides the addenda to A. Kompa, *Gnesioi filoi: the search for George Syncellus' and Theophanes the Confessor's own words, and the authorship of their oeuvre*, *Studia Ceranea* 5, 2015, p. 155–230. All the expressions crucial to the stylistic and stylometric argument on the authorship of the *Chronography* of Theophanes have been updated after 7 years and verified in the expanded TLG database. The updated results are presented below. The conclusions confirm the previous opinions on the individual, singular authorship of the chronicle of Theophanes with differences in style from the first part of the universal history, written by George Syncellus. At the same time, both works should be treated as a single project, and the prooimion to Theophanes' part as a sound base for the reconstruction of the writing process. The clauses *ὡς προέφην*, *καθὼς καὶ προέφην*, *ὡς προέφημεν*, and *καθὼς προέφημεν* are specific to the *Chronography* of Theophanes in their frequency and diversity, but they seem to be known and used by the circles from which Theophanes acquired his literary skills.

Keywords: Theophanes the Confessor, George Syncellus, Georgios Synkellos, Byzantine chronography, Byzantine historiography, *Chronographia*, *Ekloge chronographias*, *gnesios philos*, TLG, world chronicles, *hos proephen*, *kathos kai proephen*, *hos proephemien*, *hos ephen*, *hos ephemen*, *ὡς προέφην*, *καθὼς καὶ προέφην*, *ὡς προέφημεν*, *καθὼς προέφημεν*, *ὡς ἔφη*, *ὡς ἔφημεν*, stylometry

In 2015 I published a paper in the 5th volume of “*Studia Ceranea*”, devoted to the much disputed authorship of the *Chronography* or *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor¹. My intention was to stress the unique bond that links that

¹ A. KOMPA, *Gnesioi filoi: the search for George Syncellus' and Theophanes the Confessor's own words, and the authorship of their oeuvre*, *SCer* 5, 2015, p. 155–230. A much shorter version of that paper was published a few months earlier: A. KOMPA, *In search of Syncellus' and Theophanes' own words, and the authorship of the Chronographia revisited*, *TM* 19, 2015 (= *Studies in Theophanes*, ed. M. JANKOWIAK, F. MONTINARO, Paris 2015), p. 73–92.

The bibliography pertaining to the matter of the chronicle and its authorship is to be found in the *SCer* paper, p. 155–156, n. 1 & 2. Below is the updated list, covering the studies published in the recent years: S. ALBRECHT, *Theophanes Confessor*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of medieval chronicle*, ed. G. DUNPHY, vol. 2, J–Z, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 1421–1422; W. TREADGOLD, *The middle Byzantine historians*, New York 2013, p. 38–77; P. VARONA, *Three clergymen against Nikephoros I: remarks on*

work with the *Ekloge chronographias* by George Syncellus and to highlight the differences in language and style of the two parts at the same time. While preparing the Polish version of that text for the forthcoming book, I repeated the stylometric analysis in its entirety after 7 years, taking advantage of the largely expanded *The-saurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG). The results confirmed and strengthened my argument. To avoid inconsistencies between the English and the Polish version, I present the updated material below. The tables were used to reveal the phrases based on forms of the verb πρόφημι as the most significant indicator of the authorship of the *Chronography* in Theophanes' part.

It should be stressed that the 22 updates of the TLG between September 2015 and September 2022 have supplemented the database with plethora of important sources of various genres, covering much of that part of the Byzantine literary heritage which was missing before. Ca. 1700 works by nearly 450 authors, both known by name and anonymous, have been digitalised altogether within last seven years². Many *vitae* and works by the ecclesiastical writers that I had to survey independently before 2015 have now been included³. As for significant Byzantine examples, one may mention e.g.: Justin the Martyr (2 works added to the base), John Chrysostom (8 works), Synesius of Cyrene (9), Hesychius of Jerusalem (11), Leontius of Byzantium (10), Maximus the Confessor (18), George Pisides (7), Andrew of Crete (5), the patriarch German I (5), Theodore the Studite (13), the patriarch

Theophanes' Chronicle (AM 6295–6303), B 84, 2014, p. 485–509; F. MONTINARO, *Histories of Byzantium: some remarks on the early manuscripts of Theophanes' Chronicle*, SClA 8, 2015, p. 171–176; R.M. PARRINELLO, *Teofane il Confessore, ovvero la storia letta da un punto di vista cristiano*, RSCr 12, 2015, p. 83–95; K. MARINOW, *Pan Kubrat i jego pięciu synów. Teofanesa wizja przybycia Bułgarów na Półwysep Bałkański*, BP 23, 2016, 15–34; L. NEVILLE, *Guide to Byzantine historical writing*, Cambridge 2018, p. 61–71; A. SIROTENKO, *Constructing memory: the Chronicle of Theophanes on the reign of Heraclius*, [in:] *Storytelling in Byzantium: narratological approaches to Byzantine texts and images*, ed. C. MESSES, M. MULLETT, I. NILSSON, Uppsala 2018, p. 223–242; P.A. YANNOPOULOS, *Un fantôme historique: l'autre Theophane*, BZ 113, 2020, p. 189–217; O. PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ, *Literary circles in Byzantine iconoclasm: Patron, politics and saints*, Cambridge 2021, p. 53–59; D. БРОДКА, *Rebellen und Usurpatoren – zur Benutzung der Theodor-Lector-Epitome durch Theophanes*, [in:] *Studies in Theodore Anagnostes*, ed. R. KOSIŃSKI, A. SZOPA, Turnhout 2021, p. 183–203; J.W. TORGERSON, M. HUMPHREYS, *Chronicles, histories and letters*, [in:] *A companion to Byzantine iconoclasm*, ed. M. HUMPHREYS, Leiden–Boston 2021, p. 195–199, 203–208; J.W. TORGERSON, *The Chronographia of George the Syncellus and Theophanes: the ends of time in ninth-century Constantinople*, Leiden–Boston 2022.

² The list of updates is to be found at <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/news.php> as well as at http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/tlgauthors/post_tlg_e.php. The simple addition of the numbers specified in the 'News' reveals 1002 authors (yet partially the same in the subsequent supplements) as well as 1755 works, but a thorough counting of the lists yields 400–600 writers and 1703 texts. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that anonymous works, especially hagiographic, could in some cases be penned by the same authors.

³ Cf. A. KOMPA, *Gnesioi filoi*, p. 167–168, n. 15.

Nicephorus I (6), Michael Psellus (i.a. the epistulae), Nicetas David Paphlagon (9), Symeon Metaphrastes (as many as 109 added lives, passions and martyria), John Zonaras (6), John Tzetzes (10), Neophytus the Recluse (7), Constantine Manasses (10), Eustathius of Thessalonica (5), Theodore Prodromus (7), Manuel Gabalas (6 new to the previous 2), Maximus Planudes (6), Theodore Metochites (7), Nicholas Cabasilas (15), Nicephorus Callistes Xanthopoulos (7), Thomas Magister (13), Demetrius Cydones (9), Manuel Chrysoloras (5), Manuel Calecas (5), Manuel II (4), Bessarion (4) and many other. Several authors, previously unavailable in TLG, have been at least partially added, i.a. Isaac of Nineveh, Severianus of Gabala (mostly the *spuria*), Joseph the Melodist, Alexius Aristenus, Euthymius Zigabenus, Matthew Cantacuzenus, Cyrillus Lucares, Christopher Zonaras, Matthew Blastares, Anthony Eparchus, Mercurius the Grammarian, Meletius Pigas or Theodore Kolokotronis. Besides hagiography, the acts of the councils and synods, as well as many menologia, canonaria, apocrypha and encomia have been added to the base.

The methods of collecting the data and all necessary caveats are the same as in the original paper, and thus I refrain from repeating them here. As for the updated tables, Table II presents all the instances of *ὡς προέφην / καθὼς καὶ προέφην / ὡς προέφημεν (-αμεν) / καθὼς προέφημεν (-αμεν)* and similar phrases since their first apparition in Greek in the 1st c. BC to the late 16th c. AD. Table III summarizes the usage of the much more common phrases *ὡς (καθὼς) ἔφη, ὡς (καθὼς) ἔφη(α)μεν* including *ὡσπερ ἔφη / ἔφη(α)μεν*. Table IV juxtaposes the most significant cases of those displayed in the two former ones. To make the diversity of usage more noticeable, some of the authors who used the shorter forms but never applied the phrases with *πρόφημι*, have also been included. The results have been carefully recounted and some minor errors eliminated. The chronological order has been maintained and the most significant cases bolded or underlined.

Table II [SCer 5, 2015, p. 168–176]

Ὡς προέφην / καθὼς καὶ προέφην / ὡς προέφην (-αμεν) / καθὼς προέφην (-αμεν) and similar phrases in ancient and medieval Greek:	
Philodemus of Gadara	1 pl <i>Peri poiēmatōn</i> , V, 33, [in:] <i>Philodemos über die Gedichte, fünftes Buch</i> , ed. C. JENSEN, Berlin 1923 (ὡς προέφην)
Arius Didymus	1 s <i>Liber de philosophorum sectis (epitome ap. Stobaeum)</i> , [in:] <i>Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum</i> , rec. F.W.A. MULLACH, vol. II, Parisiis 1867, p. 97, 6–7r (ὡς προέφην)
Ps.-Aristotle*	1 pl <i>De plantis</i> , II, [in:] ARISTOTELE, <i>Le piante</i> , ed. M.F. FERRINI, Milano 2012, p. 825a (ὡς προέφην)
Nicomachus	1 pl <i>Introductio arithmetica</i> , rec. R. HOCHÉ, Leipzig 1866, II, 25, 2 (ὡς προέφην)
<i>Corp. Hermeticum</i>	+1 pl <i>Harmonicum enchiridion</i> , 12, [in:] <i>Musici scriptores graeci</i> , rec. K. VON JAN, Leipzig 1895, p. 262, 11–12 (περὶ οὗ καὶ προέφην)
	1 pl fr. 26, 25; ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, A.D. NOCK, vol. III, Paris 1954 (ὡς προέφην)
Justin Martyr	13 s <i>Apologia secunda</i> , 8(3), 6, [in:] <i>Apologie pour les chrétiens</i> , ed. Ch. MUNIER, Paris 2006 [= SC, 507] (ὡς προέφην)
	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i> , 19, 2; 21, 1; 41, 2; 51, 2; 53, 4; 56, 10; 63, 2; 88, 8; 92, 3; 92, 6; 94, 2; 102, 2; ed. Ph. BOUCHON, Fribourg 2003
	+1 s <i>ibidem</i> , 113, 1 (ὡς προέφην πολλάκις)
	+1 s <i>ibidem</i> , 130, 3 (ὡς προέφην ἐν πολλοῖς)
	+1 s <i>ibidem</i> , 134, 2 (ὡς προέφην γάρ)
	+1 s <i>ibidem</i> , 138, 2 (<ὡς> προέφην)
	16 pl <i>Apologia</i> , 12, 5; 21, 6; 22, 2; 32, 11; 45, 6; 54, 5; 54, 7; 56, 2; 58, 1; 63, 4; 67, 5 ed. ut supra (ὡς προέφην)
	<i>Apologia secunda</i> , 3, 3; 5(6), 5; 7(8), 1; 9, 1
	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i> , 83, 4
Galen	1 s <i>De compositione medicamentorum per genera</i> , I, 17, [in:] <i>Claudii Galeni opera omnia</i> , rec. C.G. KÜHN, vol. XIII, Lipsiae 1827, p. 442 (ὡς προέφην ἐμπροσθεν)

Table II (cont.)

John Chrysostom	2 s	<i>Fragmenta in Jeremiam (in catenis)</i> , 45, [in:] <i>PG</i> 64, col. 1017	(ὡς προσέφηγν)
		<i>In psalmum 118</i> , I, 1, [in:] <i>PG</i> 55, col. 676	
John Chrysostom, sp.	1 pl	<i>Visio Danielis</i> , [in:] <i>Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina</i> , rec. A. VASSILIEV, pars I, Mosquae 1893, p. 35, 9	(ὡς γὰρ πρεπόντως προσέφηγε(ν))
Ps.-Macarius	2 pl	<i>Sermones (collectio B)</i> , hom. 2, 3, 7; hom. 59, 2, 5, [in:] <i>Makarinos/Symeon Reden und Briefe</i> , ed. H. BERTHOLD, vol. I–II, Berlin 1973	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , hom. 40, 1, 10	(ὡς γὰρ προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Homiliae spirituales</i> , XXI, 4, 46, [in:] <i>Die 50 geistl. Homilien des Makarios</i> , ed. H. DÖRRIES, E. KLOSTERMANN, M. KROEGER, Berlin 1964	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Peri hypomonḗs kai diakriseōs logos</i> , 27, [in:] <i>PG</i> 34, col. 888	(ὡςπτερ προσέφημεν)
John Stobaeus	1 s	<i>Ioannis Stobaei anthologium</i> , II, 7, 22, rec. C. WACHSMUTH, vol. II, Berolini 1884, p. 143	(ὡς προσέφηγν)
	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , I, 49, 69, vol. I, p. 471	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Palladius	1 s	<i>Palladii Dialogus de vita S. Iohannis Chrysostomi</i> , XX, 615, ed. A.-M. MALINGREY, Ph. LECLERQ, Paris 1988 [= SC, 341]	(ὡς προσέφηγν)
Philostorgius	1 s	<i>Kirchengeschichte</i> , III, 2a (= <i>Artemii passio</i> , 17), ed. J. BIDEZ, F. WINKELMANN, Berlin 1981	(ὡς προσέφηγν)
	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , VII, 8a (p. 86 in notes)	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Polychronius of Apamea	1 s	<i>Commentarii in Danielelem (fragm. in catenis)</i> , IX, 25, ed. E. MUTSOULAS, Athena 2007	(καθὼς προσέφηγν)
Eutyches	1 s	letter to the emperor, read during the council of Chalcedon, 834, [in:] <i>ACO</i> , II, 1, 1, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, <i>Beroloni–Lipsiae</i> 1933, p. 177, 36	(ὡς προσέφηγν)
<i>Vita Alexandri</i>	1 pl	53, ed. E. DE STOOP, Turnhout 1911 [= <i>PO</i> , 6] (repr. 1981), p. 700, 17	(ὅπτερ προσέφημεν)
Diadochus of Photice	1 s	<i>Sermo de ascensione</i> , [in:] <i>Diadoque de Photice. Oeuvres spirituelles</i> , ed. É. DES PLACES, Paris 1955 [= SC, 5bis], p. 167, 4	(ὡς προσέφηγν)

Gennadius I	1 s	<i>Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos (in ceteris)</i> , [in:] <i>Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen</i> , vol. XV, <i>Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche</i> , ed. K. STAAB, Münster 1933, p. 369, 11 – repeated in <i>catenae (Catena in epistulam ad Romanos (typ Vat.) (e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E.2.20 [= Misc. 48])</i> , ed. J.A. GRAMER, vol. I, Oxford 1840, p. 80)	(καθὼς ἦδη προέφην)
	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 384, 29 (repeated in <i>catenae</i> as above, p. 152)	(ὡς προέφραμεν)
Proclus	1 s	<i>Tomus ad Armenios</i> , 9, [in:] ACO, IV.2, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berolini–Lipsiae 1914, p. 189, 5	(καθὰ προέφην)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 21, p. 192, 13	(καθὰ προέφρημεν)
anon. papyr. mag.	1 s	16, [in:] <i>Papyri Graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , vol. II, ed. K. PREISENDANZ, A. HENRICHS, ² Stuttgartiae 1974, p. 225	(ὡς προέφην)
Ps.-Gelasius	1 s	<i>Anonyme Kirchengeschichte (Gelasius Cyzicenus, CPG 6034)</i> , III, 13, 8, ed. G.Ch. HANSEN, Berlin–New York 2002 (in editor's view <i>Zusatz des Compilers zum Text seiner Vorlage</i>)	(ὡς ἦδη προέφην)
Ps.-Caesarius	2 s	<i>Die Erotapokriseis</i> , 108, 108; 179, 5, ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berlin 1989	(ὡς προέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 121, 9	(καὶ ἄνω ἦδη προέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 146, 72	(καθὼς προέφην)
John the Lydian	4 pl	<i>De magistratibus populi Romani</i> , II, 13, 4; II, 24, 3; II, 29, 3; III, 53, 2, ed. J. SCHAMP, vol. II, Paris 2006	(ὡς προέφραμεν)
John Scholasticus	2 pl	<i>Prologus et scholia in Dionysii Areopagitiae librum De divinis nominibus</i> , 4, 2305b; 11, 2396b, ed. B.R. SUCHLA, Berlin 2011	(ὡς προέφρημεν)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , proem. 216c	(καθὰ προέφην)
	+3 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 1, 2193b; 5, 2317c; 5, 2324a	(καθὰ προέφρημεν)
<i>Vita Irenae</i>	+1 s	19, [in:] A. WÜRTH, <i>Danae in christlichen Legenden</i> , Wien 1892 [= BHG, 953]	(καθὼς προέφην)
<i>Mart. Dion. Areopag.</i>	1 pl	<i>Martyrium beati Dionysii Areopagitae</i> , [in:] PG 4, col. 680	(ὡς προέφρημεν)

Table II (cont.)

Abraham of Ephesus	1 pl	<i>Homilia de annuntiatione</i> , [in:] <i>Homélieles mariales byzantines</i> , ed. M. JUGIE, Turnhout 1922, p. 446 [= PO, 16]	(μῆδ' ὡς προσέφημεν)
Fl. Phoebammon	1 s	<i>Testamentum Flavii Phoebammonis</i> [Nov. 15, 570], http://webu2.upmf-grenoble.fr/Haiti/Cours/Ak/Negotia/Cair32_DDBDF.gr.html	(ὡς προσέφην)
<i>Chronicon paschale</i>	1 s	rec. L. DINDORE, Bonnae 1832, p. 435, 4	(ὡς οὖν προσέφην)
John Climacus	1 pl	<i>Scala paradisi</i> , 8, 10, [in:] PG 88, col. 832	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Maximus Confessor	2 s	<i>Quaestiones ad Thalassium</i> , proem., 303; 65; 809, ed. C. LAGA, C. STEEL, vol. I–II, Turnhout 1980–1990 [= CC. SG, 7 & 22]	(ὡς προσέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 63, 377	(καθὼς προσέφην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 50, 205	(Προέφην γάρ...)
John Presbyter	1 pl	<i>Adversus haereticos</i> , 11, ed. M. RICHARD, REB 28, 1970	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
<i>Vita Alypii Stylitae</i> ₁	1 pl	<i>Vita prior</i> , 4, [in:] H. DELEHAVE, <i>Les saints stylites</i> , Bruxelles–Paris 1923, p. 150, 11	(οἷς καὶ προσέφημεν)
<i>Vita Eustathii et al.</i>	1 s	2, [in:] F. HALKIN, <i>La Passion inédite des Saints Eustathe, Thespésius et Anatole</i> , AB 93, 1975	(καθὼς προσέφην)
Pamphilus of Jerusalem	1 pl	<i>Encomium sancti Soteridis</i> , [in:] <i>Diversorum postchalcidonensium auctorium collectanea I</i> , ed. J.H. DECLERCK, P. ALLEN, Turnhout 1989 [= CC.SG, 19], p. 292, 32	(ὡν ὡς προσέφημεν)
Isaac of Nineveh	1 s	<i>Oratio ascetica XXXII</i> , 23, [in:] <i>Logoi askētikoi 26–41</i> , ed. P.K. CHRESTOU, Thessalonikē 1991	(καθὼς προσέφην)
Leontius of Rome	2 pl	<i>Vita et miracula Sancti Gregorii Agrigeniti / Das Leben des heiligen Gregorius von Agrigent</i> , 39; 85, ed. A. BERGER, Berlin 1995	(ὡς καὶ προσέφημεν)
Tarasius I	1 s	words noted in 787 below the letter of Germanus I to Constantine of Nacoleia (ep. 3, 44), [in:] PG 98, col. 164 and ACO II.3, <i>Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum</i> , ed. E. LAMBERZ, pars II, Berlin–Boston 2012	(ὡς καὶ προσέφην)
		Ταράσιος ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης εἶπεν· ὡς καὶ προσέφην, τίμοι ἀδελφοί, ἡ εἰσαγωγή τῆς ἐπεισάκτου καινοτομίας ταύτης γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς ἐπισκόπου Νικαωλείας. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος διάκονος καὶ νοτάριος ἀνέγνω.	

acta of Nicaea II	1 pl	ACO II.3, ed. E. LAMBERZ, pars I, Berlin–Boston 2008, p. 84 (οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι μοναχοὶ εἶπον.)	(ἰδοὺ καθὼς προσέφημεν)
nov. of Irene	1 pl	nov. 27, [in:] L. BURGMANN, <i>Die Novellen von Kaiserin Eirene</i> , in <i>Fontes Minores IV</i> , ed. D. SIMON, Frankfurt am Main 1981, p. 20, 62	(οἶων προσέφημεν)
George Syncellus	0		
Theophanes	6 s 5 pl		
nov. of Leo/Constantine*	2 pl	nov. 26, 26, 4 & 10, [in:] D. SIMON, <i>Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier</i> , in <i>Fontes Minores I</i> , ed. IDĒM, Frankfurt am Main 1976, p. 25, 84; 28, 174–175	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
	+ 1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 24, 55 (cf. two additional: p. 25, 95–96; 26, 125–126 in fragment absent from some of Mss.)	(ὡς προσέφημεν...)
George Choeroboscus	1 pl	<i>Prologomena et scholia in Theodosii Alexandrini canones</i> , [in:] <i>Grammatici Graeci</i> , ed. A. HILGARD, vol. IV.2, Lipsiae 1894, p. 38 cf. <i>Epimerismi Homericī</i> , 52f	(ὡς προσέφημεν) (καθὼς προσέφημεν)
Michael Syncellus	1 pl + 1 pl	<i>Peri tes tou logou syntaxeos</i> , 56, [in:] <i>Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle</i> , ed. D. DONNET, Bruxelles 1982 <i>ibidem</i> , 115	(καθ' ἄτερ προσέφημεν) (καθὰ προσέφημεν)
Ps.-John of Damascus	1 pl	<i>Quaestiones et responsiones</i> , v. 632–633, [in:] <i>Die Erotapokriseis des Pseudo-Johannes Damaskenos zum Kirchengesang</i> , ed. C. HANNICK, G. WOLFRAM, Wien 1997	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Vita Const. et Helenae	1 pl	65, [in:] H.G. OPITZ, <i>Die vita Constantini des codex Angelicus</i> 22, B 9.2, 1934	(καθὼς προσέφημεν)
Vita Nicephori med.	1 pl	9, 1, [in:] F. HALKIN, <i>La Vie de s. Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie (d. 813)</i> , AB 78, 1960, p. 412	(ὡς ἀνωτέρω προσέφημεν)
Methodius I	1 pl	<i>Vita Euthymii Sardiani</i> , 15, 301, ed. J. GOULLARD, TM 10, 1987: (ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ συναρχιερεὺς τοῦ Ἰαλυρικοῦ...)	(...ὄν προσέφημεν)
Sophronius of Alex.	1 pl	<i>Excerpta ex Joannis Characi commentariis in Theodosii Alexandrini canones</i> , [in:] <i>Grammatici Graeci</i> , vol. IV.2, ed. A. HILGARD, Leipzig 1894, p. 392, 6	(...ὄν προσέφημεν)

Table II (cont.)

<i>Vita Andreae in crisi</i>	1 s	<i>Martyrium sancti et gloriosis... Andreae</i> , 5, [in:] <i>Acta Sanctorum Octobris</i> , vol. VIII, (Oct. 27–30), Parisiis–Roma 1866, p. 137	(ὡς προσέφην)
Sabbas	1 s	<i>Vita Ioannicii</i> , 6, 22(c), [in:] <i>Acta Sanctorum Novembris</i> , vol. II.1, (Nov. 3–4), Bruxellis 1894, p. 353	(ὡς προσέφην)
Sabbas	1 s	<i>Vita Petri Atroatae / La Vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa</i> , 67, ed. V. LAURENT, Bruxelles 1956	(ὡς προσέφην)
<i>Vita Athanasiae</i>	1 pl	L. CARRAS, <i>The Life of St Athanasia of Aegina: A Critical Edition with Introduction</i> , 21, 38, [in:] <i>Maistor. Classical, Byzantine nad Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning</i> , ed. A. MOFFATT, Canberra 1984	(ὡς προσέφην)
George the Monk	1 pl	<i>Chronicon</i> , X, rec. C. DE BOOR, vol. II, Studgardiae 1904, p. 416, 20	(καθὼς προσέφην)
?Paul of Nicaea	1 s	<i>Manuale medico</i> , 92, 19, ed. A.M. IERACI BTO, Napoli 1996	(ὡς προσέφην)
Photius I	1 pl	<i>Bibliotheca</i> , cod. 192a, p. 154b–155a; ed. R. HENRY, vol. III, Paris 1962	(Ἄλλ' ὃ και προσέφην)
	+1 pl	<i>Contra Manichaeos / Récit de la réapparition des manichéens</i> , 54, ed. W. WOLSKA-CONUS, TM 4, 1970, p. 139, 13–14	(ὡς και προσέφην)
	+1 pl	<i>Fragmenta in epistolam II ad Corinthios (in catenis)</i> , [in:] <i>Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen</i> , vol. XV, <i>Pauli-skomentare aus der griechischen Kirche</i> , ed. K. STAAB, Münster 1933, p. 587, 16	(καθὼς και προσέφην)
Procopius	1 pl	words of the bishop of Caesarea (Capp.), in the acts of Constantinople IV (session 879/880), ed. K. SIAMAKES, Thessalonikē 1985	(ὡς προσέφην)
Nicetas the Teacher	1 pl	<i>Refutatio et eversio epistulae ab Armeniae principe missae</i> , 18, [in:] PG 105, col. 648c	(ὡς προσέφην)
Leo VI the Wise	1 s	v. 134, F. CICCIOLELLA, <i>Il carme anacreontico di Leone VI</i> , BC 10, 1989, p. 23	(ὡς προσέφην)
Arethas of Caesarea	1 pl	<i>Commentarius in Apocalypsin</i> , 7, [in:] PG 106, col. 548	(ὡς προσέφην)
Nicholas Mysticus	1 s	ep. 2, 29, [in:] <i>Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters</i> , ed. R.J.H. JENKINS, L.G. WESTERINK, Washington 1973	(τοῦτο δὴ ὃ προσέφην)

	+1 pl	ep. 2, 14	(ὁ προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	ep. 6, 74	(ὡς οὖν προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	ep. 135, 21–22	(...ὡς προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	ep. 101a, 10	(ἐν οἷς προσέφημεν)
Basil	1 pl	<i>Vita Euthymii iunioris</i> , 36, ed. L. PETT, ROC 8, 1903, p. 202, 8	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Constantine VII	2 pl	<i>De administrando imperio</i> , 29, 84–85, ed. G. MORAVCSIK, R.J.H. JENKINS, ² Washington 1967	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
		<i>De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae</i> , I, 10, ed. A. VOGT, vol. I, Paris 1935, p. 71, 6–7	
<i>Martyrium Irenaei</i>	1 s	<i>Martyrion tou hagiou Eirēnaiou episkopou Sirmiou</i> , 26, 5, [in:] V. LATYSEV, <i>Menologii Byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt</i> , fasc. 1, <i>Februarium et Martium menses continens... e Codice Mosquensi 376 Vlad.</i> , Leipzig 1970	(ὡς προσέφημν)
Lucas Adialeptus	1 s	<i>Exhortatio ad virgines</i> , 11, [in:] A. RIGO, <i>Un autore spirituale sconosciuto del X secolo: Luca Adialeptos</i> , B 79, 2009	(ὡς προσέφημν)
Ps.-Heron	1 pl	<i>Geodaisia</i> , 9, 47, [in:] D.F. SULLIVAN, <i>Siegecraft: Two Tenth-Century Instructional Manuals by "Heron of Byzantium"</i> , Washington 2000	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Nicephorus	2 pl	<i>Vita sancti Andreae Sali</i> , 21; 36, ed. L. RYDÉN, Uppsala 1995	(ὡς προσέφημν)
<i>Vita Pauli iun.</i>	1 pl	37, ed. H. DELEHAYE, [in:] <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen</i> , ed. Th. WIEGAND, vol. III.1, Berlin 1913, p. 127	(ἦ προσέφημεν)
<i>De velitatione bell.</i>	1 pl	4, 4, [in:] <i>Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas</i> , ed. G. DAGRON, H. MIHAESCU, Paris 1986, p. 45	(καθάρτερ προσέφημεν)
<i>Digenis Acrifas</i>	1 s	IV, 583, ed. E. JEFFREYS, Cambridge 1998, p. 100	(καθώστερ καὶ προσέφημν σοι)

Table II (cont.)

John of Sicily	1 s	<i>Commentarius in Hermogenis librum Peri ideon</i> , IV, 47, [in:] <i>Rhetores Graeci</i> , vol. VI, rec. C. WALZ, Stuttgart- diae et al. 1834, p. 184, 29–30	(ὡς προέφρην)
	+1 s	<i>ibidem</i> , IV, 42, p. 181, 10	(ὡσπερ προέφρην)
acta of Oppido	1 s	doc. nr 10 (sign. Nicholas Cataspites), [in:] A. GUILLOU, <i>La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathe (Oppido, 1050– 1064/65)</i> , Città del Vaticano 1972	(ὡς προέφρην)
	+1 s	doc. nr 38 (sign. Andrew Mutzekises), [in:] <i>ibidem</i>	(ὡς προέφρην)
Michael I Cerularius, sp.	1 pl	<i>Panoplia</i> , IIIa, c. 19, [in:] A. MICHEL, <i>Humbert und Kerullarios: Quellen und Studien zum Schisma des XI Jht.</i> , Paderborn 1930, p. 234	(καθὼς προέφρημεν ἀνωθεν)
acta of Cellarana	2 pl	doc. nr 2, v. 22 i 28, [in:] A. GUILLOU, <i>Saint-Nicodème de Cellarana (1023/1024–1232)</i> , Città del Vaticano 1968	(ὡς προέφρημεν)
Philip Solitarius	1 s	<i>Dioptra</i> , 2, 1, ed. S. LABRIOTES, <i>Ho Athos</i> , vol. I, Athenai 1920	(ὡς προέφρην)
	+2 s	<i>ibidem</i> , 4, 7; 4, 8	(ὡς ἦδη σοι προέφρην)
	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 4, 7	(ὡς προέφρημεν πολλάκις ἐν...)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 1, 5	(καθὼς σοι καὶ προέφρημεν ἀνωθεν ἐν...)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 2, 12	(καθὰ δὴ καὶ προέφρημεν πρό μικροῦ ἐν...)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 3, 2	(καθὼς πέρ σοι προέφρημεν ἐν...)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 4, 3	(καθὼσπερ καὶ προέφρημεν πολλάκις ἐν...)
Michael Attaleiates	2 pl	<i>Historia</i> , ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1853, p. 84, 8; 99, 2–3	(ὡς προέφραμεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Ponema nomikon etoi synopsis pragmatike</i> , 4, 3, [in:] <i>Ius graecoromanum</i> , ed. J. ZEPHOS, P. ZEPHOS, Athenae 1931	(οἷς προέφραμεν)

- Vita Cosmae & Joannis* 1 pl? *Vita Cosmae Melodi et Joannis Damasceni*, 15 [in:] *Analekta Ierosolymitikes stachylogias*, ed. A. ΡΑΡΑΔΟΡΟΥ-ΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, vol. IV, Petroupolei 1897, p. 283, 2–3 (ὡς προσέφημεν)
- Vita Niconis* 2 pl 12; 57; ed. D. SULLIVAN, Brookline Mass. 1987 (ὡς ἔφθημεν ειπόντες)
- Christodulus** 4 pl *Testamentum et codicillus Christoduli (a. 1093)*, in test.: p. 82, [28], p. 82, [31], p. 83, [20]; in cod.: p. 89, [12]; ex *Acta monasterii Patmi*, [in:] *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi sacra et profana*, ed. F. ΜΙΚΛΟΣΤΙΧ, J. ΜÜLLER, vol. VI, Vindobonae 1890 (ὡς προσέφημεν)
- Vita Phantini iun.* 1 s *La vita di san Fantino il Giovane*, 32, 2, ed. E. FOLLIERI, Bruxelles 1993 (καὶ ἦν προσέφην)
- Translatio Nicolai* 1 pl 20, [in:] *Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen*, ed. G. ANRICH, vol. I, Leipzig–Berlin 1913 (ὡς προσέφημεν)
- Theodore of Andida 1 pl *Brevis commentatio de divinae liturgiae mysteriis*, 10, [in:] PG 140, col. 429 (τούτου γὰρ ἔνεκεν ἐν προομίοις προσέφημεν)
- Euthymius Zigabenus** 1 pl *Commentarius in psalterium*, ps. 30, 23, [in:] PG 128, col. 357 (ὡς προσέφημεν)
- +3 pl *ibidem*, ps. 30, 10, col. 352; ps. 40, 14, col. 468; ps. 80, 16, col. 849 (ὡς ἐν τῷ ... ψαλμῷ προσέφημεν)
- +1 pl *ibidem*, ps. 65, 7, col. 652 (δι' ἃς προσέφημεν)
- 5 pl *Commentaria in quattuor evangelia*, Mt praef.; Mt 2, 13; Mt 12, 5; Mt 24, 14; J 10, 31, [in:] PG 129, col. 116; 149; 365; 608; 1336 (ὡς προσέφημεν)
- +1 pl *ibidem*, Mt 19, 8, col. 517 (προσέφημεν ... ἐν τῷ δηλωθέντι ... κεφαλαίῳ)
- John Tzetzes** 2 s *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem*, v. 226, sch. 41; v. 459, sch. 3, [in:] *Der unbekannte Teil der Ilias-Exegesis des Ioannes Tzetzes (A 97–609)*, ed. A.C. LOLOS, Königstein 1981 (προσέφην)
- +1 s *ibidem*, v. 357, sch. 29 (ὅσα προσέφην)
- +1 s *Chiliades*, II, 48, 710, [in:] *Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae*, ed. P.L.M. LEONE, Napoli 1968 (ὡς ἦδη σοι προσέφην)
- 1 pl *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem*, v. 423, sch. 81 (ὡς καὶ προσέφημεν)

Table II (cont.)

	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , v. 413, sch. 66	(δι' ἄπτερ προέφημεν)
	+1 pl	ep. 28, 9–10, rec. P.A.M. LEONE, Leipzig 1972, p. 44	([ὥσπερ προέφημεν])
	+1 pl	<i>Scholia in Aristophanem</i> , 990b, [in:] <i>Joannis Tzetzae Commentarii in Aristophanem</i> , ed. W.J.W. KOSTER, Groningen 1962	(οὐσπερ προέφημεν)
Eustathius of Thess.	1 pl	<i>Commentarii ad Homeri Illiadem</i> , ed. M. VAN DER VALK, vol. I, Leiden 1971, p. 265	(ὡς καὶ προέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Exegesis in canonem iambicum pentecostalem</i> , I, 121, ed. P. CESARETTI, S. RONGHEX, Göttingen 2014	(ὡς προέφημεν)
acta of Theristes	1 s	doc. nr 30 (of Constantine ho tou Filore), <i>Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile</i> , vol. V, <i>Saint-Jean-Theristes (1054–1264)</i> , ed. C. GIANNELLI et al., Citta del Vaticano 1980	(ὡς προέφημν)
	+1 s	doc. nr 21 (of Rogerius Muschatus), [in:] <i>ibidem</i>	(ὡς καὶ προέφημν)
	4 pl	doc. nr 19 (of Arcadius, son of Isidore & oth.); nr 22 (of Leo son of Puva, with 2 sons); nr 29 (of Adilica with son John); nr 33 (of Scribonissa), [in:] <i>ibidem</i>	(ὡς προέφημεν)
Neophytus the Recluse	6 s	<i>Deka logoi peri tou Christou entolon</i> , hom. 4, 17, ed. I.E. STEPHANES, [in:] <i>Hagiou Neophytou tou Egkleistou Syggrammata</i> , ed. I. KARABIDROPOULOS, C. OIKONOMOU, D.G. TSAMES, N. ZACHAROPOULOS, vol. I, Paphos 1996	(ὡς προέφημν)
		<i>Testamentum sive Typike diatheke</i> , 24, ed. I.E. STEPHANES, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. II, Paphos 1998	
		<i>Biblos ton katecheseon</i> , ed. P. SOTIROUDIS, I, cat. 6, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. II	
		<i>Panegyrike A'</i> , 8, 207; 21, 438, ed. Th. GIAGKOU, N. PAPATRIANTAFYLLOU-THEODORIDI, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. III, Paphos 1999	
		<i>Hermēneia kanonōn tōn dōdeka despotikōn Heortōn</i> , ot. VI, 29, ed. A. SAKELLARIDOU-SOTIROUDI, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. V, Paphos 2005	
	+1 s	<i>Liber quinquaginta capitulorum</i> , 39, 13, ed. P. SOTIROUDIS, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. I	(προέφημν σοι ὄντι')
	10 pl	<i>Deka logoi peri tou Christou entolon</i> , hom. 4, 4; hom. 4, 12	(ὡς προέφημεν)

Biblos ton katecheseon, II, 37; II, 49

Panegyrike A', 8, 346; 19, 415; 26, 33

To asma asmaton, 3, 113–114, ed. B.S. PSEUTOGKAS, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. II

Hermēneia kanonōn tōn dōdeka despotikōn Heortōn, or. III, 22, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. V

Logos eis to Hagion Pneuma kai eis tēn Hagian Pentēkostēn, II, 182, ed. B.K. KATSAROS, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. V

+1 pl *Panegyrike A'*, 29, 265–266

(καθ' ὃν προέφημεν τρόπον)

+1 pl ep. 5, v. 40, ed. A. KARPOZELOS, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. V

(Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα προέφημεν ὅτι
γίνεται τῆς ἡσυχίας ἡ ἀρχὴ
περιστασιοῦ ἀφορμῆ.)
(καθὼς καὶ προέφημεν)

+1 pl ep. 7, v. 70, [in:] *ibidem*, vol. V

Nicholas of Otranto

1 s *Disputatio contra Iudaeos*, [in:] *Nektariou, hegoumenou mones Kasoulou, Nikolaou, hegoumenou mones Hydrountinou Dialexis kata Ioudaion*, ed. M. CHRONZ, Athens 2009, p. 77, 14

(ὡς προέφημν)

+1 s *ibidem*, p. 114, 3

(...σοὶ καὶ προέφημν ὅτι...)

+1 s *ibidem*, p. 125, 8

(ὡς καὶ προέφημν)

6 pl *ibidem*, p. 20, 19; 86, 6; 128, 10; 180, 3; 210, 20; 227, 12

(ὡς προέφημεν)

+4 pl *ibidem*, p. 18, 21; 80, 20; 113, 17; 223, 1

(ὡς καὶ προέφημεν)

Acacius Sabaites

1 pl *Commentarius in Andrae Cretensis canonem*, 6, 171, [in:] A. GIANNOULI, *Die beiden byzantinischen Kommentare zum Grossen Kanon des Andreas von Kreta: Eine quellenkritische und literarhistorische Studie*, Wien 2007

(καλῶς οὖν προέφημεν)

Manuel Holobolus

1 s *Oratio 2 in imp. Michaelēm Palaeologum*, [in:] *Manuelis Holoboli orationes*, ed. M. TREU, pars 2, Potsdam 1907, p. 87, 2

(ὡς προέφημν)

Andrew Libadenus

1 s *Descriptio itineris*, [in:] *Andreu Libadenou bios kai erga*, vol. I, ed. O. LAMPSTEDS, Athenais 1975, p. 40, 14

(ὡς προέφημν)

Table II (cont.)

George Acropolites	1 s	<i>Laudatio Petri et Pauli</i> , 16, [in:] <i>Georgii Acropolitae opera</i> , vol. II, rec. A. HEISENBERG, Studgardiae 1978, p. 96, 34	(εί γάρ καί προσέφην)
	1 pl	<i>Annales</i> , 80, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. I, p. 165, 14	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Const. Meliteniotes	2 s	<i>Orationes antirrheticae adversus tomum Gregorii II Cyprii</i> , ed. M. ORPHANOS, Athēna 1986, p. 187, 277	(ὡς προσέφην)
Maximus Planudes	1 pl	<i>Macrobius Commentariorum in Somnium Scipionis</i> , II, 10, 10, ed. A. MEGAS, Thessaloniki 1995	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Apparitio Michaelis	1 pl	A. LAGIOIA, <i>Una versione greca inedita della Apparitio sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano (BHG 1288h, Messan. gr. 29)</i> , VChr 51, 2014, p. 194, 8–9	(ὁ προσέφημεν)
George Metochites	1 s	<i>Historia dogmatica</i> , I, 5, [in:] <i>Nova Patrum Bibliotheca</i> , rec. J. Cozza, vol. VIII.2, Roma 1871, p. 6	(ὡς προσέφην)
	2 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , I, 96, p. 133; III, 9, [in:] <i>NPB</i> , rec. J. Cozza-Luzzi, vol. X.1, Roma 1905	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Theodore Metochites	1 pl	<i>Byzantios vel Laus Constantinopolitana</i> , 48, ed. J. POLEMIS, Thessalonike 2013	(ὁς προσέφημεν)
John XIII Glycas	1 s	<i>Opus de vera syntaxeos ratione</i> , ed. A. ЈАНН, Bern 1839, p. 26, 18	(ὡς ἀρχόμενος προσέφην)
	1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , p. 34, 4–5	(ὡς ἀνωθεν προσέφημεν)
<i>Actum Isaaci profi</i>	1 pl	(a. 1316), [in:] <i>Actes d'Esphigménou</i> , ed. J. LEFORT, Paris 1973, p. 91, 80–81 = <i>Diploma Isaaci profi de cambitate agrorum</i> (a. 1316), 80–81, [in:] <i>Actes de Vatopédi I, Des origines à 1329</i> , ed. J. BOMPAIRE, C. GIROS, V. KRAVARI, J. LEFORT, Paris 2001, p. 271	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Gregory Palamas	1 s	<i>Contra Nicephorum Gregoram</i> , or. II, 67, [in:] <i>Grēgoriou tou Palama syggammata</i> , ed. P.K. CHRESTOU, vol. IV, Thessalonike 1988	(καθότιερ καί προσέφην)
	1 pl	<i>De processione Spiritus Sancti</i> , or. II, 78, 11, [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , vol. I, Thessalonike 1962	(καθὰ προσέφημεν)
Gregory Acindynus	1 pl	<i>Antirrheticus maior</i> , IV, 6, 35, [in:] <i>Gregorii Acindyni Refutationes duae</i> ... ed. J. NADAL CAÑELLAS, Turnhout 1995 [= CC.SG, 31]	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
David Dishypatus	3 pl	<i>Logos kata Barlaam kai Akindynou pros Nikolaon Kabasilan</i> , p. 53, 1; 64, 2; 74, 17; ed. D.G. TSAMES, Thessalonike 1976	(ὡς προσέφημεν)

<i>Prochiron Auctum</i>	1 pl	XXVII, 284, rec. P. ZEPOS (post C.E. ZACHARIÁ VON LINGENTHAL), Athenae 1931 (repetition of the nov. of Irene, cf. above)	(οίων προέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , XXXI, 39 (citation from Attaliateis' <i>Ponema nomikon</i> , cf. above)	(οίς προέφημεν)
<i>Prochiron Calabriae</i>	1 pl	XXIII, 46, [in:] <i>Prochiron Legum</i> , ed. F. BRANDILEONE, V. PUNTONI, Roma 1895	(οίους προέφημεν)
<i>Exegesis in Hesiodi</i>	1 pl	ad 270, <i>Glossen und Scholien zur hesiodischen Theogonie</i> , ed. H. FLACH, Leipzig 1876, p. 389, 9	(ώς προέφημεν)
<i>Schol. coll. Marc.</i>	1 pl	<i>Peri prosodion</i> , [in:] <i>Scholía [Commentaria] in Dionysii Thracis Artis grammaticam</i> , rec. A. HILGARD, Lipsiae 1901, p. 293, 11	(ώς προέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>Peri technes</i> , [in:] <i>ibidem</i> , p. 298, 17	(καθὰ προέφημεν)
Thomas Magister	2 pl	<i>Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli monachi Ecloga vocum Atticarum</i> , ed. F. RITTSCHL, Halis Saxonum 1832, p. 352, 14–15 & 371, 6	(ώς προέφημεν)
Nicephorus Gregoras	1 s	<i>Explicatio in librum Synesii De insomniis</i> , 138c, 157, 16, ed. P. PIETROSANTI, Bari 1999	(ώς προέφη)
	1 pl	<i>Liber dogmaticus V</i> , 15 (<i>Historiae byzantinae libri postremi</i> , XXXIV, 56), rec. I. BEKKER (<i>Nic. Greg.</i> vol. III), Bonnae 1855, p. 469, 17–18	(ώς άνωτέρω προέφημεν)
Theophanes of Perithorion	1 pl	20, [in:] F. HALKIN, E. KOURILAS, <i>Deux Vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe ermite au Mont Athos</i> (XIV s.), AB 54, 1936, p. 92, 34	(ώς προέφημεν)
Philotheus Coccinus	1 s	<i>Laudatio Sancti Demetrii</i> , 17, 13, [in:] <i>Philotheou K-poleos tou Kokkinou hagiologika erga</i> , vol. II, ed. D.G. TSAMES, Thessalonike 1985	(ώς προέφη)
John Cyparissiotis, sp.	1 pl	<i>Adversus Cantacuzenum</i> , [in:] <i>Theologica varia inedita saeculi XIV</i> , ed. J. POLEMIS, Turnhout 2012, p. 266, 35	(καθώς προέφημεν)
Isidore Glabas	1 pl	<i>Homilia XXIII</i> , 1, [in:] <i>Isidōrou Glaba archiepiskopou Thessalonikēs Homilies</i> , ed. V. CHRISTOPHORIDES, vol. I, Thessalonikē 1996	(ώς που κατ τούτο προέφημεν)
Theodore Meliteniotes	5 pl	<i>De astronomia libri III</i> , I, 3, 14; I, 18, 7; II, 4, 38–39; II, 5, 317; II, 8, 9, ed. R. LEURQUIN, vol. I, Amsterdam 1990; vol. II, Amsterdam 1993	(ώς προέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , II, 22, 103	(ώς προέφημεν)

Table II (cont.)

Callistus Angelicudes	1 pl	<i>Refutatio Thomae Aquinae</i> , 396, ed. S.G. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Athens 1970	(ώς προσέφημεν)
	+1 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , 186	(Προέφημεν γάρ...)
<i>Vita Romyli/Romuli</i>	1 pl	7, [in:] F. HALKIN, <i>Un ermite des Balkans au XIV^e siècle. La vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos</i> , B 31, 1961	(ώς άνωτέρω προσέφημεν)
editor of Pachymeres	1 pl	<i>Historia brevis</i> , VI, 24, [in:] <i>Le version brève des Relations Historiques de Georges Pachymérés</i> , ed. A. FAILLER, vol. I, Paris 2001	(ώς προσέφημεν)
Symeon of Thess.	2 s	<i>Apologia de abitu ad Constantinopolim</i> , 5, 24–25, [in:] <i>Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)</i> , ed. D. BALFOUR, Wien 1979, p. 72	(ώς προσέφημν)
	ep. 5,	357, [in:] <i>Hagiou Symeon Thessalonikes 1416/1417–1429, erga theologika</i> , ed. D. BALFOUR, Thessalonike 1981	(ώς προσέφημεν)
	2 pl	ep. 2, 571; 6, 220	(ώς προσέφημεν)
<i>Tract. arithmeticus</i>	1 pl	<i>Tractatus arithmeticus, e cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 4</i> , [in:] M.D. CHALKOU, <i>The Mathematical Content of the Codex Vindobonensis Phil. Graecus 65 (ff. 11–126)</i> , Thessalonike 2006, p. 17 (fragm. Περὶ τοῦ θεμελίου αὐτῶν)	(ώς προσέφημεν)
Manuel II	1 s	<i>Dialogi cum mahometano</i> , 8, [in:] <i>Manuel II. Palaiologos. Dialoge mit einem "Perser"</i> , ed. E. TRAPP, Wien 1966, p. 100, 30	(ώς δὴ προσέφημν)
John Cananus	1 pl	<i>De Constantinopoli oppugnata</i> , v. 53, / <i>L'assedio di Costantinopoli</i> , ed. E. PINTO, Messina 1977	(ώς προσέφημεν)
Gennadius II	1 pl	<i>Epitome primae partis Summae theologiae Thomae Aquinae</i> , III, 44, [in:] <i>Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadius) Scholarios</i> , ed. M. JUGIE, L. PETIT, X.A. SIDERIDES, vol. V, Paris 1931	(ὡς ιδέας προσέφημεν)
Ducas	2 pl	<i>Historia Turco-Byzantina</i> , 22, 11; 44, 3, [in:] ed. V. GRECU, București 1958	(καθὼς προσέφημεν)
<i>Actum Bessarionis</i>	1 pl	(a. 1500), 25, [in:] <i>Actes d'Iviron</i> , vol. IV, <i>De 1328 au début du XV^e siècle</i> , ed. J. LEFORT et al., Paris 1995, p. 180	(ὄν ἄνωθεν προσέφημεν)
<i>Actum Joachim I</i>	1 pl	(a. 1501), 23, [in:] <i>Actes de Kullumus</i> , ed. P. LEMERLE, Paris 1988, p. 163	(ώς προσέφημεν)

<i>Ekthesis chronica</i>	1 pl	48, 1, [in:] <i>Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513. An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century</i> , ed. M. PHILIPPIDES, Brookline Mass. 1990	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
Macarius Melissenus	1 s	<i>Chronicon sive maius</i> , IV, 13, [in:] GEORGIOS SPHRANTZES, <i>Memorii, 1401–1477</i> , ed. V. GRECU, București 1966, p. 524, 18–19	(ὡς προσέφην ἐν τοῖς πρώοην βιβλίοις)
	2 pl	<i>ibidem</i> , I, 5; I, 11; ed. ut supra, p. 172, 5; 188, 21	(ὡς προσέφημεν)
anon., undated	1 pl	<i>Actum falsum Isaaci et concilii Caryanum</i> , 24, [in:] <i>Actes de Docheiariou</i> , ed. N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, Paris 1984, p. 336 (cf. <i>ibidem</i> , 17)	(ὡς προσέφημ[ε]ν)

in total **105 s**

216 pl (including 24 with προσέφημεν)

* Ascribed to Nicholas of Damascus.

** It is not clear who are the Emperors Leo and Constantine, and the exact date of the law is unknown – some scholars suggested Leo III (726/727 – e.g. D. Simon), Leo IV (776/780 – e.g. K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal); at the same time, one of the Mss. speaks of the 7th year of reign explicite, what cannot be agreed with too short a reign of Leo IV, and to the issue of co-emperorship), Leo V (819/820 – e.g. O. Kresten, and later S. Troianos), or Leo VI (911/912 – e.g. A. Schminck, with the 7th year counted for Constantine VII; but why co-emperor Alexander would be omitted then?); all the datation proposals are gathered and discussed by A. SCHMINCK, *Zur Datterung der eherechtlichen Novelle der Kaiser Leon und Konstantinos*, ΕΚΕΙΕΔ 46, 2016, p. 179–189 and S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen des Byzantinischen Rechts*, trans. D. SIMON, S. NEYE, Berlin–Boston 2017, p. 110, note 14. A. Schminck's argumentation is worth discussing, and I am personally inclined to date the law to the reign of Leo V and Constantine (Smbat), thus its chronological place in the table, yet not without hesitations. Discussion on proper attribution is yet far from its end.

* * *

Some of the passages from Irenaeus were repeated in catenae (f.ex. *Catena in epistolam Petri I / catena Andreae*, [in:] *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. VIII, rec. J. A. CRAMER, Oxford 1840, p. 56, 9 – the same is cited also by Euthymius Zigabenus in his commentary to the 1 Peter, 2, 17, [in:] *Euthymii Zigabeni Commentarius in XIV epistolas Sancti Pauli et VII catholicas*, ed. N. CALOGERAS, vol. II, Athenis 1887), by Epiphanius of Salamis in his *Panarion* (ed. K. HOLL, vol. I, Leipzig 1915, p. 406, 432, 434; vol. II, Leipzig 1922, p. 32) and by Theodoret of Cyrhus (*Eranistes*, ed. G. H. ETTINGER, Oxford 1975, p. 153). There may have been 4 other plural instances of ὡς/καθὼς προσέφημεν in *Adversus haereses* of Irenaeus – the relevant parts survived, alas, only in a Latin translation (III, 12, 9; IV, 12, 1; IV, 34, 2; IV, 58, 5, ed. W. WIGAN HARVEY, vol. II, Cambridge 1857). In one of the sources cited by Epiphanius in *Panarion* the forms ὡς προσέφημεν and ὡς προσέφημεν occur divided by a few verses only (Epiphanius, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, ed. K. HOLL, vol. III, Leipzig 1933, p. 270, 17 and 20).

Table II (cont.)

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

* * *

Cf. Themistius, *In Aristotelis physica paraphrasis*, rec. H. SCHENKL, Berlin 1900, p. 140, 18–20; *Catena in Matthaeum* (*e cod. Paris. Coislin. gr. 23*), [in:] *Catena...*, vol. I, rec. J.A. CRAMER, Oxford 1840, p. 171 with καθὼς προέφην omitted in one of the MS (*ibidem*, p. 489, 16) || John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, hom. 68, [in:] PG 58, col. 634, 4–7; *idem*, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, [in:] PG 55, col. 190, 25; Theoctistus the Studite, *Canones in Athanasium*, II, 5, 3, 8, ed. E. AFENTOULIDOU-LEITGEB, Vienna 2008; Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Commentaria in Isaiam*, 8, 185, ed. J.-N. GUINOT; Theodore the Studite, poem 7 (ed. J.B. PITRA, Paris 1876); Symeon the New Theologian, hymn 30, 283 (ed. A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin–New York 1976); Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (ed. M. VAN DER VALK, vol. I, Leiden 1971, p. 633, 6), *Comm. ad Homeri Odysseam* (rec. G. STALLBAUM, vol. II, Lipsiae 1826, p. 253, 36), *Oratio 4*, 174 (ed. S. SCHÖNAUER, Frankfurt am Main 2006); Theodore Agallianus, *Sermones duo apologetici*, 261; 1213, [in:] Ch.G. PATRINELES, *O Theodoros Agallianos...*, Athenai 1966; John Mauroplus, 4, 9, *Canones in s. Nicolaum*, [in:] A.D. PANAGIOTOU, *Ho Iōannēs Mauroplus hymnografos tou Hagiou Nikolaou*, Athēna 2008; *idem*, *Canones paraclitici*, 1, 1, [in:] *Giovanni Mauropodē, metropolita di Eucalia. Otto canoni paraclitici*, ed. E. FOLLIERI, Roma 1967; Bessarion, *In calumniam Platonis*, I, 5, 2 (καὶ οὐκ ἄνωτέριον προέφην); IV, 2, 6 (ἂ γὰρ ἤμεῖς διὰ βραχέων προέφην); ed. L. MOHLER, vol. II, Paderborn 1927 and Bessarion's *Egkōnion eis Trapezounta* (*e cod. Venet. Marc. 533*), ed. S.P. LAMPROS, Athēna 2000, p. 120, 6 (ὁὐ τὸν πύργον ἐπ' αὐτῆ δεδομηθεῖαι τῆ εἰσοδῷ προέφην).

A few isolated instances have been omitted, e.g. 1 pl *Scholion recentiora in Aeschylum*, v. 225, [in:] *Aeschyli tragoediae superstitae...*, ed. W. DINDORF, Oxford 1851; 1 pl *Scholion in Aeschyli Persas*, 228, ed. O. DÄHNHARDT, Lipsiae 1894; 1 pl *Commentarium in librum Peri heurseos*, [in:] WALZ, *Rhet. gr.*, vol. VII, p. 839; 1 pl *Anonymous questions and answers on the interval signs*, VII, 298, ed. B. SCHARTAU, Vienna 1998, or *Epimerismi Homericī, pars prior*, 52f, ed. A.R. DΥCK, Berlin 1983.

Pages are added in the bibliographical notes mainly if there is no other more precise identification of the *loci*, if the division of the source does not provide a quick reference to the passage, or if the identification in TLG is imprecise. Conventional Latin names of the works were used in the table in order to make TLG verification easier.

(the last update 30 October 2022, with 2857 authors included in TLG, the original version was of 18 October 2015, with 2420 authors then included in TLG)

Table III. [SCer 5, 2015, p. 180–183]

(a / b)	(ὥς ἔφην & καθὼς ἔφην / ὥς ἔφη(α)μεν & καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν)
(a+b / c+d)	(ὥς ἔφην & καθὼς ἔφην + ὥσπερ ἔφην / ὥς ἔφη(α)μεν & καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὥσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν)
~ 5 th –1 st BC	
<p>Empedocles of Acragas (1 / 0), Antiphron (0 / 1), Hippocrates + corpus (3 / 0), Plato (0 / 8), Aristotle + corpus (1 / 5+3), Diocles (4 / 0), Asclepiades (1 / 1), Heraclides Ponticus (1 / 0), Theophrastus (2 / 1), Euclid (0 / 2), Philochorus of Athens (0 / 1), Erasistratus (1 / 0), Archimedes (0 / 1), Chrysippus (8 / 0), Aristophanes of Byzantium (0 / 0+1), Attalus of Rhodes (1 / 0), Hipparchus of Nicaea (1 / 1), Agatharchides of Cnidus (0 / 1), Artemidorus (1 / 0), Posidonius of Apamea (2+1 / 0+2), <i>Peri homoion kai diaphoron lexeon</i> (1 / 0), <u>Philodemus of Gadara</u> (3 / 1), Nicholas of Damascus (1 / 0), Diodorus Siculus (0 / 0+1), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (<u>2+45 / 2</u>), Strabo (<u>8+1 / 3+3</u>), Anubion (0+1 / 0)</p>	
total: (42+48 / 28+10) 90 s / 38 pl	
~ 1 st –3 rd AD	
<p>Philo of Alexandria (<u>44+4 / 0</u>), Heraclitus the Allegorist (0+2 / 0), Demetrius the Rhetor (1 / 0), Rufus of Ephesus (0 / 2), Aelius Theon (0 / 2), <u>Nicomachus of Gerasa</u> (1 / 1), Cornutus (1 / 0), <i>Vita Adam et Evae</i> (1 / 0), Soranus (2 / 0), Flavius Joseph (<u>13+2 / 7</u>), Theon of Smyrna (0 / 3), Plutarch of Chaeronea (5+3 / 0), Gaius Suetonius (0 / 1), Dio Chrysostom (8 / 0), Aspasius (1 / 4+2), Aelius Aristides (8+12 / 0), Archigenes (0 / 1), <u>Justin the Martyr</u> (2 / 1), Ps.-Justin (2+1 / 0), Phlegon of Tralles (0 / 0+1), Rufus of Perinthus (0 / 0+1), Claudius Ptolemy (<u>3 / 60</u>), Albinus of Smyrna (0 / 1), Antigonus of Nicaea (1 / 0), Athenagoras of Athens (1 / 0), <i>Epistula ad Diognetum</i> (1 / 0), <i>Epistulae Themistoclis</i> (0+2 / 0), Hierocles (2 / 0), Achilles Tatius (5 / 0), Oenomaus (1 / 0), Papias (1 / 0), Apollonius Dyscolus (<u>3 / 36</u>), <i>Phalaridis epistulae</i> (1 / 0), Theophilus of Antioch (0 / 4), Timaeus the Sophist (0 / 1), Lucian (12+6 / 0), <u>Irenaeus of Lyons</u> (0 / 1), <u>Galen</u> (<u>ok. 370+10 / 15</u>), Ps.-Galen (7+2 / 3), Aelius Herodianus (0+1 / 3), Marcus Aurelius (1 / 0), Hermogenes of Tarsus (9+4 / 6), Clement of Alexandria (1+1 / 3), Ps.-Longinus (9 / 0), Athenaeus (4 / 0), Cassius Dio (4 / 2), Origen (2 / 2), Alexander of Aphrodisias (<u>12 / 23</u>), Sextus Empiricus (14 / 1), Philostratus (7 / 0), Heliodorus (1 / 0), Gaius the Roman (1 / 0), Porphyrius of Tyre (2 / 9+1), Gregory the Wonderworker (2 / 0), <u>Clementina</u> (25 / 2), <i>Corpus Hermeticum</i> (3 / 0), Aristides Quintilianus (7 / 0), <i>Martyrium Carpi, Papyli et Agathonicae</i> (1 / 0), Hippolytus of Rome (12 / 0), Herodianus (2 / 0), Eutecnus (0+1 / 1), Dionysius Cassius Longinus (1 / 0), Diophantus (0 / 1), Plotinus (0 / 1), Methodius of Olympus (16 / 0), Cassius the Iatrosophist (0 / 10)</p>	
total: (633+51 / 207+5) 684 s / 212 pl	
4 th –6 th AD	
<p>Ulpian of Antioch (2 / 0), Menander the Rhetor (1+1 / 4+1), Jamblichus (0 / 4), Sopater (4 / 4), Eustathius of Antioch (2 / 0), Julian the Arian (2 / 0), <i>Historia Alexandri (ε) – rec. byz. poetica</i> (2+1 / 0), Eusebius of Caesarea (<u>44+4 / 2</u>), Libanius (7 / 0), Julian the Apostate (4 / 0), Basil of Ancyra (0+2 / 0), Themistius (<u>4+15 / 5+2</u>), Athanasius of Alexandria (8 / 0), <u>Basil of Caesarea</u></p>	

Table III (cont.)

(6+1 / 4+2), Ephrem the Syrian (6 / 0), Gregory of Nyssa (1 / 7), Gregory Nazianzen (3+1 / 0+1), Eusebius of Emesa (1 / 0), Severian of Gabala (2 / 0), Oribasius (12+1 / 1), Nemesius of Emesa (0 / 3), Marcellus of Ancyra (4 / 1), Eutropius (1 / 0), Hefaeestion of Thebes (7 / 2), Ammon (1 / 0), Cyril of Jerusalem (2 / 0), Diodorus of Tarsus (0 / 1), Apollinarius of Laodicea (3 / 0), Didymus the Blind (1 / 7), Pappus of Alexandria (1 / 2), Theon of Alexandria (**2 / 188**), Epiphanius of Salamis (**90 / 7**), John Chrysostom (**19+12 / 2**), Eunapius of Sardis (0 / 1+1), Macarius Magnes (3 / 0), Hesychius of Jerusalem (2 / 0), Ps.-Macarius/Symeon (0 / 3+3), John Stobaeus (2+1 / 2), Theodore of Mopsuestia (10 / 0), Polychronius of Apamea (3 / 0), Syrianus (**0 / 15**), Ps.-Martyrius (0+1 / 0), Theodosius of Alexandria (0 / 1+1), Isidore of Pelusium (13 / 0), Concilium Ephesenum (**112+2 / 10**), Cyril of Alexandria (**748[758]+7 / 9**), Socrates Scholasticus (**26+1 / 2+1**), Basil of Seleucia (3 / 0), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (**47 / 2**), Concilium Chalcedonense (6 / 4), Vita Alexandri hegumeni (1 / 0), Vita Donati (0 / 1), Lachares (0 / 1), Hierocles (1 / 3), Diadochus of Photice (12 / 0), Gennadius I (1 / 0), Proclus of Athens (**15+8 / 7+3**), Marinus (3+1 / 0), Ammonius (0 / 3), John of Caesarea (3 / 0), Damascius (0 / 1), Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (6 / 0), Aetius of Amida (3 / 0), Sergius's Vita Marciani Oeconomi (0 / 1), Olympiodorus the Deacon (6 / 5+1), Procopius of Gaza (0 / 2), Ps.-Gelasius (0 / 0+1), Ps.-Caesarius (1 / 0), Anthemius of Tralles (1 / 0), Choricus of Gaza (1+1 / 0), Cosmas Indicopleustes (1 / 0), Leontius of Jerusalem (1 / 1), John the Lydian (**19+1 / 3**), John Scholasticus (5 / 6), Vita Marcelli Acoemetae (0 / 1), Evagrius Scholasticus (1+2 / 2), Simplicius (2 / 8), *Justinian I (6 / 0), Olympiodorus of Alexandria (2 / 2), David the Philosopher (0 / 4), John Philoponus (3 / 10), Pamphilus the Theologian (perhaps identical with Pamphilus of Jerusalem, cf. above, 1 / 0), Anastasius I of Antioch (2 / 0), Alexander of Tralles (0 / 1), Eustratius (1 / 0), John Moschus (2 / 0), Ps.-Hermippus (0 / 7), Vita Symeonis Stylitae iun. (0 / 1), Martyrium Cononis (1 / 0), Vita Matronae (1 / 0), Vita Theodori Tironis BHG 1764 (0 / 1), Vita Metrophanis et Alexandri (2 / 1); Passio mulierum 40 et Ammonis (0 / 1)

total: (1321+63 / 366+17) | 1384 s / 383 pl

7th-11th AD

Stephen of Alexandria (4+1 / 1+1), Antioch Pandectes (0 / 1), Paul of Aegina (5 / 2), John I of Thessalonica (3 / 0), Sophronius of Jerusalem (5 / 6), Concilium 649 (3 / 1), Chronicon paschale (3 / 1), Theodore of Raithu (0 / 2+1), Maximus the Confessor (**65 / 2**), Anastasius Apocrisiarius (2 / 0), George the Hieromonk (0 / 1), Theodore of Tremithus (1 / 0), Hesychius of Sinai (1 / 1), Trichas (**0 / 17**), Concilium Constantinopolitanum III (1 / 1+1), Doctrina Patrum (6 / 0), Vitae Alypii Stylitae (0 / 2+1), Vita et encomium Alypii Stylitae₄ BHG 66d (1 / 0), Miracula sancti Demetrii (0 / 3), Miracula sancti Artemii (0 / 1), Passio Gordiani (1 / 0), Miracula Cosmae et Damiani (1 / 0), Vita Theodori Stratelatae (0+1 / 0), Isaac of Nineveh (4 / 1), Gregory of Acragas (0 / 1), Ps.-David / Ps.-Elijah (0 / 1), ?Leontius Mechanicus (0 / 3), Germanus I (0 / 2+2), Andrew of Crete (2+1 / 3), John of Damascus (**15 / 10**), Cosmas of Maiuma (0 / 7), Theophilus of Edessa [De rebus praesertim bellicis] (0 / 1), Leontius of Rome (5 / 0), Stephen the Deacon (1 / 1), Actiones concilii Nicaeni II (5 / 2), Nicephorus I (5 / 1), Novella of Leo and Constantine (0 / 1), George Choeroboscus (0+1 / 1 [in quot.]), Theognostus (0 / 1), Leontius of Damascus (1 / 0+1), Theodore the Studite (1 / 0), Ignatius the Deacon (2 / 0), Michael Syncellus (0 / 1), Leo of Thessalonica (1 / 0), Translatio Theodori Studitae et Iosephi (0 / 1), Methodius of Constantinople (5 / 7+5), Sophronius I of Alexandria (1 / 3), Euodius (1 / 0), Vita Andreae in crisi (0+1 / 0), Vita Maximi Confessoris BHG 1233m (1 / 0), Ps.-John the Monk's Protocanonarium (2 / 0), John of Sardis (3 / 2), Hippiatrica (1 / 2), Acta concilii C-poleos, sessio 879-880 (2 / 1+1), Vita Theophylacti Nicomediensis (1 / 0), Sabbas, Vita Ioannicii (5 / 0), Sabbas, Vita Petri Atroatae (3 / 1), Vita et miracula Petri Atroatae (3 / 1), Theophanes Continuatus (0 / 2), Martyrium Procopii Scythopolitani (1 / 0), Passio sancti

Georgii (Ath. 343, Vat. Pal. 205, et al., vers. plur.) (1 / 0), *Vita Athanasiae Aeginetae* (0 / 1), *Vita Michaelis Syncelli* (0 / 2), Michael the Studite, *Vita Theodori Studitae* (2 / 0), *Vita Eliae spelaiotae* (1 / 0), *Vita Theodorae imperatricis* (0 / 1), *Vita Theocleti* (1 / 0), Metrophanes's? *Vita Euthymii Sardensis* (0 / 1), Gregory's *Vita Basilii Iunioris* (6 / 6), George the Monk (15 / 0), ?Paul of Nicaea (0 / 1), Photius (18+3 / 34+18), Peter of Sicily (1 / 0), John Syncellus / *De sacris imaginibus contra Constantinum Cabalinum* (1 / 0), *Scripta anonyma adversus judaeos* (4 / 13), Nicetas the Teacher (2 / 8+1), Nicetas David Paphlagon (1 / 3), Peter of Argus (1 / 0), *Basilica & Ecloga Basilicarum* + scholia (3 / 5), Leo VI the Wise (3 [Nov. 94 + 2x in hom.] + 8 [Nov. 5, 23, 25, 40, 60, 97 + 2x in hom.] / 3 [Nov. 29, 33, 94] + 3 [Nov. 19, 93, 95]), Leo Choerosphactes (1 / 0), Arethas of Caesarea (0 / 8+2), Nicholas I Mysticus (1+2 / 2+3), Euthymius I of Constantinople (3 / 6), Theodore Daphnopates (1 / 9), John Cameniates (1 / 1), Theodore of Nicaea (1 / 0), Professor Anonymus (0 / 1), Constantine VII (2 / 8 [1 x Nov. 12] +2), Leo's *Vita Theodori Cytherii* (0 / 2), *Vita Pauli iunioris* (0 / 0+3), *Vita Pauli iunioris Caiumae* (0 / 1), *Sylloge tacticorum* (9 / 21+2), Lucas Adialeiptus (3 / 0), Symeon Eulabes or the Studite (0 / 1), *De velitatione bellica* (2 / 9), Symeon Metaphrastes (2+4 / 7+26), Leo the Deacon (2 / 0), Digenis Acritas (2 / 0), *Martyrium Sebastianae* (1 / 0), *Vita Lazari* (1+1 / 0), *Passio anonyma XLII martyrum Amoriensum* (2+1 / 0+2), *Laudatio seu passio Jacobi Zebedaei* (0 / 0+1), John of Sicily (10+1 / 1), Philetus of Tarsus (1 / 0), John Doxopatres (0 / 3 [at least 2 in quot.]), Symeon the New Theologian (3 / 8), Michael Psellus (5 / 3), Nicetas Stethatus (1 / 1), John Scylitzes + *Scyl. Cont.* (0 / 5), Christopher of Mytilene (1 / 1), Michael Cerularius, sp. (0 / 2), Symeon Seth (0 / 2), Michael of Ephesus (0 / 3), John Mauropous (0 / 1), Philip Solitarius (3 / 9), Michael Attaleiates (0 / 1), *Vita Athanasii Athonitae* BHG 198b (0 / 1), Hierotheus the Hieromonk (1 / 1+2), Nikon of Montenegro (1 / 1), ?John Hagioelites (0 / 1), John II of Kyiv (0 / 1), Greek translator of al-Razi/Rhazes (0 / 4), Achaicus the Presbyter's *Vita Nicolai junioris* BHG 2309 (0 / 1+1), *Synoptikon syntagma philosophias* (0 / 2), *Passio Mauri Gallipolitani, cod. Messan.* 29 (0 / 1)

total: (293+25 / 306+79) | 318 s / 385 pl

12th–16th AD

Symeon II of Jerusalem (0 / 2), Nicholas III the Grammarian (1+1 / 0), Theodore of Smyrna (0 / 3), Euthymius Zigabenus (23+1 / 7+1), Isaac Comnenus (1 / 1), Eustratius of Nicaea (0 / 2), Teophylact of Ohrid (15 / 6), Anna Comnena (4 / 3+1), Nicephorus Bryennius (1 / 0), Theodore Prodromus (5 / 11), Nicetas Seides (4 / 1), Michael Didascalus (1 / 0), Peter the Deacon (1 / 0), John Cedrenus (8 / 3 – mostly rewritten from his sources), Michael Glycas (0 / 22), Nicetas of Maronea (0 / 4), Theorianus (3 / 0), Philagathus Cerameus (3 / 0), *Timarion* (1 / 0), Anacharsis/Ananias (0 / 1), Gregory Pardus (1 / 1), John Zonaras (0 / 1), Nicetas Eugenianus (1 / 0), Nicholas of Methone (1 / 2), Nicholas III of Anchialus (1 / 0), John Tzetzes (84+5 / 29+9), Isaac Tzetzes (5 / 0), Andronicus Camaterus (1 / 2+1), John Cinnamus (0+7 / 1), Eustathius of Thessalonica (0 / 14), Theodora Raulaina (3 / 0), Euthymius Malaces (1 / 0), Neophytus the Recluse (2+1 / 14+1), Nicephorus Chrysoberges (2+2 / 2), Nicholas of Otranto (3 / 9), Michael Choniates (5 / 2), Nicetas Choniates (6 / 2), Theodosius Gudeles (1 / 1), Neilus of Thamasia (0 / 1), Nicephorus Blemmydes (2 / 5+2), Demetrius Chomatenus (0 / 1), Germanus II (0 / 1), Manuel Gabalas (1+1 / 0), Acacius Sabaites (0 / 1), *Vita Naumi Ohridense* (0 / 1), *Vita Bartholomei Simeritae* (0 / 2), *Vita Christoduli* (1 / 0), *Miracula Christoduli* BHG 305&306 (0 / 4), *Vita Joannis Acatii* (1 / 0), Andrew Libadenus (0+1 / 0), Theodore II Ducas Lascaris (2 / 4), Theodore Scutariotes (0 / 1), Theognostus the Hieromonk (1 / 1), Joel the Chronographer (0 / 1), George Acropolites (11 / 9+1), Constantine Meliteniotes (5 / 1), Maximus Planudes (13 / 21+3), George Metochites

Table III (cont.)

(1 / 5), Demetrius Triclinius (0 / 2), Meletius Galesiotes (2 / 1+1), John XI Beccus (5+1 / 8), Gregory II of Cyprus (1 / 1+1), George Moschampar (2 / 8), Athanasius I of Constantinople (**16/0**), George Pachymeres (0 / 4), Mercurius the Grammarian (4 / 1), John Pediasimus (1 / 5), Manuel Bryennius (0 / 3), Manuel Moschopolus (1 / 0), Theodore Metochites (90 / 15), John XIII Glycas (2+20 / 19+10), Constantine Acropolites (10 / 2), Nicephorus Chumnus (**2 / 11**), Irena Chumnaena (1 / 0), John the Actuarius (1 / 0), Andronicus II (4 ^[Nov. 20 i 32] / 0), Joseph Rhacendytes (0 / 4), Constantine Lucites (0 / 0+1), Matthew Blastares (0 / 1), Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopolus (5+1 / 6+3), Gregory Sinaites (1 / 0), Ephrem of Aenus (**34/2**), Isaac Argyrus (1 / 0), Theoctistus the Studite (2 / 6), Theodore Dexius (**1/15+3**), Gregory Palamas (8 / 6+1), Gregory Acindynus (16 / 1), David Dishypatus (3 / 1), *Schol. coll. Marc. in Dionysii Thracis* (0 / 1), Joseph Calothetus (3+1 / 1), Michael Gabras (**13 / 0**), Thomas Magister (13+2 / 7), Anthony of Larissa (5 / 4), Nicephorus Gregoras (8 / 25), *Registrum Patr. Const.* (0 / 5), John VI Cantacuzenus (**3+6 / 7+19**), Constantine Harmenopolus (1 / 1), Nicholas Artabasdu Rhabdas (0 / 2), Macarius Chrysocephalus (0 / 0+1), Neilus Cabasilas (1 / 1), Demetrius Cydones (2 / 3+1), Prochorus Cydones (1 / 0), Callistus I (4 / 7+1), Theophanes Parorites (2 / 2), Philotheus Coccinus (36+1 / 6+2), John Cyparissiotis (+sp.) (3+1 / 5+1), Isidore Glabas (4 / 22+1), Theodore Meliteniotes (0 / 26+3), Nicetas Myrsiniotes (1 / 1), George of Pelagonia (1 / 1), Theophanes III of Nicaea (5 / 0), Matthew Asanes Cantacuzenus (1 / 0), Callistus Angelicudes (2 / 3+1), Vita Romyli/Romuli (1 / 4), *editor of Pachymeres (0 / 20+1)*, Manuel Chrysoloras (1 / 1), Symeon of Thessalonica (0 / 7), Nicholas Cabasilas (1 / 0), Joseph Bryennius (6+1 / 1), *Tractatus arithmeticus, e cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 4* (0 / 2), *Vita Athanasii Meteoritae* (2 / 3), *Vita Oppiani Anazarbensis* (0 / 1), *De planetae* (0 / 5), Manuel Calecas (9+1 / 5), Manuel II (2+1 / 2 ^[Nov. 60]), John Anagnostes (1 / 1), John Eugenicus (4 / 0), Gabriel the Hieromonk (0 / 2), Joasaph of Ephesus (0+1 / 1), John Doceianus (1 / 0), John Chortasmenus (0+2 / 0), *Concilium Florentinum* (0 / 7), Isidore of Kyiv (0+1 / 0), Mark Eugenicus (0 / 2), Constantine XI (0 / 2), Thomas Palaeologus (0 / 2), Andrew Chrysoberges (0 / 1), John Canabutzes (0 / 1), Silvester Syropulus (1+1 / 1), George Gemistus Plethon (0+1 / 3), Laonicus Chalcocondyles (1 / 0), Gregory III Mammas (2 / 0), Gennadius II Scholarius (3+1 / 1+2), Theodore Agallianus (2 / 1), Michael Critobulus (2 / 0), Bessarion (2 / 3), George of Trebizond (0+1 / 2), Theodore Gazes (2 / 1), John Argyropulus (2 / 1), Michael Apostolius (5+1 / 1), *Chronicon Ioanninae* (0 / 1), Ducas (0 / 2), Ps.-Sphrantzes (0 / 3), Demetrius Moschus (1 / 0), Meletius Pigas (1 / 5), *Vitae Gregorii ep. Assi* (0 / 2), *Vita Nectarii et Theophanis* (0 / 1), *Testamenta Nectarii et Theophanis* (1 / 0), *Opusculum de origine schismatis [Italiae]* (0 / 2), Metrophanes Critopulus (2 / 0), Jerome Tragudistes (0 / 1), Pachomius Rhusanus (4 / 11)

total: (607+64 / 569+72) | 671 s / 641 pl

Documents of Athonite monasteries (**9+2 / 25**), typica (8 / 10), euchologia of Goar (0 / 3), *Vita Joanni Chrysostomi* (1 / 0), scholia to Aristophanes (**11 / 8**), scholia to Lycophron (**21+1 / 9**), menologia (**0 / 0+10**)

total: (50+3 / 55+10) | 53 s / 65 pl

total above: (2946+254 / 1531+193) | 3200 s / 1724 pl

Valid for 30 October 2022, with 2857 authors included TLG.

Table IV. Tables II and III, juxtaposed [SCer 5, 2015, p. 186–188]

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προέφην and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφην + ὥσπερ ἔφην	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὥσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
Philodemus of Gadara	–	3	1	1
Arius Didymus	1	–	–	–
Ps.-Aristotle	–	–	1	1
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	–	2 + 45	–	2
Strabo	–	8 + 1	–	3 + 3
Philo of Alexandria	–	44 + 4	–	–
Nicomachus	–	1	2	1
Flavius Joseph	–	13 + 2	–	7
Justin the Martyr	17	2	16	1
Claudius Ptolemy	–	3	–	60
Apollonius Dyscolus	–	3	–	36
Galen	1	ca. 370 + 10	–	15
Irenaeus of Lyons	–	–	6 or 7	1
Alexander of Aphrodisias	–	12	–	23
<i>Clementina</i>	1	25	–	2
<i>Hist. Alexandri (ε)</i>	2	2 + 1	1	–
Eusebius of Caesarea	–	44 + 4	–	2
Themistius	–	4 + 15	–	5 + 2
Basil of Caesarea	1	6 + 1	–	4 + 2
Ps.-Ephrem of Chersonesus	–	–	3	–
Gregory of Nyssa	2	1	3	7
Evagrius Ponticus	–	–	1	–
Ps.-Athanasius	–	–	1	–
Theon of Alexandria	–	2	–	188
Epiphanius of Salamis	–	90	2 (in quot.)	7

Table IV (cont.)

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προέφην and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφην + ὡσπερ ἔφην	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὡσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
John Chrysostom	2	19 + 12	–	2
Ps.-Macarius	–	–	5	3 + 3
John Stobaeus	1	2 + 1	1	2
Polychronius of Apamea	1	3	–	–
Syrianus	–	–	–	15
Palladius	1	–	–	–
Philostorgius	1	–	1	–
Cyril of Alexandria	–	748[758] + 7	–	9
Socrates Scholasticus	–	26 + 1	–	2 + 1
Theodoret of Cyrrihus	–	47	1 (in quot.)	2
Eutyches	1	–	–	–
<i>Vita Alexandri hegumeni</i>	–	1	1	–
Diadochus of Photice	1	12	–	–
Gennadius I	1	1	1	–
Proclus of Athens	1	15 + 8	1	7 + 3
anon. papyr. mag.	1	–	–	–
Ps.-Gelasius	1	–	–	0 + 1
Ps.-Caesarius	4	1	–	–
John the Lydian	–	19 + 1	4	3
John Scholasticus	1	5	5	6
<i>Vita Irenae</i>	1	–	–	–
<i>Martyrium Dionysii Areopagitae</i>	–	–	1	–
Abraham of Ephesus	–	–	1	–
Fl. Phoebammon	1	–	–	–
<i>Chronicon paschale</i>	1	3	–	1
John Climacus	–	–	1	–
Maximus the Confessor	4	65	–	2

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προέφην and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφην + ὡσπερ ἔφην	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὡσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
George Presbyter (Hieromonk)	–	–	1	1
Trichas	–	–	–	17
<i>Vita Alypii Stylitae</i> ₁	–	–	1	2 + 1
<i>Vita Eustathii, Thespesii, Anatolii</i>	1	–	–	–
Pamphilus of Jerusalem	(1?)	(1?)	1	–
Isaac of Nineveh	1	4	–	1
John of Damascus	1 (in quot.)	15	1 (in quot.)	10
Leontius of Rome	–	5	2	–
Tarasius I	1	–	–	–
Acts of Nicaea II	–	5	1	2
novella of Irene	–	–	1	–
George Syncellus	–	–	–	–
Theophanes the Confessor	6	–	5	–
Novella of Leo & Constantine	–	–	3	1
George Choeroboscus	–	0 + 1	1	1 (in quot.)
Michael Syncellus	–	–	2	1
Ps.-John of Damascus	–	–	1	–
<i>Vita Constantini et Helenae</i>	–	–	1	–
<i>Vita Nicephori Medicii</i>	–	–	1	–
Methodius I	–	5	1	7 + 5
Sophronius of Alexandria	–	1	1	3
<i>Vita Andreae in crisi</i>	1	0 + 1	–	–
Sabbas (<i>Vita Ioannicii</i>)	1	5	–	–
Sabbas (<i>Vita Petri Atratoatae</i>)	1	3	–	1
<i>Vita Athanasiae Aeginetae</i>	–	–	1	1

Table IV (cont.)

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προέφηγ and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφηγ + ὡσπερ ἔφηγ	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὡσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
George the Monk	–	15	1	–
?Paul of Nicaea	1	–	–	1
Photius I	–	18 + 3	3	34 + 18
<i>Acta concilii C-poleos 879–880</i>	–	2	1	1
– quot. of Procopius	–	–	1	–
Nicetas the Teacher	–	2	1	8 + 1
Leo VI the Wise	1	3 + 8	–	3 + 3
Arethas of Caesarea	–	–	1	8 + 2
Nicholas Mysticus	1	1 + 2	4	2 + 3
Basil	–	–	1	–
Constantine VII	–	2	2	8 + 2
<i>Martyrium Irenaei</i>	1	–	–	–
<i>Vita Pauli iun.</i>	–	–	1	0 + 3
<i>Sylloge tacticorum</i>	–	9	–	21 + 2
Lucas Adialeiptus	1	3	–	–
Ps.-Heron	–	–	1	–
Nicephorus (<i>Vita s. Andreae</i>)	2	–	–	–
<i>De velitatione bellica</i>	–	2	1	9
Symeon Metaphrastes	–	2 + 4	–	7 + 26
<i>Digenis Acritas</i>	1	2	–	–
John of Sicily	2	10 + 1	–	1
acts of monastery in Oppido	2	–	–	–
Michael Cerularius	–	–	1	2
acts of monastery in Cellarana	–	–	2	–
Philip Solitarius	3	3	5	9

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προέφην and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφην + ὡσπερ ἔφην	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὡσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
Michael Attaleiates	–	–	3	1
<i>Vita Cosmae et Joannis</i>	–	–	1?	–
<i>Vita Niconis</i>	–	–	2	–
Christodulus	–	–	4	–
<i>Vita Phantini iun.</i>	1	–	–	–
<i>Translatio Nicolai</i>	–	–	1	–
Theodore of Andida	–	–	1	–
Euthymius Zigabenus	–	23 + 1	11 (+ 1 in quot.)	7 + 1
Teophylact of Ohrid	–	15	–	6
Theodore Prodromus	–	5	–	11
Michael Glycas	–	–	–	22
John Tzetzes	4	84 + 5	4	29 + 9
Eustathius of Thessalonica	–	–	2	14
akts of mon. of Theristes	2	–	4	–
Neophytus the Recluse	7	2 + 1	13	14 + 1
Nicholas of Otranto	3	3	10	9
Acacius Sabaites	–	–	1	1
Manuel Holobolus	1	–	–	–
Andrew Libadenus	1	0 + 1	–	–
George Acropolites	1	11	1	9 + 1
Constantine Meliteniotes	2	5	–	1
Maximus Planudes	–	13	1	21 + 3
<i>Apparitio Michaelis</i>	–	–	1	–
Athanasius I of C-ple	–	16	–	–
George Metochites	1	1	2	5
Theodore Metochites	–	90	1	15
John XIII Glycas	1	2 + 20	1	19 + 10

Table IV (cont.)

* some numbers in columns 2 and 4 should be treated as approximate	1. ὡς προέφηγ and similar	2. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφηγ + ὡσπερ ἔφηγ	3. ὡς προέφημεν and similar	4. ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὡσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
Ephrem of Aenus	–	34	–	2
Theodore Dexius	–	1	–	15 + 3
Gregory Palamas	1	8	1	6 + 1
Gregory Acindynus	–	16	1	1
David Dishypatus	–	3	3	1
<i>Schol. coll. Marciana</i>	–	–	2	1
Michael Gabras	–	13	–	–
Thomas Magister	–	13 + 2	2	7
Nicephorus Gregoras	1	8	1	25
John VI Cantacuzenus	–	3 + 6	–	7 + 19
Theophanes Parorites	–	2	1	2
Philotheus Coccinus	1	36 + 1	–	6 + 2
John Cyparissiotēs, (+sp.)	–	3 + 1	1	5 + 1
Isidore Glabas	–	4	1	22 + 1
Theodore Meliteniotes	–	–	6	26 + 3
Callistus Angelicudes	–	2	2	3 + 1
<i>Vita Romyli / Romuli</i>	–	1	1	4
editor of Pachymeres	–	–	1	20 + 1
Symeon of Thessalonica	2	–	2	7
<i>Tractatus arithmeticus</i>	–	–	1	2
Manuel II	1	2 + 1	–	2
John Cananus	–	–	1	–
Gennadius II Scholarius	–	3 + 1	1	1 + 2
Ducas	–	–	2	2
<i>Ekthesis chronica</i>	–	–	1	–
Sphrantzes/Melissenus	1	–	2	3

A few anonymous or multi-author works were omitted (e.g. *Prochiron*). Only the most representative or outstanding examples of authors present in the table III but absent from the table II supplement the table IV.

The updated statistics:

- » [p. 177] forms of πρόφημι attested in ca. 135 authors; 321 cases altogether (105 s, 216 pl, with 75 new examples added after 2015), with 2857 (previously 2420) authors, and ca. 11 000 works consulted;
- » [p. 178] 11 x ὡς προέφην / προέφημεν makes almost 3,5% of all instances in the whole preserved corpus;
- » [p. 180] ὡς ἔφην – 3082 occurrences, ὡς ἔφημεν/-αμεν – 1660 (ἔφαμεν x 882 / ἔφημεν x 778), καθὼς ἔφην (only 44), καθὼς ἔφημεν/-αμεν – 54 (ἔφημεν x 30 / ἔφαμεν x 24), ὡσπερ ἔφην – 278, ὡσπερ ἔφημεν/-αμεν – 201 (ἔφημεν x 151 / ἔφαμεν x 50). In total in TLG – 5319, with 188 s and 191 pl omitted in the table (catenae, centons, anonymous scholia, passages of euchologia, identified cross-checked quotations and scraps of spurious authorship, as well as the works from the 17th c. and later);
- » [p. 189] καθὼς ἔφην/ἔφημεν/-αμεν – 98 in total, cf. 26 καθὼς προέφην/προέφημεν/-αμεν;
- » [p. 189] a total of 4924 occurrences with the second aorist of φημί is almost 15,5 times as many as the alternative expressions with the second aorist of πρόφημι (total 321);
- » [p. 190] more than 80 cases of authors in the Table IV who used both singular and plural forms;
- » [p. 191] ὡς εἶρηται – 9094, ὡς προείρηται – 1752 in TLG (as for 30 September 2022).

Commentary

The comprehensive re-count and reconsideration of the phrases, conducted after seven years and based on a significantly extended sample of Greek texts, have confirmed the conclusions I presented in 2015.

1. Cross-references within narratives are valuable indicators of style and authorship. They were applied to a wide variety of genres: chronicles and histories, scholarly treatises, sermons, hagiographic and other ecclesiastical texts, refutations, panegyrics and commentaries, legal texts and acts of law, scholia etc. They were used both in speech and naturally, even more so, in writing. Their usefulness lies in their variety and diversity of usage, cf. ὡς/καθὼς[/ὡσπερ]: εἶρηται, προείρηται, ἔφην, ἔφημεν/-αμεν, προέφην, προέφημεν/-αμεν, λέλεκται, προλέλεκται, δεδήλωται, προδεδήλωται, δεδηλώκαμεν, δηλωθήσεται, ἀποδέδεικται, προαπεδείξαμεν, etc., as well as e.g. ὁ δὲ ἀνωτέρω μνημονευθεὶς, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν and many others. The inclusion of particles and parentheses into such phrases was common as well (with γὰρ, ἦδη, καὶ, ἀνωτέρω, ἐκεῖ, πρὸ βραχείος, ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς, ἐξῆς, ἐφεξῆς etc. or e.g. ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων) and also varied. Therefore, all the forms within one text should be compared altogether and not only individually. One may add that some of them were much more common and thus less distinctive, while some others were very specific. At the same time, the frequency and particular choice of the respective phrases reveal the individuality, or even peculiarity, of the authors' styles.

2. Ὡς/καθὼς προέφην or προέφημεν, never used by George Syncellus but applied eleven times by Theophanes, both in the prooimion and in various parts of his chronicle, remain a specific trait of the author's style. Unlike ὡς ἔφην, ἔφημεν/-αμεν, these phrases were always rare in ancient and medieval Greek, and it

is only in texts by a total of four writers that one may find them used more frequently. Those were Justin the Martyr (33 x, 17 s + 16 pl), Euthymius Zigabenus (12 pl), Neophytus the Recluse (20 x, 7 s + 13 pl), and Nicholas of Otranto (13 x, 3 s + 10 pl). The first one lived centuries before Theophanes, the three latter ones long after his *Chronography* had been written. The next ones in frequency cannot match the above-mentioned literati, even if their texts were much more independent from their sources than in the case of the 'copy-paste' historian: cf. Philip Solitarius (3 s, 5 pl – added now, with the quite individualised and complex way in which he formulated such expressions⁴), John Tzetzes (4 s, 4 pl), Irenaeus (7 pl), John Scholasticus (1 s, 5 pl), and Theodore Meliteniotes (6 pl). Still, it is only in the *Chronography* that we encounter all these forms: ὡς προέφην, καθὼς καὶ προέφην, ὡς προέφημεν, καθὼς προέφημεν (note that, as we see in Table IV, many authors wrote both in the singular and in the plural, so that the factor is not at odds with singular authorship).

3. Neither George Syncellus nor Theophanes used ὡς ἔφην or ὡς ἔφημεν/-αμεν, the phrases that were much more universal and either used interchangeably with ὡς προέφην and ὡς προέφημεν or exclusively (Table IV, again). With 321 examples of the latter ones, and more than five thousand of the former, the 11 instances of πρόφημι-expressions in the *Chronography* become yet more telling (even the more so as forms built with καθὼς were always a double rarity).

4. Thus, having once again verified the previous research, I would like to repeat that I have not changed my mind as regards the following: 1°. I believe that the *Ekloge Chronographias* of George Syncellus and the *Chronography* of Theophanes the Confessor should be treated as a single project (here I agree, as I did in the past, with Jesse W. Torgerson), undertaken in turn by two authors; 2°. There are important stylistic differences between the two parts, noticeable in the fragments in which the authors deliver some editorial remarks, disclose their personal opinions or refer to the other parts of their own narrative; 3°. The style of the proemium of the *Chronography* fits the rest of the work and differs from the work of George. 4°. The precise analysis of a wider group of similar clauses shows that the *Ekloge Chronographias* and the *Chronography* were written by two different authors; the *Chronography* was created by one author, distinctive and independent, reproductive though he was. I see no convincing arguments not to call this author Theophanes, given the middle Byzantine tradition that started not long after his *floruit*. Some later and partial editorial interventions to the *Chronography*, conceivable and in some instances even certain, do not challenge that view. 5°. Only a few

⁴ Sing.: ὡς προέφην; ὡς ἤδη σοι προέφην (x2); plur.: καθὼς σοι καὶ προέφημεν ἄνωθεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ; καθὰ δὴ καὶ προέφημεν πρὸ μικροῦ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ; καθὼς πέρ σοι προέφημεν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ; καθὼςπερ καὶ προέφημεν πολλακίς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ; ὡς προέφημεν πολλακίς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ (cf. Table II).

entries from the initial parts of the *Chronography* fit George's work more closely; their style and content bear much more similarities with the *Ekloge* (in AM 5796, 5814, 5818, 5827, 5828). These paragraphs might have been inserted to the *Chronography* by its author in the same way in which he used his sources for the subsequent parts; they did not reach beyond the times of Constantine the Great. The disquisitions and polemics inserted into the entries covering the reign of Nicephorus I do not resemble the style of George Syncellus more than that of Theophanes, and they lack the phrases so typical of George's part of the universal history. 6°. There is no need to dismiss the message of the proemium to the *Chronography*, especially as regards the 'genuine friendship' of the writers.

5. Of all the additions to the tables, I would like to draw the Readers' attention to οἶων προέφημεν in the novel 27 of the Empress Irene, to ὡς καὶ προέφηγ of the patriarch Tarasius and to ἰδὸν καθὼς προέφημεν noted in the acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (see Table II). One of the public activities of Theophanes of Sigriane, as known from the *vitae* and encomia devoted to him, was his presence at the council. The clauses discussed here must have seemed regular to that ecclesiastical, Tarasian milieu which Theophanes belonged to, befriended or acquainted and which benefitted from the restoration of the icons, as they were given liberty to exercise their faith and educate from one another safely⁵. Later, these phrases resonate in the written words of Theophanes, but not in those of patriarch Nicephorus, Theodore the Studite or George Syncellus, whose extensive outputs remained preserved to our times.

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⁵ Cf. O. PRIETO DOMÍNGUEZ, *Literary circles*, p. 57–59, 83–84.

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REPRÉSENTER LA *FLAUA BILIS*: LE PORTAIT DU COLÉRIQUE DANS L'*ICONOLOGIA* DE CESARE RIPA¹

Abstract. Representing the *flaua bilis*: the Portrait of the Choleric in Cesare Ripa's *Iconology*.

The theory of the four humours (blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile) forms the basis of ancient medicine. Coming from the Hippocratic corpus and completed by Galen of Pergamum (129–216 AD) in his *De Temperamentis* by means of individual complexions (blood, phlegmatic, angry, melancholic), this theory is essential in modern Europe after more than two thousand years of transmission, development and practice of medicine. Our article aims to examine its fortune in the *Iconology* of the Italian scholar Cesare Ripa (1555–1622). Starting with the Roman edition of 1603, he enriched his famous allegorical repertoire with a complex entry encoding the four temperaments: *Collerico per il fuoco*, *Sanguigno per l'aria*, *Flemmatico per l'acqua*, *Malenconico per la terra*. We work here only with the *Choleric* and undertake to determine the reasons which governed the choice of the attributes retained by C. Ripa (youth, nudity, sword, shield adorned with a flame, lion, fury in the gaze) to offer poets, painters and sculptors the archetype of a figure dominated by yellow, hot and dry bile. To this end, we analyze the medical, literary and iconographic sources on which the author relies, considering also the richness and complexity of the medical discourse he had at his disposal and the very purpose of his *Iconology*.

Keywords: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, humoral theory, moods, choleric, iconographic attributes

La théorie des quatre tempéraments ou théorie quaternaire constitue le socle de la médecine ancienne. Née de la pensée d'Hippocrate, médecin de Cos (460–377 av. J.-C.)², elle avance, rappelons-le, que quatre humeurs (sang, phlegme,

¹ C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625 [cetera: RIPA (it.)] (Fig. 1).

² M. BARIÉTY, Ch. COUNTRY, *Histoire de la médecine*, Paris 1963, p. 93–142; S. BYL, *L'Alimentation dans le Corpus Hippocratique*, [in:] *Voeding en geneeskunde / Alimentation et médecine. Actes van het colloquium / Actes du colloque Brussel-Bruxelles 12.10.1990*, ed. R. JANSEN-SIEBEN, F. DAELMANS, Brussel–Bruxelles 1993 (= ABB n° spécial 41), p. 29–39; E.M. CRAIK, *Hippocratic diaita*, [in:] *Food and Antiquity*, ed. J. WILKINS, D. HARVEY, M. DOBSON, Exeter 1995, p. 343–350; J. JOUANNA, *Le Régime dans la médecine hippocratique: définition, grands problèmes, prolongements*, [in:] *Pratiques et discours alimentaires en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance. Actes du XVIII^e colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer les 4, 5, 6 octobre 2007*, Paris 2008 [= CVK, 19], p. 53–72. Sur la naissance de la littérature médicale, voir aussi J. JOUANNA, *La Naissance de l'art médical occidental*, [in:] *Histoire de la pensée médicale en Occident*, vol. I, *Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, ed. M.D. GRMEK, Paris 1995, p. 25–66.

bile jaune et bile noire) sont présentes dans tous les corps et que de leur parfait équilibre dépend la santé des individus³. Galien de Pergame (129–216 ap. J.-C.) offrit dans son *De temperamentis* un enseignement complet de cette théorie qui restera sans rivale jusqu'au XVII^e siècle⁴. Il établit un lien supplémentaire entre les éléments (air, eau, feu, terre) et les humeurs (sang, phlegme, bile jaune et bile noire) et introduisit ainsi dans la thérapie le concept de la complexion individuelle (sanguin, phlegmatique, colérique, mélancolique), qui détermine chaque individu et change en fonction de causes externes comme l'action de l'air ambiant (les vents), le milieu (le climat, la distance à la mer, les reliefs du terrain), l'alimentation⁵, le sommeil et la veille, les exercices (le mouvement) et le repos, l'élimination des substances superflues et des humeurs elles-mêmes, les émotions (la joie, la colère, la tristesse, la crainte et l'amour)⁶, mais aussi internes comme l'écoulement de la vie ou la perte de chaleur naturelle.

Nous savons qu'à la suite du médecin de Pergame ce système quaternaire connut un considérable développement. En effet, la médecine grecque tardive, puis byzantine, l'occident médiéval enfin, intégrèrent continûment à ce système de nouvelles tétrades si bien qu'au XVI^e siècle⁷ les traits psychosomatiques propres à chaque type humoral se trouvèrent reliés aux quatre principaux vents, aux quatre apôtres, aux quatre planètes, aux signes du zodiaques, aux quatre moments de la journée, aux quatre gammes musicales ainsi qu'aux quatre régions du corps humain⁸.

³ Sur la popularité de la théorie quaternaire au fil des siècles, voir D. JACQUART, *De crassis à complexio: note sur le vocabulaire du tempérament en latin médiéval*, [in:] *Mémoires*, vol. V, *Textes Médicaux Latins Antiques*, ed. G. SABBAB, Saint-Étienne 1984, p. 71–76.

⁴ Citons ici simplement quelques travaux majeurs qui présentent l'apport de Galien à la médecine ancienne: V. NUTTON, *Ancient Medicine*, London–New York 2005; S. BYL, *La Médecine à l'époque hellénistique et romaine. Galien. La survie d'Hippocrate et des autres médecins de l'Antiquité*, Paris 2011; V. BOUDON-MILLOT, *Galien de Pergame. Un Médecin grec à Rome*, Paris 2012.

⁵ M. GRANT, *Galen on Food and Diet*, London–New York 2000, p. 62–154; J. WILKINS, *Galien*, vol. V, *Sur les facultés des aliments*, ed., trans. IDEM, Paris 2013, p. XIII–XVII.

⁶ GALIEN, *L'Âme et ses passions, Les passions et les erreurs de l'âme, Les facultés de l'âme suivent les tempéraments du corps*, trans. V. BARRAS, T. BIRCHLER, A.-F. MORAND, praef. J. STAROBINSKI, Paris 1995, p. VII–LVIII. Pour une étude des passions de l'âme et de leur évolution au cours du Moyen Âge, voir S. VECCHIO, *Passions de l'âme et péchés capitaux, les ambiguïtés de la culture médiévale*, [in:] *Laster im Mittelalter / Vices in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ch. FLÜELER, M. ROHDE, Berlin–New York 2009, p. 45–64.

⁷ Notons ici, comme le souligne J. Jouanna, l'importance de deux traités de Pseudo-Galien (*Le Pronostic sur l'homme* et *les Humeurs*) et la *Lettre à Pentadius* de Vindicien (voir J. JOUANNA, *Un Pseudo-Galien inédit: Le pronostic sur l'homme. Contribution à l'histoire de la théorie quaternaire dans la médecine grecque tardive: l'insertion des quatre vents*, [in:] *Troika. Parcours antiques, Mélanges offerts à Michel Woronoff*, vol. I, ed. S. DAVID, É. GENY, Besançon 2007, p. 302–322).

⁸ Sur la fortune du schéma quaternaire, voir aussi L. DESJARDINS, *Le Corps parlant. Savoirs et représentation des passions au XVII^e siècle*, Paris–Québec 2001, p. 45–48. Cf. aussi le diagramme chez E. SCHÖNER, *Das Viererchema in der antiken Humoralpathologie*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 64; J. JOUANNA,

L'exercice de la médecine humorale devint particulièrement ardu, car l'inflation de composantes supplémentaires rendit presque impossible la mémorisation de toutes les relations entre éléments, saisons, âges, *etc.* C'est alors que sont apparus des diagrammes méthodiques, sous forme linéaire ou circulaire, destinés à faciliter la maîtrise des correspondances entre le macrocosme (l'univers) et le microcosme (l'homme)⁹.

La théorie quartenaire ainsi étoffée offre aux médecins, nous le voyons, un moyen de pousser assez loin l'étude des complexions individuelles, mais elle permet aussi de définir pour le caractère humain quatre orientations majeures avec une vertueuse simplicité propice à la constitution de lieux communs, et que des non-médecins eurent tôt fait d'utiliser. Dans notre article, nous nous proposons de suivre cette fortune de la théorie quartenaire et de voir comment elle a été utilisée et représentée dans le cas précis de l'*Iconologia* de Cesare Ripa (1555–1622), ouvrage qui ne se voulait ni scientifique ni moins encore médical, mais qui reste, comme le rappelle Roelof van Straten, une œuvre majeure de l'ancienne iconographie européenne, une encyclopédie de paradigmes à l'usage des peintres et sculpteurs promise, elle aussi, à un bel avenir¹⁰:

L'Iconologia è, tra le opere indirizzate agli artisti, una delle più importanti di tutti i tempi. Per centinaia di pittori, disegnatori e scultori del XVII e XVIII secolo il libro ha costituito una "guida" a un universo di concetti astratti, da cui si apprendeva come tali entità addressero raffigurare. Le prima edizione, priva di figure, apparve a Roma nel 1593; la seconda nel 1602 a Milano e la terza, corredata da alcune centinaia di xilografie, venne pubblicata a Roma nel 1603. Da questo momento, e sino alla fine del XVIII secolo, si sono susseguiti circa una ventina di edizioni e adattamenti in diverse lingue: si tratta insomma di un'opera di larghissimo

Le Pseudo-Jean Damascène, [in:] *Les Pères de l'Église face à la science médicale de leur temps*, ed. V. BOUDON-MILLOT, B. POUDERON, Paris 2005, p. 10–11.

⁹ G. COUTON, *Écritures codées. Essais sur l'allégorie au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1990, p. 170. Cf. aussi M. CARRUTHERS, *Machina memorialis. Méditation, rhétorique et fabrication des images au Moyen Âge*, trans. F. DURAND-BOGAERT, Paris 2002, p. 51–52; L. BOLZONI, *La Chambre de la mémoire. Modèles littéraires et iconographiques à l'âge de l'imprimerie*, trans. M.-F. MERGER, Genève 2005, p. 57–136; R. KLIBANSKY, E. PANOFSKY, F. SAXL, *Saturne et la mélancolie. Études historiques et philosophiques. Nature, religion, médecine et arts*, trans. F. DURAND-BOGAERT, L. ÉVRARD, Paris 1989, p. 481, 514–515.

¹⁰ Sur la vie et l'œuvre de cet humaniste italien, voir C. BALAVOINE, *Des Hieroglyphica de Pierio Valeriano à l'Iconologia de Cesare Ripa, ou le changement de statut du signe iconique*, [in:] *Repertori de parole e immagini. Esperienze cinquecentesche e moderni data bases*, ed. P. BAROCCHI, L. BOLZONI, Pisa 1997, p. 49–98; V. BAR, *La Peinture allégorique au Grand Siècle: fortune de l'Iconologie de Cesare Ripa et Jean Baudoin*, Dijon 2003; *L'Iconologia di Cesare Ripa. Fonti letterarie e figurative dall'antichità al Rinascimento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Certosa di Pontignano, 3–4 maggio 2012)*, ed. M. GABRIELE, C. GALASSI, R. GUERRINI, Firenze 2013 [= BAR.SLP, 421]; C. LOGEMANN, *Ripa, the Tricante*, [in:] *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, ed. C. HOURIHANE, New York 2017, p. 32–46.

successo [...] Nell'*Iconologia* Ripa descrive in ordine alfabetico le oltre 1.250 personificazioni a lui note o da lui immaginate, comprese tra *Abbondanza* e *Zelo*. E non solo espone con precisione l'aspetto che una certa personificazione deve avere, ma spiega anche il motivo: le spiegazioni rivelano spesso il carattere moralizzante delle sue "indicazioni"¹¹.

Les quatre tempéraments sont introduits dans l'édition romaine de 1603 de l'*Iconologia*, regroupés sous l'entrée *compassioni* et apparaissent selon l'ordre suivant: *Collerico per il fuoco*, *Sanguigno per l'aria*, *Flemmatico per l'acqua*, *Malencónico per la terra*. Nous nous limiterons, dans le cadre de ce travail, au tempérament colérique, dominé par la bile jaune, chaude et sèche¹²; les trois autres complexions faisant l'objet de travaux en cours.

1. Peindre et armer le colérique: portrait et attributs

La xylographie de Ripa nous présente un homme en position d'attaque, prêt à frapper d'estoc, avec l'épée qu'il tient dans sa main droite, un ennemi non représenté. Il a pour attributs supplémentaires un écu à l'italienne orné d'une flamme, posé ici astucieusement contre le cadre gravé, et un lion qui s'agite derrière lui, la tête orientée vers l'ennemi invisible (Fig. 2). Une description détaillée sous l'image nous apporte plus de renseignements sur l'attitude du colérique ainsi que sur les objets et l'animal qui l'accompagne:

Un giovane magro di color gialliccio, e con sguardo fiero, che essendo quasi nudo tenghi con la destra mano una spade nuda stando con prontezza di voler combattere. Da un lato (cioè per la terra) sarà uno scudo in mezo del quale sia dipinta una gran fiamma di fuoco, e dall'altro lato un feroce Leone¹³.

¹¹ R. VAN STRATEN, *Introduzione all'iconografia (Di fronte e attraverso. Storia dell'arte)*, ed. R. CASANELLI, Milano 2009, p. 23–24.

¹² Parmi les nombreuses éditions disponibles nous utiliserons celle de Pietro Paolo Tozzi de 1625 mentionnée dans la note n° 1. D'abord, parce qu'elle contient de belles xylographies riches de détails accompagnées d'un commentaire complet de l'auteur. Ensuite, parce qu'elle correspond le mieux à la traduction française de Jean Baudoin (C. RIPA, *Iconologie ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes, et autres figures hyeroglyphiques*, Paris: chez Mathieu Guillemot, 1664 [cetera: C. RIPA (fr.)], p. 52). Sur la vie et l'œuvre de J. Baudoin, nous renvoyons à l'article de M. CHAUFOUR, *Le moraliste et les images. Recherches sur l'expression emblématique chez Jean Baudoin (ca. 1584–1650)*, *Sciences humaines combinées* [Online], 12 | 2013, Online since 19 December 2017, <http://preo.u-bourgogne.fr/shc/index.php?id=329> [12 II 2022].

¹³ C. RIPA (it.), p. 109. Cf. *un jeune Homme maigre, qui a le teint jaunastre, le regard furieux, le corps tout nud, et l'espee a la main, en action d'en vouloir battre quelqu'un. En l'un de ses costez ses void un Escu, avec une grande flamme au milieu, et en l'autre un Lyon irrité qui l'accompagne par tout*; C. RIPA (fr.), p. 52.

Nous apprenons ainsi que l'homme est jeune (*giovane*), maigre (*magro*) et que la couleur de sa peau se caractérise par un teint jaunâtre (*di color gialliccio*). La fureur se lit dans son regard (*sguardo fiero*) et son corps est presque privé de vêtements (*quasi nudo*). Sortie de son fourreau (*spade nuda*), de la main droite (*la destra mano*), l'épée faite d'une longue lame d'acier effilée est brandie, prête au combat (*con prontezza di voler combattere*) tandis qu'un bouclier, orné d'un motif de flamme, repose au sol, impatient lui-aussi peut-être d'entrer dans la mêlée. Le caractère belliqueux de cette image est renforcé par la présence d'un lion, réputé naturellement cruel et désigné ici comme féroce (*feroce*). La pose de l'animal tout comme l'adjectif qui lui est attribué, indiquent ostensiblement que la bête a déjà été irritée et qu'elle ne manquera pas d'attaquer à la moindre provocation.

2. Les clefs pour comprendre les allégories

Si Ripa nous propose une scène en apparence très simple, dont la portée ne semble guère dépasser la colère d'un guerrier solitaire, en proie à quelque sentiment vengeur, fut-il un miroir tendu au lecteur (de sa propre irascibilité, de sa promptitude à réagir vivement), le commentaire accompagnant la gravure surprend par les renseignements savants et rationnels, tirés des meilleures autorités de l'époque: de la médecine – grecque, arabe, de l'École de Salerne –, de la littérature latine (poésie et tragédie), et même de l'art emblématique. Voyons alors comment Ripa explique la présence de tous ces éléments sur la gravure et surtout comment il en justifie l'usage.

Commençons tout d'abord par la maigreur du colérique. Selon l'humaniste, elle résulte de la prédominance de la bile jaune dans le corps du malheureux¹⁴. La référence explicite au maître de Pergame¹⁵ et à sa théorie quaternaire montre de manière évidente la relation admise entre la chaleur et la sécheresse qui sont les deux qualités de la bile jaune. La sécheresse naturelle du corps du colérique est, de plus, soulignée graphiquement par la flamme (chaude et sèche elle aussi), flamboyant au centre de son écu. Le respect pour le système de correspondances se trouve encore affirmé dans la suite du commentaire qui vise, cette fois, à justifier la couleur jaune de la peau du colérique. Parmi les signes indiquant la complexion

¹⁴ Nous lisons dans le commentaire: *Dipingsi magro, perche (come dice Galeno nel 4 de gli Afforismi nel Commento 6 in esso predomina molto il calore, il qual essendo cagione della siccita si rappresenta con la fiamma nelo scudo*; C. RIPA (it.), p. 109. Cf. *Il est maigre, pource qu'au rapport de Galien, en luy predomine / entièrement la chaleur, qui, pour estre cause de la seicheresse, est représentée par la flamme de son Ecu*; C. RIPA (fr.), p. 52–53.

¹⁵ GALIEN, *Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarius (I–V)*, [in:] *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. XVIII, ed. C[arl] G[ottlob] KÜHN, Leipzig 1821–1833 (cetera: GALIEN, *Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarius*), p. 12–13.

d'une personne, la couleur de la peau jouait jadis un rôle important; celle-ci reflétait l'humeur dominante de l'individu. Nous lisons:

Il color gialliccio, significa, che il predominio dell'humore del corpo spesso si viene a manifestare nel color della pelle; d'onde nasce, che per il color bianco si dimostra la flemma, per il pallido, ovvero flavo la collera, per il rubicondo misto con bianco la complessione sanguigna, et per il fosco la malinconia, secondo Galeno nel 4. de sanitare tuanda al cap. 7¹⁶) et nel 1. de gli Afforismi nel Commento 1¹⁷.

Ripa reprend très exactement dans ce passage le schéma canonique, en vigueur dans la médecine de l'époque, de la correspondance entre les quatre humeurs et les quatre tempéraments (Fig. 3). Si donc la couleur pâle ou fauve était caractéristique de la bile jaune [la complexion colérique], la couleur blanche représentait alors le phlegme [la complexion phlegmatique], un mélange de rouge et de blanc se manifestait dans le cas de la complexion sanguine et une couleur foncée tendant vers le noir était le signe de la mélancolie¹⁸. Toutefois, la couleur de la peau ne fait pas tout. Le colérique doit encore exprimer sa complexion à travers un regard courroucé, comme tout colérique qui se respecte (*si dipinge con fiero sguardo, essendo ciò suo proprio*)¹⁹. Sur ce point, l'humaniste abandonne l'autorité médicale pour s'appuyer sur les vers d'Ovide (*L'art d'aimer*, liv. III: 503–504)²⁰ et de Perse (*Satire III: 116–117*)²¹, deux poètes latins qui ont jadis proposé une image particulièrement

¹⁶ GALIEN, *De sanitare tuanda*, [in:] *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. VI..., liv. IV, cap. IV, p. 255–266; GALIEN, *Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarius*, p. 658–660.

¹⁷ C. RIPA (it.), p. 109. Cf. *Il a le teint jaune, et fait voir par là que la couleur du visage est bien souvenant une marque qui manifeste l'humeur du corps. D'où advient que par le teint blanc est démontré le phlegme, par le pasle ou le jaune la colère, par le rouge meslé de blanc l'humeur sanguine, et par la couleur sombre et qui tire sur le noir, la mélancolie, comme le remarque Galien*; C. RIPA (fr.), p. 53.

¹⁸ Notons à l'occasion que la complexion sanguine passait dans l'ancienne médecine pour la complexion parfaite, élément de réflexion non moins utile aux historiens de la peinture qui s'interrogent sur le traitement de la carnation. Sur l'affleurement du sang sous la peau et sur le stylème du rouge et du blanc, voir en particulier l'admirable étude de M. BROCK, *La Venustus d'Appelle: de Plin l'Ancien à Titien par l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, AIHS 61.166–167, 2011, p. 335–366.

¹⁹ C. RIPA (it.), p. 109.

²⁰ C. RIPA (it.), p. 109: *Ora tument ira, nigreseunt sanguine uenae / Lumina Gorgoneo saevius igne micant*. Cf. *Le visage est effroyable et furieux, à cause que la colère comme dit Ovide, produit ordinairement ses effets: «Le visage est enflé par elle, / Les veines noircissent de sang, / Le feu rougit dans la prunelle, / La bile luy picque le flanc»*; C. RIPA (fr.), p. 53. Dans la traduction moderne ce fragment d'Ovide se traduit comme suit: *Dans la colère le visage se gonfle, un afflux de sang fait noircir les veines, / Les yeux s'allument d'un éclat plus violent que le feu des Gorgones*; OVIDE, *L'art d'aimer*, ed., trans. H. BORNECQUE, Paris 1960, p. 78. Voir aussi *Ioannis Rausii Textoris Opus Epithetorum Integrum*, Basileae: per Nicolaum Bryling et Sebastianum Francken, 1541, p. 66 et A. ALCIATO, *Emblemata*, Padua: Pietro Paulo Tozzi, 1621, emblema LXIII *Ira*, p. 287.

²¹ C. RIPA (it.), p. 109: *Nunc face supposita feruescit sanguis, et ira / Scintillant oculi, etc*. Notons toutefois que la traduction française de ce passage est absente. Dans la traduction moderne ce fragment de Perse se traduit comme suit: *Sous l'action d'une flamme ton sang bout / et tes yeux étincellent de colère*; PERSE, *Satires*, ed., trans. A. CARTAULT, Paris 1951, p. 34.

expressive de cette fureur qui transforme les corps. Le motif suivant, celui de l'épée nue (*la spada nuda*)²² n'est, en revanche, soutenu par aucune source littéraire ou médicale. Ripa se limite à rappeler que l'épée signifie la disposition à la bataille (*la prontezza di voler combattere*)²³ ou à toute autre forme d'action vigoureuse (*mà anco presto a tutte l'altre operazioni*)²⁴. Cette arme est aussi renforcée symboliquement par la flamme sur le bouclier (*la sopradetta fiamma di fuoco*)²⁵.

Revenons maintenant à l'âge de notre colérique et à sa nudité. Ripa le désigne d'abord comme un jeune (*giovane*)²⁶, là encore pour des raisons médicales. Nous avons, en effet, mentionné plus haut la correspondance entre les humeurs et les âges de la vie. La vieillesse est une altération du corps et c'est en bonne logique que les humeurs la subissent également:

Les premières étapes, correspondant à l'enfance, sont caractérisées par la prédominance des humeurs chaudes et humides, dues à la vigueur de la chaleur innée et à l'abondance de l'humidité radicale, facteurs à l'origine du rythme de la croissance qui est, chez l'enfant exceptionnel. À l'autre bout du chemin se trouve la vieillesse, caractérisée par le froid et le sec, ainsi que par la disparition presque totale de la chaleur innée et de l'humidité²⁷.

Si Ripa donne au colérique un corps jeune et gracile, c'est parce qu'il sait bien que l'adolescence se caractérise par un excès de chaleur naturelle et par la sécheresse²⁸, deux facteurs qui gouvernent le colérique, le privent de raisonnement et l'exposent à tout danger. La nudité de son corps renforce l'impétuosité qu'on lui

²² C. RIPA (it.), p. 109.

²³ C. RIPA (it.), p. 109. Cf. G. DE Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane. Dictionnaire d'un langage perdu (1450–1600)*, Genève 1997, p. 289–294.

²⁴ C. RIPA (it.), p. 109.

²⁵ C. RIPA (it.), p. 109. Cf. *Son action represente celle d'un Homme fougeux, et qui pour la moindre pointille est toujours prest à se bastre*; C. RIPA (fr.), p. 53. La traduction française de ce passage qui explique l'épée nue est cependant loin d'être fidèle à l'original italien. Cf. G. DE Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane...*, p. 221–222.

²⁶ C. RIPA (it.), p. 110.

²⁷ P.G. SOTRES, *Les Régimes de santé*, [in:] *Histoire de la pensée médicale en Occident*, vol. I..., p. 260.

²⁸ *Nostre vie est fondée sur deux appuis, à sçavoir la chaleur naturelle, qui est le principal instrument de l'ame, et l'humeur radicale, qui luy sert de nourriture, comme fait à la flamme d'une lampe. Ceste humeur venant à faillir, il faut necessairement que la chaleur perisse. Or, l'humeur ne peut toujours durer, d'autant que la chaleur là va consommant tous les jours. Et jaçoit qu'il s'en face reparation par l'influence de la chaleur et humeur qui viennent du cœur comme d'une fontaine, par les arteres à tous les membres: neantmoins l'humeur radicale qui est dissipée, est bien plus pure que celle qui se met en sa place, d'autant que celle-là est faite de la semen fort elaborée és labyrinthes des vaisseaux spermatiques, et celle-cy procede du sang, qui ne passe point par tant de canaux. [...] Notre chaleur s'affoiblissant tous les jours, ne peut reparer ce qui est perdu en mesme degré de perfection. Et tout ainsi que le vin, tant plus on y met d'eau, tant plus on le rend foible: ainsi la chaleur et l'humeur radicale s'affoiblissent à toute heure par l'opposition du nouveau aliment, qui a toujours quelque chose de dissemblable*; N.A. DE LA FRAMBOISIÈRE, *Le Gouvernement necessaire à chacun pour vivre longuement en santé avec le gouvernement requis en l'usage des eaux Minerales, tant pour la preservation, que pour la guerison des maladies rebelles*, Paris: Charles Chastellain, 1608, p. 1–2.

attribue: le colérique n'a pas plus d'habits qu'il n'a de raison, guidé par les émotions fortes et la passion violente, il laisse libre cours à ses élans naturels:

Si dipinge giovane, quasi nudo, et con lo scudo per terra; perchiò che guidato dall'impetuosa passione dell'animo non si prevede di riparo: mà senza giuditio, et consiglio espone ad ogni pericolo, secondo il detto di Seneca in *Troade*, *Iuuenile uitium est regere non posse impetum*²⁹. Et però bene disse Avicenna nel 2. del I della dittione 3. al cap. 3³⁰ che quando l'opere sono fatte con maturrità danno segno di un temperamento perfetto: mà quando si fanno con impeto, et con poco consiglio danno segno di molto calore³¹.

Il nous reste, enfin, à traiter la question du lion. Sa présence se justifie par une longue tradition iconographique. Cet animal accompagnait déjà le colérique dans le *Calendrier des bergers* de Guyot de Marchand (1493), traité d'astronomie et d'hygiène enrichi d'enseignements moraux (Fig. 4)³². Il a également été repris dans d'autres représentations emblématiques, comme celle de Louis de Caseneuve, par exemple (Fig. 5)³³. Toutefois, afin de justifier la ressemblance existant entre le lion courroucé et le colérique gouverné par la colère, Ripa emprunte les vers de l'un des *Emblèmes* d'André Alciat (1492–1500), juriste milanais et humaniste européen très populaire à l'époque³⁴. Nous lisons:

Gli si dipinge il Leone a canto, per dimostrare la fierezza, et animosità dell'animo nascente dalla già detta cagione. Oltre di ciò mettevisi questo animale per essere il Collerico simile all'iracindo Leone, del quale così scrisse l'Alciato nei suoi *Emblemi*.

²⁹ SÉNÈQUE, *Les Troyennes*, v. 250. Dans la traduction moderne ce fragment se traduit comme suit: *Un défaut des jeunes est de ne pouvoir maîtriser leurs élans*; SÉNÈQUE, *Les Troyennes in Sénèque, Tragédies*, vol. I, ed., trans. F.-R. CHAUMARTIN, Paris 1996, p. 80.

³⁰ [AVICENNE], *Auicennae Liber Canonis, De medicinis cordialibus et Cantica*, Venetiis: apud Iuntas, 1555, p. 5–6 (Lib. I, Fen I, Doc. III, cap. 3 *De complexionibus aetatum et generum*).

³¹ C. RIPA (it.), p. 110. Cf. *On le peint jeune et tout nud avecque son Escu par terre, pour monstrier que la force de sa passion l'aveugle si fort qu'il oublie ce qu'il peut conserver, et s'expose temerairement à toutes sortes de dangers, ainsi que le remarque Senèque: «Les jeunes gens pleins d'insolence / Suivent leur premier mouvement, / Et peuvent difficilement / S'arrester dans leur violence»*. A quoy se rapporte à peu près le dire d'Avicenne que les actions qui se font mesurement sont les vrais signes d'un temperament parfait; comme au contraire celles qui s'exercent sans conseil et par impetuositè, sont des marques de peu de sens et de beaucoup de chaleur; C. RIPA (fr.), p. 53.

³² Cf. la représentation du colérique chez GUYOT DE MARCHAND, *Le Calendrier des bergers* (Angers-BM-SA 3390), http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Wave/savimage/enlumine/irht1/IRHT_042824-p.jpg [27 II 2021]. Cf. J.P. VALÉRIAN, *Les Hieroglyphiques*, Lyon: Paul Frelon, 1615, p. 1–17; G. DE TERVARENT, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane...*, p. 289–294; H. KOOLMA, A.M. VAN DREVEN, *Representation of the Impulsive Temperament in Arts, Literature and Science: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, IJLA 9.2, 2021, p. 79–93.

³³ L. DE CASENEUVE, *Hieroglyphicorum et medicorum emblematum DODEKAKROUNOS*, [in:] IOAHNES PIERIUS VALERIANUS, *Hieroglyphica*, Lugduni: Paulum Frelon, 1626, p. 68.

³⁴ Sur l'auteur, voir A. ALCIATO, *Il libro degli emblemi secondo le edizioni del 1531 e del 1534*, praef., trans., comm. M. GABRIELE, Milano 2009, p. XIII–LXXII; A.-A. ANDENMATTEN, *Les Emblèmes d'André Alciat*, Fribourg 2016 (la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Fribourg le 15 mars 2016), p. 11–19.

Alcaam ueteres caudam dixere Leonis
 Qua stimulative iras concipit, ille grauos.
 Lutea cum surgit bilis crudescit, et atro
 Felle dolor furias excitat indomitas³⁵.

Relevons dans le passage que le lion n'incarne pas uniquement le caractère irascible du colérique. Le commentaire de l'humaniste attribue à ce dernier les dispositions positives d'âme et d'esprit que sont la magnanimité et la générosité:

Denota anco il Leone esser il collerico di natura magnanima, e liberale, anzi che passando li termini, diuene prodigo, come gl'infrascritti versi della Scuola Salernitana, non solo di questa: mà di tutte l'altre qualità sopradette dicono.

Est humor cholerae, qui competit impetuosis
 Hoc genus est hominum cupiens praecellere cunctos:
 Hi leuiter discunt, multum comedunt, cito crescunt;
 Inde, et magnanimi sunt, largi summa petentes.
 Hirsutus, fallax, irascens, prodigus, audax,
 Astutus, gracilis, siccus, croceique coloris³⁶.

* * *

Pour terminer notre analyse, nous voudrions prendre le temps d'insister sur les choix faits par Ripa pour façonner son modèle de colérique. Pour en décrire le physique et les traits psychologiques, l'érudit reprend, certes, des éléments déjà sanctionnés par les *Emblemata* d'Alciat, dont on sait qu'ils sont avec les *Hieroglyphica* de Pierio Valeriano l'une des sources principales de l'*Iconologia*, mais il s'appuie surtout sur la tradition médicale galénique, avec laquelle il put lui-même se familiariser dans les milieux académiques italiens de la seconde moitié du

³⁵ C. RIPA (it.), p. 110. Cf. *Quant au Lyon qui le suit, il est mis icy pour un Symbole de la colère, veu que selon Alciat, «Ce Roy des animaux quand quelqu'un le despise / Bat ses flancs de sa queue, et luy-mesme s'irrite»*; C. RIPA (fr.), p. 53. Cf. [ANDRÉ ALCIAT], *Emblemata Andreae Alciati I.C. clariss. Latinogallica / Les emblemes latin-françois du seigneur André Alciat excellent jurisconsulte*, trans. Cl. MIGNAULT, Paris: Jean Richer, 1584, p. 91: *emblemata LXIII Ira: Les anciens ont nommé la queue du Lyon / Alcée: car estant de quelque motion / Esprits, il se transporte, et se jette en furie.* (Fig. 6).

³⁶ C. RIPA (it.), p. 110. Cf. *Par le Lyon neantmoins, il est démontré que les Hommes de complexion colerique, ont je ne sçay quoy de magnanime et de si genereux, qu'à force de l'estre ils en deviennent souvent prodigues.* Signalons ici que la citation de l'École de Salerne est manquante dans la traduction française; nous la rapportons d'après le traité intitulé *Retardement de la mort par bon regime ou conservation de santé, jadis envoyé par l'escolle de Salerne, au Roy d'Angleterre, traduit de Latin en rythme françoise par Geofroy le Tellier advocat, présenté et dédié au Duc de Savoye*, Paris: Martin le Jeune, 1561, f° F 2 r^o: *La cholérique humeur, l'homme impetueus rend, / Et sur tout l'aiguillonne à se rendre apparent, / Cestuy apprend bien tost, prou menge, croist subit, / Magnanime est, et large, et grans honneurs poursuyt, / Velu, et fraudulent, preux, prodigue, hardi, / Astuc; gresle est, et sec, jaulne en couleur le dy.*

XVI^e siècle³⁷. Il opère donc une première sélection, guidée il est vrai par l'origine et la nature médicale de l'idée même de complexion, mais il doit encore sélectionner, pour « flécher » le discours savant qui s'y rapporte, les attributs qui distingueront efficacement sa figure allégorique.

Il nous paraît donc intéressant, pour mieux comprendre les attributs retenus pour le *Colérique par le feu*, d'en compléter succinctement le portrait au moyen de la littérature médicale contemporaine. À la fin du XVI^e siècle, les publications traitant des complexions sont nombreuses, mais le genre particulier qu'est le régime de santé peut nous offrir une juste idée de la glose érudite diffusée dans l'Europe savante sur ce sujet à cette époque. Ces ouvrages – dont les auteurs français, toujours médecins, sont à ce jour les mieux étudiés³⁸, fournissaient des informations complexes mais invariables sur tous les tempéraments ainsi que sur le caractère de leurs représentants. C'est ainsi qu'au sujet des colériques, ces médecins répétaient d'une seule voix qu'ils sont *aysez à cognoistre*³⁹ car ils ont le corps maigre, gresle et velu, au toucher chaud, sec, dur, rude et acre: les veines et arteres grosses, la couleur jaunastre, palle ou brune: le poil roux, ou noirastre⁴⁰. Ils soulignaient encore que les colériques ont l'esprit vif, subtil, bouillant et précipité⁴¹, que leur jugement est léger, variable et sans solidité⁴² et leur geste inconstant⁴³. Les auteurs de ces régimes notaient enfin que les colériques se distinguent par le courage Martial⁴⁴, trait mis en relief par Ripa à l'aide de l'épée et du bouclier ornée d'une flamme. La nudité et la jeunesse du colérique chez Ripa embrassent, croyons-nous, toute une liste de dispositions d'âme et d'esprit, témoignant que les colériques sont

alaigns du corps et d'esprit, prompts à parler, hastifs au marcher, soudains en toutes leurs actions, vehemens en leurs affections, impatiens en toutes choses, incontinent cholerez, et tost apres appeaisez, ingenieux en invention, mais arrogants, presomptueux, audacieux,

³⁷ Sur la transmission du savoir galénique en Europe, voir S. FORTUNA, *The Latin Editions of Galen's 'Opera omnia' (1490–1625) and their Prefaces*, ESM 17, 2012, p. 391–412.

³⁸ PIERRE JACQUELOT, *L'Art de vivre longuement sous le nom de Médée*, ed. M. KOZŁUK, Paris 2021, p. 16–61: «Tradition des régimes de santés».

³⁹ N.A. DE LA FRAMBOISIÈRE, *Le Gouvernement propre à chacun selon sa complexion*, [in:] N.A. DE LA FRAMBOISIÈRE, *Le gouvernement necessaire à chacun...*, p. 142.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*. Cf. A. PARÉ, *L'Introduction à la chirurgie*, [in:] *Les Œuvres*, Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1599, p. 15: [Signes de l'homme colérique] *Ils ont la couleur citrine ou jaunastre, et le corps maigre, et grele, et fort velu, les venes et arteres fort grosses et amples, le pouls fort, et frequent: on trouve au toucher leur corps, chaud et sec, dur, aride et aspre, avec une vapore acre, qui exhale de tout leur corps: ils jettent beaucoup de cholere par les selles, vomissent, et urines: davantage ils sont adextres d'entendement, et merueilleusement prompts: ils sont aussi felons, audacieux, convoiteux de gloire, après vengeurs des injures a eux faictes, liberauls, voire souvent prodigues.*

⁴¹ N.A. DE LA FRAMBOISIÈRE, *Le Gouvernement propre à chacun selon sa complexion...*, p. 142.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

impudens, vanteurs, gosseurs, moqueurs, rusez, malings, vindicatifs, tempestatifs, querelleux, ambitieux, prodigues, sans prevoynance, temeraires et indiscrets⁴⁵.

En raison de telles particularités, les colériques ne pouvaient se destiner à tous les métiers et fonctions de l'État, car ils n'étaient point propres, lisons-nous, à *gouverner les Republiques, ny à manier les affaires d'Estat, et encore moins à commander aux gens de guerre*⁴⁶, en revanche, les médecins trouvaient que les colériques

sont bons pour porter les armes sous la charge d'un vaillant Capitaine, principalement lors qu'il a cest honneur d'avoir la pointe en un assaut, et en une rencontre, où il faut par necessité combattre à l'improviste, sans reconnoistre: Mais non pas quand il dresse une embuscade, où il faut beaucoup arrester pour espier l'occasion d'attaquer à propos son ennemy. Car bien qu'ils ne manquent jamais de magnanimité, ny de hardiesse: si n'ont ils pas la patience requise en tel cas, ny la force d'endurer longtemps le froid, le chaud, la faim, la fatigue, les veilles, et toutes les autres incommoditez de la guerre, sans en estre offensez⁴⁷.

Cesare Ripa n'ignorait sans doute rien de tout cela et ne manquait donc pas de matière pour composer son *Colérique*. Nous devons cependant garder à l'esprit que l'auteur de l'*Iconologia* souhaite faire œuvre utile en proposant aux poètes, peintres et sculpteurs des figures allégoriques immédiatement utilisables dans leurs propres compositions, tableaux, tapisseries, blasons, etc. Cela implique qu'elles doivent être suffisamment simples et expressives pour être facilement identifiables par les artistes et leurs commanditaires, mais suffisamment riches pour être distinguées des nombreuses autres figures du répertoire. Pour ses modèles, l'auteur est contraint de multiplier les variations autour d'un nombre très réduit de termes (*fanciulla, giovane, giovannetto, huomo, donna, donzella* et quelques autres) au regard des centaines de personnifications que comporte son ouvrage. Nous comprenons dès lors qu'un *giovane magro*, même *quasi nudo* ne saurait suffire. En outre, le *Colérique* n'est pas la *Colère (Ira)* que Ripa prend soin de présenter notamment, car il en propose plusieurs versions, comme *una donna giovane di carnagione rossa*,

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*. Notons que la médecine de l'époque nous apporte des renseignements sur de nombreuses maladies dont les colériques peuvent souffrir. Nous comptons parmi elles: *fièvre ardente, tierce, phrénésie, passion cholérique, jaunisse, erysipele, herpes, vomissement et flux de ventre bilieux et autres pareilles*. Quant à leur sommeil, précise La Framboisière, *il est petit, léger et sans repos d'esprit*, car la nuit arrivant, les colériques *songent ordinairement où à la guerre, où au feu, où à quelque autre chose furieuse*. C'est pourquoi, d'ailleurs, *leur pouls est vehement, frequent et dur*; N.A. DE LA FRAMBOISIÈRE, *Le Gouvernement propre à chacun selon sa complexion...*, p. 147–150. Cf. A. PARÉ, *L'Introduction à la chirurgie...*, p. 15: *Leur [des colériques – M.K.] dormir est petit, et léger, leurs songes sont de choses brulantes, furieuses, et luisantes, ils se delectent a manger et boire choses froides, et humides: d'avantage ils sont subites aux fiebures tierces, et aux ardents, et resucrées, et alientations d'entendement, aux jaunisses, aux herpes, herysipeles, et autres pustules cholériques, et ont souvent amertume de bouche, et sont subites aux flux de ventre, appelez diarrhees et dysenteries*.

⁴⁶ N.A. DE LA FRAMBOISIÈRE, *Le Gouvernement propre à chacun selon sa complexion...*, p. 142.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 142–143.

mais avec qui il partage pourtant l'épée et le feu⁴⁸ (Fig. 7). Ripa a donc rassemblé les éléments forgés par les traditions iconographique, littéraire et médicale et a choisi ceux qui permettent le mieux une représentation efficace et spectaculaire de la complexion colérique. Il n'est dès lors pas nécessaire de recourir davantage à la glose médicale qui par son hermétisme, concédons-le, ne se prête pas toujours aisément à la représentation. La jeunesse armée et naturellement impétueuse, dépourvue de vêtements comme de raison, la peau jaunie, le corps séché par la *flava bilis* chaude comme la flamme, le lion féroce, mais magnanime, telles sont les *figurae* que les artistes pourront fidèlement employer dans leurs œuvres, mais que les plus talentueux enrichiront et mettront au service de leur *inuentio propria*, cette vertu si prisée aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles en Europe.

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⁴⁸ C. RIPA (it.), p. 334–335.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

DELLA NOVISSIMA ²⁵⁷³
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Fig. 1. C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, page de titre.

COLLERICO PER IL FVOCO.



Fig. 2. C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, p. 109.

	Nature.	Consistence.	Couleur.	Sauveur.	Vierge.
Le sang.	De la nature de l'air chaud & humide, ou plus tost temperé.	Mediocre, ny trop espais ny trop clair.	Rouge & vermeil.	Doux.	Il nourrist principalement les parties musculenses: est distribué par les veines & artères, donne chaleur à tout le corps.
Le phlegme ou pituite	De la nature de l'eau, froide et humide.	Fluxile.	Blanche.	Douce ou plus tost fade: car ainsi estimois nous ceste eau bonne qui n'a aucun goust.	Elle nourrist le Coracau, comme aussi toutes autres parties froides & humides: modere le sang, & aide le mouvement des articles.
La cholere.	De la nature de feu, chaude & seiche.	Tenuë & subtile.	Jaune ou palle.	Ameie.	Elle excite la vertu expultrice des intestins, auec elle le phlegme qui est en iceux: elle nourrist les parties qui approuche plus pres de sa nature.
L'humour melancholic.	De la nature de la terre, froid & sec.	Cras et espais, limonneux.	Noir.	Acre & poignant.	Il excite l'appetit, il nourrist la rate, & toute autre partie, qui luy est semblable en temperature, comme les os.

Fig. 3. A. PARÉ, *L'Introduction à la chirurgie*, [in:] *Les Œuvres*, Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1599, p. 11.



Fig. 4. GUYOT DE MARCHAND, *Le Calendrier des bergers*, 1491, Angers – BM – SA 3390, source: http://www.culture.gouv.fr/Wave/savimage/enlumine/irht1/IRHT_042824-p.jpg. Le colérique est le premier à gauche, l'épée à la main, le lion à ses pieds.



Fig. 5. Le portait du colérique selon LOUIS DE CASENEUVE, *Hieroglyphicorum et medicorum emblematum DWDEKAKROUNOS*, [in:] IOAHNES PIERIUS VALERIANUS, *Hieroglyphica*, Lugduni: Paulum Frellon, 1626, p. 68: emblema VI *Biliosus*.




Fig. 6. [ANDRÉ ALCIAT], *Emblemata Andreae Alciati I.C. clariss. Latinogallica / Les emblemes latin-françois du seigneur André Alciat excellent jurisconsulte*, trans. Cl. MIGNAULT, Paris: Jean Richer, 1584, p. 91: emblema LXIII *Ira*.



Fig. 7. C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, p. 334.



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THE LEGAL AND FISCAL SITUATION OF THE SERBS IN THE PATRIARCHATE OF PEĆ DURING THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 18TH CENTURY*

Abstract. In the early modern era, the Serbs who lived in the Balkan Peninsula under Ottoman rule formed what was known as a *millet*. From 1557, their leader was the head of the Patriarchate of Peć, whose jurisdiction and scope of territorial powers were constantly determined by an official document issued by the sultan – i.e., a *berat*. The aim of the article is to characterise the legal situation and fiscal obligations of the Serbian people in the Ottoman Empire in the period between their first (1689/1690) and second (1737–1739) migration. The research focuses on the times of Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta (1698–1748) and his methods of obtaining various kinds of tributes (*dimica*, *svadbina*) to pay the annual *kesim* tax to Hazine-i Âmire. The text also analyses the areas where the Patriarchate of Peć held jurisdiction in the first decades of the 18th century.

Keywords: Serbian Orthodox Church, Serbian *millet*, Patriarchate of Peć, Ottoman Administration, Balkan Peninsula

From the moment the Turks invaded the Balkan Peninsula (14th century), individual South Slavic peoples successively fell under the cultural and political influence of the Ottoman Empire. This represented a fundamental change for them. There people who had been directly subordinated to their ruler so far, now had to find themselves in the new Muslim administrative and legal reality. Representatives of the Serbian ethnos were not excluded from this principle. As a result of successive Ottoman conquests of areas inhabited by Serbs, new administrative units were created or existing Serbian lands were subordinated to existing units¹.

* This article has been written under the research project financed by the National Science Centre (Poland). Decision number: DEC-2019/32/C/HS2/00452 (*Cultural implications of the migrations of Serbs in the early modern era*).

¹ For more information on the Ottoman administration, see G. ÁGOSTON, *A Flexible Empire, Authority and its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers*, IJTUS 9, 2003, p. 15–31; D. GÉZA, *Administration, provincial*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. G. ÁGOSTON, B. MASTERS, New York 2009, p. 13–17; I. CZAMAŃSKA, *Historia Serbii. Od pojawienia się Serbów na Bałkanach do 1830 roku*, vol. I, Poznań 2021, p. 170–173. A detailed description of the administrative division of Serbian lands

Basically, in the early modern era, the Muslim world in the Balkan Peninsula was divided into large provinces called *elajets*², made up of smaller administrative units called *sanjaks*³ administered by *sanjak-beys*. A *sanjak* was in turn, was divided into *kazas*⁴ administered by a *kadi* – i.e., a Muslim who, in order to hold this position, had to have extensive legal knowledge. *Kazas* were further divided into *nahiyahs*⁵, led by a *mudir*. In accordance with the customs and laws of the Ottoman Empire, the whole area was divided into fiefs and beneficiaries (*hâss*⁶, *timar*⁷ and *zeâs-met*⁸), which, depending on their size, yielded different incomes⁹. An important role in the fiscal system of the Sublime Porte was also played by *mukataalu* – i.e., state-owned land (*hâss-ı hümayun*), which was leased under a contract (*mukataa*) that specified a certain profit for the central treasury (*Hazine-i Âmire*)¹⁰. However, the proper division of land, and therefore the procurement of fees due, required an

during the Ottoman domination is described in more detail by Olga ZIROJEVIĆ, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji (1459–1683)*, Beograd 1974, p. 89–99.

² *Elajet* (later *vilajet*) is the largest administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire. It was managed by the beylerbey (literally bey of the beys); the term *mirmiran* was also used. Cf. C. IMBER, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650. The Structure of Power*, New York 2002, p. 177–183; D. GÉZA, *Administration, provincial...*, p. 14; I. CZAMAŃSKA, *Historia Serbii...*, p. 170.

³ *Sanjak* (Tur. *sancak*) is a unit that is part of the *elajet*. It was managed by an official called a *sanjak-bey* (Tur. *Sancakbey*). The number of *sanjaks* varied depending on the size of the *elajet*. According to the findings of Colin Imber, in the 17th century, the *elajet* of Rumelia was divided into 24 *sanjaks*, and the *elajet* of Anatolia comprised 14 *sanjaks*. Quite often, the names of these units were derived from the main centres where the *sanjak-beys* lived. Cf. C. IMBER, *The Ottoman Empire...*, p. 184–193; D. GÉZA, *Administration, provincial...*, p. 14; I. CZAMAŃSKA, *Historia Serbii...*, p. 170–171.

⁴ *Kaza* is an administrative unit that is part of the *sanjak*, usually comprising an urban estate and surrounding towns. *Kaza* is also a military district. It was headed by a *kadı* who acted as a judge. D. GÉZA, *Administration, provincial...*, p. 16.

⁵ A *nahiyah* (Tur. *nahiye*) is a local administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire, usually consisting of several villages and small towns. It was headed by a *mudir* (Tur. *müdür*). D. GÉZA, *Administration, provincial...*, p. 14; I. CZAMAŃSKA, *Historia Serbii...*, p. 171.

⁶ The term *hâss* (*has*) refers to the sultan's lands and the profits derived from them. *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 617.

⁷ *Timar* was part of the Ottoman *çift-hane* system – a landed estate granted to a soldier of the Ottoman Empire (*sipahi*) for his military service. It is estimated that it brought between 1,000 and 20,000 akçe of income. See H. İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Çift-hane System and Peasant Taxation*, EB 1, 2007, p. 141–151.

⁸ *Zeâsmet* like *timar* was part of the *çift-hane* system. However, this usually yielded more income for the tenant. Researchers estimate that it could have ranged from 20,000 to even 100,000 akçe per year. C. IMBER, *The Ottoman Empire...*, p. 194.

⁹ J. BLAŠKOVIČ, *Ziemie lenne (hass) namiestnika Nowych Zamków w latach 1664–1685*, ROr 38, 1976, p. 84.

¹⁰ Cf. B. ÇAKIR, *Mukataa (muqataah, maktu)*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 396; N. ŠULETIĆ, *Berat patrijarha Kalinika I*, ZMSI 83, 2011, p. 97; E. KARCZYŃSKA, *Struktura społeczna Imperium Osmańskiego. Próba analizy teoretycznej*, [in:] *Jednostka w układzie społecznym. Próba teoretycznej konceptualizacji*, ed. K. BRZEHCZYN, M. CIESIELSKI, E. KARCZYŃSKA, Poznań 2013, p. 282.

inventory of the occupied territory and a register of subjects (*reâyâ*)¹¹ living in individual villages and estates¹².

Regardless of state administration, the non-Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire was divided into *millets*, a form of civil-legal administration based on religious affiliation¹³. The Slavic Orthodox *millets* in the Balkans were led by the head of the Patriarchate of Peć¹⁴, who, thanks to the initiative of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu (1506–1579), was able to operate officially in the Ottoman state from 1557¹⁵. The Patriarchate of Peć held jurisdiction over huge territories:

¹¹ The term *reâyâ* comes from the Arabic language (*ra'iya*) and literally means 'flock'. Originally, the term referred to all of the Sultan's subjects (regardless of their religion) who paid taxes, as opposed to the privileged class (*askeri*). Over time, however, the term *reâyâ* came to be used in relation to Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire's ruler. Cf. *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 618; M. URSINUS, *Reaya*, [in:] *Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, ed. K. CLEWING, H. SUNDHAUSSEN, Wien 2016, p. 757; I. CZAMAŃSKA, *Historia Serbii...*, p. 172, 253.

¹² J. BŁAŠKOVIČ, *Ziemie lenne (hass)...*, p. 84. On the strategy by which the Ottomans gradually took over the lands they conquered, see H. İNALCIK, *Ottoman Methods of Conquest*, StI 2, 1954, p. 103–129.

¹³ The word *millet* comes from the Arabic word *millah*, which literally meant 'nation'. The *millet* was headed by a religious leader (e.g. patriarch, rabbi) who was treated by the Ottoman authorities as a representative of the entire community (*millet başı*). The concept of the *millet* is crucial in order to properly understand the position of the non-Muslim population in the Ottoman Empire. In the modern era, there was a separate *millet* for the Greek Orthodox population, led by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and a Jewish *millet* headed by the Chief Rabbi of Istanbul (*hahambaşı*). Cf. F. ÖZTÜRK, *The Ottoman Millet System*, GAAD 16, 2009, p. 71–86; IDEM, *Ottoman and Turkish Law*, Bloomington 2014, p. 10–60. In the context of *millets*, it is also worth paying attention to the following works: S. SHAW, *The Ottoman View of the Balkans*, [in:] *The Balkans in Transition. Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics since the Eighteenth Century*, ed. B. JELAVICH, C. JELAVICH, London 1963, p. 61–62; IDEM, *Historia Imperium Osmańskiego i Republiki Tureckiej (1280–1808)*, vol. I, trans. B. ŚWIETLIK, Warszawa 2012, p. 242–243; J. STRAUSS, *The Millets and the Ottoman Language. The Contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th–20th Centuries)*, WIs 35, 1995, p. 189–249; B. KAPLAN, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge–London 2007, p. 240–241; B. JEZERNIK, *Dzika Europa. Balkany w oczach zachodnich podróżników*, trans. P. OCZKO, Kraków 2007, p. 187–190; B. MASTERS, *Millet*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 383–384. P. KRĘZEL, *The Political Ambitions of Serbian Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 575–591. Some *millet* scholars equate *taife* with *cemaat*, see J. BRADY, E. HAJDARPASIC, *Religion and Ethnicity. Conflicting and Converging Identifications*, [in:] *The Routledge History of East Central Europe since 1700*, ed. I. LIVEZEANU, A. VON KLIMO, London–New York 2017, p. 181.

¹⁴ The following wrote about the spiritual and political role of the leaders of the Serbian Orthodox Church: D. GIL, *Prawosławie. Historia. Naród. Miejsce kultury duchowej w serbskiej tradycji i współczesności*, Kraków 2005, p. 77; EADEM, *Serbscy etnarchowie jako kodyfikatorzy tradycji kulturowej*, [in:] *U spomen na Borivoja Marinkovića. Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta*, ed. N. GRDINIĆ, S. TOMIN, N. VARNICA, Novi Sad 2014, p. 132–139; I. LIS-WIELGOSZ, *O trwałości znaczeń. Siedemnastowieczna literatura serbska w służbie tradycji*, Poznań 2013, p. 34–35.

¹⁵ The restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć took place, despite the negative attitude of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Archbishopric of Ohrid, on the basis of the decision of Sultan Selim II (1524–1574). The first hierarch residing in Peć after the renewal of the Patriarchate was Makary

from Hungarian and Transylvanian lands in the north, through western Bulgaria in the east, to the Dalmatian coast in the south and west. According to the Catholic missionary in the Balkans, Francesco Leonardi (?–1646), the Patriarch of Peć managed 41 church administrative units (metropolises and bishoprics) in the first half of the 17th century¹⁶. This administrative and territorial state lasted until the cusp of the 1680s and 90s, that is, until the war between the Ottoman Empire and the armies of the Holy League¹⁷. Due to the involvement of the Orthodox Church on the side of the Christian troops, as well as the change in the borders of the European part of the Ottoman state after the peace treaties in Karlowitz (1699)¹⁸ and Požarevac (1718)¹⁹, the position of the Serbian Orthodox Church shifted both in terms of prestige and territory²⁰. Therefore, the aim of this article is to draw attention to the situation of the Patriarchate of Peć in the first decades of the 18th century, with particular emphasis on the period when it was administered by Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta (1698–1748)²¹. This text will primarily

(?–1574). Cf. M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Pravni položaj i karakter srpske crkve pod turskom vlašću (1459–1766)*, Beograd 1965, p. 87; V. BIŠČEVIĆ, *Bosanski namjesnici Osmanskog doba 1463–1878*, Sarajevo 2006, p. 113–114; M. MIKOŁAJCZAK, *Mehmed pasza Sokollu – problem przynależności etnicznej, państwowej i kulturowej*, BP 16, 2009, p. 59–69.

¹⁶ Francesco Leonardi had a good understanding of the Orthodox administrative structures. At the behest of Pope Urban VIII (1568–1644), in the 1730s he conducted a number of Catholic pro-Catholic campaigns in the Balkan Peninsula. It is known that he had contacts with the Cetinian metropolitan Mardarije Kornečanin and the Serbian patriarch Pajsij himself (ca. 1542–1647). Cf. J. RADONIĆ, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka*, Beograd 1950, p. 139; M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Pravni položaj...*, p. 90; O. ZIROJEVIĆ, *Srbija pod turskom vlašću (1450–1804)*, Beograd 2007, p. 143–144.

¹⁷ *Bečki rat* (literally the Vienna War) is a term that is commonly used in South Slavic historiography and defines the war between the Christian countries (the Holy League) and the Ottoman Empire in the years 1683–1699. Cf. G. STANOJEVIĆ, *Srbija u vreme Bečkog rata 1683–1699*, Beograd 1976.

¹⁸ On the Karlowitz agreements of 1699, see more: BP, 13, 2004, *passim*; *The Treaties of Carlowitz (1699)*, ed. C. HEYWOOD, I. PARVEV, Leiden 2020 [= OEH, 69], *passim*.

¹⁹ A monographic study of the provisions of the peace in Požarevac from 1718 is available in: *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, ed. Ch. INGRAO, N. SAMARDŽIĆ, J. PEŠALJ, West Lafayette 2011; A. MILOŠEVIĆ, *Požarevački mir 1718. na kartama, gravirama i medaljama*, Beograd 2018.

²⁰ It should also be noted that the involvement of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and especially of Patriarch Arsenije III Čрноjević (1633–1704), on the Austrian side was, for the Sublime Porte, an obvious betrayal and at the turn of 1689 and 1690 led not only to the escape of the patriarch himself from Peć, but also a large part of the Serbian ethnos. In this short article, it is impossible to list all the publications that have appeared so far on the Great Exodus of Serbs (Ser. *Velika seoba Srba*). However, it is worth noting the most significant works. Cf. I. RUVARAC, *Odlomci o grofu Dorđu Brankoviću i Arseniju Crnojeviću patrijarhu s tri izleta o takozvanoj Velikoj seobi srpskog naroda*, Beograd 1896; R. GRUJIĆ, *Velika Seoba patrijarha Arsenija III Crnojevića iz južne Srbije u Vojevodinu pre dvestapedeset godina*, Skoplje 1940; D.J. POPOVIĆ, *Velika seoba Srba 1690. Srbi, seljaci, plemići*, Beograd 1954; S. GAVRILOVIĆ, *Srem od kraja XVII do sredine XVIII veka*, Novi Sad 1979; S. ČAKIĆ, *Velika Seoba Srba i Patrijarh Arsenije III Crnojević*, Novi Sad 1994; T. KATIĆ, *Tursko osvajanje Srbije 1690. godine*, Beograd 2012.

²¹ Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta held real power over the Patriarchate of Peć from 1724 to 1737. After his escape (1737) to the territories controlled by the Austrian army, he still used the title of

focus on issues related to the legal and fiscal situation of Serbs living under patriarchal jurisdiction. The areas that fell under the real authority of Peć Patriarch as *millet başı* at that time will also be characterised.

Therefore, initially one ought to become acquainted with the areas that the 18th-century successor of St. Sava considered his domain. In the years 1724–1737 there was a clear discrepancy between the Serbian patriarch's postulated and actual spheres of influence. According to Arseni IV Jovanović Šakabenta, the scope of his jurisdiction was determined by his official titles, which he used from the moment he took power from his predecessor Mojsije Rajović (approx. 1665–1730) until the end of his life. During this period, he considered himself 'the Archbishop of Peć and all Serbs and Bulgarians, Bosnia and all the Patriarch of Illyria'²².

However, the real scope of his power was determined primarily by documents of Ottoman provenance regulating issues relating to 'the patriarchate of the Peć district and the surrounding areas' (Tur. *vilâyet-i İpek ve tevâbi'-i-hâ patriq, İpek patriği*)²³. The most important of them was the sultan's *berat*. The most famous, and surviving to this day, was issued in 1731 (1143 according to the Muslim era) to Arsenije IV by the new ruler of the Ottoman Empire, Mahmoud I (1696–1754)²⁴. The Sultan stated that he recognised the Serbian hierarch as:

the leader of all gjaurs, both secular and clergy, as well as church dignitaries in the following cities and regions: Peć, Nove Brdo, Jagnjev, Đustendil, Dupnice, Razlog, Ihtiman, Samokov, the Herzegovinian sanjak, Skopie, Vranj, Krivorečka Palanka, Tetov, Niš Radomir, Novy Pazar, Nova Varoš, Trgovište, Brvenik, Mitrovce, Prijepolje, Pljevalj, the kaza of Bosnia, churches of the Latin clergy, Užice, Oršava²⁵.

The territories mentioned in the Turkish document were located in ten Orthodox administrative units over which Arsenije IV had actual control. These were

patriarch, but he did not have real influence over the administration of this unit of the church administration. Cf. P. KRĘZEL, *The Political Ambitions...*, p. 575–591; N. ŠULETIĆ, *Imenovanja pečkih patrijaraha*, ZMSI 104, 2021, p. 60.

²² The quotes in the article were made by the author of the text. Cf. *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, vol. II, ed. Lj. STOJANOVIĆ, Beograd 1983, 2613; R. TRIČKOVIĆ, *Beogradski pašaluk 1687–1739*, Beograd 2013, p. 381; *Srpska Stematografija: Beč 1741*, ed. D. DAVIDOV, Novi Sad 2011, p. 13.

²³ N. ŠULETIĆ, *Berat patrijarha Kalinika I...*, p. 97.

²⁴ For Mahmoud I to issue a *berat*, Arsenije IV had to pay a fee called *peškeş* (literally: gift, present) in the amount of 100,000 akçe. It is worth noting that patriarch Kalinik I (? –1710) had to spend the same amount for issuing a *berat* in 1691. Cf. R. TRIČKOVIĆ, *Beogradski pašaluk...*, p. 386. L. HADROVIC, *Srpski narod i njegova crkva pod turskom vlašću*, Zagreb 2000, p. 58; M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Pravni položaj...*, p. 95–96; N. ŠULETIĆ, *Berat patrijarha Kalinika I...*, p. 99.

²⁵ *Ferman sultana Mahmuda, sina sultana Mustafe-hana, srbskom patrijarhu Arseniju od godine turske 1143, a posle Hrista 1731*, GDSS 11, 1859, p. 181–182; *Turski dokumenti za istoriju Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Fond Gliše Elezovića*, ed. Lj. ČOLIĆ, Priština 1996, p. 47–48; *Jugoslavenske zemlje pod turskom vlašću (do kraja XVIII vijeka)*. *Izabrani izvori*, ed. B. ĐURĐEV, M. VASIĆ, Istočno Sarajevo 2005, p. 168–172.

eparchies such as Zahumsko-Herzegovinan, Cetinian, Dabrobosanska, Užička, Nowopazar-Raszka, Prizrenska, Skopska, Niszka, Štipska and Samokovska. These, in turn, were divided into deaneries (*protopopijat*) and parishes (*nurija*). Their extent depended on various factors, including the size of the Serbian population in a given region as well as the topography.

Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta, as *millet başı* in the above-described areas, wielded virtually unlimited power in deciding the internal affairs of the church. Thus, he could freely appoint and dismiss bishops, and was not obliged to consult his decision with representatives of the Turkish administration of the region in question²⁶. He had the power to suspend clergymen (e.g., priests) and religious brothers *if they caused disruption* in the church²⁷. In the legislative field, the Serbian patriarch could freely introduce changes to canon law that were binding on the faithful in all dioceses. In the sphere of the judiciary, the patriarch's prerogatives were extremely broad. He had the power to settle disputes over the validity of marriages, and to punish those in the flock who were conducting several relationships, and therefore engaged in polygamy²⁸. The patriarch was also the last resort in disputes between representatives of the Serbian community. He based his judgments on the provisions of the Orthodox Church law as well as local customs and legal traditions dating back to the times of the medieval Serbian state. Given all the powers that Arsenije IV had as the head of *vilāyet-i İpek ve tevābi' -i-hā patriq*, one might state that his power over the Serbian *millet* was absolute²⁹.

At this point, without going into details, it is worth noting that the authority of Arsenije IV was either disputed or purely symbolic over some lands, customarily considered part of the Patriarchate of Peć. Certainly, the areas inhabited by the Orthodox population who clearly distanced themselves from the structures managed by the Patriarch of Peć include Montenegro – the areas from the mouth of the Zeta to Moraczy, the vicinity of Podgorica, Spuž and Žabljak. Local bishops, especially Danilo Petrović Njegoš (1670–1735)³⁰, refused to submit to the Patriarchate of Peć³¹.

²⁶ To legally take over his diocese, a new bishop or metropolitan had to obtain a sultan diploma. However, it should be noted that he did not apply for such a document personally, but the patriarch did so on his behalf as the official representative of the Serbian *taife*. In the event of the bishop's dismissal, such a document was not needed, which resulted from the rights of the patriarch outlined in the Sultan's *berat*. M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Pravni položaj...*, p. 96–97.

²⁷ *Ferman sultana Mahmuda...*, p. 182; *Turski dokumenti za istoriju Srpske pravoslavne crkve...*, p. 47; *Jugoslovenske zemlje...*, p. 169.

²⁸ This issue was tackled by O. ZIROJEVIĆ, *Islamizacija na južnoslovenskom prostoru. Dvoverje*, Beograd 2003, p. 48–49. This problem did not disappear even after the Serbs migrated to the Habsburg monarchy. This is best evidenced by the documents from Buda. D.J. POPOVIĆ, *Srbi u Budimu, 1690–1740*, Beograd 1952, p. 282.

²⁹ M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Pravni položaj...*, p. 100.

³⁰ G. STANOJEVIĆ, *Crna Gora pred stvaranje države (1773–1796)*, Beograd 1962, *passim*.

³¹ Montenegrin clergy referred to a document issued by Arsenije III Čarnojević in 1700 after Danilo Petrović Njegoš's solemn chirotony. He then agreed to the separation of the Serbian patriarchate

On 15 February 1728, realising the rights resulting from the sultan's *berat*, Arsenije IV even decided to issue an instruction to the clergy from the area of Montenegro. In this document, he noted that:

Those priests who observe the laws of the Church and often celebrate the liturgy in this elajet must not acknowledge bishop Danilo. However, if we hear that they have acknowledged him, let them know that our curses await [...]³².

Although Arsenije IV repeatedly tried to rebuild the patriarchal position in the structures of the Montenegrin church in the 1720s and 1730s, he was not able to exert any real influence on the Montenegrin hierarchs, despite the fact that he had the right to do so.

Territories outside the Ottoman Empire were also areas that Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta considered within his sphere of influence. This mainly concerned dioceses and individual parishes located in the Habsburg monarchy. Other, though less significant areas where Orthodox Serb settlement was recorded, fell within the Venetian Republic. These were mainly the areas of Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska. In these areas, the rights of the Serbian patriarch, which he received in the Sultan's *berat*, were not binding. He could therefore claim his rights in respect of these units only in terms of canon law and tradition, which also played an important role in the Greek Rite churches.

Orthodox dioceses in the Habsburg monarchy, as well as individual parishes in the territory of the Republic of San Marco could at best remain in spiritual communication with the Patriarchate of Peć. The Serbian patriarch, due to the barrier represented by the state border, exercised only symbolic control over these areas. He could not really influence the events that took place beyond the defined borders of the Ottoman state.

The establishment of the areas where the Patriarchate of Peć had jurisdiction facilitates the identification of areas inhabited by the Serb population from which the patriarch, as *millet başı*, could collect certain fiscal dues³³. They were extremely important for ensuring the proper existence of this church unit, the more so because every year it was obliged to pay the *kesim (maktu)*³⁴ tax to the Sultan's

of the diocese, which included: *Montenegro, the lands of the Grbal, Paštroviće, Krtola, Luštica families, the cities of Bar, Szkodra, Ulcinj, Podgorica, Žabljak and the lands of the Zeta, Kući, Vsoevže, Piperi and Belopavliće with all villages and parishes*. See G. ВІТКОВІЋ, *Spomenici iz budimskog i peštanskog arhiva*, vol. I, Beograd 1873, p. 5–6. Danilo Petrović Njegoš in his title, therefore, had the phrase 'by God's grace, Metropolitan of Skenderija and Primorje'.

³² D. VUKSAN, *Pisma pečkih patrijarha Zečanima*, Zap 22, 1939, p. 43.

³³ There were basically two types of taxes in the Ottoman Empire: for the Muslim population there was tithing (*öşür*), and for the non-Muslim population there was a poll tax (*cizye*). A. ÖZKUL, *The Ottoman Empire's Tax Policy in Eighteenth Century Cyprus*, [in:] *Archivum Ottomanicum*, ed. G. HAZAI, Wiesbaden 2015, p. 55.

³⁴ This sum was specified *expressis verbis* in the *berat* (art. 23) of 1731. The amount of the *kesim* tax was defined in the sultan's *berat* individually for each *millet*. Hungarian turkologist Pál Fodor equates

treasury in the amount of 70,000 akçe³⁵. However, this was no easy task, as local representatives of the Ottoman administration often hampered the acquisition of revenues for the Serbian Orthodox Church. However, the behaviour of these officials was contrary to the will of the Sultan, which was expressed in Art. 15 of the *berat* of 1731, where the Ottoman ruler clearly indicated:

none of the government officials – emins, kadis nor naibs – may prevent the representatives of the patriarch from collecting *miri*, nor tell them that until you give me the specified money, I will not let you into my villages, so that you might collect your dues there³⁶.

Due to the privilege of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Arsenije IV repeatedly submitted official complaints to the Sultan's office in Istanbul against representatives of the administration of the Sublime Porte in the 1730s. We know from one account from 1733 that at least one such complaint was answered by the central authorities³⁷.

The main source of the patriarchy's annual revenue were the receivables it obtained from the Orthodox population in the lands designated by the Sultan's *berat*. In the church account books called *tefters*³⁸, these liabilities were recorded under the term *taksil*³⁹, meaning 'tribute'. This umbrella term included many fees that the representatives of the Serbian *millet* paid to the Orthodox Church.

the *kesim* with the *maktu* and defines it as an annual flat-rate tax that was delivered to the central treasury by a taxpayers' representative. According to this researcher, it was beneficial for both parties, as it reduced both the costs of tax collection and the possibility of fraud against taxpayers. P. FODOR, *The Business of State. Ottoman Finance Administration and Ruling Elites in Transition (1580s–1615)*, Berlin 2018 [= SSGKT, 28], p. 34.

³⁵ More on the monetary system in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 18th century: Ş. PAMUK, *A Monetary history of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 2000, p. 161; *Katalog novca Osmanske imperije sakupljenog na području SFR Jugoslavije*, ed. D. TESLA-ZARIĆ, S. STOJKOVIĆ, Beograd 1974, p. 29–30.

³⁶ *Ferman sultana Mahmuda...*, p. 183; *Turski dokumenti za istoriju Srpske pravoslavne crkve...*, p. 48; *Jugoslovenske zemlje...*, p. 170–171.

³⁷ *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, vol. V, ed. Lj. STOJANOVIĆ, Beograd 1987, 63.

³⁸ The name *tefter* comes from the Turkish word *defter*, meaning a diary, notebook, register or inventory. In the article, I use the Slavic equivalent of the lexeme *defter*. Cf. M. KOZŁOWSKA, *Słownik turecko-polski. Türkçe-Lehçe sözlük*, Warszawa 2009, p. 225; T. KWOKA, *Dzieje słownictwa z zakresu stosunków społecznych w Serbii i Czarnogórze*, vol. II, *Państwo i administracja*, Kraków 2013, p. 166. In the Ottoman Empire, *defters* were commonly used tax and cadastral documents that recorded information about the taxpayer and the amount he owed. Cf. D. KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Zaproszenie do osmanistyki. Typologia i charakterystyka źródeł muzułmańskich sąsiadów dawnej Rzeczypospolitej: Imperium Osmańskiego i Chanatu Krymskiego*, Warszawa 2013, p. 37, 102. According to the authors of the *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, several types of *defters* can be distinguished, depending on their function e.g., *cizye defteri* (poll tax register), *mevacib defteri* (soldiers' payroll). See *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire...*, p. 617.

³⁹ The term *taksil* is a collective chrematonim, whose etymology lies in the lexeme *taksa* – fee, amount owed. Cf. T. KWOKA, *Dzieje słownictwa...*, p. 169; F. GRAHAM, *Turkisms in South Slavonic*

First of all, one should note the fee that the people of the Greek Rite paid in the amount of 0.1 kuruş⁴⁰ per house to the patriarch and the same amount to the administrator of the eparchy where the building was located. Commonly, this fee was called the chimney tax (*dimnica*)⁴¹. In addition, the church also charged fees for holding weddings (*svadbine, venčanice*). Based on the *tefter* of the eparchy of Niš, it is known that in 1732, Orthodox clergymen charged 100 akçe for a first wedding, 300 for a second, and 500 akçe for a third and any subsequent ones. 185 weddings were also concluded that year. This netted the local bishop an income of 25,740 akçe, which meant that, on average, a representative of the Serbian *millet* had to pay 139 akçe for a wedding. From this number it can be concluded that these were mostly first weddings. Four years later, 111 weddings were held in the area of the same church unit, and the diocesan administrator made 24,000 akçe. So, in 1736 weddings were more expensive and cost an average of 216 akçe. However, at this point it should be noted that only half of the annual income obtained from weddings remained in the Orthodox diocese. Fifty percent of this sum had to be taken to Peć by the church hierarchy⁴².

Another important, though uncertain and usually of undetermined extent, source of income for the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire was alms (*milostinja*). However, it should be noted that in the first decades of the 18th century there were two types of alms. The first was the so-called universal (*opšta milostinja*), which the clergy received from individual Serbian families for sacrificing their estates or property. The second type of alms (*uopština*) was given by individuals for commemoration during the service of their living or deceased relatives. The latter kind of financial offering could also be received by monks and used for the day-to-day needs of the monastery⁴³. On the other hand, 'common alms' were usually given to clergymen while collecting the chimney tax. This is confirmed by a note made by the archdeacon Jovan Georgijevic, who wrote in his

Literature. Turkish Loanwords in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Bosnian and Bulgarian Franciscan Sources, Oxford 2020, p. 162.

⁴⁰ Kurush (Tur. *kuruş, gurüş*) is a monetary unit that functioned in the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 17th century. 1 kurush was equal to 40 *para* – i.e., 120 akçe. In European literature on the subject, a kurush is often referred to as a *piatr*. Cf. Ş. PAMUK, *A Monetary History...*, p. 159–161; H. İNALCIK, D. QUATAERT, *Dzieje gospodarcze i społeczne Imperium Osmańskiego*, Kraków 2008, p. 842; M. DENZEL, *Handbook of World Exchange Rates, 1590–1914*, s.l. 2010, p. 387.

⁴¹ On the concept of *dimnica* in the Serbian Orthodox Church, see N. RADOSAVLJEVIĆ, *Pravoslavna crkva u Beogradskom pašaluku 1766–1831 (uprava Vaseljenske patrijaršije)*, Beograd 2007, p. 218.

⁴² J. HADŽI-VASILJEVIĆ, *Tevteri niške mitropolije (od 1727–1737 god.)*, [in:] *Zbornik za istoriju južne Srbije i susjednih oblasti*, vol. I, Skopje 1936, p. 51–64; *Turski dokumenti za istoriju Srpske pravoslavne crkve...*, p. 21–22, 53.

⁴³ During the time of Arsenije IV, the major beneficiary of the monasteries who received *uopština* was the patriarchal monastery in Peć. See Biblioteka Srpske Patrijaršije u Beogradu (cetera: BSPB), syg. P 110, fol. 3a.

tefter on 9 June 1733 that in the Zahumsko-Herzegovina eparchy: *first I collect the dimnica, and then the blagoslovena*⁴⁴.

These financial donations made by the Serbian people could also be collected by the bishop or his representative during the canonical visit of the parish. However, there are some indications that suggest that the alms given for the devotion of the Serbian settlement were predetermined and the only issue faced within a given village was how it would be distributed among the houses. This is indicated by a letter written by Patriarch Arsenije IV himself addressed to Zečani (25 February 1726). He wrote therein that *you must divide the alms you gave us amounting to 180 akçe among themselves, but everyone must give something without question*⁴⁵.

Setting to one side considerations of how alms were collected and whether this was voluntary, or if the people were somehow coerced, there is no doubt that this constituted an important component of income for individual Orthodox dioceses in the Patriarchate of Peć. This is confirmed by the *tefter* of the eparchy of Niš. For example, in 1736 the income obtained from alms (83,520 akçe) was almost twice the income obtained from the chimney tax⁴⁶.

The substantial and steady income of the patriarch in the 1730s, as well as of individual eparchs, should also include the annual fee of 2 kuruş paid by each clergyman within the Patriarchate of Peć. This levy is listed in the sources as the 'priest tax'⁴⁷. Its relevance within the revenue structure for church hierarchs varied, depending on the diversification of the parish network in a given diocese. For example, in the eparchy of Niš, according to their *tefters*, in 1732 it accounted for 17.68%, and four years later 15.33%, of the total income of the bishop, although nominally in 1736 the eparchy of Niš obtained 13,080 akçe more than in 1732⁴⁸. However, this fact should not be interpreted as an increase in the number of Orthodox parishes in 1736. The low income obtained from the 'priest tax' in 1732 should be considered an anomaly, because a year earlier there had been an epidemic of the plague in the eparchy of Niš, which caused an increase in the mortality of the local population, and consequently less income for a single priest, who in 1732 was unable to fulfil his obligations towards the bishop⁴⁹. It can also be assumed that the plague was the main reason for the low revenue from alms in 1732⁵⁰.

The collection of all fees and alms in the Patriarchate of Peć was officially supervised by the patriarch himself, because he was obliged to pay the annual *kesim* on

⁴⁴ *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi...*, vol. V, 7688.

⁴⁵ Cf. D. VUKSAN, *Pisma pečkih patrijarha...*, p. 44–45; IDEM, *Rukopisi cetinjskog manastira*, [in:] *Zbornik za istoriju...*, p. 218.

⁴⁶ J. HADŽI-VASILJEVIĆ, *Tevteri niške mitropolije...*, p. 51–64.

⁴⁷ *Turski dokumenti za istoriju Srpske pravoslavne crkve...*, p. 22–23.

⁴⁸ Cf. BSPB, syg. P 110, fol. 2a, 4a; J. HADŽI-VASILJEVIĆ, *Tevteri niške mitropolije...*, p. 60–64.

⁴⁹ S. IVANIĆ, *Borba protiv kuge u Srbiji za vreme austrijske vladavine (1717–1740)*, [in:] *Prilozi za istoriju zdravstvene kulture Jugoslavije i Balkanskog poluostrva*, vol. V, Beograd 1937, p. 19–20.

⁵⁰ Cf. BSPB, syg. P 110, fol. 2a, 4a; J. HADŽI-VASILJEVIĆ, *Tevteri niške mitropolije...*, p. 60–64.

behalf of the entire Serb community. However, it was obvious that many people were involved in the whole process, especially those associated with the church. Nevertheless, they had to have special authorisation from the patriarch or bishop in order to be able to collect certain levies. This is confirmed by the patriarch's letter to Protopope Boško Popović from Lješkopolja (17 November 1727). Arsenije IV mentioned to this clergyman that he only needed to organise a group of priests who wanted to collect chimney taxes and the patriarch's office would *immediately issue power of attorney and provide a tefter*⁵¹. Those who collected money for the church needed official accreditation due to increasingly common cases of fraud. Abuse related to the collection of fees by unauthorised persons was a major problem for the Serbian Orthodox Church at that time. Arsenije IV, in a letter from 1728 to the inhabitants of Priepolje, warned against handing over the chimney tax to people *claiming to be exarchs, monks or priests, if they do not have any recommendation from church hierarchs*⁵².

Arsenij IV's control over the entire process of collecting various dues from Serbs usually took place in parallel with the canonical visit to a given eparchy. It was then that the head of the church would review the diocesan *tefters* and discover the overall mechanism of collecting fees in a given church unit. On the other hand, when leaving the visited eparchy, he would take part of the collected receivables to the treasury in Peć. Due to the fact that these were usually large sums, Arsenije IV travelled through the lands of the Patriarchate of Peć in the company of a personal guard, as was his guaranteed by the Sultan *berat* (art. 14)⁵³.

It is worth noting at this point that today it is possible to reconstruct Arsenije IV's actions largely thanks to the annotations that this clergyman made in the accounts of a given eparchy during canonical visits. The preserved registers and records show that it took him nearly ten years to get to know the entire scope of *vilâyet-i İpek ve tevâbi'-i-hâ patriq*. He did indeed make canonical visits in the years 1726–1735. Later, until the outbreak of the Austro-Turkish war in 1737⁵⁴, Arsenije IV stayed at the patriarchal monastery in Peć. He justified his inactivity citing economic problems. The exact financial obligations of the patriarch from this period are not known, but it can be assumed that he decided not to travel further around the patriarchy due to the high costs of maintaining his retinue. So he agreed that the income obtained from the Serbs be taken to Peć by the bishops or people appointed by them.

⁵¹ D. VUKSAN, *Pisma pećkih patrijarha...*, p. 44.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 47.

⁵³ *Ferman sultana Mahmuda...*, p. 183; *Turski dokumenti za istoriju Srpske pravoslavne crkve...*, p. 48; *Jugoslovenske zemlje...*, p. 170.

⁵⁴ For more on the Austro-Turkish war (1737–1739) see: K. ROIDER, *The Reluctant Ally. Austria's Policy in the Austro-Turkish War, 1737–1739*, Baton Rouge 1972, *passim*; V. AKSAN, *Ottoman Wars 1700–1870. An Empire Besieged*, New York 2007, p. 102–117.

Several factors contributed to the economic problems faced by the Patriarchate of Peć. First of all, the Orthodox population began to emigrate from its territory, noticeably from the end of the 17th century (mainly due to the Great exodus of Serbs), which meant a significant loss of income for the central budget in Peć necessary to meet obligations towards the Sultan treasury (*Hazine-i Âmire*). This state of affairs was largely influenced by the shrinking European part of the Ottoman state, and thus a decrease in the territory of the patriarchy by several dioceses as a result of the Austro-Turkish peace treaty signed in Požarevac (1718). Not may one forget about the material losses suffered by the Serbian Orthodox Church from the turn of the 18th century as a result of ongoing wars between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. The reconstruction of sacred buildings was arduous and required tremendous financial outlays, which were increasingly lacking at that time. It should also be noted that at the beginning of the 18th century, the fiscal policy of the Ottoman Empire shifted⁵⁵. Detailed cadastral lists of towns and villages were drafted. In addition, the fees levied upon individual *taife* increased. All these elements had an impact on the deepening economic crisis faced by the Patriarchate of Peć, which was only exacerbated after the Austro-Turkish war (1739).

There is no doubt that in the 1720s and 1730s, Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta exercised real control over the Serbian population, which fell under the actual jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć. As *millet başı*, he was their official representative to the Ottoman authorities. A privileged position was ensured by the Sultan *berat* issued in 1731, which gave him wide-ranging powers. Every year, however, like every *millet* leader, he was forced to honour his fiscal obligations to the Sublime Porte. This article presents various forms of debt collected from the Serbian population by church representatives, including the patriarch himself. Of course, the presented findings are fragmentary and are based mainly on the best-preserved registers (*tefters*) of the eparchy of Niš. On the one hand, they reveal some strategies in obtaining tributes while, on the other hand, indicating some problems with which the Patriarchate of Peć struggled during certain periods. In the future, it would be worthwhile to undertake research on how the economic difficulties of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the first decades of the 18th century translated into the political decisions of its leader in the late 1730s.

⁵⁵ For more on the changes that took place in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 18th century, see B. LEWIS, *Narodziny nowoczesnej Turcji*, trans. K. DOROSZ, Warszawa 1972, p. 68–72; J. REYCHMAN, *Historia Turcji*, Wrocław 1973, p. 156–157; J. HAUZIŃSKI, *Absolutyzm orientalny*, [in:] *Europa i świat w epoce oświeconego absolutyzmu*, ed. J. STASZEWSKI, Warszawa 1991, p. 197–198; A. SALZMANN, *The Age of Tulips Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550–1730)*, [in:] *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922*, ed. D. QUATAERT, New York 2000, p. 83–106; M. PAVLOVIĆ, *Forsirana ili autonomna modernizacija? Osmanske reforme u XVIII veku u kontekstu evropskih uticaja*, *Ist* 22, 2011, p. 185–204; S. SHAW, *Historia Imperium Osmańskiego...*, p. 370–371.

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THE VIOLATION OF CHRISTIAN GRAVES IN THE LIGHT OF EUSEBIUS'S *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY* VIII, 6, 6–7*

Abstract. The main focus of the article are the reasons and circumstances behind the desecration of the graves of the Christians in Nicomedia in the year 303, as presented in Eusebius's account. A short time before that, another wave of persecutions directed at Christians had begun there on the order of Emperor Diocletian. When a fire broke out in the imperial palace, Christians were named as responsible for setting the fire (*incendium*). After they had been sentenced to the death penalty, they were executed by beheading with a sword (*decapitatio*), burning alive (*crematio, vivicomburium*) or drowning. However, as we can read in the *Ecclesiastical History*, the repression did not end there, as it was decided that the bodies of the convicts were to be exhumed and thrown into the sea. The current article aims at analyzing the above events from the perspective of regulations and customs observed by the Romans with reference to convicts and their bodies. Moreover, while rejecting Eusebius's claim that the desecration of the graves was dictated by the fear that the burial ground of the martyrs might lead to the development of their cult, the article analyzes the possible motives for attempting to eradicate all the traces of the executed Christians on the side of the Roman authorities. With the aid of Lactantius's account, the article discusses, among others, the concept of treating Christians as enemies (*hostes*).

Keywords: Eusebius, Nicomedia, *incendium*, status of the grave, exhumation of the body

Introduction

If one were to choose one of the symbols of the short reconciliation between the Roman authorities and Christians after Emperor Gallienus recognized the legality of Christian communities¹, it could be the church in Nicomedia. It was built within the city walls and, what is more, it was visible from the windows

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¹ Approximately since 262 Emperor Gallian accepted the legality of Christian communities, who were returned the places of their cult and cemeteries, as well as allowed the limited activity in the form of associations. Cf. W.H.C. FRENCH, *The Failure of the Persecutions in the Roman Empire*, PP 16.1, 1959, p. 10–30; R. SELINGER, *The Mid-Third Century Persecutions of Decius and Valerian*, Frankfurt am Main 2002, p. 94–96.

of the palace. Therefore, it could be clearly perceived as a sign of peace. The new, more spacious church served the needs of the growing community of Christians². However, when at the beginning of the 4th c. the temporary peace started to falter and came to an end, the building also collapsed³.

Towards the end of his rule, Emperor Diocletian initiated subsequent, intensified persecutions of the Christians⁴. At first, the ill-treatment was directed at soldiers, officials and clergy, who were the easiest to identify. Christians were relegated from both military ranks and public offices, whereas those of noble birth were downgraded in their status to that of *humiliores*⁵. In fact, the actions of the authorities did not spare broad sections of the general population⁶. The edicts issued against

² EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII, 1, 5, [in:] EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. II, Books 6–10, trans. J.E.L. OULTON, London–Cambridge 1932 [= LCL, 265] (cetera: EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*) emphasized that old buildings were not sufficient, so new, bigger churches were built in the cities.

³ According to Eusebius, the persecutions in Nicomedia were perceived as God's judgement upon Christians for their hypocrisy and internal disputes. D.J. KYRTATAS, *Religious Conflict in Roman Nicomedia*, [in:] *Urban Interactions. Communication and Competition in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M.J. KELLY, M. BURROWS, New York 2020, p. 166.

⁴ Naturally, the scale of the persecutions varied, depending on various factors – the region or the will of the ruler. For academic discussions on the Great Persecution, cf.: A. MOMIGLIANO, *Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.*, [in:] *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. IDEM, Oxford 1963, p. 90–92; K.H. SCHWARTE, *Diokletians Christengesetz*, [in:] *E fontibus haurire. Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften*, ed. R. GÜNTHERAND, S. REBENICH, Paderborn 1994 [= SGKA, 8], p. 203–40; P.S. DAVIES, *The Origin and Purpose of the Persecution of AD 303*, *JTS* 40.1, 1989, p. 66–94; G. CLARKE, *Third-century Christianity*, [in:] *CAH*, vol. XII, Cambridge 2005, p. 651.

⁵ The dichotomy *honestiores* – *humiliores* had a significant importance on the grounds of criminal law. People of low social status (*humiliores*) could be given harsher punishments, aimed at the additional humiliation of the perpetrator. More or less from the times of Hadrian, in the imperial rescripts there appear double standards in the punishments of wrongdoers, e.g. for the same crime *honestiores* would receive the punishment of deportation and *humiliores* the punishment of death. Cf. O.F. ROBINSON, *Penal Practice and Penal Policy in Ancient Rome*, London 2007, p. 195. Additionally, it was prohibited to punish *honestiores* with the capital punishment through crucifixion, burning alive or being thrown to beasts to be eaten. Cf. P.A. BRUNT, *Evidence given under Torture in the Principate*, *ZSSR.RA* 97.1, 1980, p. 256–265. In rare cases, representatives of the upper social classes were sentenced to *decapitatio*. Torture, such as flogging, was reserved mostly for the lower classes. *Digesta Iustiniani*, XLVIII, 19, 28, 2, [in:] *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. I, ed. T. MOMMSEN, P. KRÜGER, Berolini 1954 (cetera: *Dig.*); P. GARNSEY, *Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire: Introduction*, *PP* 41.1, 1968, p. 13–14.

⁶ In accordance with the dating of the first edicts, it should be assumed that it was not before the fourth act of 304 that the official persecutions directed at the whole Christian community began. H.M. GWATKIN, *Notes on Some Chronological Questions connected with the Persecution of Diocletian*, *EHR* 13.51, 1898, p. 500; G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *Aspects of the "Great" Persecution*, *HTR* 47.2, 1954, p. 75–77. However, admitting one's faith in Christ (*nomen Christianum*) and a refusal to offer a sacrifice to the gods was punished by death already before. Cf. T.D. BARNES, *Legislation against*

Christians imposed several measures, such as the closing of churches, confiscation and destruction of the holy books, as well as the prohibition of gatherings⁷.

In its scale and form, this period of the persecutions exceeded the former ones. New and previously unknown forms of repressions appeared. The ruler's wrath was directed not only against the living, but also against the dead. In this context, it is worth referring to the description of the events, which began on 23 February 303 in Nicomedia⁸. On the emperor's orders, the above-mentioned church was destroyed. According to Lactantius, the whole operation was concluded within one day and was observed by Diocletian and Galerius from the windows of the palace. The rulers were also apparently debating whether the building should not rather be burnt, but this idea did not prevail for fear of spreading the fire onto the city⁹. In response to the actions of authorities, one of the Church dignitaries was to tear up the imperial edict in public¹⁰. Soon after that, a fire broke out in the palace and the Christians were accused of starting it, under the claim that they were acting in revenge. Therefore, it is not entirely unexpected that they were sentenced to death. What is surprising, however, is that after their bodies had been buried, it was decided to exhume them. In order to understand the exceptional character of those events, they should be seen in the context of Roman legal regulations, including the right to burial, inviolability of the burial grounds, as well as from the socio-religious perspective, taking into account both old Roman beliefs and Christian mentality. The article will also focus on the charges against the Christians and the punishments imposed on them. Finally, it will also present the potential hypothesis as to why the violation of the burial ground occurred.

the Christians, JRS 58.1–2, 1968, p. 32–50; P.S. DAVIES, *The Origin...*, p. 74; D. FLACH, *Die römischen Christenverfolgungen. Gründe und Hintergründe*, Hi 48.4, 1999, p. 442–464. The persecutions were doubly motivated: for once religiously, as in accordance with the official propaganda Christians disturbed the cult of emperors as gods, and also politically, as the incident brought with itself threats of disturbance of state celebrations. L.F. JANSSEN, 'Superstitio' and the Persecution of the Christians, VC 33.2, 1979, p. 133.

⁷ A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, vol. I, Oxford 1964, p. 71–72.

⁸ The date was not chosen by Diocletian by accident – on that day fell a celebration of *Terminalia*, a festival devoted to the god of the borders. Cf. R.M. GRANT, *Augustus to Constantine. The Rise and Triumph of Christianity in the Roman World*, New York 1970, p. 229–230; A.D. NOCK, *The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year*, HTR 45.4, 1952, p. 232.

⁹ LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XII, [in:] LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum. Die Todesarten der Verfolger*, ed. et trans. A. STÄDELE, Turnhout 2003 [= *FCh*, 43] (cetera: LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*).

¹⁰ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII, 5; LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XIII. Neither of the writers provided the name of the brave protester and it might have resulted from the fact that the majority of Church dignitaries condemned voluntary martyrdom. This act might have also impacted the strength of the future attacks on Christians. D.J. KYRTATAS, *Religious Conflict...*, p. 167.

Setting Fire to the Palace in Nicomedia in 303

The sources of knowledge about the persecutions of Christians after the fire include Lactantius's *On the Death of the Persecutors* and Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. Lactantius pointed out to the plotting of Galerius and his agents as those that might stand behind the fire in the palace. The co-ruler is presented here as if he were a new Nero, turning Christians into public enemies through his insidious actions (*Christiani arguebantur velut hostes publici*)¹¹.

According to Christian authors, the reaction of the authorities to the fire was instantaneous¹². Eusebius wrote that

by the imperial command the God-fearing persons there, whole families and in heaps, were in some cases butchered with the sword; while others were perfected by fire, when it is recorded that men and women leaped upon the pyre with a divine and unspeakable eagerness. The executioners bound a multitude of others, and [placing them] on boats threw them into depths of the sea¹³.

Lactantius pointed out to the same measures that were adopted as punishment.

The accusation of the Christians and the dimension of the punishments should not come as a surprise – this *crimen* in a special way posed a threat to the city and the whole community. The fear of fire was one of the most deeply-ingrained anxieties. Fire inevitably brought damage to city dwellers, as well as undermined public security. The perpetrators of intentional setting fire (*incendium*) to municipal buildings were punished with death. According to Gaius, since the *Law of the Twelve Tables*, the death penalty was executed by burning the tied and previously flogged culprits¹⁴. A similar sanction was included in *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*,

¹¹ On reading Lactantius's account, one may be under the impression that the figure of Diocletian was absolved from blame in those events. The placing of guilt on Galerius was initiated as a tactics intended to whitewash Diocletian himself, presented by the Christians as a ruler with aversion to violence (LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XI, 3), and only towards the end of his life turning excessively suspicious. LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XIII, 3; W.L. LEADBETTER, *Galerius and the Will of Diocletian*, New York 2009, p. 130–132.

¹² LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XIV, 3. K.H. SCHWARTE, *Diokletians Christengesetz...*, p. 213. (LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XI, 3), cf. P.S. DAVIES, *The Origin...*, p. 70; W.A. LÖHR, *Some Observations on Karl-Heinz Schwarte's 'Diokletian's Christengesetz'*, VC 56.1, 2002, p. 76. Galerius's illness towards the end of his life (gangrene and bleeding ulcers) turned him into a living dead – the ancient authors presented those conditions as typical of persecutors (such as Herod or Antioch IV). Cf. G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *Aspects...*, p. 109.

¹³ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII, 6, 6: παγγενεῖ σωρηδὸν βασιλικῶ νεύματι τῶν τῆδε θεοσεβῶν οἱ μὲν ξίφει κατεσφάττοντο, οἱ δὲ διὰ πυρὸς ἐτελειοῦντο, ὅτε λόγος ἔχει προθυμία θεία τινὶ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ ἄνδρα ἅμα γυναιξίν ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν καθαλέσθαι· δῆσαντες δὲ οἱ δῆμοι ἄλλο τι πλῆθος ἐπὶ σκάφαις τοῖς θαλαττίοις ἐναπέριπτον βυθοῖς.

¹⁴ *Dig.*, XLVII, 9, 9.

without excluding, however, alternative means of executing capital punishment¹⁵. Paulus wrote that arsonists were sentenced to the death penalty without hesitation (*facile capite puniuntur*)¹⁶. Ulpian emphasized that even though *lex Cornelia* imposed the punishment of *aquae et igni interdictio* on arsonists, in practice the penalties were varied¹⁷.

Those accused of setting fire to the imperial palace were treated correspondingly and yet the acts of aggression and cruelty that the Christians of Nicomedia were subjected to were unprecedented in its character. The imperial persecutions did not end with the execution of the death penalty – by beheading, burning alive or throwing the convicts into the sea. A new oppressive measure was added to them:

As to the imperial slave servants, whose bodies after death had been committed to the ground with fitting honours, their reputed masters, starting afresh, deemed it necessary to exhume them and cast them into the sea, lest any, regarding them as actually gods (so at least they imagined), should worship them as they lay in their tombs [...]¹⁸.

It is especially interesting that such events were explained as being committed for fear that the burial places of the martyrs might be later treated as places of their cult as gods. Eusebius suggested therefore that Diocletian could have taken the decision to unbury the dead after he was informed that the graves of the convicts had started to attract followers.

¹⁵ *Dig.*, XLVIII, 19, 28, 12.

¹⁶ *Pauli Sententiae*, V, 20, 1, [in:] *Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani*, vol. II, ed. S. RICCOBONO, Florentiae 1964 (cetera: *Paul. Sent.*).

¹⁷ Representatives of the lowest social strata were sentenced to be killed by wild animals, persons of a higher social status were punished with capital punishment or exile. *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*, XII, 5, 1, [in:] *Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani*, vol. II, ed. S. RICCOBONO, Florentiae 1964. Cf. G. KLEINFELLER, s.v. *incendium*, [in:] *RE*, vol. IX.2, col. 1244–1245.

¹⁸ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII, 6, 7–8: τοὺς δὲ γε βασιλικούς μετὰ θάνατον παῖδας, γῆ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης κηδείας παραδοθέντας, αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνορύξαντες ἐναπορρίψαι θαλάττῃ καὶ αὐτοὺς φόντο δεῖν οἱ νενομισμένοι δεσπότες, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐν μνήμασιν ἀποκειμένους προσκυνοῖέν τινες, θεοὺς δὴ αὐτοῦς, ὡς γε φόντο, λογιζόμενοι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτελεσθέντα τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοιαῦτα. The term βασιλικῶ denotes courtiers belonging to the imperial household, members of the *familia Caesaris*. *Diccionario Griego-Español*, vol. IV, ed. F.R. ADRA-DOS, Madrid 1994, p. 694–695. This concept does not refer to a person's *status libertatis*. M.S. SHIN (*The Great Persecution. A Historical Re-Examination*, Turnhout 2018, p. 112–117) observes that one of the claims postulated by scholars with regard to the content of the edict and its consequences for the Christians entailed *the re-enslavement of the members of the imperial household who persisted in their adherence to Christianity* (p. 115). This hypothesis is based merely on the account of EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII, 2, 4–5, where he points out that οἰκεῖται denotes *those in households* [who] *would be deprived of their liberty* (trans. J.E.L. OULTON, p. 259). This term can also be interpreted as familial, private or domestic, denoting somebody who does not devote his life to holding office or authority. In fact, in his account Eusebius juxtaposes those who hold office and lose it to those whose spend their lives in households. Cf. *LSJ*, p. 1202.

The right to the grave

Jurists of the classical period emphasized that even though as a rule every person had the right to possess a grave and be buried in it¹⁹, still, in the cases of persons sentenced to the death penalty this right was not always abided by²⁰. In the Digest, in the title *De cadaveribus punitorum* one can find a principle that *the bodies of executed persons are to be granted to any who seek them for burial*²¹. The constitution of Diocletian and Maximian of 290 expresses a similar message: *we do not forbid burial of persons guilty of a crime and deservedly punished*²². Ulpian also emphasized that already in the times of Emperor Augustus there was a custom that the bodies of the convicts were to be handed over to the relatives²³, however, it did not happen so in every case.

The handing over of the bodies of the deceased convicts was possible only after an appropriate request to the emperor was made²⁴. Such a request could be made by relatives, but apparently it was possible for any other person to make it²⁵. An answer in the positive was treated as an act of clemency²⁶. At least since the times of Severus and Caracalla there were some restrictions in force: *Today, however, the bodies of those who are executed are not buried otherwise than if this had been sought and granted. But sometimes it is not allowed, particularly [with the bodies] of those condemned for treason*²⁷. The bodies of the executed criminals were usually

¹⁹ Most of all, everybody had the right to be buried in a grave which belonged to him or his family. Such a right could be written in the legate. *Dig.*, XI, 8, 1, 7 (Ulpianus 68 *ad ed.*): *Facere sepuchrum sive monumentum in loco, in quo ei ius est, nemo prohibetur.*

²⁰ Refusal to bury a criminal had its beginnings in archaic times and it was not only a Roman custom. Plato in his *Laws* suggested that criminals should not only be deprived of life but they should also be sentenced to damnation by leaving them without burial. PLATO, *Nóμοι*, 874b, [in:] PLATO, *Laws*, vol. II, *Books VII–XII*, trans. R.G. BURY, London–Cambridge 1926 [= LCL, 192].

²¹ *Dig.*, XLVIII, 24, 3: *Corpora animadversorum quibuslibet petentibus ad sepulturam danda sunt.*

²² *Codex Iustinianus*, III, 44, 11, [in:] *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. II, ed. P. KRUEGER, Berolini 1954 (cetera: CJ): *Obnoxios criminum digno supplicio subiectos sepulturae tradi non vetamus.*

²³ *Dig.*, XLVIII, 24, 1: *Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt: et id se observasse etiam divus augustus libro decimo de vita sua scribit [...].*

²⁴ Or the governor of the province. M. KURYŁOWICZ, *De cadaveribus punitorum. Das römische Recht über die Leichen von wegen der Straftaten gegen den Staat verurteilten Personen*, [in:] *Scripta minora selecta. Ausgewählte Schriften zum Römischen Recht*, Lublin 2014, p. 170.

²⁵ A well-known example of a request for the body of an executed person is the story of Joseph of Arimatea, who had no problem in obtaining Pilate's consent to take the body of Jesus. (Mc XV, 42–46; Mt XXVII, 57–60; Lc XXIII, 50–56; Io XIX, 38–42, https://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_index_it.html [14 IV 2022]). For Christians this story served as a model behaviour to imitate. Cf. B. BIONDI, *Il diritto romano cristiano II*, Milano 1952, p. 253; E. REBILLARD, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, Ithaca 2009, p. 101–107.

²⁶ V. CAPOCCI, *Sulla concessione e sul divieto di sepoltura nel mondo romano ai condannati a pene capitale*, SDHI 22, 1956, p. 267.

²⁷ *Dig.*, XLVIII, 24, 1: [...] *hodie autem eorum, in quos animadvertitur, corpora non aliter sepeliuntur, quam si fuerit petitum et permisum, et nonnumquam non permittitur, maxime maiestatis causa damnatorum [...].* Cf. *Dig.*, XXXVIII, 16, 1, 3.

placed in mass graves. The family had no right to organize a funeral for them. It was one of the elements of the *damnatio memoriae*²⁸.

When death is not the end of the punishment

The threat of dishonouring the body by refusing to bury the dead was occasionally resorted to by the Romans over the course of the centuries. Taking revenge on the dead was considered to be the ultimate form of humiliating them²⁹. The disgracing of the bodies of Christians occurred also before the events in Nicomedia. Eusebius described events which occurred in Lyon during the reign of Marcus Aurelius³⁰:

For those who had been strangled in the jail they threw to the dogs, and watched carefully night and day that none should be cared for by us. Then they threw out the remains left by the beasts and by the fire, torn and charred, and for many days watched with a military guard the heads of the rest, together with their trunks, all unburied [...] »Thus the bodies of the martyrs, after having been exposed and insulted in every way for six days, and afterwards burned and turned to ashes, were swept by the wicked into the river Rhone which flows nearby [...]«³¹.

In the opinion of the bishop of Caesarea, such behaviour was intended to deprive the dead of the hope for resurrection and to render their earthly efforts to earn salvation as futile. Such a sight would definitely have a demoralizing effect on others. However, such an aim could not have been defined by the Romans who were imperious to the nuances of the Christian religion. It is more probable, though, that they acted in such way on account of their own beliefs. Eusebius also mentions that the emperor decided – typically – that only those who did not renounce their faith were to be sentenced to death³². He also suggested that all further actions were taken upon the initiative of the Roman governor and the people who “showed the unrighteous hatred”³³, which consequently resulted in an exceptional cruelty

²⁸ E. VOLTERRA, *Processi penali contro i defunti in diritto Romano*, RIDA 3, 1949, p. 485–500.

²⁹ F. VITTINGHOFF, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1936, p. 45.

³⁰ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 1, 59–63. Cf. C.J. FUHRMANN, *Policing the Roman Empire. Soldiers, Administration and Public Order*, Oxford 2012, p. 187, n. 58. The citations in Eusebius's text supposedly come from the documents prepared in the times, in which the given events happened (circa. 177 AD). EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 1, 1–2.

³¹ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 1, 59–63: καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐναποπιγνέντας τῇ εἰρκτῇ παρέβαλλον κυσίν, ἐπιμελῶς παραφυλάσσοντες νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ κηδευθῆ τις ὑφ' ἡμῶν· καὶ τότε δὴ προθέντες τὰ τε τῶν θηρίων τὰ τε τοῦ πυρὸς λείψανα, πῆ μὲν ἐσπαραγμένα, πῆ δὲ ἠνθρακευμένα, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς σὺν τοῖς ἀποτμήμασιν αὐτῶν ὡσαύτως ἀτάφους παρεφύλαττον μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἐπιμελείας ἡμέραις συχναῖς. [...] τὰ οὖν σώματα τῶν μαρτύρων παντοίως παραδειγματισθέντα καὶ αἰθριασθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ, μετέπειτα καέντα καὶ αἰθαλωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων κατεσαρώθη εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν πλησίον παραρρέοντα, ὅπως μὴδὲ λείψανον αὐτῶν φαίνηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι.

³² EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 1, 47.

³³ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 1, 58.

demonstrated in a specific form – as addressed at the bodies of the dead³⁴. The sources indicate that the desecration of the bodies was occasionally an element of execution rites³⁵. The description of the events from Lyon brings to mind an association with the ritual procedure against the people sentenced to death whose corpses were dragged onto the Gemonian Stairs and then drowned in the Tiber. Both cases also speak of strangulation in prison (*carcer*). The above sources present a simple pattern: conviction, the death penalty, desecration of the bodies and their drowning. It was all executed in such an efficient and swift manner that it could be presumed that the lack of burial was an integral part of the dishonourable death penalty. After death, the corpse of the convict remained at the disposal of the state authorities and unauthorized taking away of such bodies was punishable. The events at Lyon seem to be in line with this course of procedure.

The fate of the bodies of convicts from Nicomedia

Nevertheless, the events at Nicomedia turned out to be more dramatic than the above. Eusebius indicates that the executed palace attendants were buried in accordance with the regular rituals. Therefore, it should be assumed that their bodies were released for burial. However, he does not make it clear whether it concerned all the corpses or perhaps only those who were sentenced to decapitation with the sword. *Decapitatio* was the only one of the applied punishments that was not degrading in its character. As a result, it should be reflected whether the beheading of the courtiers from Nicomedia, described by Eusebius with the term βασιλικῶ, was not in fact connected with their social status³⁶. Lactantius also observes that the authorities treated the convicts in a different way. His words about the previously powerful palace eunuchs who were executed (*potentissimi quondam eunuchi necati*) might point to the death by the sword as appropriate for those holding an office at the imperial court. Next, he refers to the presbyters and deacons who were sentenced to death together with their families without collecting evidence or obtaining their confession. Presumably, they were put to death by burning. Further, the historian informs that the *domestici* were thrown into the sea³⁷.

³⁴ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 1, 57.

³⁵ TACITUS, *Annales*, V, 9; VI, 25, [in:] TACIT, *Annals, Books 4–6, 11–12*, trans. J. JACKSON, London–Cambridge 1937 [= LCL, 312]; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 75, [in:] Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, vol. I, *Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula*, trans. J.C. Rolfe, praef. K.R. Bradley, London–Cambridge 1914 [= LCL, 31]; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae*, I, 7, 12, [in:] Sidonius, *Poems. Letters, Books 1–2*, trans. W.B. Anderson, London–Cambridge 1936 [= LCL, 296] (cetera: Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae*); Cf. W.D. Barry, *Exposure, Mutilation, and Riot: Violence at the “Scalae Gemoniae” in Early Imperial Rome*, GR 55.2, 2008, p. 223–224.

³⁶ With regard to Eusebius’s account (VIII, 2, 4–5) and the probable loss of freedom by the imperial attendants, the punishment of beheading with a sword appears to be utterly inadequate here. The same is true for the expression that they were buried with the fitting honours. Therefore, it seems that one cannot translate βασιλικῶ and οἰκεῖται in a literal way.

³⁷ Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XV, 2.

A passage of book VIII of the *Ecclesiastical History* does not provide any details concerning decapitation with the sword (ξίφει κατεσφάττοντο). Therefore, it is worth juxtaposing it with other sources regarding similar executions of Christians. Saint Cyprian, a bishop of Carthage, was sentenced to death in 258 and the sentence was executed by means of decapitation. *Acta Proconsularia Sancti Cypriani* include a short description of the very execution from which it transpires that it was conducted without disrespecting the dignity of the convict³⁸. He was left in clothing, without being tied and his death was not preceded by flogging³⁹. After his death, his body was left on public display. However, under the cover of the night, it was taken away and he was given a proper burial⁴⁰. In his account, Eusebius refers to a collective character of the execution, which, nevertheless, does not exclude a respectful treatment of the convicts. There is no mention of leaving human remains – severed heads or parts of the body – on public display even for a short time⁴¹. Lactantius's description suggests not so much a mass execution, in the sense of gathering and putting to death a group of people, but a more dynamic manner of executing the death penalty – the hunting for further victims and the massacre of the co-believers.

The fate of the remains of Christians sentenced to *crematio (vivicomburium)*⁴² raises a number of questions. The courtiers of Nicomedia were also subjected to this punishment⁴³, imposed usually on the people coming from the lower social classes⁴⁴, including the cases of arson⁴⁵: *Arsonist who start fires within a built-up area for enmity or for gain are subject to capital punishment; generally, they are burned alive*⁴⁶.

³⁸ *Acta Proconsularia Sancti Cypriani*, IV (V), [in:] S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia, vol. III.1, Vindobonae 1866 [= CSEL], p. 110–114, <https://archive.org/details/corpuscriptoru16wissgoog/page/n125/mode/2up> [13 IV 2022].

³⁹ A different picture of the course of the execution from the one painted by Th. Mommsen is presented by M. Jońca in the light Christian sources and iconographic material. M. JOŃCA, «Decollatio»: *New Materials, New Perspective*, IX 47, 2019, p. 339–347. Cf. T. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Berlin 1899, p. 916–918.

⁴⁰ V. HUNINK, *St Cyprian, a Christian and Roman Gentleman*, [in:] *Cyprian of Carthage. Studies in his Life, Language, and Thought*, ed. H. BAKKER, P. VAN GEEST, H. VAN LOON, Leuven–Paris–Walpole, MA 2010, p. 29–41.

⁴¹ Describing the events from Lyon, Eusebius writes separately about the heads and headless bodies. EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 1, 59. The issues regarding the treatment of the severed head of the convict are discussed by M. JOŃCA, «Decollatio»..., p. 341–342.

⁴² This penalty is also described as *vivus exuri* or *igni necari*. Cf. *Dig.*, XLVIII, 13, 7; XLVII, 9, 9.

⁴³ According to Lactantius, Diocletian not only ordered to murder all his subjects (*suos protinus*) but he was also present during their executions, including the burnings. LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XIV, 3–4.

⁴⁴ *Dig.*, XLVIII, 19, 28, 11.

⁴⁵ As well as treason, desertions from the military, rebellions, adultery or in the case of committing the *maiestas* or *sacrilegium*. Cf. T. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Strafrecht*..., p. 588.

⁴⁶ *Dig.*, XLVIII, 19, 28, 12: *Incendiarrii capite puniuntur, qui ob inimicitias vel praedae causa incendierint intra oppidum: et plerumque vivi exuruntur.*

This punishment was executed in public⁴⁷. It was commonly preceded by flogging intended to humiliate the convicts⁴⁸. Next, the convict was tied – or nailed – to a post covered with wood and, stripped of his clothing, he was burned⁴⁹. Theoretically, as Ulpian⁵⁰ indicates, the family of the convict could ask for the ashes of the convict to be returned to them for burial: *The bodies of those condemned to be burned can also be sought so that the bones and ashes can be collected and handed over for burial*⁵¹. Eusebius's account does not include such details. According to Lactantius, single executions were not carried out in Nicomedia, but all convicts were driven into a single circle of fire (*nec singuli, quoniam tanta erat multitudo, sed gregatim circumdato igni ambiebantur*)⁵². In this context, it is also worth reflecting on another passage of the *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* describing the actions of Maximian, who was co-ruling with Diocletian as an *augustus* and in actual fact ruled the western part of the empire⁵³. One can find there a significant element of the execution through burning. The bodies of convicts, gradually tortured to death on the so-called slow fire were then thrown onto the stake and burnt in order to get rid of the more sizeable remains. The bones were then collected, ground and next the ashes were disposed of into the river or the sea (*lecta ossa et in pulverem comminuta iactabantur in flumina ac mare*)⁵⁴. As can be observed, even after the second burning, the problem of the bodily remains was still present⁵⁵. Referring to a letter describing the martyrdom of Polycarp, Eusebius argues that even then it was possible to collect the remains of the dead bodies to organize a funeral. By a centurion's decision, Polycarp's corpse was not given to the Christians, but burnt. However, later the faithful collected his remains and buried them in an appropriate place where they could gather and celebrate the day of his martyrdom as a "day of birth"⁵⁶. Neither the content of the letter, as included in the *Ecclesiastical History* nor an account of the story preserved as a separate source differ significantly in the given text. Nevertheless, in the literature of the subject there are suggestions

⁴⁷ H. HITZIG, s.v. *crematio*, [in:] *RE*, vol. IV.2, col. 1701.

⁴⁸ In this case flogging was treated not as a separate punishment, but as an additional punitive measure, making the overall punishment more acute. Cf. G. MACCORMACK, *Criminal Liability for Fire in Early and Classical Law*, IX 3, 1972, p. 382–383; D.G. KYLE, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, London–New York 1998, p. 32.

⁴⁹ H. HITZIG, s.v. *crematio*..., col. 1701.

⁵⁰ *Dig.*, XLVIII, 19, 28, 11.

⁵¹ *Dig.*, XLVIII, 19, 24, 1: [...] *eorum quoque corpora, qui exurendi damnantur, peti possunt, scilicet ut ossa et cineres collecta sepulturae tradi possint.*

⁵² LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XV, 3.

⁵³ Lactantius accused Maximian of depriving the mighty citizens of their status (*in primis honores ademit*). He also indicated that a punishment for the *humiliores* was burning.

⁵⁴ LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXI, 11.

⁵⁵ D.G. KYLE, *Spectacles*..., p. 171.

⁵⁶ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 15, 43–44.

that the letter might have been subject to editorial corrections and adjusted to the existing reality of the time when the cult of the saints was developing⁵⁷. With reference to the writings of the jurists, it seems more probable that the remains of the convicts of Nicomedia who were burnt at the stake were eventually thrown into the sea. If the permission to bury the corpses had been given, Eusebius would have certainly taken notice of that.

A group of convicts was punished by being tied and cast into the sea to drown. Lactantius adds that the convicts had stones hung around their necks (*domestici alligatis ad collum molaribus mari mergebantur*)⁵⁸. Legal sources do not mention this kind of self-contained form of execution, but drowning was the last, integral element of the *poena cullei*, a punishment which consisted of sewing up the convict in a bag together with animals⁵⁹. There are several examples when this form of punishment or its modification was imposed in the persecutions of Christians⁶⁰. According to John Chrysostom, around the year 305, Saint Julian of Antioch was to be sewn up in a bag with scorpions and thrown into the sea⁶¹. However, the description of this event does not include information about other elements of the punishment. Undoubtedly, the drowning of the convicts was a means to purify the community as some people were perceived exactly as a specific form of impurity. The list included the perpetrators of some crimes or persons declared as public enemies⁶².

⁵⁷ E. WIPSYCKA, *Kościół w świecie późnego antyku*, Warszawa 1994, p. 322–326.

⁵⁸ LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XV, 3.

⁵⁹ This penalty was in use since the times of the Roman Republic. Literary sources indicate that it continued to be imposed as late as the 3rd c. (APULEIUS, *Metamorphoses*, X, 8, [in:] APULEIUS PLATONICUS MADAURENSIS, *Opera quae supersunt*, vol. I, ed. R. HELM, Berlin–Boston 2013 [= BSGR]; SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *Epistulae*, XXIII, 1, and Constantine I recalled it in his rescript. *Codex Theodosianus*, IX, 15, 1; XI, 36, 4, [in:] *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, vol. I–II, ed. T. MOMMSEN, P.M. MEYER, Berolini 1954 (cetera: CTh.).

⁶⁰ About examples of the drowning of martyrs see also LACTANTIUS, *Divinae institutiones*, V, 6, 9, [in:] LACTANTIUS, *Divinarum institutionum libri septem*, Fasc. 4, Liber VII, *Appendix. Indices*, ed. E. HECK, A. WŁOSOK, Berlin–Boston 2011 [= BSGR] (cetera: LACTANTIUS, *Divinae institutiones*). Cf. J. CORKE-WEBSTER, *Author and Authority: Literary Representations of Moral Authority in Eusebius of Caesarea's The Martyrs of Palestine*, [in:] *Christian Martyrdom in Late Antiquity (300–450 AD). History and Discourse, Tradition and Religious Identity*, ed. P. GEMEINHARDT, J. LEEMANS, Berlin 2012, p. 61, n. 32.

⁶¹ IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In s. Julianum martyrem*, 3, [in:] PG, vol. L, ed. J.-P. MIGNÉ, Paris 1862, col. 671.

⁶² Political opponents and even emperors were also drowned. Viltellius (Aulus Vitellius Germanicus) was tied and cast into the Tiber, after he had been tortured. SÜETONIUS, *Vitellius*, 17, [in:] SÜETONIUS, *Lives of the Caesars*, vol. II, *Claudius. Nero. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Vespasian. Titus, Domitian. Lives of Illustrious Men: Grammarians and Rhetoricians. Poets (Terence. Virgil. Horace. Tibullus. Persius. Lucan). Lives of Pliny the Elder and Passienus Crispus*, trans. J.C. ROLFE, London–Cambridge 1914 [= LCL, 38].

The motivation of the authorities

What is then the differentiating factor between the events in Nicomedia and other acts of persecution? It is the horrific brutality manifested in the digging up of the corpses or remains of the alleged arsonists and casting them into the sea. In the context of pagan and Christian beliefs it constituted a breach of the existing laws and customs⁶³, although obviously the emperor could act according to his own will. The place of eternal rest where the body of the dead was properly laid down, as a *locus religiosus*⁶⁴, became the place which was “dedicated to the spirits of the departed” (*quae diis Manibus relictæ sunt*)⁶⁵.

From the archaic times the Romans emphasized the duty to bury the dead, which was connected, among other things, with the belief that in this way the souls of the living are protected against harm, which might be caused to them by the miserable souls⁶⁶. In order to protect the living against potential vengeance, all the bodies of the dead should be buried, including slaves, who were buried most commonly in collective graves⁶⁷.

⁶³ Exhumation was allowed in a situation when the grave did not have a permanent status and was merely a temporary burial ground. Paulus explains this practice in the following way: *For if someone has carried a body somewhere, intending to transfer it elsewhere later, and to leave it where it is only for the time being (rather than meaning to bury the dead man there and to give him an eternal resting place, as it were), then the place remains profane (Dig., XI, 7, 40: Si quis enim eo animo corpus intulerit, quod cogitaret inde alio postea transferre magisque temporis gratia deponere, quam quod ibi sepeliret mortuum et quasi aeterna sede dare destinaverit, manebit locus profanes)*. Diocletian and Maxentius issued a rescript in 287 in which they share a similar attitude, indicating that it was not prohibited to remove a body if it had not been deposited in the grave for eternity (*CJ*, III, 44, 10). A decisive factor, therefore, allowing for exhumation, was to place the body in a grave with an intention to change the place of burial at a later time. What is interesting, in order to provide a decent burial for their brethren sentenced to death, Christians relied on the passive attitude of the authorities in that matter (during the periods of relative peace) or precisely on the regulations concerning temporary graves and the rights regarding the bodies of rehabilitated criminals. G. LONGO, *La sepoltura dei cristiani giustiziati*, [in:] *Ricerche Romanistiche*, Milano 1966, p. 246.

⁶⁴ *Dig.*, XI, 7, 2: *Locum in quo servus sepultus est religiosum esse Aristo ait*. R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *Miszellen aus dem römischen Grabrecht*, ZSSR.RA 38, 1917, p. 245; G. KLINGENBERG, *s.v. Grabrecht*, [in:] *RAC*, vol. XII, p. 602. *Loca religiosa* were the places devoted to the spirits of the dead. In literature one can find substantial discussion on *loca religiosa* and the way of differentiating them from *res religiosae*. Cf. F. FABBRINI, *Dai “religiosa loca” alle “res religiosae”*, *BIDR* 73, 1970, p. 197–228.

⁶⁵ *Gai Institutionum commentarii quattuor*, II, 4, 9, [in:] *Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani*, vol. II, ed. S. RICCOBONO, Florentiae 1964, p. 48.

⁶⁶ P. DE FRANCISCI, *Primordia civitatis*, Romae 1959, p. 373.

⁶⁷ What is interesting, after death slaves were treated in a similar way as the dead of the free people. Cf. F. FABBRINI, *s.v. Res divini iuris*, [in:] *Novissimo Digesto Italiano*, vol. XV, Torino 1968, p. 555. Those who were travelling could also expect that their memory would be respected. Their bodies, in accordance with the ancient ritual, should be symbolically buried by throwing a lump of earth onto them. SERVIUS, *In Vergilii Aeneidos commentarius*, VI, 366, [in:] *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, vol. II, rec. G. THILO, H. HAGEN, Lipsiae 1884.

A proper burial was equally important for the Christians, despite the fact that the motives behind the attitude of the followers of Christ differed from the pagan ones. Lactantius indicated that it was improper that a body created in the image and likeness of God should remain unburied, serving as food for wild animals. Thus, it was a duty of each Christian to return the body to the earth, of which the body was created⁶⁸. The attitude of Christians was based on mercy, unlike in pagan beliefs, which underscored the fear of potential vengeance or wrath of the souls whose bodies were not buried. According to the Fathers of the Church, resurrection did not depend on the proper burial⁶⁹. However, the most important element of the burial ritual should be the mass and not the wailing of the mourners or feasts on the graves⁷⁰.

During the persecutions, Christian burials would often be of a clandestine character⁷¹ and they differed from pagan rituals. First of all, Christians sought to bury "their own kind" among the co-believers⁷². Hence, one of the earlier forms of repression was to deprive Christians of their cemeteries.

As reported by Eusebius, the decision of the emperor after the fire in Nicomedia was to prevent Christians from visiting the martyrs' graves as the place of cult. He used a similar argumentation with regard to the martyrs of Lyon⁷³. It was feared that the antique custom of gathering at the grave could be used for instigating negative attitudes, manifestations or even for initiating riots. Therefore, it is worth

⁶⁸ LACTANTIUS, *Divinae institutiones*, VI, 12. In accordance with the previous Church regulations, the duties of deacons included taking care of the unburied bodies, especially of foreigners and castaways. The Church also fulfilled the obligation of burying the dead with regard to all the other dead people not having graves, e.g. the victims of natural disasters. LACTANTIUS, *Divinae institutiones*, VI, 12. Saint Cyprian emphasized that it was the duty of the clergy to take care of the bodies of martyrs who were tortured and gave their life for their faith. CAELIUS CYPRIANUS, *Epistulae*, XII, 1, 2, [in:] CSEL, vol. III.2, Vindobonae 1866, p. 502–504.

⁶⁹ Irritated John Chrysostom tried to explain to the faithful that everyone had the possibility to be resurrected, also the drowned person eaten by fish... which in turn were eaten by humans, whose lives ended in the mouths of wild animals. IOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam ad Thessalonicensis*, hom. VII, 2, [in:] PG, vol. LXII, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1862, col. 437A. This description refers to the childish questions that were asked by the believers. In spite of the efforts of the clergy, Christian beliefs were often mixed with pagan customs and the Christian faithful could still believe that disposing of the bodies of the dead would threaten the further existence of their souls.

⁷⁰ M. DMITRUK, *Obyczaje weselne i pogrzebowe chrześcijan w świetle duszpasterskiej działalności św. Jana Chryzostoma*, VP 21, 2001, p. 276–289.

⁷¹ E. REBILLARD, *The Care...*, p. 100.

⁷² A. HARNACK, *Die Mission and Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Leipzig 1902, p. 121, n. 1.

⁷³ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 1, 63. For other examples of depriving Christians of a permanent burial place, cf.: EUSEBIUS, *De martyribus Palaestinae liber*, IV, 12–13; V, 1; V, 3; IX, 8–12, [in:] PG, vol. XX, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1862, col. 1471–1480, 1493; EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII, 14, 13; X, 8, 17; LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XXI, 10–11; LACTANTIUS, *Divinae institutiones*, V, 11, 6–7.

reflecting on this issue from the perspective of the place in which such gatherings might occur. It is worth stressing once again that the aspect of the cult was deemed much less significant than the very gatherings.

The unearthing and removal of the bodies might have served then as a message to the rest of society that the alleged arsonists deserved an ultimate humiliation in the form of refusal of burial. It was a sign that a “total war” was declared on them, in which there were no rules and borders. It is possible that the Roman concept of an outside enemy (*hostis*) was used *per analogiam* against the enemy inside society (*hostes publici*), that is, citizens acting to the detriment of the whole society⁷⁴. In the Digest there is a passage by Paulus in which we read: *The graves of enemies have no religious significance for us [...] the actions violating the graves will not be punished*⁷⁵. The decision to disturb the Christian graves in Nicomedia might be justified by a different, broader perspective on the concept of the enemy (*hostis*). A linguistic analysis of post-classical legal texts may be helpful here, especially those in which this concept is treated as an invective or an expression intended to condemn improper behaviours⁷⁶. In literary sources, the use of abusive language pertaining to the heaviest crimes with regard to specific persons or social groups was a way of legitimizing repressive actions against them.

In the atmosphere of a “state of emergency” and hysteria, the official propaganda could have presented the convicts as public enemies, posing a threat to the security of the state, who should be unconditionally suppressed, even after death. Taking into account that the fire in the palace was preceded by an act of public destruction of the imperial edict, it might be suggested that the fundamental reasons for the course of action by the authorities was based on the intention to subdue the

⁷⁴ F. VITTINGHOFF, *Der Staatsfeind...*, p. 43, n. 198. While reading the Codex Theodosianus, it could be seen that the term *hostis publicus* was used in the context of bribing judges (*CTh.*, VI, 4, 22), the use of weapons by a slave in the place of asylum (*CTh.*, IX, 45, 5), as well as people practising magic (*CTh.*, IX, 16, 11). The adherents of Manichaeism were also considered as enemies (*Novellae Valentiniani*, 18 (445), [in:] *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae borussicae*, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, P.M. MEYER, J. SIRMOND, Berolini 1905). Tertulian points out that already in the times of Nero the Christians were treated as enemies of the human race, which provided ample grounds for their persecution. TERTULLIANUS, *Apologeticus*, XXXVII, 8, [in:] TERTULLIAN, *Apology. De Spectaculis*, MINUCIUS FELIX, *Octavius*, trans. T.R. GLOVER, G.H. RENDALL, London–Cambridge 1977 [= LCL, 250].

⁷⁵ *Dig.*, XLVII, 12, 4: *Sepulchra hostium religiosa nobis non sunt [...] non sepulchri violati actio competit*. As things stand, there is no other legal source, which would allow for the confirmation or rejection of Paulus's claims concerning the graves of enemies. F. Fabbrini actually believes this concept to be absurd and P. Bonfante points out that this regulation is not in line with the values professed by the Christian religion, dominant in the times of the creation of the Justinian Codex. F. FABBRINI, s.v. *Res divini iuris...*, p. 555; P. BONFANTE, *Corso di diritto romano*, vol. II, *La proprietà*, Roma 1926, p. 28.

⁷⁶ On the subject of verbal aggression and invectives in legal documents, cf.: M. STACHURA, *Enemies of the Later Roman Order. A Study of the Phenomenon of Language Aggression in the Theodosian Code, Post-Theodosian Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, Kraków 2010, p. 186.

enemies plotting against the ruler and the state. The tearing up to pieces of the legal act could certainly be perceived as a crime of *maiestas*, that is committed against the emperor himself, but also as a violation of public order and the security of the state. In his *Duties of Proconsul*, Ulpian observes that with regard to soldiers, the one *who persuades or incites troops to make a sedition or tumult against the state*⁷⁷ will be held accountable for treason. The incident in Nicomedia could have been treated analogously. The fact that the deed was committed publicly could have been used in support of the arguments of the authorities concerning the necessity to persecute Christians as the enemies of Rome. It is also suggested in the words of Lactantius who, with regard to the events in Nicomedia, wrote that Christians were blamed as public enemies⁷⁸. The rhetoric of the dichotomy of war and peace was also used by Eusebius. Summarizing the wave of persecutions, he listed church officials from more important cities who died at the Roman hands. While doing so, he claimed the following: *but as their authority thus increased without let or hindrance and day by day waxed greater, all at once they departed from their peaceful attitude towards us and stirred up a relentless war*⁷⁹. The graves of the Christians could have been then removed from legal protection, just as was the case with the graves of outside enemies⁸⁰. In this way, they would have been treated as political opponents, who were not infrequently sentenced to the *damnatio memoriae*⁸¹.

In constructing his arguments, Eusebius wrote about disinterring the buried courtiers, without making it clear whether it concerned the bodies of those executed with the sword, or whether it was the ashes and remains left after the punishment of burning the victims alive. It is highly improbable but should be mentioned nevertheless that if Eusebius referred to both groups of convicts, then the events in Nicomedia might have been another example when the aggression of the crowd caused an escalation of violence – starting with the breaking of urns, which would be the first and easiest to carry out act of vandalism, and ending with the desecration of the graves. Such emotions might have been skilfully incited by a clear message from the authorities that the Christians were arsonist attempting to kill the emperor and breaching the pact with the gods. However, the sources lack information which would facilitate an answer to the question to what extent the crowd was involved in the persecutions.

⁷⁷ Dig., XLVIII, 4, 1, 1 in fine: [...] *quo seditio tumultudve adversus rem publicam fiat* [...].

⁷⁸ LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XIV, 14, 2: *Christiani arguebantur velut hostes publici*.

⁷⁹ EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII, 13, 10: Οὕτω δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπαραποδίστως ἀξούσης καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ὀσημέραι προΐουσης τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἀθρόως τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνης μεταθέμενοι, πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἐγείρουσιν.

⁸⁰ A similar situation could be that of the graves of the so-called *quasi hostes*. Cf.: M. JOŃCA, *Przestępstwo znieważenia grobu w rzymskim prawie karnym*, Lublin 2013, p. 406.

⁸¹ C. W. HEDRICK, *History and Silence. Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity*, Austin 2000, p. 7.

Another suggestion may be hidden behind the words of Lactantius. In spite of the fact that he does not mention the violation of the graves, he indicates that imperial officials were exceptionally enthusiastic in using tortures with a view to forcing the accused to admit their guilt⁸². The above-mentioned abusive treatment refers to torture applied during prosecution or during the execution, but it could have meant additional degrading treatment, including the desecration of the graves mentioned by Eusebius. Nevertheless, this indicates the responsible persons and it is not the mob, not the regular citizens, but the judges and palace attendants. Yet, such an interpretation raises another problem since an overzealous attitude of the officials refers to another legal basis than the specific mob lynching. However, one option does not exclude the other.

Another hypothesis is the possible correction of the sentence replacing it with a degrading penalty. According to the existing accounts, edicts addressed at Christians degraded them to the status of *humiliores* and deprived them of their privileges. The punishment of *decollatio*, especially when executed in a way that respected human dignity, did not stigmatize the convicts but could even decrease the odium of arsonists. Chaos in the city, hunting for the perpetrators and the fear of fire caused that the change of the decision concerning the burial does not appear as an irrational act, but rather as a desired change. It would be an overinterpretation to claim that it occurred as a result of legal procedure. Lactantius pointed out to the irregularities concerning the prosecution. He indicated that people were sentenced to death without proving their guilt and also without the accused admitting their guilt by themselves – *sine ulla probatione aut confessione*⁸³. Being aware of the rules that the Romans observed in a criminal procedure, the author would have certainly taken issue with the change to the judgement imposed by the court.

Inevitably, a question as to the person's status arises here once more, since the type of death penalty that was imposed depended on this factor. If it really happened, as Eusebius claims, that the imperial attendants (βασιλικῶ) were executed by beheading with a sword and then their bodies were unburied with a view to throwing them in the water, it might be assumed that at least initially their recent status was recognized and acknowledged. However, if at the moment of the execution they were already treated as captives, there was no possibility for a trial and a privilege of a non-degrading punishment reserved for free citizens. However, this does not detract from the fact that slaves were also meant to be buried and the above-mentioned "fitting honours" might refer to Christian rituals, which were insignificant to the Romans. Nevertheless, it might be attempted to connect Eusebius's οἰκεῖται and Lactantius's *domestici*, who were indeed sentenced to drowning. However, in this case a question arises as to who was the addressee

⁸² LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XIV, 4: [...] *item iudices universi, omnes denique qui erant in palatio magistri data potestate torquebant.*

⁸³ LACTANTIUS, *De mortibus persecutorum*, XV, 2.

of the repression in the form of unburying the bodies. The only ones left are the eunuchs referred to by Lactantius, who occupied high positions in the imperial household.

The corpses that were disinterred from the graves, possibly also the ashes and remains, were thrown into the sea. As primordial matter and one of the elements, water was to guarantee decomposition of all forms, an ultimate annihilation of the convict's body. Practically in each ancient Mediterranean culture water served a cleansing function⁸⁴. Hence everything that was disturbing or abnormal (*monstra, prodigia*) should end up drowned⁸⁵. The bodies of Christians threatened Roman peace with pagan gods (*pax deorum*)⁸⁶ and it was upon the favour of the latter that the fate of the empire depended. Therefore, the corpses of Christians might have been treated precisely as an element of which Roman society should be purified⁸⁷.

Conclusion

The above story includes *de facto* two specific methods of depriving the dead of their burial – by sentencing the Christian convicts to death by drowning, as well as exhumation and drowning of the convicts' bodies. The drowning does not require any further commentary in this context. With regard to the convicts who were burned alive, we do not know whether their remains were thrown directly into the body or whether it was allowed to bury them. Unfortunately, the motivation of the authorities in this respect will remain a mystery to us. Is it possible that a certain fierceness in fighting the Christian religion could be at play here? The answer is yes. Diocletian is represented as a religious conservatist. His actions are clearly marked by the association of prosperity of the state with the favour of the gods. However, it was not as Eusebius suggests. The authorities were not driven by the fear of the cult of the relics itself. The people gathering at the graves were treated as traitors plotting against the authorities, and the proof might lie in the suggestion that the Christians set fire to the palace in order to assassinate the emperor. The incident with the public destruction of the edict was not without significance since it was an overt act of protest against the emperor. If it was presented as an attempt

⁸⁴ T. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Strafrecht...*, p. 922.

⁸⁵ M. JOŃCA, *Parricidium w prawie rzymskim*, Lublin 2009, p. 296.

⁸⁶ The peace between people and the gods was referred to as *pax deorum*. It was a state intended to ensure the protection of the gods and their support for all human endeavour both from the perspective of an individual, as well as of the state. Cf. R. FIORI, *Homo sacer. Dinamica politico-constituizionale di una sanzione giuridico-religiosa*, Firenze 1996, p. 101.

⁸⁷ In the *Paul. Sent.*, V, 24, 1 regarding *lex Pompeia de parricidiis* one can find a juxtaposition of the penalty of the sack with death by burning (*vivi exuruntur*). This text, originating in the 3rd century AD may be an indication that the Romans administered both penalties as measures to cleanse their society. Cf. M. Jońca, *Parricidium...*, p. 296.

at the emperor's life, as Lactantius presented it, the actions of the authorities could be explained as addressed against the traitors. Such far-reaching repressions were no exception. Exhumation might have constituted additional punishment, intended as an ultimate humiliation of the convicts. Indeed, it did not even have to be imposed by the emperor but by overzealous judges and officials who could have decided that such actions would distinguish them in the eyes of the ruler. If we were to accept this course of events, the digging up of the bodies should be treated as "correcting the error" and humiliating the arsonists, perceived as traitors and political rebels. Another hypothesis, which is less probable, but not impossible, is that the events spiralled out of control of the authorities and the aggression of the crowd was directed at the Christians, whereas Eusebius gave mere acts of vandalism political significance. What is more, while describing the story, Eusebius focused on the religious affiliation of the convicts, the alleged arsonists who were believed to set fire to the palace, while simultaneously emphasizing the importance of those events in the developing of Christian customs. However, assuming his own optics, Eusebius did not clarify what the actual motivation of the authorities to desecrate the graves was. On the other hand, Lactantius, almost an eyewitness of the events in Nicomedia, based his account on emotions. He showed how the Christians were treated, but first of all he pointed out to strong, negative emotions that might have driven the authorities. Eusebius was more restrained in this respect. He even suggested a certain foresight on the side of the emperor. In combination, these two accounts constitute an interesting source with regard to criminal aspects in the persecutions of Christians at the beginning of the 4th century.

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MARCELLINUS COMES ON EMPEROR ANASTASIUS A HANDFUL OF REMARKS*

Abstract. Anastasius was for Marcellinus not only a historical figure, but a ruler whose reign he was first able to observe from the perspective of his native Illyricum, and later as an inhabitant of Constantinople. The dominant influence on Marcellinus' attitude towards Anastasius, as has already been pointed out many times, had been the Emperor's religious policy, to which the chronicler, as a supporter of the orthodoxy, was opposed. Undoubtedly it was also not indifferent to the manner of Anastasius' portrayal that at the time of the creation of the first *Chronicle* Marcellinus was either already associated with Justinian, or wanted to gain recognition in the eyes of Justin I, who after taking over the power after Anastasius' death had taken action to reverse the negative outcomes of his predecessor's religious policy.

Keywords: Marcellinus Comes, Anastasius I, Justin I, Justinian I, Byzantine historiography

In Marcellinus Comes' *Chronicle*¹, which covers the period from 379 to 534 and is a continuation of the chronicles of Eusebius of Caesarea and of Hieronymus, there are mentions of Eastern Roman Emperors, starting from Theodosius I and ending with Justinian I. For Marcellinus, most of these have been historical figures, and his attitude towards them was likely determined to a considerable extent by views of the authors whose works he used². He may have however made up his own mind about the later ones, as the time of their rule (from Zeno to Justinian) coincided with his adult life. Among those, a special place belonged

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¹ The edition and translation of the *Chronicle* used in this paper: *The Chronicle of Marcellinus, a Translation and Commentary (with a Reproduction of Mommsen's Edition of the Text)* B. CROKE, Sydney 1995 [= BAUS, 7] (cetera: MARCELLINUS COMES).

² On the topic of the sources used by Marcellinus, see i.a.: M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes Marcellin...*, p. 94–97 (further reading can be found there).

to Emperor Anastasius (491–518)³, whose long reign lasted for a considerable part of the historian's life. The aim of this paper is to highlight Marcellinus' attitude to Anastasius and the reasons behind it, as well as the manner in which the historian constructed the ruler's portrayal⁴.

Even a summary presentation of Marcellinus' own history will allow the Reader to better understand his attitude towards Emperor Anastasius. The historian was likely born at the turn of the 470s and 480s⁵ in Illyricum, perhaps from the area of the modern-day Skopje⁶. By the virtue of the place of his origin, his "native" tongue was Latin. It was in that language that he wrote the *Chronicle*, but he also knew Greek⁷. He received a fairly good education in his homeland⁸, most likely a consequence of his family belonging to, as is thought, the decurial class⁹. Until the end of his life Marcellinus felt ties to the Latin culture and language, which is most visibly expressed in the fact that after years of living in the Greek-speaking Constantinople, he wrote his *Chronicle* in Latin.

Marcellinus was certainly a Christian – although he did not state this directly in his *Chronicle*. A series of remarks regarding religious matters allows one to form a view on his religious attitude. He was undoubtedly a follower of the Nicene creed. This is attested to, i.a., by the manner in which he presented Theodosius the Great¹⁰, who is described with the word *orthodoxus*¹¹, as well as *vir ad modum religiosus et catholicae ecclesiae propagator*¹². This is further indicated by the fact of self-identifying with Catholicism through the use of the word *noster*¹³.

³ Basic literature on the reign of Anastasius: C. CAPIZZI, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491–518). Studio sulla sua vita, la sua o pera e la sua personalit *, Roma 1969 [= OCA]; P. CHARANIS, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire. The Religious Policy of Anastasius, 491–518*, Tessaloniki 1974 [= BKMε, 11]; F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I, Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*, Cambridge 2006; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 2009.

⁴ This question has already been investigated by i.a. B. CROKE, *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, Oxford 2001, p. 129–133.

⁵ W. TREADGOLD (*The Early Byzantine Historians*, Houndmills–New York 2007, p. 227–228) thinks that Marcellinus was born ca. 480 (before 482). B. CROKE (*Count...*, p. 20) points to the 470s, although he notes that the historian may have been born earlier, during the 460s, as well as later, during the 490s.

⁶ This is only a hypothesis, based on Marcellinus' account (518.1). More on its basis – B. CROKE, *Count...*, p. 21–22, 51–53. This idea is accepted by, e.g., W. TREADGOLD, *Early...*, p. 328.

⁷ There are visible traces of Greek orthography within the *Chronicle*, and of use of documents written in Greek (B. CROKE, *Count...*, p. 21).

⁸ Conclusions about Marcellinus' education are drawn on the basis of the *Chronicle* and the place of his origin. On the subject of its quality and extent – *ibidem*, p. 21.

⁹ W. TREADGOLD, *Early...*, p. 228.

¹⁰ On the subject of Theodosius I's portrayal in the *Chronicle* in the context of his religious attitude – A.C. КОЗЛОВ, *Социальные симпатии и антипатии комита Марцеллина*, АДСВ 15, 1978, p. 58–59.

¹¹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 380.

¹² MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 379.1.

¹³ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 381.1: *nostris catholicis*; cf. a. 380; a. 399.3; a. 429.1; a. 431.2.

Like most of his countrymen, Marcellinus was a supporter of the resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon, and averse or even hostile towards the Monophysites. Marcellinus' unequivocally positive attitude towards the Council of Chalcedon is attested to by an expression in the *Chronicle – sexcentorum triginta patrum sancta et universalis synodus*¹⁴, as well as by considering Emperor Marcian, who convened the Council, as one of the rulers most distinguished in service of the Church, equal to Theodosius the Great or even surpassing him¹⁵. Marcellinus consistently refers to the supporters of Chalcedon as orthodox, and their faith – the orthodox one¹⁶. In turn, the opponents of the Council of Chalcedon are presented by Marcellinus in an unequivocally negative light. Thus, for example, Eutyches is called *nefandissimorum praesulem monachorum*¹⁷, the Council of Sydon *infamem et inripendam synodum*, and its participants *perfidorum episcopis*¹⁸.

At the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries Marcellinus left his homeland and arrived in Constantinople¹⁹, seeking for himself some career path. It is not out of the question, as Warren Treadgold suggests, that thanks to his education he found a place as one of the staff of Patricius, who was the *magister militum praesentalis* during the period of 498–520²⁰. It is likely that Marcellinus remained in his services until 520, when Justinian, the future Emperor, became the *magister militum praesentalis*. Perhaps he already was at that time one of the two *cancellari*²¹,

¹⁴ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 451.

¹⁵ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 379.1.

¹⁶ E.g. MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 458 (orthodox bishops, to whom Emperor Leo I directed a letter regarding the support for Chalcedon); a. 476.1 (Basiliskos acting against the catholic faith); a. 512.2–3 (opponents of the addition to Trishagion are the orthodox or catholic). Further examples – R. KOŚCIŃSKI, *The Elements of Identity as Exemplified by Four Late-Antique Authors*, [in:] *Routledge Handbook of Identity in Byzantium*, ed. M.E. STEWART, D.A. PARNELL, C. WHATELY, London–New York 2022, p. 148. On the subject of the portrayal of gatherings of bishops in the *Chronicle – A.C. КОЗЛОВ, Социальные...*, p. 55–56.

¹⁷ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 451: *Eutychetem nefandissimorum praesulem monachorum*.

¹⁸ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 512.8. More on this subject R. KOŚCIŃSKI, *The Elements...*, p. 148–149.

¹⁹ This may have taken place around 498, which may be hinted at by the fact that from that time onwards the *Chronicle* includes information originating from the author's own observations, and regarding Constantinople (W. TREADGOLD, *Early...*, p. 228). B. CROKE (*Count...*, p. 22–23) indicates, that Marcellinus' arrival in the Byzantine capital may have taken place between 498 (MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 498.2: humiliation of Longinus of Solinunte, the leader of an Isaurian uprising, in Constantinopolitan hippodrome) and 501 (MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 501.1–3: riots in the theatre). See also A. KOMPA, *Mieszkańcy Konstantynopola w oczach intelektualistów miejscowej proweniencji*, [in:] IDEM, M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, *Mieszkańcy stolicy świata. Konstantynopolitańczycy między starożytnością a średniowieczem*, Łódź 2014 [= BL, 17], p. 38–39.

²⁰ W. TREADGOLD, *Early...*, p. 228. On the subject of Patricius – J.R. MARTINDALE, *The Prosopography of Later Roman Empire* (cetera: PLRE), vol. II, A.D. 395–527, Cambridge 1980, p. 840–842 (s.v. Fl. Patricius 14).

²¹ On the subject of this office – A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602*, vol. I, Oxford 1986, p. 602–603.

although it cannot be ruled out that he only received the promotion to this position from Justinian. It is worth noting that Justinian, much like Marcellinus, came from Illyricum, and perhaps it was this fact that contributed to some extent to the Emperor's positive attitude towards the historian. It is not impossible that Marcellinus' appointment to the position of a *cancellarius* may have been a consequence of the publicity surrounding him, which resulted from the publishing around that time of the first edition of his *Chronicle*²². Marcellinus owed to Justinian the high titles of a *comes* and *vir clarissimi*²³, which he received before Justinian became an Emperor (527). Marcellinus left the service and retired before that event. He may have been around fifty at that time. Near the end of 534 or soon after Marcellinus supplemented his *Chronicle* with an account of the period between 518 and 534, ending with the events associated with the conquest of Africa by Justinian²⁴. Marcellinus passed away sometime after 534.

Considering the biographical sketch of Marcellinus presented above and keeping in mind the characterisation of the reign of Anastasius, it would appear that the matters which would have predominantly affected the historian's attitude towards the Emperor and the selection of information had been religious matters, his emotional connection to Illyricum, and connection with Justinian.

* * *

Even a cursory familiarity with a passage of the *Chronicle* devoted to Anastasius, and containing 67²⁵ mentions across 28 years, must therefore lead to a conclusion that he was not the historian's favourite. The author's emotions can be seen within – a dislike, or even hostility towards the Emperor. The basis for such attitude of Marcellinus towards Anastasius was the Emperor's religious policy. Marcellinus, as I have indicated above, a supporter of the orthodoxy, went so far as to claim that the Emperor declared a war on the orthodox, in the early part of his reign²⁶, and that Euphemius, the bishop of Constantinople, who was falsely accused and removed from his position, became his first victim²⁷. The chronicler kept a diligent

²² B. CROKE, *Count...*, p. 29. In the original version it encompassed the period from 379 to 518.

²³ This was a senatorial rank, but this had not necessarily meant that Marcellinus was a member of the senate (cf. *ibidem*, p. 30).

²⁴ On the possible influence of the victory over the Vandals on the preparation of the second edition of the *Chronicle* by Marcellinus – *ibidem*, p. 32–34.

²⁵ Included among those is a reference devoted to Dara, located in Codex Sanctomerensis 697. On its subject recently – *The Fragmentary Latin Histories of Late Antiquity (AD 300–620)*, ed., trans., comm. L. VAN HOOFF, P. VAN NUFFELEN, Cambridge 2020, p. 188–189. In nearly half (32) of the remarks there is a direct reference to Anastasius (491.1, 493.1, 494.1, 495, 496.1, 496.2, 498.2, 498.3, 500.2, 506, 507.2, 508, 511, 512.2, 512.4, 512.5, 512.6, 512.7, 512.8, 512.11, 513, 514.1, 514.3, 515.2, 515.3, 516.1, 516.2, 516.3, 517, 518.2, 518.3, 532).

²⁶ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 494.1.

²⁷ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 495.

record of the Emperor's actions against the orthodox. Among such actions the most spectacular and widely discussed were the riots associated with an attempt of introducing the *Trishagion*. There was bloodshed, and Anastasius even came close to losing power²⁸. He only kept his throne, as the chronicler writes, thanks to his lies and empty words²⁹. It is worth noting that Marcellinus in describing these events, during which, after all, blood was shed and the capital city suffered, does not condemn the orthodox inhabitants of Constantinople, putting the entire responsibility for all the evils that occurred during that time on Emperor Anastasius and his men. The ruler not only provoked the riots and supported the heretics, but in the end also tricked the orthodox, who returned to their homes counting on fulfilment of the promises made to them. The chronicler – an observer, and perhaps a participant of the riots – clearly sides with the orthodox and shares their disappointment with Anastasius' religious policy that followed.

Anastasius' policy towards orthodoxy, and more directly the removal of bishop Macedonius, in Marcellinus' view were supposed to have led to Vitalian's rebellion³⁰, who acted against Anastasius, with numerous forces rallied behind him³¹. Vitalian, as Marcellinus emphasised, was a Scythian³². Perhaps by making a note about this fact the chronicler wanted to present Anastasius in an even worse light. Here a Scythian-barbarian³³, and not the Emperor, was defending the orthodoxy, which was after all one of, if not the most important task of any Byzantine ruler. The aforementioned examples were only a part of the Emperor's hostile actions against the orthodox, but it seems they should be entirely sufficient to portray the chronicler's view of his religious policy.

Marcellinus formulated other accusations against Anastasius as well. From the very beginning of his reign, he was unable to secure peace, neither in the capital, nor outside of it. Even the very first mention of Anastasius' reign informs about

²⁸ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 512.2–7. These events culminated in an attempt at overthrowing Emperor Anastasius and elevating a new ruler, in the person of Areobindus, the husband of Anicia Juliana (he was recently the subject of: M.J. LESZKA, *Flawiusz Areobind – wódz jednej wojny*, BP 27, 2020, p. 5–16). More on the subject of these events: P. CHARANIS, *Church...*, p. 77–79; W.H.C. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, Cambridge 1972, p. 220; B. LANÇON, *La contribution à l'histoire de l'Eglise de la Chronique de Marcellin d'Illyricum*, [in:] *L'historiographie de l'Eglise des premiers siècles*, ed. B. POUDERON, Y.-M. DUVAL, Paris 2001, p. 478–480; F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 156–157; M. MEIER, *Σταυρωθεῖς δι' ἡμᾶς – Der Aufstand gegen Anastasios im Jahr 512*, *Mil* 4, 2007, p. 157–237.

²⁹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 512.7.

³⁰ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514.1. On the subject of Vitalian, who at the time of the rebellion was the *comes foederatorum* – see *PLRE II*, p. 1171–1176 (s.v. *Vitalianus* 2).

³¹ History of the conflict between Vitalian and Anastasius: MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514.1–3; 515.2–4; 516.1; cf. i.a.: F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 164–179; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I...*, p. 298sqq.

³² MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514.1 (*Vitalianus Scythia*).

³³ Attention has been drawn to the negative undertones of this ethnonym in Marcellinus' *Chronicle* by – А.С. Козлов, *Комит Марцеллин, Виктор Туннунский и Марий Аваниский о «чужих» народах*, *АДСВ* 31, 2000, p. 69–70.

unrest which erupted in Constantinople³⁴, the next informs about an uprising in Isauria³⁵. The following events of this type noted by the chronicler took place in the capital in 493³⁶, and in 501³⁷, where he stated: *For the imperial city wept for more than three thousand citizens lost*³⁸, as a result of clashes between the circus factions. The next event of this type took place in 507³⁹, and the following, on the religious grounds and already discussed above, in 512⁴⁰.

Anastasius was not only unable to secure internal peace (often even causing its disruption himself), he could not defend the empire's lands from raids, either. Marcellinus noted the defeats suffered while defending from the Bulgar raids⁴¹, defeats in the war with Persia⁴² and with the Goths⁴³, to name but a few. The military defeats were to some extent a consequence of the indolence and less than good morale of Anastasius' commanders. One such commander was Cyril, *magister*

³⁴ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 491.2.

³⁵ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 492. The thread of the Isaurian uprising appears also in 497.2 (end of the war, without any commentary); 498.2 (mentions the capture and death of Longinus of Solinunte, but does not state that he was one of the leaders of the uprising). It needs to be noted however that Marcellinus did not put the responsibility for causing this uprising on Anastasius, while this would follow from the accounts of other sources. On the causes and progress of this uprising see: C. CAPIZZI, *L'Imperatore...*, p. 94–99; N. LENSKI, *Assimilation and Revolt in the Territory of Isauria, from the 1st Century BC to the 6th Century AD*, JESHO 42.2, 1999, p. 428–430, 440–441; A.D. LEE, *The Eastern Empire: Theodosius to Anastasius*, [in:] CAH, vol. XII, ed. AV. CAMERON, B. WARD-PERKINS, M. WHITBY, Cambridge 2000, p. 52–53; K. FELD, *Barbarische Bürger. Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich*, Berlin 2005 [= Mil.S, 8], p. 332–338; F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 11–28; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I...*, p. 75–83.

³⁶ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 493.1. In this passage it is clear that the uprising of the capital's population was directed against Anastasius' rule, whose statues were toppled and dragged through the streets of the city.

³⁷ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 501.1–3.

³⁸ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 501.3 (trans. p. 33).

³⁹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 507.

⁴⁰ On the subject of Marcellinus' portrayal of social unrest in Constantinople, see: M.J. LESZKA, *Niepokoje społeczne w Konstantynopolu w świetle Kroniki Marcellina Komesa*, [in:] *Dynamika przemian społecznych w średniowieczu*, ed. T. GRABARCZYK, T. NOWAK, Warszawa 2011, p. 71–78.

⁴¹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 499.1 (the Byzantine army was commanded by Aristus, the *magister militum per Illyricum*. During the battle near the Tzurta river, four thousand of his soldiers were said to have died; lamenting this event, Marcellinus referred to them as the flower of the Illyrian army); a. 502.1 (the Bulgars were successful in raiding Thrace because, as Marcellinus emphasised, *there was no Roman army there capable of resisting them*).

⁴² MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 502.2 (a remark about the taking of Amida by the Persians, as a result of a betrayal), a. 503 (a remark about the loss in battle near the fort of Syphiros by the commanders Patricius, Hypatius and Areobindus).

⁴³ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 505; a. 517 (the Goths were said to have taken many Romans captive; while Anastasius sent a thousand pounds to buy them out of captivity, the sum was too small, and as a result they *were either burnt while shut in their dwellings or killed in front of the walls of the enclosed cities*, trans. p. 39. While Marcellinus did not state this directly, in the Emperor's attitude one could find miserliness and lack of compassion for his subjects, whose safety he was unable to secure).

militum per Thracias, described by Marcellinus as slothful, and whom Vitalian managed to slay in the circumstances which, to put it mildly, did not show Cyril in the best light⁴⁴.

Marcellinus' tendentiousness in the manner in which he presented activities of Byzantine armies during Anastasius' reign can be attested to by the portrayal of actions of Celer, a *magister officiorum* tasked with opposing the Persians, which contributed to some extent to the conclusion of a peace treaty favourable to the Byzantines (an event not even mentioned by the chronicler). From Marcellinus' account one could conclude that those opposing Celer's army were peasants, and not Persian soldiers⁴⁵. In the eyes of a reader of Marcellinus' *Chronicle* this would naturally not have been something to be particularly proud of. It is also worth bringing up in this context the evaluation of a naval expedition from 508, commanded by Romanos, *comes domesticorum* and Rusticus, *comes scholarum*, which was described as a contemptible victory⁴⁶.

To add to this rather gloomy portrayal of Anastasius' reign one needs to mention the natural disasters ravaging the empire, such as earthquakes⁴⁷ or fires⁴⁸. The historian made note of them, but did not comment. Either way, they complete the portrayal of the rule of a bad emperor.

The sole positive aspect of Anastasius' reign which the chronicler noted was the monetary reform⁴⁹. It is interesting that Marcellinus did not say a single word even about the changes to the taxation that benefited the people. B. Croke⁵⁰ indicated that the sole good actions of Anastasius had been the donatives for the army in 496⁵¹ and 500 (in this case the beneficiaries of Anastasius' decision had been, close to Marcellinus' heart, Illyrian soldiers)⁵². It does not seem that B. Croke's view was correct, as it needs to be clearly stated that Marcellinus only mentioned these actions of the Emperor and left them without a commentary; he did not positively evaluate them, which he did regarding the monetary reform.

⁴⁴ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514.3 (*Vitalian found Cyril [...], sleeping between two concubines and, when he had extricated him, he slaughtered him with a Gothic knife...*, trans. p. 37–38).

⁴⁵ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 504.

⁴⁶ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 508; cf. B. CROKE, *Count...*, p. 131.

⁴⁷ E.g. MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 494; a. 518.1.

⁴⁸ E.g. MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 499.2.

⁴⁹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 498.3: *Nummis, quos Romani teruncianos vocant, Graeci follares, Anastasius princeps suo nomine figuratis placibilem plebi commutationem distraxit* (By striking, in his own name, the coins which the Romans call 'terunciani' and the Greeks 'follares' the emperor Anastasius brought a peaceful change to the people, trans. p. 32). On the subject of Anastasius' monetary reform, see i.a. F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 202–206.

⁵⁰ B. CROKE, *Count...*, p. 129.

⁵¹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 496.1. It needs to be stressed that the donatives have been granted to the soldiers not from the Emperor's own initiative, but from that of his brother.

⁵² MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 500.2.

It seems that to complete the portrayal of this bad reign, Marcellinus rather frequently refers to Anastasius using the titles of Caesar⁵³ or Princeps⁵⁴, rather than Augustus or Imperator⁵⁵.

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Anastasius, as discussed above, was for Marcellinus not only a historical figure, but a ruler whose reign he was first able to observe from the perspective of his native Illyricum, and later as an inhabitant of Constantinople. The dominant influence on Marcellinus' attitude towards Anastasius, as has already been pointed out many times, had been the Emperor's religious policy, to which the chronicler, as a supporter of the orthodoxy, was opposed. Undoubtedly it was also not indifferent to the manner of Anastasius' portrayal that at the time of the creation of the first *Chronicle* Marcellinus was either already associated with Justinian, or wanted to gain recognition in the eyes of Justin I, who after taking over the power after Anastasius' death had taken action to reverse the negative outcomes of his predecessor's religious policy⁵⁶.

It nonetheless needs to be noted that despite the negative attitude towards Anastasius, in ending the narrative of his reign the historian did not break from the manner in which he was concluding the narratives about other emperors (mentioning an emperor's death and the length of his reign) and did not formulate even a general evaluation, as he did in the case of Marcian⁵⁷, whom he held, one may suppose, in an exceptionally high regard.

Translated by Michał Zytka

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⁵³ E.g. MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514.1.

⁵⁴ E.g. MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 508; a. 511; a. 512.2; a. 512.7.

⁵⁵ Cf. B. CROKE, *Count...*, p. 131.

⁵⁶ On the subject of Justin I's religious policy see: A.A. VASILIEV, *Justin the First. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Cambridge Mass. 1950, p. 132–253.

⁵⁷ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 457. Cf. M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes Marcellin...*, p. 24–25.

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THE COMPETITION FOR *CUMANIA* BETWEEN HUNGARY AND BULGARIA (1211–1247)

Abstract. Because the alliance between the Cumans and Bulgaria was a danger both for Hungary and the Latin Empire, it was preferable for Hungary to extend its domination over *Cumania*. The Teutonic knights were settled in south-eastern Transylvania in 1211 to defend it against the Cumans, who, after 1214, became enemies also for Bulgaria. Besides the few fortresses built in the Bârsa land, there is no certain proof for an expansion of the Teutonic Order outside the Carpathians, and by consequence of the Hungarian kingdom, in the period before the Mongol invasion of 1241. After the departure of the Teutonic knights in 1225, *Cumania* became the target of the Dominican mission which was present since around 1221 in *Terra Severin*, a north-Danubian Bulgarian possession. The Cuman bishopric was established in 1227. The subjection of these Cumans made useless the preservation of the Hungarian-Bulgarian alliance closed in 1214, and the consequence was the annexation of *Terra Severin* by Hungary, sometimes between 1228 and 1232, as a Banat. The final act of the Hungarian expansion in *Cumania* was the introduction of the title of King of *Cumania* by Bela IV in 1236. The region where it was established the bishopric of *Cumania* continued to be under the influence of the Church of Târnovo, even after the end of the domination of the Bulgarian state in this north-Danubian territory. In 1241, the Cuman bishopric was destroyed by the Mongol invasion. Because the Golden Horde domination did not extend west of Olt in the first years after 1242, Bela IV tried to regain positions by summoning the Hospitaller Knights in 1247. *Terra Severin* remained a part of the Hungarian kingdom, but the function of Ban was abandoned or suspended. One mission of the Hospitallers was to extend the Hungarian domination in *Cumania*, in the regions which were then conquered by the Mongols. The Mongol domination prevented the emergence of a Cuman kingdom in Moldavia, vassal of Hungary. Only the decline of the Golden Horde made possible a new penetration of the Hungarian kingdom in the former *Cumania*, in 1345. The former *Cumania* entered in the new states created during the 14th century by the Romanians liberated from the Hungarian domination, Wallachia and Moldavia.

Keywords: Bulgaria, Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia, Cumans, Boril, John Asan II, Andrew II, Bela IV, Teutonic Order, Hospitallers

At the end of the 11th century, the Cumans replaced the Pechenegs and the Uzès as the new nomad masters in the territory stretching from Dniester to Eastern Carpathians and Lower Danube, becoming a mighty force, which

eventually was decisive in the victories of their ally, the Romanian-Bulgarian state (also known as the second Bulgarian empire) founded by the Asan brothers after the rebellion of 1185, against the Byzantine Empire, and next against the Latin Empire of Constantinople¹. This territory (the western part of their steppe empire extended up to Don), where the Cumans ruled over a part of the sedentary Romanian population, had no specific name in the Byzantine sources, but it could be called with the name mentioned in the Latin sources: *Cumania*, *Comania* or even *Black Cumania* (the *terra nigrorum Cumanorum* mentioned anachronically by Simon of Keza and the 14th century Hungarian chronicles in the description of the Hungarian migration to Pannonia could be located in Moldavia)². The Cumans became for the Hungarian kingdom a major danger, because the eastern borderland of Transylvania was vulnerable through several crossing points in the Oriental and Meridional Carpathians. Much more, the alliance of the Cumans with the major enemy of the Latin Empire was giving it a supplementary strength, as it was demonstrated in the battle of Adrianople (14th April 1205), when the Cuman light cavalry was the main responsible for the catastrophic defeat of the Latin army³. It was preferable for Hungary, but also for the Latin Empire, that the Cumans will not continue to be their enemies. In these circumstances began a competition for *Cumania* between Hungary and Bulgaria.

The turning point in the Hungarian policy toward *Cumania* came in 1211, following the important change in the geopolitical situation represented by the alliance of Tsar Boril with the Emperor of Nicaea, Theodore I Laskaris, established in March 1211⁴. In a previous letter addressed to Pope Innocentius III, the Greek emperor threatened that if the Latins would not make peace, he would ally with the *Blachi* (the state of Boril) and the *pagani*. These *pagani* were the Cumans,

¹ For the importance of the alliance with the Cumans, see: F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Interaction between Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples on the Lower Danube: the Cumans and the "Second Bulgarian Empire"*, [in:] *The Steppe Lands and the World beyond them. Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th Birthday*, ed. F. CURTA, B.-P. MALEON, Iași 2013, p. 299–313; A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)*, Leiden–Boston 2016 [= ECEEMA, 41], p. 68–72.

² SIMON OF KEZA, *Gesta Hungarorum*, 8, [in:] SSRH, vol. I, ed. E. SZENTPÉTERY, Budapest 1937, p. 148 and in: SIMON OF KEZA, *Gesta Hungarorum / The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed., trans. L. VESZPREMY, F. SCHAER, with a study of J. SZÜCS, Budapest–New York 1999 [= CEMT, 1], p. 32; *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, 8, [in:] SSRH, vol. I..., p. 257; V. SPINEI, *Moldova în secolele XI–XIV [Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries]*, București 1982, p. 33–37; M. LĂZĂRESCU-ZOBIAN, *Cumania as the Name of Thirteenth Century Moldavia and Eastern Wallachia: Some Aspects of Kipchak-Rumanian Relations*, JTuS 8, 1984, p. 265–266; V. ACHIM, *Politica sud-estică a regatului ungar sub ultimii Arpadieni [The South-eastern Policy of the Hungarian Kingdom during the Last Arpadians]*, București 2008, p. 58; K. GOLEV, *On the Edge of "Another World": The Balkans and Crimea as Contact Zones between the Cuman-Qipchaqs and the Outside World*, EB 54.1, 2018, p. 92–93.

³ A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 147–148.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 175–176.

and not the Seljuk Turks called *Ismaelitas* in the same text⁵. Michael I Komnenos Dukas from Epirus and Strez from Macedonia joined too this large alliance, whose purpose was to attack Constantinople from west and east. The Latin Emperor Henri I of Hainaut was allied with the Hungarian King Andrew II, but also with the Seljuq Sultan Kaykhusraw I since 1209 or 1210⁶.

The battle for Constantinople was the main front of the clash between these coalitions, but it could be observed that there was also a secondary front, in *Cumania*. The immediate solution of the Pope was to deploy the Teutonic Order in *terra Borza*, a region in south-eastern Transylvania with an area of circa 1200 square km, accessed by the Cumans by the Oituz, Tabla Buții and Bran Passes. The name *Borza* rendered the local name *Bârsa*, used by the Romanian inhabitants for the river which flows through that region. The etymology of *Bârsa* is still disputed (Dacian, Slavic, or perhaps Pecheneg), but the name certainly predates the Saxon colonization occurred at the middle of the 12th century⁷. The charter of Andrew II (7th May 1211) specified that the Teutons will construct wooden fortifications against the Cumans (*ad munimen Regni contra Cumanos castra lignea et urbes ligneas construere eos permisimus*). Later on, in the spring of 1222, the king allowed the construction of stone fortifications (*ad munimen regni contra Cumanos castra et urbes lapideas construere eos permisimus*). The stone fortifications were actually already built without king's permission since the beginning⁸. Șerban Papacostea emphasized the role of this prototype of a Teutonic state in the Papal strategy: the defence of the Latin Empire by fighting against the Cuman allies of Boril⁹, but the real achievements were more modest, being restricted to the improvement

⁵ *Acta Innocentii PP III (1198–1216). E Registris Vaticanis aliisque eruit, introductione auxit, notisque illustravit*, ed. T. HALUŠČYNSKYJ, Vatican 1944 [= PCRCICO.F, series III, 2], p. 346; A. PAPAGIANNI, *The Papacy and the Fourth Crusade in the Correspondence of the Nicaean Emperors with the Popes*, [in:] *La papauté et les croisades. Actes du VII^e Congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Avignon, 27–31 août 2008*, ed. M. BALARD, Farnham 2011, p. 158.

⁶ B. HENDRICKX, *Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople, 1204–1261/1272*, Buč 14, 1988, p. 85–86; F. VAN TRICHT, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium. The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)*, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= Mme, 90], p. 373–375.

⁷ N. DRĂGANU, *Românii în veacurile IX–XIV pe baza toponimiei și a onomasticeii* [The Romanians in the 9th–14th Centuries According to Toponymy and Onomastics], București 1933, p. 544–551; I. PĂTRUȚ, *Vechi toponime românești în Transilvania* [Old Romanian Toponyms from Transylvania], CLin 17.2, 1972, p. 287–288; V. CIOCÎLTAN, *Vestigii turanice în Țara Bârsei* [Turanic Relics in Țara Bârsei], SUC 3–4, 2006–2007, p. 49–57, 52–55; O. FELECAN, N. FELECAN, *Toponymic Homonymies and Metonymies: Names of Rivers vs Names of Settlements*, On 5, 2019, p. 95–97. There are also other toponyms *Bârsa* or compounded with this name in all the regions of Romania.

⁸ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. I, 1191 bis 1342. Nummer 1 bis 582, ed. F. ZIMMERMANN, C. WERNER, Hermannstadt 1892, p. 11–12, 19 (nr. 19, 31); H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der deutsche Orden in Siebenbürgen. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2011, p. 162–163, 170 (nr. I, VI).

⁹ Ș. PAPACOSTEA, *Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire. The Romanians in the 13th Century*, Cluj-Napoca 1998, p. 23–46; IDEM, “*Terra Borza et ultra montes nivium*”. *Ein gescheiterter Kirchenstaat*

of the defence of a small part of the eastern frontier of the *Christianitas*, the remote south-eastern Transylvania.

The involvement in the fights against the Cumans came short time before a radical change in the international relations. Defeated by Henri I at the end of 1213, Boril was compelled to accept the alliance with Hungary. This led to a common position of Hungary and Bulgaria against the Cumans, who supported the rebellion against Boril occurred in Vidin in the same year 1214. Helping his new ally, Andrew II sent there an army composed of Saxons, Szeklers, Romanians (*Olaci*) and Pechenegs, under the command of Joachim, the Count of Hermannstadt (Sibiu). This action would not have been possible when Boril was still fighting with Henri I, and by this reason it must be dated after the marriage of the emperor with the stepdaughter of his former enemy, occurred at the end of 1213 or beginning of 1214¹⁰. Boril broke the three decades alliance with the Cumans, as a consequence of his new foreign policy direction. After that, the Cumans became foes of the Asanid state, and they even launched an attack through its territory into the Latin Empire in late 1222 or 1223¹¹.

The donation charter from 7th May 1211 as well as other documents specified that *terra Borza* was *deserta et inhabitata*. This was understood in different ways, either as meaning an uncultivated land¹², either as reflecting the devastations caused by the Cumans¹³. Şerban Turcuş sustained that the word *deserta* concerned

und sein Nachlass, [in:] *Generalprobe Burzenland. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Siebenbürgen und im Banat*, ed. K. GÜNDISCH, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013 [= SiAr, 42], p. 30–34. See also T. SĂLĂGEAN, *Honorius III, Transylvania and the Papacy's Eastern Policy*, TrRev 7.4, 1998, p. 79–80.

¹⁰ *Documenta Romaniae Historica. D. Relații între Țările Române*, vol. I, (1222–1456), ed. Șt. PASCU, C. CIHO DARU, K. GÜNDISCH, D. МИОС, V. PERVAİN, București 1977, p. 28–29 (nr. 11); Ș. PAPACOSTEA, *Between...*, p. 47–48; I. VÁSÁRY, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*, Cambridge 2005, p. 58–61; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 41; A. BÁRÁNY, *The Relations of King Emeric and Andrew II of Hungary with the Balkan States*, [in:] *Стефан Првовенчани и његово доба*, ed. И. КОМАТИНА, Belgrade 2020 [= ИИБ.ЗР, 42], p. 222–228. For the real year of the campaign, 1214, see A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 187–192.

¹¹ A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 196.

¹² G. POPA-LISSEANU, *Originea secuilor și secuizarea românilor* [The Origin of the Szeklers and the Szeklerization of the Romanians], ed. I. LĂCĂTUȘU, V. LECHINȚAN, București 2003, p. 58–59; Șt. PASCU, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei* [The Voievodate of Transylvania], vol. I, Cluj 1971, p. 126–128; F. SALVAN, *Viața satelor din Țara Bârsei în evul mediu (secolele XIII–XVII)* [The Life of the Villages in the Bârsa Land in the Middle Ages (13th–17th Centuries)], București 1996, p. 19–21, 66; S. BREZEANU, *Identități și solidarități medievale. Controverse istorice* [Medieval Identities and Solidarities. Historical Controversies], București 2002, p. 222–227; I.A. POP, “Din mâinile valahilor schismatici...”. *Românii și puterea în Regatul Ungariei medievale (secolele XIII–XIV)* [“From the Hands of the Schismatic Walachians”. The Romanians and the Power in the Hungarian Medieval Kingdom (13th–14th Centuries)], ²Cluj-Napoca 2017, p. 127.

¹³ G. BAKÓ, *Cavalerii teutoni în Țara Bârsei* [The Teutonic Knights in Țara Bârsei], SRI 10.1, 1957, p. 148; T. NÄGLER, *Zum Gebrauch des Ausdrucks “terra deserta” in einigen Urkunden des 12.–13. Jahrhunderts*, StC.AI 18, 1974, p. 56–60.

the fields without owner, and that the donation purpose was to extend the kingdom in this region¹⁴. The expression could be put in relation with another information from the letter of Honorius III addressed to Rainold, the bishop of Transylvania (12th December 1223): the region remained deserted because the attacks of the heathens, but the Teutons were successful in restoring its wellness:

Quod dilecti filii Magister et fratres domus sancte Marie Theotonicorum terram Boze, et ultra montes nivium propter paganorum insultus vastam usque ad proxima tempora et desertam noviter inhabitare ceperunt, ipsorum paganorum impetus non sine multo discrimine refrenato, eis ad meritum, nobis ad gaudium, et toti populo christiano provenit ad profectum.

The pillages of the heathens (*impetus paganorum*) were also mentioned in a document from 12th January 1223¹⁵. In another letter from 30th April 1224, Honorius III wrote that the land is large, but deprived of workers, and that it was easy to be peopled again¹⁶. It is true that the presence of the Teutons attracted workers for constructions and maintenance, who founded villages in the Bârsa land, but the Saxon colonists were already settled there since the middle of the 12th century.

The interpretation of Turcuș is not possible, because now it is certain that the Bârsa land was included in the Hungarian kingdom before the coming of the Teutons. There are enough archaeological discoveries proving that its domination extended up to the eastern Carpathians during the reign of Geza II (1141–1161). Several settlements and the cemetery of Feldioara belonging to the Saxon colonists are dated in the second half of the 12th century¹⁷. Other colonists who came

¹⁴ Ș. TURCUȘ, *Sfântul Scaun și românii în secolul al XIII-lea* [The Holy See and the Romanians in the 13th Century], București 2001, p. 225–226. Similar opinions at M.E. ȚIPLIC-CRÎNGĂCI, *Expansiunea regatului ungar, Terra Deserta, așezarea oaspeților și instalarea cavalerilor teutoni* [The Expansion of the Hungarian Kingdom, Terra Deserta, the Settlements of the Hospites and of the Teutonic Knights], SUC 7, 2010, p. 109–111; M. SAFTA, *Regatul Ungariei Medievale și Ordinul Cavalerilor Monahi Teutoni: Studiu asupra formelor de proprietate în dreptul medieval: exemțiunea* [The Kingdom of the Medieval Hungary and the Order of the Teutonic Monastic Knights. Study about the Ownership Forms in the Medieval Law: the Exemption], RHip, serie nouă 1, 2014, p. 74.

¹⁵ *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 24, 25 (nr. 35, 36); *Documenta...*, p. 7–8 (nr. 3); H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der deutsche Orden...*, p. 175–176 (nr. IX); A. IONIȚĂ, *Spațiul dintre Carpații Meridionali și Dunărea Inferioară în secolele XI–XIII* [The Space between Southern Carpathians and Lower Danube in the 11th–13th Centuries], București 2005, p. 31; V. SPINEI, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*, vol. II, *Cumans and Mongols*, Amsterdam 2006, p. 430.

¹⁶ *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 31 (nr. 41); *Documenta...*, p. 8–9 (nr. 4); H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der deutsche Orden...*, p. 178–179 (nr. XI).

¹⁷ G. NUSSBÄCHER, *Din cronici și hrisoave. Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei* [From Chronicles and Documents. Contributions to the History of Transylvania], București 1987, p. 20–26; A. IONIȚĂ, D. CĂPĂȚĂNĂ, N. BOROFFKA, R. BOROFFKA, A. POPESCU, *Feldioara-Marienburg. Contribuții arheologice la istoria Țării Bârsei* [Feldioara-Marienburg. Archaeological Contributions to the History of the Bârsa Land], București 2004, p. 29–58; I.M. ȚIPLIC, *Organizarea defensivă a Transilvaniei în evul*

during the same period, but in an area placed to the north of the Bârsa land, were the Szeklers, attested by the cemeteries from Peteni and Zăbala, and by the settlements of frontier guardsmen (of various ethnic origin) from Sâncrăieni, Angheluș, Cernat, Cristuru Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe. These settlements were destroyed by the Cuman attacks¹⁸. The guardsmen used fortresses built in the 12th century like those from Racoșul de Sus, Malnaș and Odorheiul Secuiesc, placed on different ways directing to the Oituz Pass¹⁹. On the other side of the mountains was discovered an outpost, at Bâta Doamnei (a fortress dated in the 12th century which controlled the Bicaz gorge)²⁰. Even in the Bârsa land, at Ungra, existed before the Teutonic stone fortress another earthen fortification, built in the second half of the 12th century²¹. Hălmeag (*Castrum Almagen*) was too an existing fortification taken by the Teutonic knights²².

In conclusion, the most probable solution is that the Bârsa land was *deserta et inhabitata* in 1211 because the repeated invasions of the Cumans caused great

mediu (secolele X–XIV) [The Defensive Organization of Transylvania in the Middle Ages, 10th–14th Centuries], București 2006, p. 113; A. IONIȚĂ, *Die Besiedlung des Burzenlandes im 12.–13. Jahrhundert im Lichte der Archäologie*, [in:] *Generalprobe...*, p. 107–124.

¹⁸ I.M. ȚIPLIC, *Organizarea...*, p. 78; E. BENKÓ, *Mittelalterliche archäologische Funde in Szeklerland*, [in:] *Die Szekler in Siebenbürgen. Von der privilegierten Sondergemeinschaft zur ethnischen Gruppe*, ed. H. ROTH, Köln–Wien 2009 [= *SiAr*, 40], p. 22–25; A. IONIȚĂ, *Grupuri de colonizări reflectate arheologic în Transilvania secolului al XII-lea* [Colonization Groups Archaeologically reflected in the 12th Century Transylvania], [in:] *Între stepă și imperiu. Studii în onoarea lui Radu Harhoiu. Archäologische Studien für Radu Harhoiu zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. A. MĂGUREANU, E. GÁLL, București 2010, p. 392–397.

¹⁹ Z. SZÉKELY, *Contribuții la problema fortificațiilor și formelor de locuire din sud-estul Transilvaniei* [Contributions to the Problem of the Fortifications and Forms of Habitation in South-eastern Transylvania], *Alu* 8–9, 1976–1977, p. 59–61, 64; G. FERENCZI, *Cădelnița de bronz din perioada feudalismului timpuriu de la Odorheiul Secuiesc – “Cetatea Bud”* [The Bronze Censer from the Early Feudal Period from Odorheiul Secuiesc – “Cetatea Bud”], *Apu* 18, 1980, p. 185–193; P. BINDER, *Antecedente și consecințe sud-transilvănene ale formării voievodatului Munteniei (sec. XIII–XIV)* [Antecedents and Consequences in Southern Transylvania of the Emergence of the Wallachian State (sec. XIII–XIV)] (I), *AHar* 2, 1996, p. 265–266; I.M. ȚIPLIC, *Organizarea...*, p. 176; Zs. L. BORDI, *Fortificațiile medievale timpurii din Pădurea Rica. Turnul estic* [The Early Medieval Fortifications from Pădurea Rica. The Eastern Tower], *ASic* 4, 2007, p. 287–300.

²⁰ V. SPINEI, *Moldova...*, p. 88, 89, 161.

²¹ R. POPA, R. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *Șantierul arheologic Ungra, jud. Brașov* [The Archaeological Excavations at Ungra, Brașov County], *MCA* 14, 1980, p. 498–503; A. LUKÁCS, *Țara Făgărașului în evul mediu: secolele XIII–XVI* [The Făgăraș Land in the Middle Ages: the 13th–16th Centuries], București 1999, p. 153–154; D.N. BUSUIOC-VON HASSELBACH, *Țara Făgărașului în secolul al XIII-lea. Mănăstirea cisterciană Cârța* [The Făgăraș Land in the 13th Century. The Cistercian Monastery Cârța], vol. II, Cluj-Napoca 2001, p. 43–44; I.M. ȚIPLIC, *Organizarea...*, p. 253; A. IONIȚĂ, *Grupuri...*, p. 392.

²² *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 12 (nr. 19); T. NÄGLER, *Așezarea sașilor în Transilvania* [The Settlement of the Saxons in Transylvania], București 1992, p. 151; D.N. BUSUIOC-VON HASSELBACH, *Țara Făgărașului...*, p. 42. P. BINDER, *Antecedente...*, p. 273 supposed that *castrum* concerned the fortified church existing there.

damages. The Teutonic knights established fortresses at Marienburg (Feldioara), Teliu, Hălmeag, Ungra, and possibly at Codlea ("Cetatea Neagră")²³. The number of the knights from *terra Borza* is not known, but it was probably between 200 and 300²⁴. The swords discovered at Codlea, Rupăr, Sânpetru and Vurpăr could be ascribed to these knights. A possible testimony of the fights of the Teutons in *Cumania* is the spearhead discovered at Tătăranu (Vrancea county), in a mound near the Râmnic River. This weapon is something unusual for the archaeological discoveries from that region, but specific for the heavy cavalry of the Teutonic knights²⁵.

The location of the so-called *castrum munitissimum*, built somewhere *ultra montes nivium partem contulit Comanie*, remains unclear, and it is even possible that those mountains are not the Carpathians in generally, but the Bârsa Mountains²⁶, which would mean that the *castrum munitissimum* could be placed at Codlea, on the way to the Bran-Rucăr pass which offered the opportunity to enter *Cumania* from the west. *Crucpurg*, another fortress mentioned in a document from the spring of 1212²⁷, supposed by many historians to be somewhere in south-western Moldavia (and identified with the future bishopric Milcovia) or even in northern Walachia²⁸, was in fact inside the Bârsa Land, at Teliu near Prejmer (Tartlau).

²³ The documents about the Teutonic Order in Transylvania: *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 11–20, 22–26, 28–32, 35–46 (nr. 19, 22, 27, 28, 31, 34–37, 39–42, 44–49, 51, 53). A short selection of studies: I. FERENȚ, *Începuturile Bisericii Catolice din Moldova* [The Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Moldavia], ed. E. FERENȚ, Iași 2004, p. 15–60; G. BAKÓ, *Cavalerii...*, p. 143–160; H. GLASSL, *Der Deutsche Orden im Burzenland und in Kumanien (1211–1225)*, UJ 3, 1971, p. 23–49; R. POPA, *Kreuzritterburgen im Südosten Transilvaniens*, IBLB 47, 1990–1991, p. 107–112; Ș. TURCUȘ, *Sfântul Scamin...*, p. 208–231; A.A. RUSU, *Castelarea carpatică. Fortificații și cetăți din Transilvania și teritoriile învecinate (sec. XIII–XIV)* [The Castellation in the Carpathian region. Fortifications and Strongholds from Transylvania and the Neighbor Territories, 13th–14th Centuries], Cluj-Napoca 2005, p. 434–441; IDEM, *Die Burgen des Deutschen Ordens im Burzenland. Zu hohe Erwartungen an eine Forschungsfrage?*, [in:] *Generalprobe...*, p. 79; R. HAUTALA, G. SABDENOVA, *Hungarian Expansion in Cumania on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion of 1241*, AEMA 22, 2016, p. 72–83; L. PÓSÁN, *Das Verhältnis zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und den siebenbürgischen Bischöfen im Burzenland (1211–1225)*, OMI 24, 2019, p. 39–90.

²⁴ H. GLASSL, *Der Deutsche Orden...*, p. 32 (only 100!); E. GLÜCK, *Contribuții cu privire la prezența cavalerilor teutoni în Țara Bârsei (1211–1225)* [Contributions concerning the Presence of the Teutonic Knights in the Land of Bârsa (1211–1225)], Cri 21, 1991, p. 55; R. POPA, *Kreuzritterburgen...*, p. 108.

²⁵ Z.K. PINTER, *Waffenfunde aus der Deutschordenszeit in Siebenbürgen*, FVL 57, 2014, p. 8–14.

²⁶ M. TANASE, *La Transylvanie meridionale des XII^e–XIII^e siècles, l'ambiguïté des frontières "naturelles"*, [in:] *Frontières. Actes du 125^e Congrès national des Sociétés historiques et scientifiques, section histoire du monde moderne, de la Révolution française et des révolutions* (Lille, 2000), Paris 2002, p. 23–24.

²⁷ *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 14 (nr. 22).

²⁸ See, for instance: I. NANIA, *Cruceburg-Episcopatul Cumaniei – Cetatea Dâmboviței – Cetățeni*, ArV 8, 1976, p. 75–92; V. SIBIESCU, *Episcopatul cuman de la Milcovia (1227–1241): împrejurările înființării; rezistența băștinașilor români-ortodocși* [The Cuman Bishopric from Milcovia (1227–1241): the

This is proved by the Saxon name of the village *Kretzbrig* and also by the name *Grosacruzbach* attested in a document from 9th December 1449²⁹. *Terra Boze* mentioned in two letters of Honorius III from 12th December 1223 and 30th April 1224³⁰ was not in the *Buzău* region, as stated József Laszlovszky and Zoltán Soós, and later on Ovidiu Pecican³¹. It is a mistaken form of the same *Burza*.

Actually, there are no certain proofs for an expansion of the Hungarian kingdom beyond the Carpathians achieved with the military force of the Teutonic knights, because all we know about that are the vague statements *ultra montes nivium partem contulit Comanie* and *et inde progreditur usque ad Danubium*. The second quotation comes from a charter dated in the spring of 1222, which described the territory granted to the Teutons (here is mentioned *Cruceburg* for the second and last time), but the authenticity of this document which presents the maximal extension of the territory donated to the Teutonic Order was denied by Maria Holban (her demonstration was often ignored by the following researchers)³². Between 1211 and 1225, the land of Bârsa was indeed successfully defended against the Cuman attacks by the Teutonic knights, but no territory outside the Carpathians was annexed to the Hungarian kingdom. Even if they performed their duty to fight against the Cumans in *terra Borza*, with offensives beyond the mountains,

Circumstances of the Foundation; the Resistance of the Romanian Orthodox Natives], [in:] *Spiritualitate și istorie la întorsura Carpaților*, vol. I, Buzău 1983, p. 292; I.M. ȚIPLIC, *Cavalerii teutoni și fortificațiile lor din Țara Bârsei* [The Teutonic Knights and their Fortifications in the Bârsa Land], C.AMC 6, 2000, p. 150–151; A. PARAGINĂ, *Habitatul medieval la curbura exterioară a Carpaților în secolele X–XV* [The Medieval Habitate in the Outer Curvature of the Carpathians in the 10th–15th Centuries], Brăila 2002, p. 37–39, 76, 94–95, 109–110; S. IOSIPESCU, *Carpații sud-estici în evul mediu târziu (1166–1526). O istorie europeană prin pasurile montane* [The South-eastern Carpathians in the Later Middle Ages (1166–1526). An European History through Mountain Gorges], Brăila 2013, p. 72, 74; R. HAUTALA, G. SABDENOVA, *Hungarian...*, p. 77.

²⁹ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. V, 1438–1457. Nummer 2300–3098, ed. K.G. GÜNDISCH, București 1975, p. 287 (nr. 2690); I. FERENȚ, *Începuturile...*, p. 27; P. BINDER, *Contribuții la localizarea Cruceburgului și unele probleme legate de ea* [Contributions to the Location of Cruceburg and Some Related Problems], Cum 1, 1967, p. 124–125; G. NUSSBÄCHER, *Din cronici...*, p. 23; P. BINDER, *Antecedente...*, p. 274–275; I.M. ȚIPLIC, *Organizarea...*, p. 124–125; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 52; A.A. RUSU, *Die Burgen...*, p. 81–82.

³⁰ *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 26, 29 (nr. 37, 40).

³¹ J. LASZLOVSZKY, Z. SOÓS, *Historical Monuments of the Teutonic Order in Transilvania*, [in:] *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zs. HUNYADI, J. LASZLOVSZKY, Budapest 2001, p. 325; O. PECICAN, *Între cruciați și tătari. Creștinătate occidentală, vlahi și nomazi în Europa Central-Sud-Estică (1204–1241)* [Between Crusaders and Tatars. Western Christendom, Vlachs and Nomads in the Central and South-Eastern Europe (1204–1241)], ²Cluj-Napoca 2010, p. 150.

³² *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 19, 30 (doc. 31, 41); H. ZIMMERMANN, *Der deutsche Orden...*, p. 169–172 (nr. 6); M. HOLBAN, *Din cronica relațiilor româno-ungare în secolele XIII–XIV* [From the Chronicle of the Romanian-Hungarian Relations in the 13th–14th Centuries], București 1981, p. 9–48 (the document was falsified by the Order, in the attempt to receive back the donation).

the Teutons became themselves a danger, but for the royal authority and for the local noblemen who lost the opportunity to acquire more land (*terra Borza* was included in the Papal property). The knights were expelled in 1225 by Andrew II, although the king had no more rights over the donated land³³.

Cumania remained after the departure of the Teutonic knights an open issue for Andrew II, but also for the Catholic Church, because the Cumans were among the few pagans still living near the European Christendom. The conversion of the Cumans was a religious and a political problem, which provided to Andrew II another way to extend his domination, when the Cumans themselves were eager to accept not only the Christian religion, but also the subjection to the Hungarian Kingdom. After the Mongol victory of Kalka against the Russians and the Cumans (31st March 1223), many Cumans run away to the westernmost part of their realm, searching for protection, and in this context they entered in the attention of the Dominican missionaries from the Hungarian province of the order (established in 1221 by Paulus Hungarus from Bologna). The friars started their activity in Cumania around 1225, but they were already present short time after 1221 in a region close to *Cumania*, in *Terra Sceurin*, as results from a report written sometime before 1259 by Svipert from Patak (Sárospatak), included by Gérard of Frachet (1205–1271) in his compilation *Vitae fratrum*:

Tandem numero fratrum accrescente missi a fratre Paulo intraverunt fratres in terram que Sceurinum vocatur, cuius habitatores scismatici partier et publici heretici errant, ubi multis tribulationibus perpepissis tandem convalescentes multos ab heresi ad veram fidem et a scismate ad ecclesie unitatem convertunt³⁴.

The text was edited in this way by Simon Tugwell, who read *Sceurin* instead of *Ferevciensis* or *Scevestium*, as it was published in the previous editions. The Dominican mission in *terra Sceurin* was also mentioned in a later document, from 1237³⁵.

³³ Ș. PAPACOSTEA, *Between...*, p. 45–46; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 52.

³⁴ GERARDUS DE FRACHETO, *Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum necnon Cronica ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum accurate recognovit, notis breviter illustravit fr. Benedictus Maria Reichert*, Louvain 1896 [= MOFPH, 1] (cetera: GERARDUS DE FRACHETO), p. 305; S. TUGWELL, *Notes on the Life of St Dominic, V: The Dating of Jordan's Libellus*, AFP 68, 1998, p. 87; C.F. DOBRE, *Mendicants in Moldavia: Mission in an Orthodox Land (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century)*, Daun 2008, p. 18–22. For the identification of Svipert see A. RELTGEN-TALLON, *Les martyrs dominicains de Hongrie et leur insertion réussie dans la mémoire hagiographique de l'Ordre des frères Prêcheurs*, [in:] *Les saints et leur culte en Europe centrale au Moyen Âge (XI^e – début du XVI^e siècle)*, ed. M.-M. DE CEVINS, O. MARIN, Turnhout 2017 [= Hag, 13], p. 213.

³⁵ *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241). E Registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegit*, ed. A.L. TĂUTU, Vatican 1950 [= PCRCICO.F, series III, 3], p. 300–301 (nr. 224).

Therefore, *Sceurin* could be identified with the land of *Severin*, a north-Danubian possession of Bulgaria conquered most probable in 1199, when Tsar Johannis extended his domination from Vidin to Belgrade³⁶. The place name *Severin* comes from the Slavic noun *sever* (“north”), which survived in the Romanian language as a common noun until the 16th century. Dimitre Onciul, followed by other historians, demonstrated that the name designated a position to the north of the Bulgarian state, which mastered the fortress³⁷. The archaeological researches revealed that at Turnu Severin existed a small fort with polygonal shape, constructed in the south-western corner of the former Roman camp Drobeta (stones taken from the ancient buildings were used for this new precinct thick of 2 m). The coin issued by John Asan II is a chronological clue for the end of the use of the well where it was found³⁸. Therefore, when the Dominicans came in *terra Sceurin*, this region was still under Bulgarian domination, not yet conquered by Hungary. The fort of Severin was built as an outpost of the Tsarate. This fact explains the religious situation encountered there. Besides the “schismatics” (Orthodoxes), in *terra Sceurin* lived heretics. The latter were the dualist Bogomils, who were still living in Bulgaria, despite the constant persecutions.

The most valuable knowledge about the circumstances of the conversion of the Cumans occurred in 1227 came from the same relation of Svipert. The first result was the conversion of the chief Bortz (*primo omnium ducem Cumanorum nomine Burch, cum aliquibus de familia sua baptizaverunt*), followed by another one, Membrok, *ducem nobiliorem, cum mille circiter de familia sua*. They were baptized by a mission conducted by Robert, the archbishop of Esztergom (Gran), sent for this purpose in *Cumania* by Pope Gregory IX (his letter of 31st July 1227 shows that the conversion was already done). The legate of the Pope travelled to *Cumania* with the assistance of crownprince Béla, the future king Béla IV. In the end, as wrote in 1238 the friar Benedictus to the magister of the order,

aliqui principes memoratorum Cumanorum fuerunt baptizati successive, annis singulis co-operante nobis Dei gracia plura millia nobilium et inferiorum utriusque sexus de ipsa gente baptismi gracia suscipientes tam in ieiuniis quadragesimalibus, quam alii christiani ritus observanciis fidem catholicam pro viribus imitantur. Et quod hec omnia beneficio nostri

³⁶ A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 132–134, 207.

³⁷ D. ONCIUL, *Titlul lui Mircea cel Bătrân și posesiunile lui* [The Title of Mircea the Old and his Possessions] (published in 1903); IDEM, *Scieri istorice*, vol. II, ed. A. SACERDOȚEANU, București 1968, p. 64; G.I. BRĂȚIANU, *În jurul întemeierii statelor românești* [About the Foundation of the Romanian States] (II), RI, serie nouă 4.3–4, 1993, p. 365–366; M. DAVIDESCU, *Monumente medievale din Turnu Severin* [Medieval Monuments from Turnu Severin], București 1969, p. 5; A. IONIȚĂ, *Spațiul...*, p. 32; A.A. RUSU, *Castelarea...*, p. 475; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 83.

³⁸ M. DAVIDESCU, *Monumente...*, p. 13–23; G.I. CANTACUZINO, *Certains problèmes concernant les vestiges médiévaux de Drobeta-Turnu Severin*, Da, Nouvelle Serie 43–45, 1999–2001, p. 166–171, 177; A. IONIȚĂ, *Spațiul...*, p. 50, 128–129; A.A. RUSU, *Castelarea...*, p. 477–478; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 82–88.

ordinis provenerint, cum dignis graciaram accionibus recognoscunt. Verum quia Tartarorum crudelitas non minus ipsis Cumanis quam ceteris orientalibus, imo eis eo gravius quo et vicinius imminet periculum, rogant ipsi et nos cum ipsis, supplicantes quatenus universitatem ipsorum, utpote novellam ordinis in fide plantacionem quod dominus per suam misericordiam et clemenciam protegat et conservet, omnium fratrum oracionibus in capitulo generali prima sollicitudine commendetis³⁹.

It is clear that the Mongol expansion to the west determined the Cumans to adhere to the Christian religion. The danger of a possible Islamisation of the Cumans after the conquest of Sudak (a city in Crimea previously controlled by them) by a Seljuq army in 1225⁴⁰ was an additional reason for the creation of the Cuman bishopric in 1228, directly dependent to Rome, and not to a Hungarian eparchy. The precise limits of the Cuman bishopric are unknown, but it is certain that included central and southern Moldavia up to the Siret River, as well as eastern Wallachia up to the Olt River. The letter of Gregory IX from 31st July 1227 contains the first mention of the name *Cumania* as a distinct land. The Cuman bishopric answered to the need to convert the remaining pagans, which endangered the *Christianitas*, being in the same time the new instrument of expansion of the Hungarian kingdom east and south of the Carpathians⁴¹. In the letter addressed to archbishop Robert on 21st March 1228, the Pope was aware that the new converted population had two enemies in the east: the Seljuqs who occupied Sudak, and the *infideles*, who were actually the still heathen Cumans, rivals of those led by Bortz (*et proficiscentibus ad recuperandum Christianorum terras Cumanis vicinas quas*

³⁹ *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX...*, p. 206–209 (doc. 158, 159); GERARDUS DE FRACHETO, p. 306–309. A shorter notice about the conversion at ALBERICUS TRIUM FONTIUM, *Chronicon*, [in:] *Chronica aevi Suevici*, ed. G.H. PERTZ, Hannovera 1874 [= *MGH.SF*, 23], p. 920.

⁴⁰ Ș. PAPACOSTEA, “*Terra Borza...*”, p. 36; D. KOROBEINIKOV, *A Broken Mirror. The Kipçak World in the Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, ed. F. CURTA, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= *ECEEMA*, 2], p. 388–389; M. BALIVET, H. LESSAN PEZECHKI, *Seldjukides de Rûm contre Horde d’Or: l’expédition de Crimée d’après Ibn Bibî (vers 1225)*, RMMM 143, 2018 (La Horde d’Or et l’islamisation des steppes eurasiatiques), p. 267–283; K. GOLEV, *On the Edge...*, p. 105–107.

⁴¹ I. FERENȚ, *Începuturile...*, p. 225–245; M. HOLBAN, *Din cronica...*, p. 65–66; Ș. PAPACOSTEA, *Between...*, p. 103–108; Ș. TURCUȘ, *Sfântul Scaun...*, p. 159, 290–300; F. SOLOMON, *Politică și confesiune la început de ev mediu moldovenesc* [Policy and Confession at the Beginning of the Moldavian Middle Ages], Iași 2004, p. 87–89; S. KOVÁCS, *Bortz, a Cuman Chief in the 13th Century*, AO.ASH 58.3, 2005, p. 255–266; V. ACHIM, *Politică...*, p. 56–68, 84; V. SPINEI, *The Cuman Bishopric – Genesis and Evolution*, [in:] *The Other Europe...*, p. 413–456; M.O. CĂȚOI, *Ofensivă catolică și rezistență schismatică la Dunărea de Jos în prima jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea* [Catholic Offensive and Schismatic Resistance at the Lower Danube in the First Half of the 13th Century], [in:] *Istorie bisericească, misiune creștină și viață culturală*, vol. II, *Creștinismul românesc și organizarea bisericească în secolele XIII–XIV. Știri și interpretări noi*, Galați 2010, p. 194; R.M. MIHALACHE, *Hierocratic Aspects related to the Legation of Archbishop Robert of Esztergom to Cumania (1227)*, TrRev 23.1, 2014, p. 118–131; C.F. DOBRE, *Mendicants...*, p. 22–26, 46–47; R. HAUTALA, G. SABDENOVA, *Hungarian...*, p. 85–89.

Soldanus de Iconio vel infideles alii occuparunt, ac euntibus contra illos, qui Cumanos conversos impugnant, et prohibent alios ad fidem christianam venire)⁴².

The residence of the first bishop Theoderic (former prior of the Dominican province of Hungary) was somewhere on the Milcov valley, around Odobești, or around Focșani (after 1347, the bishopric will be restored with the name *Milcovia*)⁴³. The purpose of the bishopric was to include in the Catholic Church the entire population of the region, regardless their ethnicity. The Szeklers were already Catholic. They came in the Cuman bishopric as colonists, border guards, or by their free will, from their *terra* located north of Bârsa. The memory of a Hungarian infiltration is preserved by several toponyms in Moldavia and north-eastern Wallachia (*Saac, Săcuieni, Chiojd, Palanca, Lapoșu, Miclăușu* and others)⁴⁴. The final result of this mixture of Hungarian speaking and Romanian speaking populations migrated from Transylvania in several instances until the 18th century was the so-called Csangos, the Catholic community from the Bacău and Neamț counties (the name means “estranged, wanderer”)⁴⁵.

The subjection of the Cumans living in the bishopric made useless the preservation of the peaceful relations with John Asan II, which were previously required for the common attitude toward the Cumans. In 1228, Andrew II decided a campaign against Vidin, a city which was for a long time a target of the southern expansion of Hungary. Viorel Achim considered that the Hungarian King wished to strike the hegemonic position acquired by Asanid Tsarate in relation to the Latin Empire⁴⁶, but the competition for *Cumania* was the main reason for the hostility between Andrew II and John Asan II. This rivalry was indirectly attested by an obscure passage from the above mentioned letter from 21st March 1228: *ac euntibus contra illos, qui Cumanos conversos impugnant*. It is high probable that this other enemy, who

⁴² *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX...*, p. 208 (nr. 159); I. FERENȚ, *Începuturile...*, p. 246–247; V. SPINEI, *The Cuman Bishopric...*, p. 429–430.

⁴³ *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 455–456 (nr. 499); vol. II, Hermannstadt 1897, p. 39–40 (nr. 621); V. SIBIESCU, *Episcopatul...*, p. 309–310; F. SOLOMON, *Politică...*, p. 104–108.

⁴⁴ L. MIKECS, *Ursprung und Schicksal der Tschango-Ungarn*, Ungl 23, 1943, p. 258–266; C.C. GIURESCU, D.C. GIURESCU, *Istoria românilor*, vol. I, *Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la întemeierea statelor românești* [The History of the Romanians, vol. I, From the Oldest Times to the Foundation of the Romanian States], București 1975, p. 210–211, 242; A. PARAGINĂ, *Habitatul...*, p. 45.

⁴⁵ For instance: R. ROSETTI, *Despre unguri și episcopiile catolice din Moldova* [About Hungarians and the Catholic Bishoprics from Moldavia], AAR.MSI, seria II, 27.10, 1904–1905, p. 247–253, 282–287; L. MIKECS, *Ursprung...*, p. 247–280; D. MĂRTINAȘ, *Originea ceangăilor din Moldova* [The Origin of the Moldavian Csángós], București 1985; R. BAKER, *On the Origin of the Moldavian Csángós*, SEER 75.4, 1997, p. 658–680; A. COȘA, *Problema originii catolicilor din Moldova* [The Problem of the Origin of the Moldavian Catholics], Car 31, 2002, p. 79–106; *Hungarian Csángós in Moldavia. Essays on the Past and Present of the Hungarian Csángós in Moldavia*, ed. L. DIÓSZEGI, Budapest 2002; B.-M. BĂLAN, *Caracteristici geodemografice ale comunităților de ceangăi din zona Roman-Bacău. Lucrare de licență*, București 2014.

⁴⁶ V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 68, 76–78; A. BÁRÁNY, *The Relations...*, p. 237–240.

was not pagan, was John Asan II⁴⁷. Therefore, the year 1228 represented another turning point in the Cuman issue.

The following moment of the expansion of Hungary was the annexation of *Terra Severin* sometimes between 1228 and 1232, as a *Banat*. The title of *Ban* was borrowed from Croatia, when this kingdom was annexed by Hungary, in 1102⁴⁸. Andrew II followed this model of the Bans from Croatia and Slavonia as a special way to include a new territory in his kingdom: instead of a new county, a Banat ruled by a deputy of the king, located near the still powerful Bulgaria. *Luca bano de Sceurin* is the first certain known holder of this dignity (mentioned in a document from 22nd August 1233)⁴⁹. The Banat of Severin included the Semenik and Almäj Mountains, and a region in Oltenia whose area could not be established with precision⁵⁰.

The final act of the Hungarian expansion in *Cumania* was the introduction of the title of King of *Cumania* by Bela IV in 1236⁵¹. The region where it was established the bishopric of *Cumania* continued to be under the influence of the Church of Târnovo, even after the end of the domination of the Bulgarian state in this north-Danubian territory. A letter of Pope Gregory IX (14th November 1234) to crownprince Bela IV mentioned some “pseudo-bishops” who were illegally serving the Romanians living inside the Cuman bishopric:

In Cumanorum episcopate, sicut accepimus, quidam populi, qui Walathi vocantur, existunt, qui etsi censeantur nomine christiano, sub una tamen fide varios ritus habentes et mores, illa committunt, que huic sunt nomini inimica. [...] Episcopo Cumanorum, qui loci diocesanus existit, sed a quibusdam pseudoepiscopis Grecorum ritum tenentibus universa recipiunt ecclesiastica sacramenta, et nonnulli de Regno Ungarie, tam Ungari, quam Theutonici et alii orthodoxi, morandi causa cum ipsis transeunt ad eosdem, et sic cum eis, quia populus unus facti cum eisdem Walathis, eo contempto, premissa recipiunt sacramenta in grave orthodoxorum scandalum et derogationem non modicam fidei christiane. Ne igitur ex diversitate rituum pericula proveniant animarum, nos volentes huiusmodi periculum obviare, ne prefati Walathi materiam habeant pro defectu sacramentorum ad scismaticos episcopos accedendi, idem episcopo nostris damus litteris in mandatis, ut catholicum eis episcopum illi nationi conformem provida deliberatione constituat sibi iuxta generalis statuta concilii vicarium in predictis, qui ei per omnia sit obediens et subiectus.

⁴⁷ I. FERENȚ, *Începuturile...*, p. 246–247; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 67–68.

⁴⁸ J.V.A. FINE Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*, Ann Arbor 1991, p. 285.

⁴⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, tomus III, vol. II, ed. G. FEJÉR, Buda 1829, p. 348; M. HOLBAN, *Din cronica...*, p. 55–57; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 79–83; S. FORȚIU, *Magnus Buzad, primul ban de Severin (~1228–'30)?; Un Luca, care nu-i Iula, ban de Severin (1233)! [Magnus Buzad, the First Ban of Severin (~1228–'30)?; A Luca, who is not Iula, Ban of Severin (1233)!]*, [in:] *Arheovest VIII–2. In Honorem Alexandru Rădulescu Interdisciplinaritate în arheologie și istorie (Timișoara, noiembrie 2020)*, Szeged 2020, p. 727–868.

⁵⁰ V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 82–88.

⁵¹ *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 65 (nr. 74); V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 63.

The pseudobishops were false not because they were schismatic, but because they were considered to be outside the canon law, since they acted in another bishop's diocese. This means that the "pseudo-bishops" belonged to the Bulgarian archdiocese of Tărnovo⁵².

In the last months of 1234, the relations of Bulgaria with the Papacy and with the Patriarchate of Nicaea were unclear and confused, after the alliance against the Latin Empire closed at Gallipoli some months before, between John Asan II and John III Vatatzes. John Asan II abandoned his claim to rule in Constantinople and opted for the Orthodox faith. Because Nicaea had not yet sent the official acceptance of the autocephalous patriarchy, the Archdiocese of Tărnovo was still formally subordinated to Rome⁵³. If this new Orthodox coalition had expanded north of the Danube, it would have created problems for Hungary, too⁵⁴. It is possible that the Pope feared that the ecclesiastical relations between the Romanians from *Cumania* and the Tsarate of John Asan II could endanger the Hungarian domination there, or even in the Banat of Severin. In 1235–1236, the Tsar tried to conquer Constantinople in cooperation with the John III Vatatzes. The sieges failed, and for some months in 1237 John Asan II was again willing to return to the Latin Church. At the end of the same year, he turned back to the alliance with Nicaea, an action which determined Pope Gregory IX in January 1238 to ask Bela IV to launch a crusade against Bulgaria⁵⁵.

Until 1238, it seemed that *Cumania* will be preserved as a new border province, like the Banat of Severin, with its population converted to the Latin Christendom. The new wave of the Mongol advance to the west put an end to this hope. In 1238 began the great refuge of the Cumans. Led by Kuten, they were received

⁵² *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 60–61 (nr. 69) = *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX...*, p. 284–285 (nr. 209); Ș. PAPACOSTEA, *Between...*, p. 97–101; R. THEODORESCU, *Bizanț, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale românești (secolele X–XIV)* [Byzantium, Balkans, West at the Beginnings of the Romanian Medieval Culture (10th–14th Centuries)], București 1974, p. 172–175; D. BARBU, *Byzance, Rome et les Roumains. Essais sur la production politique de la foi au Moyen Âge*, București 1998, p. 93–101; Ș. TURCUȘ, *Sfântul Scaun...*, p. 159–163; F. SOLOMON, *Politică...*, p. 89–92; V. SPINEI, *The Cuman Bishopric...*, p. 433–435; M.O. CĂȚOI, *Ofensivă...*, p. 189–192.

⁵³ F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, vol. III, (1204–1282), Munich–Berlin 1932, p. 11, 14 (nr. 1730, 1744); GEORGE AKROPOLITES, *The History*, praef., trans., comm. R. MACRIDES, Oxford 2007 [= OSB] (cetera: GEORGE AKROPOLITES), p. 191, 194–195; NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS, *Rhōmāische Geschichte. Historia Rhōmaïke*, II, 3, part 1, (*Kapitel I–VII*), trans. J.L. VAN DIETEN, Stuttgart 1973, p. 77; G. CANKOVA-PETKOVA, *Griechisch-bulgarische Bündnisse in den Jahren 1235 und 1246*, BBG 3, 1969, p. 49–51, 55–56; F. DALL'AGLIO, *Crusading in a Nearer East: The Balkan Politics of Honorius III and Gregory IX (1221–1241)*, [in:] *La papauté et les croisades. Actes du VI^e Congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Avignon, 27–31 août 2008, ed. M. BALARD, Farnham 2011, p. 178–180.

⁵⁴ F. SOLOMON, *Politică...*, p. 92–93 considered that John Asan II tried to organize an Orthodox alliance opposed to the expansion of Catholicism in the regions with Orthodox people north and south of the Danube (the bishoprics of Belgrade and Braničevo).

⁵⁵ V. ACHIM, *Politică...*, p. 89–91; A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 216–221.

in Hungary. From there, they went in Bulgaria⁵⁶. In 1241, the Cuman bishopric was destroyed by one of the Mongol armies which marched to Transylvania by the Oituz Pass. The borders were defended without success by the Romanians (*Olaci*) and Szeklers (*Siculi*), as it was recorded in the chronicles of Tholomeus de Lucca and Marino Sanudo Torsello. The army of the voievode of Transylvania Pousa came to help these local forces, but the Mongols won somewhere in the Bârsa land on 31st March 1241⁵⁷. The Golden Horde replaced the Cuman domination in Moldavia and Walachia, and even Bulgaria became in 1242 a tributary state of the Golden Horde, when Kadan's armies invaded it, coming from Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia⁵⁸.

Because the Golden Horde domination did not extend west of Olt in the first years after 1242, Bela IV tried to regain positions by summoning the Hospitaller Knights. The appearance of a new Orthodox coalition (Michael Asan and John III Vatatzes) in the spring of 1247 was a major danger for the Latin Empire⁵⁹, and this required an offensive Hungarian policy against Bulgaria, with the support of the Hospitallers. The charter given to them on 2nd June 1247 (known only in the transcript of 20th July 1250) allowed them to settle and to obtain revenues from *terra Zeurin*, extended up to Olt, a region which included the Romanian knezates of Ioan and Farçaş. It was also excepted *terra Lytua* of the Romanian voievode *Lytuoy*, vassal of the knights. The king has also given them *Cumania*, but this land bordered at west by the Olt River was actually dominated by the Golden Horde. Inside *Cumania*, the *terra* of Seneslau, another Romanian voievode, was left in his possession. *Terra Severin* remained a part of the Hungarian kingdom, but the function of Ban was abandoned or suspended. For *Cumania*, Bela IV could have only pretensions. One mission of the Hospitallers was to extend the Hungarian domination in *Cumania*, in the regions which were then conquered by the Mongols (the Walachian plain east of the Olt River). Lytuoy and Seneslau had the duty to help the Hospitallers *cum apparatu suo bellico*, according to the obligations of *auxilium*

⁵⁶ I. VÁSÁRY, *Cumans...*, p. 64–66; V. SPINEI, *The Great Migrations...*, p. 444, 612–613; D. KOROBENIKOV, *A Broken Mirror...*, p. 391.

⁵⁷ *Annales Frisacenses*, ed. L. WEILAND, [in:] *Annales Aevi Suevici*, Hannovera 1879 [= MGH.SS, 24], p. 65; MARINO SANUDO TORSSELLO, *Secreta fidelium Crucis*, [in:] JACQUES BONGARS, *Gesta Dei per Francos sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolimitani historia (...)*, II, Hannovera 1611, p. 214 (III, 11) (MARINO SANUDO TORSSELLO, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, trans. P. LOCK, London–New York 2011 [= CTT, 21], p. 340); Ş. PAPACOSTEA, *Between...*, p. 152–158; V. SPINEI, *The Great Migrations...*, p. 627–630, 634–642; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 95–102; V. SPINEI, *Mongolii și românii în sinteza de istorie ecleziastică a lui Tholomeu din Lucca* [The Mongols and the Romanians in the Tholomeus of Lucca's Synthesis of Ecclesiastical History], Iași 2012, p. 26–27; S. IOSIPESCU, *Carpații...*, p. 85–90.

⁵⁸ D. KOROBENIKOV, *A Broken Mirror...*, p. 391–395; A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 228–234.

⁵⁹ F. DÖLGER, *Regesten...*, p. 20 (nr. 1787); GEORGE AKROPOLITES, p. 230–232, 242; D.G. ANGELOV, *Theodore II Laskaris, Elena Asenina and Bulgaria*, [in:] *Средновековният българин и "другите"*. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. дин Петър Ангелов, ed. A. НИКОЛОВ, Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2013, p. 283.

specific for the vassalage relations. This means that the knezi and voievodes disposed of a kind of permanent military force, provided by the *maiores terrae*, owners of villages⁶⁰.

The ephemere participation of the Hospitallers to the defence of Hungary is confirmed by a letter of Bela IV addressed to Pope Innocentius IV on 11th November 1247, which specified that they were settled in *Terra Severin* with the mission to fight along the Danube up to the Black Sea:

nisi a domo Hospitalis Iherosolimitani, cuius fratres ad requisicionem nostram nuper arma sumpserunt contra Paganos et Scismaticos ad defensionem regni nostri et fidei christiane, quos iam partim collocavimus in loco magis suspecto, videlicet in confinio Cumanorum ultra Danubium et Bulgarorum, per quem etiam locum tempore invasionis regni nostri ad nos aditum habuit exercitus Thartharorum, de quo etiam loco intendimus, et speramus, quodsi factum nostrum et dictorum Fratrum Deus prosperaverit, et sedes apostolica eisdem favorem suum dignata fuerit impertiri, quod propagines Catholice fidei, sicut protenditur Danubius usque ad mare Constantinopolitanum, per ipsos poterimus propagare, et sic Romanie imperio et etiam terre sancte poterunt impendere subsidia oportuna⁶¹.

The Mongol domination prevented the emergence of a Cuman kingdom in Moldavia, vassal of Hungary. Only the decline of the Golden Horde made possible a new penetration of the Hungarian kingdom in the former *Cumania*, in 1345, as a consequence of the campaign led by the count of the Szeklers Andrew Läckfi⁶². In 1347 was established the bishopric of Milcovia. Like the former bishopric of *Cumania*, it was subordinated directly to the Pope, not to the bishopric of Esztergom⁶³.

The former *Cumania* entered in the new states created during the 14th century by the Romanians liberated from the Hungarian domination, Wallachia and Moldavia. So, the final gainers of the competition for *Cumania* between Hungary and

⁶⁰ *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 73–76 (nr. 82) = *Documenta...*, p. 21–27 (nr. 10); M. HOLBAN, *Din cronica...*, p. 74–85; Ş. TURCUŞ, *Sfântul Scaun...*, p. 240–242; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 131–135; I.A. POB, S. ŞIPOŞ, *Silviu Dragomir și dosarul Diplomei cavalerilor ioaniți* [Silviu Dragomir and the Controversy of the Hospitallers Diploma], Cluj-Napoca 2009; M.O. CĂȚOI, *Ofensivă...*, p. 197–203.

⁶¹ *Acta Innocentii PP IV (1243–1254). E Regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus collegerunt notisque adornarunt*, ed. T.T. HALUŠČENSKYJ, M.M. WOJNAR, Roma 1962 [= PCRCICO.F, series III, 4.1], p. 192–193 (nr. 112); M. HOLBAN, *Din cronica...*, p. 76–78, 82–84; Ş. TURCUŞ, *Sfântul Scaun...*, p. 238–242; V. ACHIM, *Politica...*, p. 88, 128–137; I.A. POB, S. ŞIPOŞ, *Silviu Dragomir...*, p. 117; S. IOSIPESCU, *Carpații...*, p. 95–96; Zs. HUNYADI, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387*, Budapest 2010, p. 39; Ş. TURCUŞ, *Pontifical Diplomas Correlated with the Diploma of the Joannites: The Inheritance of Queen Violant of Aragon and the Land of Severin*, *TrRev* 22, Sup. 4, 2013, p. 134–144. The right date in 1247, not in 1254, was demonstrated by Viorel Achim.

⁶² V. SPINEI, *Moldova...*, p. 260–264; R. CÂRCIUMARU, *Concernant l'expédition hongroise au sud de la Moldavie (1345)*, *AUVT.AH* 11.1, 2009, p. 79–86; S. IOSIPESCU, *Carpații...*, p. 151–158.

⁶³ *Urkundenbuch...*, vol. I, p. 455 (nr. 499); vol. II, p. 40 (nr. 621); V. SPINEI, *Moldova...*, p. 265–267; V. SIBIESCU, *Episcopatul...*, p. 309–310; F. SOLOMON, *Politică...*, p. 104–108.

Bulgaria were the Orthodox Romanians who lived there, and who assimilated the remaining Cuman population. Their ethnic name was preserved by place and river names (*Comana*, *Comănești*, *Comanca*) and by the personal name *Coman*, whose first mention is in 1398 (besides them, there are many place and river names of Pecheneg or Cuman origin inherited from the period of cohabitation with the Romanian population)⁶⁴. A particular importance has the name *Vadul Cumanilor*, given to a ford near Vidin. The village *Kumanski brod* was attested for the first time in a charter from 1385⁶⁵. This crossing point was used by the Cumans in their attack against Vidin in 1114⁶⁶, and it is probable that they used the same ford in 1214 when they were involved in the rebellion of this city.

Appendix. A false testimony of the name *Cumani nigri*

In his monumental *History of the Romanians* published for the first time in 1889, Alexandru D. Xenopol quoted the passage *Cumania vero dicitur terra Valachiae quae inhabitatur a Cumanis nigris, quae est sita a fluvio Olth inter alpes et Danubium, facens versus Tartariam, que nunc inhabitatur a Valachis et nuncupatur pars Transalpiniae et Moldaviae*, ascribing it to a decree of King Sigismund from 1435, published in *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii inciti regni Hungariae* (Wien, 1581)⁶⁷. This assertion was endorsed by Victor Spinei in his monograph published in 1982. Quoting Petrus de Reva, *De monarchia et sacra corona regni Hungariae* (Frankfurt, 1659) (reproduced by Johann Georg Schwandtner, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, II (Wien, 1746), p. 832), Spinei, and following him, Pavel Parasca, stated that the decree of 1435 reflected some knowledge of former *Cumania*⁶⁸. Actually, the passage does not exist in the decree of King Sigismund from 1435. The single mention of *Cumania* in the decree is in the beginning formula *Sigismundus Divina favente clementia, Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, ac Ungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Ramae, Serviae, Galliciae, Lodomeriae, Comaniae,*

⁶⁴ P. DIACONU, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, București 1978, p. 26–34; V. SPINEI, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century*, Leiden–Boston 2009 [= ECEEMA, 6], p. 311–330.

⁶⁵ *Documenta Romaniae Historica. B. Țara Românească*, vol. I, (1247–1500), ed. P.P. PANAITESCU, D. MIOC, București 1966, p. 20–21 (nr. 7); B.P. HASDEU, *Originile Craiovei, 1230–1400* [The Origins of Craiova, 1230–1400], București 1878, p. 15–20.

⁶⁶ P. DIACONU, *Les Coumans...*, p. 59–61; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10th–12th Centuries*, Leiden–Boston 2013 [= ECEEMA, 22], p. 144.

⁶⁷ A.D. XENOPOL, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană* [The History of the Romanians in the Trajanic Dacia], vol. II, ed. I. VLĂDESCU, ³București 1925, p. 214.

⁶⁸ V. SPINEI, *Moldova...*, p. 35, 49; P. PARASCA, *Interferențe etno-politice în terminologia spațiului carpato-ponto-nistrean în secolele XI – prima jumătate a celui de-al XIII-lea* [Ethnopolitical Interferences in the Terminology of the Carpathian-Ponto-Dnestrian Space between the 11th Century and the First Half of the 13th Century], H&P 1.1–2, 2008, p. 98–99.

*Bulgariaeque Rex*⁶⁹. The historian Petrus de Reva (Péter Révay, 1568–1622), guard of the royal crown, explained what meant *Comania*, in the long description of the possessions of the Hungarian kings, real or lost (it follows after *Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosna, Servia, Bulgaria* and *Gallicia*). The complete passage is this:

Cumania dicitur terra Valachiae, Zauolcha vocata, et quam iuxta opinionem quorundam, Strabo Cataoniam⁷⁰ appellat, eciam Circasia dicta, quae inhabitabatur a Cumanis Nigris, sita a fluuio Olt, inter Alpes et Danubium, iacens versus Tartariam, et nuncupatur pars Transalpinae, et Moldauiae. Gens regionis a vero Dei cultu aliena, quam Bela quartus a Tartaris sedibus suis pulsam, cum Cutteno eorum Rege, Regno quoque in tutelam accepto, hospitio exceperat, et fidei Christianae initiatam, Palatinali iudicio commiserat. Insignia habet leonem coronatum, non absimilem leoni Bohemico, Belgicque⁷¹.

By a mere chance I was able to identify the source of inspiration. Petrus de Reva made a faulty compilation after a relation about the Mongol invasion in 1241 found in the book written by a knight of the Saint John Order, Antoine Geuffroy, *Aulae Turcicae, Othomannicive Imperii descriptio* [...] (Basel, 1573), p. 148:

Baydo, uel Bathi, tertius Hoccatae filius cum Tartaris, quos sibi dederat pater, per Rasciam, Cumaniam et Moscoviam, Poloniam ingressus est, inde Hungariam et Austriam, igni ferroque depopulans, ita ut ipsemet postea fame coactus sit, terris istis derelictis, redire in Tartariam. Cumaniam, ultra pontum Euxinum, quam hodie uocant Zauolcha, et Zahadey, et iuxta quorundam opinionem est, quam Strabo Cataoniam appellat, hodie dicta Circasia.

The words *Zavolcha* and *Zahadey* remain enigmatic, but this passage could explain the strange assertions of Petrus de Reva about *Cumania*. His knowledge about *Cumani Nigri* could come from *Chronicon Budense*, printed for the first time in 1473.

⁶⁹ *Tripartitum Corpus Iuris Hungarici, seu Decretum generale incltyti Regni Hungariae, partiumque eidem annexarum. Tomus primus continens Opus tripartitum juris consuetudinarii ejusdem regni auctore Stephano de Werböcz*, Buda 1822, p. 184.

⁷⁰ It is a confusion. Cataonia was a part of Cappadocia. Strabo (XI, 12, 2 and XII, 2, 3) mentioned Comana (also known as Hierapolis) among its cities. Another Comana existed in Pontus Polemoniacus (both names are of Hittite origin). See *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. STILLWELL, W.L. MACDONALD, M. HOLLAND MCALLISTER, Princeton 1976, p. 233–234.

⁷¹ PETRUS DE REVA, *De monarchia et sacra corona regni Hungariae*, Frankfurt 1659, p. 148.

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CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS ON RELIEVING THE DAMAGE IN PALESTINE INFLICTED DURING THE SAMARITAN REVOLT (529–531)*

Abstract. The text analyses a short account by Cyril of Scythopolis concerning the imperial decision to finance the repair of the damages caused in Palestine by the Samaritan uprising of 529–531. A description of the alleged circumstances of this decision and information regarding the amount of the sum granted are examined. According to Cyril's account, the granted sum, 13 *centenarii* of gold, was to be set aside from the tax revenues of Palestine and then used to rebuild (only) the ecclesiastical and monastic infrastructure. It is not clear from the text whether the repair of the aforementioned damage was to be financed only in the area of *Palaestina secunda* (where the main fighting of the rebellion took place) or also in *Palaestina prima*. Moreover, there is no mention in the text in question (as well as in other sources of the period) of the financing of the repair of other damages, which undoubtedly were also caused by the Samaritan uprising. The issue that interested the author most was the amount of money that the Emperor Justinian allegedly allocated for the above-mentioned purpose. In order to verify the amount, the author compared it with other data showing the abundance of the imperial treasury at the time of Anastasius and Justinian, as well as reached for other information on the wealth of the cities at that time. After analysing this data, the author has come to the conclusion that, despite some doubts, the sum of 13 *centenarii* of gold (1,300 pounds) mentioned by Cyril and allegedly allocated by the imperial court to repair the damage caused by the Samaritan uprising seems quite reasonable.

Keywords: Cyril of Scythopolis, early Byzantine hagiography, early Byzantine economy, money in hagiographic texts

There had been numerous Samaritan revolts during the early Byzantine period, primarily in the *Palaestina secunda*. Each time the hostilities were conducted with great brutality, which resulted in large demographic and economic losses. Both of these have been reported in the sources in a variety of ways, and in most cases we do not have information on how the damages had been dealt

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with. There is one exception in the form of a brief and, despite giving a specific figure, rather laconic account we find in *Vita Sabae*, the work authored by Cyril of Scythopolis. An analysis of this account is the subject of the below text.

Cyril's account on the sums donated for the restoration of Palestine

Among the early Byzantine authors, only Cyril noted the fact that the imperial court allocated gold for restoring Palestine, in the aftermath of the damages caused by the Samaritan uprising during 529–531. The information which interests us here appears in the *Life of Saba*, in the description of the journey he undertook to Constantinople in 531, soon after the quelled Samaritan uprising. As the uprising had been devastating for the entire province, it did not spare the local monasteries, either. According to Cyril's statement, Saba refused to accept money from the Emperor for the monasteries under his supervision. This was because these particular communities had been located far from where the hostilities were waged, and thus had not suffered during the uprising. Refusing the offered support, Saba asked for financial support for the reconstruction of churches and monasteries in Palestine that had been destroyed during the uprising¹, and for financial relief for the entirety of the devastated province².

Justinian naturally acted according to Saba's request. Cyril also described the manner in which Justinian fulfilled his promise. He authorised the bishops of Ashkelon and Pella to evaluate the damages and calculate the amount that was to be paid out for the restoration of the local infrastructure. The damage was estimated at a staggering sum of 13 *kentenaria* of gold³. The money for the financing of the damage remediation was to be taken from the additional tax income from Palestine and from the sale of the property confiscated from the Samaritans. In a later part of the *Life of Saba* we read that the oversight over the reconstruction efforts, which supposedly lasted twelve years (potentially attesting to the magnitude of the incurred expenditure), was entrusted by the Emperor to the bishops of Jerusalem and of the Palestinian Bakatha.

If one were to believe Cyril, the reason behind such great generosity by Justinian towards the monasteries in Palestine was Saba's "argumentation", a prophetic encouragement to finance the planned undertakings. It was a kind of "linked transaction", co-financing by the state of certain investments in return for prayers for the welfare of the Empire ruled by Justinian⁴. According to Cyril, when the

¹ CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS, *Vita Sabae*, 71–73, [in:] E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig 1939 (cetera: *Vita Sabae*).

² *Vita Sabae*, 73. On *kentenarion* and the method of giving sums of money in early Byzantine sources, cf. C. MORIRISSON, G. DAGRON, *Le Kentènarion dans les sources byzantines*, RN 6, 1975, p. 145–162; J.P. CALLU, *Le "centenarium" et l'enrichissement monétaire au Bas-Empire*, Kt 3, 1978, p. 121–136.

³ *Vita Sabae*, 73.

⁴ *Vita Sabae*, 72.

Emperor was dictating the financial decisions to the clerks, Saba was reciting psalms for the fate of the Empire. However, it did not end there. Once the decision to fund the aforementioned undertakings was written down, Saba was to have said that *God will grant the Emperor a thousand-fold repayment, and will fulfil the old man's prophecy*. This statement refers of course to the successes of Justinian's expeditions in the West (conquests of the Vandals and the Ostrogoths), and to the gains, including material ones, which they brought to the Empire⁵. In Cyril's account we then read that Saba returned to Palestine and "proclaimed imperial orders" in Caesarea and Scythopolis⁶.

Critical remarks

In attempting to verify the epistemic value of the analysed account, let us consider whether the described audience could indeed have taken place, and whether the amounts of gold mentioned on this occasion are reasonable. Travels of the clergy, and in time also of the monks, to the imperial court in Constantinople, described in more or less fantastic terms, are recorded in early Byzantine hagiographic texts. In these accounts the petitioners arriving at the court also received substantial financial donations⁷. The supposed vision of the monk Saba regarding Justinian's western policy and the odds of its success are another aspect of the analysed narrative. This is because Saba was promoting the view that an Emperor cooperating with the Church (and with monastic communities) could count on "special" favours from God; and that only such an Emperor would be assisted by the Almighty, who will help in fulfilling any plans and goals of such a ruler.

From the cited account it follows that in the wake of the Samaritan uprising the infrastructure of Palestine suffered to varying degrees. Some of its areas, especially the ones located far from the cities (such as monasteries located on the edge of the desert) have not suffered much. The previously mentioned committee calculated the resulting damages to the total amount of 13 *kentenaria* of gold. What was the intended purpose for the donated funds? To assist in repairing damage caused by the uprising to the church and monastic infrastructure, or to the infrastructure of the entire province? The difference in this case is fundamental, and the somewhat laconic account along with references to this matter in a later part of *Life of Saba* appears to confirm that the Emperor, following the committee's findings, decided to donate such huge resources solely to the reconstruction of the church and monastic infrastructure. In Cyril's account we read that an additional one *kentenaarion* of gold was used to repair damages, caused during the uprising, in the

⁵ *Vita Sabae*, 74.

⁶ *Vita Sabae*, 74–75.

⁷ Cf. MARC LE DIACRE, *Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*, 39–54, trans. H. GRÉGOIRE, M.-A. KUGENER, Paris 1930 [= CB] (cetera: MARCUS DIACONUS).

vicinity of Scythopolis. Was this also in relation to church infrastructure? From the context in which this statement was included it follows that this was indeed so, and the author originating from this city decided that this fact should be specifically emphasized.

In deciding whether the sum in which we are interested here was reasonable, we will attempt to verify it by comparing it with other analogous data from the fifth century, primarily from the times of Anastasius and Justinian. The comparison data can be split into four groups: the amounts of other donations given to the church and monastic communities which appear in Cyril's work, information on the wealth of the imperial treasury in the sixth century, the size of analogous donations given by the imperial court to other churches during the early Byzantine period (using Palestinian Gaza as an example), and other information showing the economic means (affluence) of provincial towns in the early Byzantine period.

Cyril on other donations by the imperial court

In attempting to verify the sums supposedly donated for the reconstruction in Palestine, it is worth comparing it with other donations of the imperial court which appear in Cyril's work. Thus, in 511, Saba, while participating in a journey of several Palestinian igumens to Constantinople, received from Anastasius 2000 solidi (about thirty pounds of gold)⁸. It is true that in this account it is the main character of the *Life*, the monk Saba, who is in the spotlight, but one may nonetheless assume that during the audience the other members of the described audience received similar, or at least comparable, funds⁹. During the same visit to Constantinople, an imperial nephew Hypatius donated to Theodosius and Saba 100 pounds of gold (about 7200 solidi). After they returned to Palestine, this money was supposed to have been distributed between the monasteries in Jerusalem¹⁰.

When considering how reasonable was the sum allegedly donated for the reconstruction of the church and monastic infrastructure of *Palaestina Prima* after the Samaritan uprising, let us draw attention to the fact that during the same audience Justinian decided to fund two investments in Jerusalem: first, the construction of a hospital "for one hundred beds" and guaranteed the means for its operation. During the first year, the sum was said to have been 1850 solidi, while in the second the hospital was to be expanded up to "two hundred beds", with a simultaneous guarantee of its funding in subsequent years (without a mention of a specific amount). Justinian's second investment was co-funding of the construction

⁸ *Vita Sabae*, 51; 54–55.

⁹ *Vita Sabae*, 51.

¹⁰ *Vita Sabae*, 56. Cf. also M. AVI-YONAH, *The Economics of Byzantine Palestine*, IEJ 8, 1958, p. 45–46; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, 4th to 7th Centuries*, Washington 1995, p. 309–323.

of a church of the Mother of God. While Cyril does not provide on this occasion what the donated amount was, he does state that the funds for the construction were to be provided by the Palestinian “tractatores”. In other words, similarly to the aforementioned 13 kentenaria, the means for this investment were to have been obtained from the taxes being collected in Palestine. During Saba’s audience at Justinian’s court in 531 it was also decided that a “stronghold” (a watchtower) will be built, with the intention of protecting monastic communities from the direction of the Arabian Desert. The Emperor supposedly donated 1000 gold pieces for this purpose. The aforementioned sum is too small in comparison with, for example, the funds allocated for the annual functioning of the Jerusalem’s hospital funded by the Emperor. The taxes collected in the following years in Palestine were also to be used for paying the crew of the stronghold protecting Saba’s monasteries¹¹. The cited examples confirm the principle that the local investments were being financed from the tax revenues of the respective provinces¹².

Wealth of the imperial treasury in the sixth century

The financial capabilities of the Byzantine Empire in the sixth century are illustrated by information on the wealth of the imperial treasury. According to Procopius, after the death of Anastasius (in 518), enormous reserves amounting to 320 000 pounds of gold were discovered in the treasury¹³. Can this information be considered reliable? Probably so, and Procopius appears to further confirm this in a later part of his account, when he states that the income of the imperial treasury for only nine years during Justin’s reign (when in fact the rule was in the hands of the young Justinian) amounted to as much as 400 000 pounds of gold¹⁴. Great financial capabilities of the state during this time are confirmed by another example. According to John Lydus, in 498 Emperor Anastasius was said to have gifted to consul Paul 2000 pounds of gold for the repayment of a loan from senator Zotikos. The loan was taken out to cover the cost of various celebrations and organized

¹¹ *Vita Sabae*, 73.

¹² A more detailed discussion of these donations, cf. I. MILEWSKI, *Kyryllos von Skythopolis über Spenden an palästinensische Klöster. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der ausgehenden Antike*, [in:] *ANTIQUITAS AETERNA. Classical Studies dedicated to Leszek Mrozewicz on his 70th Birthday*, ed. K. BALBUZA, M. DUCH, Z. KACZMAREK, K. KRÓLCZYK, A. TATARKIEWICZ, Wiesbaden 2021, p. 231–241.

¹³ PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, 19, [in:] *Procopius with an English Translation*, vol. VI, *The Anecdota or Secret History*, ed. H.B. DEWING, Cambridge Mass. 1960 [= LCL, 290] (cetera: PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*). Cf. also E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II, *De la disparition de l’Empire d’Occident a la mort de Justinien (476–565)*, Paris 1949, p. 193; A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, 284–602. *A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, vol. I, Oxford 1964, p. 235–237; H.-U. WIEMER, *Kaiser und Katastrophe. Zur Bewältigung von Versorgungskrisen im spätrömischen Reich*, [in:] *Staatlichkeit und politisches Handeln in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, ed. IDEM, Berlin–New York 2006, p. 276–277.

¹⁴ PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, 19.

entertainment (mainly circus performances) during the time when he held the consul's office¹⁵. According to Zacharias Rhetor, in return for part of the lands of the bishopric in Mesopotamian Dara, to be used for expansion of the city, Anastasius offered the local bishop, Thomas, "several kentenaria of gold"¹⁶. According to John of Antioch, Anastasius also made an offer to the usurper Vitalian (in 515). In return for abandoning the siege of Constantinople, he offered him the office of *magister militum per Thracias* and 9000 pounds of gold, as well as an unspecified "larger amount" for freeing the Emperor's nephew, Hypatius¹⁷. The same Emperor, after the Bulgarian raid on Macedonia and Thrace in 517, ordered the prefect of Illyricum to collect 1000 pounds of gold from the obtained income to ransom the captives¹⁸. The wealth of the treasury during the times of Anastasius and Justinian is also attested to by the information relating to the tax income. Every five years 140 pounds were collected in Syrian Edessa in respect of the chrysargyron tax¹⁹ and, if one were to believe Procopius of Caesarea, the annual income from the *aericon* tax during Justinian's reign amounted to as much as 30 kentenaria of gold²⁰.

The wealth of the imperial treasury in the sixth century is also evidenced by the tributes which Constantinople paid out to invaders during that time. Without going into the details of the circumstances in which they were being paid out²¹, let us compile the amounts paid. In 506 Anastasius, after lengthy negotiations during which the Roman side offered a lower amount (7 kentenaria of gold), it agreed to pay the Persians 10 kentenaria of gold (1000 pounds, around 72,000 solidi)²². In 518 the Persian king Kabades demanded from Emperor Justinian I 50 kentenaria

¹⁵ JOANNES LYDOS, *De magistratibus populi romani*, III, 48, ed. R. WÜNSCH, Lipsiae 1903.

¹⁶ *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, VII, 6, ed., trans. K. AHRENS, G. KRÜGER, Leipzig 1899 (cetera: ZACHARIAS RHETOR), p. 116–117. Cf. also *Vita Sabae*, 54, where we read that Emperor Anastasius gave to Saba returning to Palestine a sum of one thousand solidi and ten pounds of gold (the equivalent of 720 solidi), so a total of 1,720 solidi.

¹⁷ JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 242.14, ed. S. MARIEV, Berlin 2008; MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon, sub anno 515*, [in:] M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes Marcellin, vir clarissimus. Historyk i jego dzieło*, Łódź 2022 [= BL, 45] (cetera: MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon*); ZACHARIAS RHETOR, VII, 13; THEOPHANES, *Chronicon*, AM 6006, trans. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, Oxford 1997.

¹⁸ MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon, sub anno 517*.

¹⁹ JOSHUA STYLITA, 31.

²⁰ PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, 21, 1–2. Cf. also J. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Das Finanzwesen des früh byzantinischen Staates*, München 1958, p. 177–178.

²¹ More on the circumstances of paying tributes at that time, by the imperial court in Constantinople, cf. A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire...*, p. 185–229; J. IŁUK, *The Export of Gold from the Roman Empire to Barbarian Countries from the 4th to the 6th Centuries*, MBAH 4.1, 1985, p. 79–102; IDEM, *Ekonomiczne i polityczne aspekty cyrkulacji złota w późnym Cesarstwie Rzymskim*, Gdańsk 1988, p. 134–138; K. MAKSYMIOUK, *Die finanziellen Abrechnungen in den persisch-römischen Kriegen in den Zeiten der Sasaniden*, HiS 5, 2016, p. 149–157.

²² PROKOP, *Perserkriege*, I, 9. 4, ed. O. VEH, München 1970 (cetera: PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*); JOSHUA STYLITA, *Chronicon*, 59, ed. W. WRIGHT, Cambridge 1882 (cetera: JOSHUA STYLITA).

of gold. He also made the same demand of young Justinian in 527²³. In 532, while concluding a so-called “eternal peace”, the Persians were paid 110 kentenaria of gold²⁴. In 540, after conquering Antioch and initiation of the peace talks, Chosroes demanded from Justinian an immediate payment of 50 kentenaria of gold, and an annual payment, from the following year, of 5 kentenaria²⁵. In 545, following further hostilities, the negotiated tribute was reduced to 4 kentenaria per year²⁶. Only six years later, in 551, the Persians demanded payment of a further tribute of 20 kentenaria of gold, and an annual, regular tribute of 6 kentenaria. Ultimately, Justinian paid the Persians 44 kentenaria of gold²⁷. In 562 a peace was concluded “for fifty years”. At the same time an annual tribute of 4 kentenaria of gold was agreed. The tribute for the first ten years was to be paid out in two instalments, the tribute for the first seven years was due at the time the peace was concluded, the rest (three years’ tribute), was to be paid at the beginning of the eighth year of peace²⁸. Beside the Persians, Constantinople also made payments to the Avars. It is estimated that during the 570s and 580s the latter received from the Byzantine Empire at least 83,333 pounds of gold²⁹.

Procopius, cited above, provides further information illustrating the wealth of the imperial treasury in Justinian’s times. He mentions 10 kentenaria of gold (1000 pounds) spent on receiving Persian envoys at Justinian’s court³⁰, and an otherwise unspecified tax amounting to 4 kentenaria (400 pounds) collected from the inhabitants of Armenia³¹.

The size of financial donations made by the imperial court to local churches during the early Byzantine period. The example of Palestinian Gaza

In verifying Cyril’s information on the amount of the sum said to have been donated by Emperor Justinian for the reconstruction of the church and monastic infrastructure in Palestine, it may be helpful to examine an account of a different instance of imperial funding. The sole and reliable example known to me is found in the work of Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry, bishop of Gaza*, a city

²³ *Chronicon Miscelaneum ad 724 pertinens*, ed. J.B. CHABOT, Paris 1903, p. 111; ZACHARIAS RHETOR, VIII, 5.

²⁴ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, I, 22. 3–5; ZACHARIAS RHETOR, IX, 7.

²⁵ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 10. 19–24.

²⁶ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 28. 10.

²⁷ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, VIII, 15. 16–18.

²⁸ Detailed discussion of these calculations, cf. H. TURTLEDOVE, *Justin II’s Observance of Justinian’s Persian Treaty of 562*, BZ 76, 1983, p. 292–301; A. GARIBOLDI, *La clause économique della Pace dei 50 anni (561/62)*, Bi 11, 2009, p. 249–259.

²⁹ J. IŁUK, *Ekonomiczne i polityczne...*, p. 137–138.

³⁰ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 28. 31–44.

³¹ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 3. 4–7.

situated in the territory of a neighbouring province, Palaestina Prima. Without going into too much detail on the circumstances in which these donations were made³², let us make a summary of these. The author of the account which interests us here describes four audiences of the protagonist of his work, Bishop Porphyrios, at Empress Eudoxia's court³³. At the conclusion of the first one, the bishops received from the Empress "three handfuls of solidi" (about 50 solidi)³⁴. To the returning to Gaza Porphyrios, the Empress gave 200 pounds of gold³⁵. This was an advance payment for the start of construction of a basilica in Gaza, which was to be erected at the site of the demolished temple of Zeus Marnas. As the account's author stated, Bishop Porphyrios, having received such a generous donation, was authorised by the Empress to demand additional funds in the future, as construction costs were incurred on raising the basilica. This is likely a topical statement, although it cannot be ruled out that it was specifically formulated to make it easier for the Gazan bishopric to obtain funds from the local authorities for the expansion, or even renovation, of the basilica in the future. The basilica was indeed built, we can see it, for example, depicted on a mosaic from Madaba³⁶. Entrusting Porphyrios with the aforementioned 200 pounds of gold, Empress Eudoxia also ordered him to build a xenodochium in Gaza³⁷. During the farewells, Eudoxia also gave each of the bishops 100 solidi to cover the cost of the journey, and in addition to that, the bishop of Caesarea in Palestine was also given "one thousand gold pieces and precious vessels"³⁸. The final audience at the court took place before Emperor Arcadius, who gave each of the bishops 20 pounds of gold, paid out from the taxes gathered in the Palestinian provinces³⁹. Mark also mentioned the granting of otherwise unspecified privileges and incomes⁴⁰.

³² A detailed discussion of this issue, cf. I. MILEWSKI, *The Economic Condition of the Bishopric of Gaza (Palestine) during the Rule of Bishop Porphyry (circa 395–420)*, SCer 8, 2018, p. 193–207.

³³ MARCUS DIACONUS, 39–40 (first audience); 42–43 (second audience); 45–46 (third audience); 50–51 (fourth audience).

³⁴ MARCUS DIACONUS, 40, 54.

³⁵ MARCUS DIACONUS, 53.

³⁶ G. DOWNEY, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century*, Norman 1963, p. 17; C. GLUCKER, *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, London 1987, p. 48 et sqq; L. RYDEN, *Gaza, Emesa, and Constantinople*, [in:] *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium. Papers read at a Colloquium held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 31 May – 5 June 1992*, ed. L. RYDÉN, J.O. ROSENQVIST, Stockholm 1993, p. 133–137.

³⁷ MARCUS DIACONUS, 53.

³⁸ MARCUS DIACONUS, 53.

³⁹ MARCUS DIACONUS, 54.

⁴⁰ MARCUS DIACONUS, 46; cf. 48–50, 53–54.

Other information illustrating financial capabilities of early Byzantine cities

While information of this nature is abundant, using it as comparative material may be debatable, since the greater part this data relates to the ransoms collected or demanded from besieged cities by the Persian king. The “eternal peace” concluded in 532 lasted a mere eight years. It was broken in 540 by Chosroes, at the time when Justinian was engaged in military operations in the West. Most of the data of interest to us comes from this period. Without going into the details of the circumstances in which the ransoms were collected⁴¹, let us make a summary of the data in chronological order presented by Procopius in his description of the first Persian war: the demand of 2000 kentenaria of gold from the inhabitants of Sergiopolis for the freeing of hostages from the city of Sura and abandoning the siege of the city (undoubtedly, an incredible sum!)⁴²; 2000 pounds of silver from the inhabitants of Hierapolis in return for abandoning the siege of the city⁴³; an alleged proposal made by the Bishop of Antioch, offering 10 kentenaria of gold in return for withdrawing from the the Empire⁴⁴; 4000 pounds of silver from the inhabitants of Beroe⁴⁵; 1000 pounds of silver from the inhabitants of Apamea⁴⁶; 200 pounds of gold from the inhabitants of Chalkis⁴⁷; 2 kentenaria of gold from the inhabitants of Edessa⁴⁸; 1000 pounds of silver from the inhabitants of Dara⁴⁹. In verifying the above, one other information is important. After conquering the fortress of Dara in 574, the Persians laid their hands on the alleged sum of 200 kentenaria of gold (20,000 pounds)⁵⁰. The author of this information, John of Ephesus, unfortunately did not write why such a great amount of funds had been gathered there.

How to evaluate Procopius’ information on the size of the ransoms? The data appears questionable even if only compared with one another. Furthermore, we do not know much about the real wealth of the cities from which the ransom was demanded. Beside the affluent Antioch (which certainly was able to pay 10 kentenaria / 1000 pounds of gold⁵¹), only in relation to Edessa do we have some clues

⁴¹ Cf. K. MAKSYMUK, *Die finanziellen Abrechnungen...*, p. 149 et sqq; 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 (a detailed discussion of the data provided by Procopius of Caesarea).

⁴² PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 5. 1–29. Cf. also II, 5. 30–32.

⁴³ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 6. 20–24.

⁴⁴ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 6. 25.

⁴⁵ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 7. 5–6.

⁴⁶ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 11. 1–3.

⁴⁷ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 12. 1–2.

⁴⁸ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 12, 6, 31–34. Cf. also H.-U. WIEMER, *Kaiser und Katastrophe...*, p. 267.

⁴⁹ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 13. 16–28.

⁵⁰ JOANNES EPHEINUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VI, 5, ed. E. W. BROOKS, Louvain 1952.

⁵¹ PROCOPIUS, *De bello Persico*, II, 6. 25.

that would allow us to make an approximate, at best, estimate of the financial capabilities of the contemporary cities. An insight into the wealth of Edessa during the first half of the fifth century, and specifically into that of the local bishopric, is given by two remarks found in *Vita Rabulae*, a text created in the second half of the fifth century. There, we read about 1000 pieces of silver donated by the regional bishopric to cover the running costs of a local hospital⁵², and of the donation by the bishopric of 7,000 solidi to cover the cost of the local charitable activity⁵³. From the perspective of our research, of greater value is the information about the tax obligations of the inhabitants of Edessa at the end of the fifth century. According to Joshua the Stylite, the *chrysargyron* paid by the local inhabitants amounted to 140 pounds of gold, paid every five years⁵⁴. If we were to believe Joshua, due to the famine in Roman Mesopotamia in the first years of the sixth century, the taxes in Edessa were halved, and Emperor Anastasius donated to the city 2 kentenaria of gold (200 pounds) for the reconstruction of a bath-house destroyed in an earthquake⁵⁵.

Concluding remarks

Considering the compiled data, how to assess the amount of the alleged subsidy for the remediation of damages in Palestine provided by Justinian? The cited accounts confirm that it was a known practice in the early Byzantium to finance the local investments from the taxes collected in the same provinces. The compiled comparative material also confirms that confiscation of property from pacified insurgents was also employed⁵⁶. We do not have other sources which would have confirmed the activity of the committee estimating the losses caused by the Samaritan uprising. We cannot however rule out that such a committee had indeed been appointed. The local officials and clergy, whose activity at the time far exceeded ecclesiastic duties, knew best what has been destroyed, and to what extent. Obviously the most problematic is the verification of the estimated sum, the 13 kentenaria of gold. Most importantly, the sum given by Cyril was not topical. The compiled comparative data offers a certain idea, but doubts still remain. Information on the size of income of the imperial treasury, although important, is not particularly helpful in making further estimates. With few exceptions, we do not have information that would have allowed us to, even approximately, determine what part of this sum

⁵² *Vita Rabulae episcopi edesseni*, ed. G. BICKELL, Kempten 1874 (cetera: *Vita Rabulae episcopi edesseni*), p. 205.

⁵³ *Vita Rabulae episcopi edesseni*, p. 194.

⁵⁴ JOSHUA STYLITA, 31.

⁵⁵ H.-U. WIEMER, *Kaiser und Katastrophe...*, p. 276–277.

⁵⁶ See the example of confiscated property of the Isaurians, who supported the revolt against Anastasius, cf. K. FELD, *Barbarische Bürger. Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich*, Berlin–New York 2005, p. 332 et sqq.

has been collected from the provinces as taxation. The data provided by Procopius on the payment of ransoms by the cities in Syria and Mesopotamia to the Persian king are also doubtful. Regarding the amounts used to finance the Church in the sixth century by the state, we have presented the data from the Palestinian Gaza. From a researcher's perspective, these too, of course, have certain flaws: there is the question of the reliability of the account, and of the size of the mentioned sums. Some idea, however, of the amount of funding for the Church in the sixth century is confirmed by another, rather reliable example from the time of Anastasius. I am referring here to the ordinance proclaimed in 508, guaranteeing an annual subsidy of 70 pounds of gold to cover the running costs of the Church of the 12 Apostles in Constantinople⁵⁷. It was equivalent to half of the *chrysargyron* collected every five (or, as Joshua tells us, every four years) from the inhabitants of the Syrian Edessa⁵⁸. Compared to this, the 1300 pounds of gold for the reconstruction of only the church and monastic infrastructure in Palestine destroyed in the Samaritan uprising appears to be well founded.

Translated by Michał Zytka

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⁵⁷ *Codex Justinianus*, I, 2, 18, ed. P. KRÜGER, Berolini 1892. On the imperial generosity towards Palestinian monastic communities in the early 6th century cf. also THEODOSIUS, *Liber De situ Terrae Sanctae*, 20, [in:] J. WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster 2002.

⁵⁸ JOSHUA STYLITA, 31. Cf. also E. KIRSTEN, *Edessa*, [in:] RAC, vol. IV, ed. T. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1959, col. 559.

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IDEOLOGY BEHIND THE NAMING: ON THE ORIGIN OF BASIL II'S APPELLATION 'SCYTHICUS'

Abstract. The paper examines the terminology used by the Byzantine authors of the 10th and 11th century as regards the Samuel's State, which was largely shaped by the Byzantine ideology and momentary aim of the political propaganda. The analysis of the Byzantine sources shows that by the end of the 10th century Basil II became known as "Scythicus", because of his military achievements against Samuel's State. The same context derives from Basil II's verse Epitaph which contains ideological message about the accomplished mission given to Basil II by Christ himself in defeating the "Scythians". Hence, Basil II was known and wanted to be remembered, among other, as the victor over the Scythians, thus designating the enemies coming from the Samuel's State. Following this notion, in his narrative Michael Psellos portrayed Basil II as the vanquisher of the Scythians. Psellos even provided ideological context of the subjugation of the Samuel's State, remarking that by this Basil II actually converted these people and turned them towards God.

Keywords: Byzantium, terminology, ideology, Basil II, Samuel's State, Scythians, Mysians, Macedonians

The paper deals with the issue of terminology used by the Byzantine authors writing in 10th and 11th century and how it was shaped to fit the Byzantine ideology and further manipulated in accordance with the momentary aim of the political propaganda. The complex meaning of the terminology, when applied in Byzantine imperial context, disclose the coordinates of the conceptual frontiers of the Roman (Byzantine) power. Through this conception of the Roman borderland, we should trace the real appellation of Basil II by which he was known during his lifetime and to attempt to reconstruct its meaning reflected in the Byzantine sources.

I will not follow here the usual scholarly debate related to the epithet "Bulgar-Slayer" constructed and attached to Basil II in late 12th century, which projected in 20th century Balkan Wars and the Balkans of the 21st century, turns into an issue

of identity, or more precisely into a political tool for negation of identity¹. Instead, through the exploration of Basil II's appellations, I intend to explore the ideological function of terminology and to understand how it was constructed in 10th and 11th century Byzantium for the purpose of imperial propaganda and further recycled in 12th century.

Within this conceptual framework, there is no need to go into elaborating the arguments of Paul Stephenson, since he convincingly showed that during his lifetime Basil II was known as Porphyrogenitus, receiving the epithet "Bulgar-Slayer" only in late 12th century². I will just refer to the latest opinion of some of the scholars, who objecting Stephenson's view, mainly point to the *Life of John the Younger* who lived in the 11th century, containing a reference that Basil II "received a cognomen", because of the victories against "Bulgarians"³. However, it is known that the author of the *Life of John the Younger* was Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), who in fact composed the text after his exile in 1328 at Didymoteichon, where John the Younger once served as abbot. Accordingly, this *Life* cannot be regarded as evidence that Basil II was considered as the "Bulgar-Slayer" immediately after his victory over Samuel's army at battle of Kleidion in 1014, as some scholars believe⁴. This was merely Metochites' clarification of Basil II's cognomen by which however the emperor became known from the late 12th century.

Turning to political motives, it was the rebellion of the Vlachs and Bulgarians that occurred in 1186 in the area between the Haemus mountains and the lower Danube, that certainly incited a response from the Byzantine establishment, which reacted with attaching the epithet the "Bulgar-Slayer" to Basil II⁵. The historian and statesman, Niketas Choniates, representing the ideological perspective and official rhetoric of the time, narrated a story that Isaak II Angelos (1185–1195) was criticized by the judge (*krites*) Leo Monasteriotes for his premature victory over Asen, the leader of the Vlachs and Bulgars. Monasteriotes complained that by doing so, Isaak had aggrieved the "soul of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer" for casting aside the emperor's *typon* in the Monastery of Sosthenion, *where the revolution*

¹ On the issue of the exploitation of the legendary struggle between Basil II and Samuel in the Balkan context, cf. M. B. PANOV, *The Blinded State. Historiographic Debates about Samuel Cometopoulos and his State, 10th–11th Century*, Leiden–Boston 2019 [= ECEEMA, 55].

² P. STEPHENSON, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*, Cambridge 2003.

³ *Vita S. Iohannis Iunioris, Acta Sanctorum, Novembris*, vol. IV, ed. H. DELEHAYE, P. PEETERS, Bruxelles 1925, p. 679.

⁴ A. NIKOLOV, *On Basil II's Cognomen 'The Bulgar-Slayer'*, [in:] *Европейският югоизток през втората половина на X – началото на XI век. История и култура. Международна конференция. София, 6–8 октомври 2014 г.*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2015, p. 578–584; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Около прозвището на Василий II "Българоубиец"*, [in:] *Хиляда години от битката при Беласица и от смъртта на цар Самуил (1014–2014)*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2015, p. 84–91; ИДЕМ, *Между Рим и Константинопол. Из антикатолическата литература в България и славянския православен свят, XI–XVII в.*, София 2016, p. 116–120.

⁵ P. STEPHENSON, *The Legend...*, p. 81–96.

of the Vlachs was prophesized. Isaak dismissed the accusations, deriding Basil II for taking a very long time to suppress the rebels, belching forth empty lies and vain prophecies⁶.

The paradox behind the evidently constructed epithet "Bulgar-Slayer" attached to Basil, led Choniates to state that the emperor was actually not attacking Bulgarians, but the Vlachs. Choniates even based this claim on Basil's prophecy, which was obviously a construction, as was the appellation itself. To complement this notion, Choniates stated that the Vlachs were formerly called Mysians, thus depicting the new enemy state as "Mysia". In this case we have a clear tendency of Choniates to explain the inconsistency of Byzantine terminology as regards the newly introduced epithet "Bulgar-Slayer" attached to Basil II. In this regard, Choniates was speaking about the danger coming from the aspiration of John Asen to take over the *Roman territories and unite the political power of Mysia and Bulgaria into one empire as of old*⁷. It was the soul of Basil that was raised to fight the contemporary Vlachs from Mysia and to prevent them from attacking the Roman territories. Thus, from the understanding of Choniates, Basil II did not slay Bulgarians, but Vlachs.

The danger which was specified by Choniates, was real. Especially, since the constructed epithet "Bulgar-Slayer" actually provided terminological justification for the leaders of the Second Bulgarian Empire for their territorial aspirations. George Akropolites, writing in 13th century, noted that Kaloïannes claimed that he had enslaved the towns and cities as an act of revenge for the evils done by the emperor Basil saying that *since that man was called 'Bulgar-Slayer', he named himself 'Roman-Slayer'*⁸. Kaloïannes' inversion of the invocation of Basil the 'Bulgar-Slayer' is a clear indication of his intention to counter the Byzantine constructed epithet, which was already established in his time. By this he in fact acknowledged that he was using the Byzantine constructed terminology for his own agenda to conquer the Roman territory.

The issue of constructed appellation, brings us back to the original sources from the time of Basil II, when the emperor was confronting the real and not projected enemies coming from the Samuel's State. To make things clearer, one should also have in mind the complexity of the terminology, since Basil II was also known as Macedonian, which was identity label for the Byzantine dynasty as representatives of the Empire. Consulting the works of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, we can notice that through the names Macedonia and Macedonians, he conceptualized the borders of the Roman imperial power and justified the kinship

⁶ *Nicetae Choniatae historiae*, ed. J.L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin 1975 [= *CFHB*, 11.1] (cetera: CHONIATES), p. 373–374, 442.

⁷ CHONIATES, p. 373–374, 442.

⁸ *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. I, ed. A. HEISENBERG, P. WIRTH, Stuttgart 1978, p. 18.15–20, 23.15–19. English translation: GEORGE AKROPOLITES, *The History*, trans. R. MACRIDES, Oxford 2007 [= OSB], p. 133, 140.

and descent⁹. This was especially relevant for Macedonia, that emerged as the cradle of the Samuel's State.

In such conceptions of terminology reflecting the notion of geography of Roman belonging¹⁰, we should trace the real appellation of Basil II. Key question that imposes itself is do we have a source which would provide clear attestation how Basil II himself represented his victories over the enemies of the empire. We are fortunate to have Basil's verse epitaph, portraying the victories of the emperor:

The emperors of old
allotted to themselves different burial-sites: some here, others there;
but I, Basil the purple-born,
erect my tomb in the region of Hebdomon.
Here I rest, on the seventh day, from the numerous toils
I bore and endured on the battlefield,
for from the day that the King of Heaven called upon me
to become the emperor, the great overlord of the world,
no one saw my spear lie idle.
I stayed alert throughout my life
and protected the children of the New Rome,
valiantly campaigning both in the West,
and at the outposts of the East,
erecting myriads of trophies in all parts of the world.
And witnesses of this are the Persians and the Scyths,
together with the Abkhaz, the Ismaelite, the Arab and the Iberian.
O man, seeing now my tomb here,
reward me for my campaigns with your prayers.¹¹

⁹ M.B. PANOV, *The Slavs and the Conceptual Roman Borderland in Macedonia*, [in:] *Continuation or Change? Borders and Frontiers in Late Antiquity and Medieval Europe. Landscape of Power Network, Military Organisation and Commerce*, ed. G. LEIGHTON, Ł. RÓŻYCKI, P. PRANKE, London–New York 2022, p. 59–80.

¹⁰ For the use of classical terms by which the Byzantines related their subjects in the 11th and 12th century Balkans to the former provinces and conquests of the Roman Empire, thus “projecting an ideology of geographical ownership”, cf. P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantine Conceptions of Otherness after the Annexation of Bulgaria in 1018*, [in:] *Strangers to Themselves. The Byzantine Outsider, Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998*, ed. D.C. SMYTHE, Aldershot 2000, p. 245–257; IDEM, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2000, p. 77–79; A. KALDELLIS, *Ethnography after Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature*, Philadelphia 2013, p. 116–117.

¹¹ S.G. MERCATI, *L'epitafio di Basilio Bulgaroctonos secondo it codice Modense Greco 144 ed Ottoniano Greco 344*, [in:] *Collectanea Byzantina*, vol. II, Bari 1970, p. 232–234; IDEM, *Sull'epitafio di Basilio II Bulgaroctonos*, [in:] *Collectanea Byzantina*, vol. II..., p. 226–231. English translation by M.D. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*, vol. I, Wien 2003 [= WBS, 24.1], p. 237. See also the English translation by P. STEPHENSON, *The Legend...*, p. 49; IDEM, *The Tomb of Basil II*, [in:] *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. L.M. HOFFMANN, A. MONCHIZADEH, Wiesbaden 2005, p. 230–231.

If we are dealing here with the real attestation that Basil II wanted to be remembered as the victor over the enemies of the Empire, which without doubt included Scythians named as enemies coming from the Samuel's State¹², next thing to do is to seek in other sources for the clue whether he was known as such during his lifetime.

There would be no better source to find than someone who was metropolitan, diplomat and writer, and furthermore writing directly to Basil II using the precise appellation. We have all this in the name of Leo the metropolitan of Synada and his surviving letters addressed directly to emperor Basil II. In Leo's letter addressed to Emperor Basil II in the early 996, he states:

The emperor was the greatest of these, the emperor who was returning from a brilliant and incomparable victory; who was missed and longed for because of the long time, he labored in adversity in order to secure the complete victory; who, because of his achievement, was brilliant and celebrated and did not disdain the appellations 'Scythicus'... Along with you, farewell to that portion of the bureaucracy that renders you satisfactory and efficient service and everyone whom you yourself, perceptive judge of character that you are, deem worthy of the greeting. Don't, however, spare a single Scyth, not even the little boy his mother carries in her womb, but annihilate and destroy them all together.¹³

This official correspondence addressed personally to emperor, clearly shows that the appellation "Scythicus" was ascribed by Leo of Synada to Basil II for his military victory against the "Scyths", meaning the Samuel's army. The genuineness of the appellation "Scythicus" is reflected in the harsh and unusual words for the Metropolitan, calling Basil II *not to spare a single Scyth, not even the little boy his mother carries in her womb, but annihilate and destroy them all together*. Since

¹² M.D. LAUXTERMANN (*Byzantine Poetry...*, p. 237–238) equalizes the Scythians with the Bulgarians as an enemy of the West, apart from others of the East. Interestingly, he points to the verb μαρτυρῶ, indicating that the conquered enemies in fact "testify" the political legacy of Basil II, by admitting their defeat and recognizing his overlordship. P. STEPHENSON (*The Legend...*, p. 49–51) remarks that the classicizing term Scythian was used by the Byzantines to refer to any norther Barbarian people and, although not clear in this case, probably is "used to mean the Bulgarians". He also observes that Basil II alludes only to Scythians, "not mentioning Bulgaria", while Abkhazia and Iberia as annexed to the empire by Basil, warrant special mention in his epitaph, signifying great prestige that accrued from empire's eastern reaches. However, it is quite obvious that the names Bulgarians and Bulgaria were not used by Basil II in his epitaph, which would simply mean that he did not name the Samuel's State as such. Instead, Basil rather used the name Scythians from which he also received his official appellation during his life and used it for the eternity. This was not noticed by the scholars.

¹³ LEO OF SYNADA, *Epistle*, 54, 8–13; 54, 45–49, [in:] LEO OF SYNADA, *The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus*, ed. et trans. M.P. VINSON, Washington DC 1985 [= *CFHB*, 23; *DOT*, 8], p. 87–91.

Leo of Synada was addressing his letter directly to Basil II, it is notable that the Scythian terminology for designating the Samuel's State and its subjects was used in official communication in the late 10th century, from where the appellation of the emperor actually derived.

A corresponding representation, from quite different perspective, is present in the fictitious epitaph to Nikephoros II Phokas in the interpolated text in Skylitzes, attributed to the poet John of Melitene and composed most probably in 988/989:

[...] A bitter sight; good ruler, rouse yourself!
Take footmen, horsemen, archers to the fight,
The regiments and units of your host –
For Rus', fully armed, assail our ports,
The Scyths are anxious to be slaughtering
While every people does your city harm¹⁴.

The fictitious epitaph by John of Melitene can be interpreted as propaganda directed against Basil II, describing the events following the year of 985/986¹⁵. It certainly reflects the conventional Byzantine terminology at the time, including "Scyths" as a designation for the Samuel's State, that was officially used and thus reflected in the sources.

Hence, it is not mere a coincidence that the same terminology can be found in Byzantine contemporaries of Basil II and Samuel, such were Leo the Deacon and John Geometres. By naming the enemy army coming from the Samuel's State as Scythians or Mysians, they were clearly using the terminology to conceptualize the borderland of the Empire¹⁶. It comprised the "land of the Macedonians"¹⁷ that belonged to the Romans and represented by the Macedonian emperors, but was endangered by the new rising star – Samuel Cometopoulos who also claimed the "Macedonian land"¹⁸. In this conceptual framework, Basil II the Macedonian

¹⁴ IOANNES SCYLITZES, *Synopsis historiarum*, rec. I. THURN, Berlin–New York 1973 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 5] (cetera: SCYLITZES), p. 282; JOHN SKYLITZES, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, trans. J. WORTLEY, Cambridge 2010, p. 270.

¹⁵ M.D. LAUXTERMANN, *John Geometres – Poet and Soldier*, B 68, 1998, p. 356–380; IDEM, M.D. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry...*, p. 235–236, 305–316.

¹⁶ M.B. PANOV, *The Slavs and the Conceptual...* (in print).

¹⁷ *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis historiae libri decem*, 10, 8, ed. C.B. HASE, Bonn 1828, p. 171; *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, trans. A.-M. TALBOT, D.F. SULLIVAN, Washington DC 2005 [= DOS, 41], p. 213–215: [...] *those arrogant and cruel people, who breathed murder, were harassing Roman territory and mercilessly plundering the land of the Macedonians, killing everyone from youth upwards.*

¹⁸ JOHN GEOMETRES, *Poems*, [in:] *Anecdota Graeca e Codd. Manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis*, vol. IV, ed. J.A. CRAMER, Oxford 1841, p. 282: [...] *the Macedonian land showed the glow of newly risen star. Why do you uselessly reproach the Scythians when you can see that your friends and allies carry out the same things.* For detailed analysis of John Geometres' poems and his view of the Samuel's State, cf. M.B. PANOV, *The Blinded State...*, p. 39–58.

in fact confronted Scythians or Mysians, receiving by the end of the 10th century the official appellation "Scythicus".

Following the subjugation of the Samuel's State and restoration of large part of the Balkans, Basil II redraw the conceptual boundaries of the empire, that required imposing new terminology to mark the reconquered territories. This resulted in complete terminological distortion. It is a complex issue why Basil II introduced new terminology to reflect administrative and ecclesiastical rearrangement following the subjugation of Samuel's State in 1018. However, it has certainly to do with ideology, since the political and ecclesiastical establishment in Constantinople not only did not recognize the Samuel's State, but treated this polity as illegally emerging from the Roman land. This conclusion is supported by Skylitzes' description of Basil's celebration in Constantinople after the subjugation of Samuel's State. Skylitzes presented an image of Basil *entering through the great doors of the Golden Gate and crowned with a crested golden diadem celebrated triumph preceded by Maria, wife of Vladislav, and the daughters of Samuel [...]* Thus he came, joyful and triumphant, and entered the Great Church where he sang hymns of thanksgiving to God then went his way to the palace¹⁹. There is no mention of any military spoils or imperial regalia regained since they were not granted by the Byzantine emperor to Samuel and thus were considered as illegitimate.

In the recomposed borderland of the Roman empire, the newly introduced term "Bulgaria" marked the administrative and ecclesiastical frontiers, by which Basil II wanted to conceptually frame the Roman territory and to maintain the sense of belonging to the Romans. This was clearly not a terminology that was intended to ascribe the ethnic identity of the inhabitants. Furthermore, as contemporary sources reveal it was not used as designation of the Samuel's State and its subjects. It was a new terminological marker for designating the acquired Roman land.

Basil II's sigillia issued for Ohrid Archbishopric speaks in favor of this argument, revealing that by using the terminology the emperor ideologically framed the newly acquired territories of the former Bulgarian Empire (ruled by Peter and eliminated by Tzimiskes in 971) and the former Samuel's State (ruled by Samuel and eliminated by Basil II). To use Basil's rhetoric, he was ideologically *blending into one the divided parts, and placing under one yoke the boundaries, without in any way infringing upon the rules well established by those who have ruled before us*²⁰. He in fact blended the Roman territories establishing an order, using newly

¹⁹ SCYLITZES, 344; trans. J. WORTLEY, p. 344–345. On the Roman triumphal practice revived in 10th century, cf. M. McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory. Triumphant Rulership in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge–New York–Paris 1986 [= P.P.P.].

²⁰ H. GELZER, *Ungedruckte and wenig bekannte Bistumerverzeichnisse der orientalischen Kirche*, BZ 2, 1893, p. 44; Й. ИВАНОВ, *Български старини из Македония*, София 1931 [репр. София 1970], p. 555–556.

introduced terminology for the territory of the former Samuel's State to demonstrate the ideological superiority²¹.

Official correspondence clearly reveals that Basil II was actually called "Scythicus" during his life and as his epitaph affirm, he wanted to be remembered as victor over Scythians in eternity. This notion is clearly reflected in the works of Michael Psellos, who was born in Constantinople the same year as Basil II conquered Samuel's State. He obtained high positions at the imperial court in the 1040's and later became a monk. As such, he is the best example for representing Byzantine political and ideological perception of the time.

In the first chapter of his *Chronographia* devoted to the reign of Basil II, probably written in the beginning of 1060's, Psellos used the term "Scythians" to refer to Basil's great victories against the enemies. He presented Basil II as exterminating the *barbarians and subjugating them completely*, filling up the imperial treasury with everything that was stored in the treasures of the *Iberians and Arabians, as well as the Celts and everything which was found in the lands of the Scythians; and to say in short the riches of the surrounding barbarians*²². For him, there was no doubt that Basil II fought with the barbarian "Scythians".

When for instance, he wrote about the anti-Byzantine rebellion of the "barbarians" in 1040/1041, led by Peter Deljan, Psellos clearly avoided designating Basil's enemies, referring to them as *people (genos), who after many vicissitudes of fortune and after frequent battles in the past, had become part of the territory (epikrateia) ruled by Romans*²³. He further noted that *prince of emperors, the famous Basil, had deliberately attacked their country and destroyed their power*. Psellos also carefully avoided characterizing the traditions evoked by Deljan or Alusian, noting vaguely that their leaders Samuel and Aaron *recently reigned and ruled over the people*.

²¹ M.B. PANOV, *Ohrid Archbishopric and Ecclesiastical Identity in Byzantium*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 8th International Symposium on Byzantine and Medieval Studies, Days of Justinian I*, ed. IDEM, Skopje 2021, p. 82–92.

²² *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*, 1, 31, vol. I, ed. D.R. REINSCH, Berlin–Boston 2014 [= Mil.S, 51.1] (cetera: PSELLOS), p. 19–20.

²³ PSELLOS, 4, 39, p. 70–71. It is interesting that the critical editions made by Konstantinos Sathas (*Μιχαήλ Ψελλοῦ Ἐκατοντητηρῆς Βυζαντινῆς ἱστορίας (976–1077)*, ed. K.N. SATHAS, Paris 1874 [= MBi, 4] and *The History of Psellus*, ed. C. SATHAS, London 1899), contain interpolations of the names "Bulgarians" and "Mysians": τὸ γὰρ δὴ γένος <τῶν Βουλγάρων, πολλοῖς πρότερον κινδύνοις καὶ μάχαις μέρος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας γενόμενον, Βασιλείου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐν αὐτοκράτορσι λάμπαντος <Μυσῶν> λείαν ὃ δὴ λέγεται τὰ ἐκείνων ποιησαμένου· καὶ τὸ μὲν κράτος ἀφελομένου· ὡσπερ δὲ παντάπασιν ἡσθηνηκὸς τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύϊ προσερείσαντος, βραχὺν τινα χρόνον τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπομενηκὸς ἦτταν, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν ἀλαζονεῖαν παλινδρομεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν. It is noticeable that these interpolations were differently applied or exempted in various editions and translations of the Psellos *Chronography*. Only Iakov N. Liubarskii has translated the text without these interpolations, *Михаил Пселл, Хронография*, trans. Я.Н. ЛЮБАРСКИЙ, Москва 1978, p. 46. Others were either using both interpolations, or they selectively applied them with the intention to clarify of the meaning of Psellos narration, thus distorting it.

This might represent Psellos' legalistic way of delegitimizing the claims of the rebels to the territory, that belonged to Romans.

However, when comparing Basil II with Aaron as the leader of the Samuel's State, he used the exact Scythian terminology. In the extant epitaph of Eirene Pegonitissa, the wife of the caesar John Doukas, the brother of the emperor Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067), Psellos mentioned the war of "Basil the Macedonian" with the "leader of the Scythians, Aaron"²⁴.

The complex term "Scythian autonomy" can be also found in Psellos' oration to the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055)²⁵, which as scholars have shown, could also apply to the territory of the former Samuel's State²⁶.

This impression comes also from his other work *Historia Syntomos*, which was composed as a briefing for the future emperor, which gives it an official character:

Basilius' life comprised the equipping of armies, hurrying to the eastern frontier, unfolding his attack on adversaries, fortifying strongholds, walling cities, destroying the enemy then again rushing to the West, vanquishing the Scythians, arranging this, contriving that²⁷.

Psellos followed this ideological concept in his *Enkomion for Ioannes [Mauropous] the Metropolitan of Euchaita*, highlighting that bishop Leon was then sent out, to *those formerly nomadic Scythians, later called Bulgarians [...]* and *he turned that entire ethnos toward God*²⁸. From this Psellos' account, one gets impression that the subjects of Samuel's State remained pagans and were named "Scythians" up until Basil II converted them in 1018. Since this was clearly not the case, Psellos was actually implying that only after Basil II subjugated the "Scythians", they were integrated in the Empire and thus ideologically became known as "Bulgarians", reflecting the newly introduced name for the Roman territory which formerly encompassed the Samuel's State. Hence, Psellos provided his own understanding of the ideological context of the subjugation of the Samuel's State, remarking that by this Basil II actually put these people under the Romans turned them towards God.

²⁴ *Michaelis Pselli scripta Minora*, vol. I, *Orationes et dissertations*, ed. E. KURTZ, F. DREXL, Milan 1936, p. 60.

²⁵ PSELLOS, *Orationes et dissertations*, ed. E. KURTZ, F. DREXL, Milano 1936 [= OR, 5], p. 22.

²⁶ Cf. Б. КРСМАНОВИЋ, А. ЛОМА, *Георгије Манијакис, име Готделиос и Пселова 'скитска аутономија'*, ЗРВИ 36, 1997, p. 233–263.

²⁷ *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos*, 106, 53–59, ed. et trans. W.J. AERTS, Berlin 1990 [= CFHB.SBe, 30], p. 108–109. On the issue of the authorship of the *Historia Syntomos*, in favour of Michael Psellos, cf. S. PAPAIOANNOU, J. DUFFY, *Michael Psellos and the Authorship of the Historia Syntomos: Final Considerations*, [in:] *Byzantium, State and Society. In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides*, ed. A. ABRAMEA, A. LAIOU, E. CHRYSOS, Athens 2003, p. 219–229.

²⁸ *Enkomion for Ioannes [Mauropous] the Metropolitan of Euchaita*, 69–73, ed. G.T. DENNIS, *Michaelis Pselli orationes panegyricae*, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994 [= BSGR], p. 146.

This notion corresponds with appellation of Basil II and the ideology implemented by him after the subjugation of Samuel's State reflected in terminological designation of the newly acquired territories. This prompted Psellos to clarify the meaning of the term "Bulgarians" as an imposed administrative and ecclesiastical name to the contemporary people that lived on the conceptually framed territory that belonged to the Romans. From Psellos' legalist perspective, it is understandable why he used Scythian designation for Basil's enemies coming from Samuel's State, at the same time making a distinction from the administrative and ecclesiastical terminology that was established in his own time. By using the Scythian terminology, he was clearly referring to the official appellation of Basil II during his lifetime, deriving from the enemies coming from the Samuel's State that were designated as "Scythians".

Summing up, the analysis of the Byzantine sources reveals that the actual appellation during the lifetime of Basil II was "Scythicus", deriving from the enemies of the Samuel's state which was used in official correspondence in his time. This appellation corresponded with the conceptual borderland of the Romans in Macedonia during the existence of the Samuel's State, which found the reflection in the "Scythian" terminology.

As his epitaph testify, Basil II certainly wanted to be remembered as victor over Scythians and victorious over other enemies such were Persians, Abkhaz, the Ismaelite, the Arab and the Iberian. Although "Scythicus" was supposed to be his eternal appellation, he however became known with the constructed epithet "Bulgar-Slayer" that was attached to him in the late 12th century due to the political and ideological reasons.

Basil was destined to be remembered from his ideological product of constructed terminology, deriving from the redrawn boundaries following the subjugation of the Samuel's State and restoration of the land of the Romans. The later appellation did not reflect the real names of the enemies and the actual appellation of Basil II. However, it became projected terminological reference not only for Basil, but also for Samuel's State and its subjects, which was conveniently exploited in the Balkans for political and ideological motives in the centuries to come.

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HARE IN SAUCE ACCORDING TO ANTHIMUS' RECIPE: MEAT*

Abstract. The present article examines the beginning of the recipe for hare meat (*leporis vero si novellae* [...]) preserved in Chapter 13 of the dietetic treatise *De observatione ciborum* written in the first half of the 6th cent. by the Byzantine physician Anthimus.

In the initial part of the study, the author briefly discusses key events in the doctor's life, explaining the circumstances which brought him to the royal court of the Frankish ruler, Theuderic. Next, the author analyses Anthimus' competence in the field of dietetics and proves that he composed his treatise in line with ancient and Byzantine *materia medica*.

The key part of the article scrutinises the most popular methods of preparing hare meat according to ancient gastronomic literature (*Ἡδονάθεια* by Archestratus of Gela, *De re coquinaria*) and compares them with Anthimus' recommendations. This allows the author to reconstruct the culinary techniques that Anthimus most probably proposed be applied in the preparation of hare meat.

The author concludes that Anthimus' treatise is a clear example of the practical application of both dietetics and *materia medica* in culinary practices performed in the physician's lifetime.

Keywords: history of medical literature, history of gastronomic literature, history of medicine, history of dietetics, food history, Anthimus, melancholic meat, hare meat

* The present study is an extended, English, version of the article „*Leporis vero si novellae...*”, czyli o powiązaniu medycyny i sztuki kulinarnej w *De observatione ciborum Antimusa* published in VP 81, 2022, p. 91–110. It was written thanks to a scholarship granted to the author by The De Brzezie Lanckoronski Foundation in 2018.

Little is known about Anthimus' life¹. We do learn that he was a physician² from the account by Malchus of Philadelphia (5th/6th cent. AD)³, despite Anthimus not mentioning his medical profession in the introduction to *De observatione ciborum*. Instead, he describes himself as *vir inlustris, comes et legatarius ad gloriosissimum Theudoricum regem Francorum*⁴, i.e., an illustrious man, a holder of high office in the royal court, and an emissary to his highness Theuderic, king of the Franks. Linguistic analysis of the treatise indicates that it was not written by a native speaker of Latin⁵, and such phrases as *afratus Graece quod Latine dicitur spumeo*⁶; *oxygala vero Graece, quod Latine vocant melca*⁷ show that Anthimus knew Greek. Indeed, by writing: *nos Graeci dicimus*⁸, he clearly reveals that it was his mother tongue⁹.

¹ On Anthimus and his treatise, for instance, cf. G. BAADER, *Early Medieval Latin Adaptations of Byzantine Medicine in Western Europe*, DOP 38, 1984, p. 251–252; C. DEROUX, *Anthime, un médecin gourmet du début des temps mérovingiens*, RBPH 80.4, 2002, p. 1107–1124; B. EFFROS, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul*, New York–Houndmills, Basingstoke 2002, p. 63–64; E. KISLINGER, *Anthimus*, [in:] *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon*, ed. K.-H. LEVEN, München 2005, col. 56; J. SCARBOROUGH, *Anthimus (of Constantinople?) (ca 475–525 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists. The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs*, ed. P.T. KEYSER, G. IRBY-MASSIE, London–New York 2008, p. 91–92; M. KOKOSZKO, *Anthimus and his Work, or On Aromatics and Wildfowl in De observatione ciborum*, SPP 31.2, 2021, p. 59–62; IDEM, *Anthimus the Dietician*, AlmH 23.1, 2021, p. 12–15; IDEM, *On Anthimus and his Work*, VP 81, 2022, p. 65–89.

² MALCHUS OF PHILADELPHIA, *Exc. de Leg. Gent.*, 15, 33, [in:] *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus. Text, Translation, and Historiographical Notes*, vol. II, ed., trans. R.C. BLOCKLEY, Liverpool 1983 (cetera: MALCHUS PHILADELPHIENSIS, *Exc. de Leg. Gent.*), p. 422.

³ On the historian, see: B. BALDWIN, *Malchus of Philadelphia*, DOP 31, 1977, p. 91–107.

⁴ *Anthimi De observatione ciborum ad Theodoricum regem Francorum epistula*, proemium (CML VIII 1: 1, 2–3), ed., trans. E. LIECHTENHAN, Berlin 1963 [= CMLat, 8.1] (cetera: ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*). In the present study I will refer to the text of *De observatione ciborum* in Eduard Liechtenhan's edition. In case of using other editions, the editor's name will be given.

⁵ We do not know when and where Anthimus learned Latin. Valentine ROSE (*Die Diätetik des Anthimus an Theuderic König der Franken*, [in:] *Anecdota graeca et graecolatina. Mitteilungen aus Handschriften zur Geschichte der griechischen Wissenschaft*, vol. II, ed. IDEM, Berlin 1870, p. 46–48) suggested that he acquired the language during his exile in northern Italy. The hypothesis was later (at least partly) doubted by LIECHTENHAN (*Ad lectorem praefatio*, [in:] *Anthimi de observatione ciborum...*, p. X, note 2). Cf. C. DEROUX, *Anthime et les tourterelles: un cas d'intoxication alimentaire au très haut moyen âge*, [in:] *Maladie et maladies dans les textes latins antiques et médiévaux. Actes du V^e Colloque international «Textes médicaux latins» (Bruxelles, 4–6 septembre 1995)*, ed. IDEM, Bruxelles 1998, p. 372; B. EFFROS, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul*, New York–Basingstoke 2002 [= NMA], p. 64; A. DALBY, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 12; J.N. ADAMS, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2004, p. 448–449; M. GRANT, *Introduction*, [in:] ANTHIMUS, *On the Observance of Foods. De observatione ciborum*, ed., trans. IDEM, Blackawton–Totnes 2007, p. 16.

⁶ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 34 (CML VIII 1: 16, 3).

⁷ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 78 (CML VIII 1: 29, 4).

⁸ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 64 (CML VIII 1: 24, 1).

⁹ Cf. J.N. ADAMS, *Bilingualism...*, p. 448–449, 496.

The circumstances that brought the physician to the west of Europe have long been a subject of historical research. He is said to have been one of the plotters against Byzantine emperor Zeno, which led to his banishment from Constantinople. This event took place in 478, when Zeno was conducting negotiations to improve the then tense diplomatic relations between Byzantium and Ostrogoth tribes. Malchus of Philadelphia writes about intercepted letters informing the Ostrogoth leader, Theodoric, about the situation in Constantinople. The historian states that these letters were signed by the physician Anthimus, by Marcellinus and Stephanus. Moreover, from the same passage we learn that these men passed themselves off as high-rank public officials, wishing to assure the Ostrogoth ruler that he could count on allies in the capital. Once the intrigue was uncovered, they were all arrested, questioned, whipped, and forced into exile¹⁰. Today, researchers believe that Anthimus most likely joined the Ostrogoths¹¹, initially becoming a member of Theodoric the Great's entourage, before finding himself at the royal court in Ravenna after 493.

On the basis of the fact that Anthimus only purported to be a public official, we can infer that he probably was not a member of the emperor's entourage and never held any significant post, e.g., he never was a court physician. In all likelihood, he was running a medical practice in Constantinople in 478, the city where he might also have been educated. Since Malchus of Philadelphia precisely identifies his profession, we can assume that he was already a recognised figure at the time of the conspiracy. Although we possess no detailed knowledge of his medical achievements, the subject matter discussed in *De observatione ciborum*, and the manner in which he described the individual foodstuffs¹² leads us to the conclusion that he also took a keen interest in dietetics during his Constantinopolitan years¹³.

¹⁰ MALCHUS PHILADELPHIENSIS, *Exc. de Leg. Gent.*, 15, 30–39, p. 422.

¹¹ Valentine ROSE (*Die Diätetik...*, p. 49), Mark GRANT (*Introduction...*, p. 16) and Yitzhak HEN (*Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul*, [in:] *Tätigkeitsfelder und Erfahrungshorizonte des ländlichen Menschen in der frühmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft (bis ca. 1000)*. *Festschrift für Dieter Hägermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. B. KASTEN, München 2006, p. 101) conclude that the physician first joined Theodoric Strabo and, subsequently, after his death, Theodoric Amal.

¹² From the analysed treatise we learn that Anthimus treated foods as ἀπλὰ φάρμακα, which is clearly illustrated, for instance, in the chapters devoted to dried figs (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 93 [CML VIII 1: 33, 1–3]) and raisins (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 94 [CML VIII 1: 33, 4–5]), which the author believed to have therapeutic properties in the treatment of early stages of rhinorrhoea, sore throat, and hoarseness. On healing properties of foodstuffs in *De observatione ciborum*, cf. C. DEROUX, *Garlic, Dropsy, and Anthimus's Aquae diuersae (De obseruatione ciborum, LXI)*, [in:] *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, vol. V, ed. IDEM, Bruxelles 1989 [= *COLL.*, 206], p. 508–515; IDEM, *Anthime, un médecin...*, p. 1111–1112.

¹³ His interest in dietetics is confirmed by, inter alia, a sentence in the introduction to his treatise, in which the author directly links good health to an appropriate diet ([...] *prima sanitas hominum in cibis congruis constat*, cf. ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, premium [CML VIII 1: 1, 8–9]). In the same fragment, while describing the consequences of eating inappropriate food, he presents them as an effect of bad digestion and absorption disturbance, and gives examples of the

From the treatise, we might also conclude that the author had spent enough time among the Goths to learn the elementary vocabulary belonging to their *ars coquinaria*¹⁴. Some modern scholars maintain that Anthimus held high offices in Ravenna¹⁵, where – as a token of the king's trust – he was sent as an emissary

malfunctioning of the digestive system ([...] *si [cibi] bene adhibiti fuerint, bonam digestionem corporis faciunt; si autem non bene fuerint cocti, gravitatem stomacho et ventri faciunt; etiam et crudus humoris generant et acidivas carbunculus et ructus gravissimus faciunt. Exinde etiam fumus in capite ascendit, unde escotomaticis et caligines graves fieri solent. Etiam et ventris corruptilla ex ipsa indierie fiet, aut certe desursum per ore vomitus fit, quando stomachus cibus crudus conficere non potuerit*, cf. ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, proemium [CML VIII 1: 1, 9 – 2, 2]). Additionally, Anthimus justifies his interest in food and its appropriate preparation by showing that its proper processing is a prerequisite for healthy digestion and contributes to the production of good humours ([...] *si autem bene praeparati fuerint cibi, digestio bona et dulcis fiet, et humoris boni nutriuntur*, cf. ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, premium [CML VIII 1: 2, 3–4]). On dietetics in Anthimus' treatise, cf. C. DEROUX, *Tradition et innovation dans la Diététique d'Anthime*, [in:] *Tradición e innovación de la medicina latina de la antigüedad y de la alta edad media. Actas del IV Coloquio Internacional sobre los «textos médicos latinos antiguos»*, ed. M.E. VÁZQUEZ BUJÁN, Santiago de Compostela 1994, p. 171–182. On the idea of digestion presented in *De observatione ciborum*, cf. C. DEROUX, *La digestion dans la Diététique d'Anthimus: langage, mythe et réalités*, [in:] *Le latin médical. La constitution d'un langage scientifique. Réalités et langage de la médecine dans le monde romain. Actes du III^e Colloque international «Textes médicaux latins antiques» (Saint-Étienne, 11–13 septembre 1989)*, ed. G. SABBAH, Saint-Étienne 1991, p. 407–416; IDEM, *Tradition...*, p. 175; IDEM, *Anthime, un médecin...*, p. 1113, 1121. On foodstuffs recommended by Anthimus, cf. J. KODER, *Cuisine and Dining in Byzantium*, [in:] *Byzantine Culture, Papers from the Conference 'Byzantine Days of Istanbul' Held on the Occasion of Istanbul being European Cultural Capital 2010, Istanbul, May 21–23 2010*, ed. D. SAKEL, Ankara 2014, p. 428, 431–432, 434; IDEM, *Die Byzantiner. Kultur und Alltag im Mittelalter*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2016, p. 213, 216–219, 223–224. On the importance of food in maintaining health and wellbeing, cf. I.M. LONIE, *A Structural Pattern in Greek Dietetics and the Early History of Greek Medicine*, *MHis* 21, 1977, p. 235–260; M. GRANT, *Introduction*, [in:] *DiETING for an Emperor. A Translation of Books 1 and 4 of Oribasius' Medical Compilations*, praef., comm. IDEM, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= SAM, 15], p. 4–9; J. JOUANNA, *Dietetics in Hippocratic Medicine: Definition, Main Problems, Discussion*, [in:] *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen. Selected Papers by Jacques Jouanna*, trans. N. ALLIES, ed. Ph. VAN DER EIJK, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= SAM, 40], p. 137–153.

¹⁴ Cf. ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 64 (CML VIII 1: 24, 1–2) ([...] *nos Graeci dicimus alfita, Latine vero polenta, Gothi vero barbarice fenea* [...]).

¹⁵ V. ROSE (*Die Diätetik...*, p. 49) maintained that Anthimus was a *comes* and a governor of a province during the reign of Theodoric the Great. He also claimed that Anthimus was court physician to the Goths (*Die Diätetik...*, p. 49–50), and held the position prior to it being taken over by Helpidius (*Praefatio*, [in:] *Anthimi De observatione ciborum epistula ad Theodoricum regem Francorum*, ed. IDEM, Leipzig 1877, p. 3). Both suppositions have been recently called into question by HEN (*Food...*, p. 102–103), who argues that Anthimus was absent from Theodoric's court (cf. note 16). Nevertheless, one should conclude that Rose's theory seems, at least partly, plausible as we know that Helpidius was present at the court of Theodoric from as late as 508 (cf. J.R. MARTINDALE, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, 395–527, Cambridge–London–New York–New Rochelle–Melbourne–Sydney 1980, p. 537). Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that Anthimus was the one who was looking after Theodoric's health until then (and perhaps even later, in cooperation with Helpidius).

to the Frankish ruler, Theuderic¹⁶, to whom he dedicated his work entitled *De observatione ciborum*¹⁷, in which he refers to the findings of ancient dietetics.

Since the said text was compiled by Anthimus with King Theuderic in mind, we can assume that it discusses not only foods served traditionally to the wealthiest members of the Frankish society (mentioning, on the way, some of the Gothic culinary traditions Anthimus encountered while he sought refuge with the tribe) but first and foremost those dishes of the Mediterranean which were also put on the tables in the author's lifetime¹⁸. These included dishes made from such rare and expensive ingredients as, for instance, rice¹⁹ and peacock meat²⁰. The high prices for the former primarily stemmed from the fact that rice was little known in the region and (as in the case of the whole Mediterranean) had to be imported from remote areas of the Near East and North Africa²¹. As for peacocks, ever since Antiquity they had been exotic birds eagerly bred and kept by eastern rulers in private menageries²², which allowed the beauty of their colourful plumage to be enjoyed and to have uninterrupted access to a meat that

¹⁶ Hen proposes another course of events. He claims that the physician returned to Constantinople as soon as the political climate in Byzantium improved. Hen believes that this may have happened somewhere in the years 491–497, i.e., between Zeno's death and the Byzantine emperor Anastasius' recognising Theodoric the Great as ruler of Italy. The researcher also argues that Anthimus' stay among the Ostrogoths would have made the physician an ideal candidate for a diplomat secondment to the west of Europe by the Byzantine authorities. Hence, Hen argues that Anthimus may have been a legate to the court of Theuderic not on behalf of the Ostrogoth leader, but the Byzantine emperor himself, cf. Y. HEN, *Food...*, p. 102–103. Hen's supposition has been recently supported by Maciej KOKOSZKO (*Anthimus and his Work*, p. 83–84).

¹⁷ According to Bonnie Effros, Anthimus' treatise was a gift from Theodoric the Great to the Frankish king, cf. B. EFFROS, *Creating...*, p. 65–66. This view is disputed by Hen, who indicates that, inter alia, *De observatione ciborum* supplies no information to support the hypothesis, and states that Anthimus never mentioned Theodoric's name, which would have been desirable from the viewpoint of principles of diplomacy in such circumstances, cf. Y. HEN, *Food...*, p. 102.

¹⁸ Cf. Y. HEN, *Food...*, p. 105–106.

¹⁹ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 70 (CML VIII 1: 26, 1–6).

²⁰ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 24 (CML VIII 1: 12, 17 – 13, 5).

²¹ Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Dietetyka i sztuka kulinarna antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, część I, *Zboża i produkty zbożowe w źródłach medycznych antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, Łódź 2014 [= BL, 16], p. 518; J. KODER, *Die Byzantiner...*, p. 224. Prior to the Arab conquests in the 7th cent. AD, rice remained relatively unknown in the Mediterranean (cf. M. KOKOSZKO, K. JAGUSIAK, Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Dietetyka...*, p. 517–519; IDEM, *Rice as Food and Medication in Ancient and Byzantine Medical Literature*, BZ 108.1, 2015, p. 134–136). Rice as a rare commodity in Gaul, cf. Y. HEN, *Food...*, p. 107; M. GRANT, *Introduction...* (2007), p. 28.

²² For instance, they were kept in the palace complex of Khosrow II (6th/7th cent. AD), cf. *Theophanis Chronographia*, 322, 9–14, vol. I, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1883. An analogous practice might have been adopted in the Byzantine court, cf. M. LEONTSINI, *Hens, Cockerels and other Choice Fowl. Everyday Food and Gastronomic Pretensions in Byzantium*, [in:] *Flavours and Delights. Tastes and Pleasures of Ancient and Byzantine Cuisine*, ed. I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, Athens 2013, p. 115.

was prized for its rarity value²³. In all probability, this same practice took place in the court of the Frankish king²⁴.

Another foodstuff described in *De observatione ciborum* that indicated the high social status of the target readership was hare meat²⁵. Even though a common species in Europe, the animal had never been domesticated²⁶. It was, however, regularly hunted for its meat – an activity which was among the most favourite forms of recreation for the rich since Antiquity²⁷. In the times of *Imperium Romanum*,

²³ Initially, peacocks were bred by wealthy landowners for aesthetic purposes. Varro states that it was Hortensius (2nd/1st cent. BC) who first served their meat in Italy, and was later followed by other Roman gourmets, causing the prices of peacocks, and subsequently also their eggs, to soar within a short period of time (VARRO, *De re rustica*, III, 6, 6, [in:] MARCUS PORCIUS CATO, *On Agriculture*, MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO, *On Agriculture*, trans. W.D. HOOPER, rev. H.B. ASH, Cambridge Mass.–London 1934 [= LCL, 283] (cetera: VARRO, *De re rustica*), p. 460. Cf. M. GRANT, *Commentary on Book 4 of Oribasius' Medical Compilations*, [in:] *Dieting for an Emperor...*, p. 285–286; J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, Barnsley 2013, p. 250; Z. RZEŹNICKA, *Rola mięsa w okresie pomiędzy II a VII w. w świetle źródeł medycznych*, [in:] *Dietetyka i sztuka kulinarna antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (II–VII w.)*, część II, *Pokarm dla ciała i ducha*, ed. M. KOKOSZKO, Łódź 2014 [= BL, 19], p. 342.

²⁴ M. Grant stresses that peacocks were such a rare commodity in Gaul that their meat must have been very expensive, cf. M. GRANT, *Introduction...* (2007), p. 28. On the same issue, cf. Y. HEN, *Food...*, p. 107. Archaeological research proves that the birds were, for instance, kept on the estates of the Merovingian elite, cf. J.-H. YVINEC, M. BARME, *Livestock and the Early Medieval Diet in Northern Gaul*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of the Merovingian World*, ed. B. EFFROS, I. MOREIRA, Oxford–New York 2020, p. 741. On the consumption of peacock meat in medieval Europe, cf. M.W. ADAMSON, *Food in Medieval Times*, Westport CT–London 2004, p. 35.

²⁵ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 13 (CML VIII 1: 8, 5–8). There is Mark Grant's suggestion (included in his interpretation of Anthimus' recipe for the sake of modern cuisine) that hare might be substituted with wild rabbit in the dish, cf. M. GRANT, *Roman Cookery. Ancient Recipes for Modern Kitchens*, London 2002, p. 123. In fact, rabbits were fairly common in the West (cf. M.W. ADAMSON, *Food...*, p. 36). As it was shown by Henriette KROLL (*Tiere im Byzantinischen Reich. Archäozoologische Forschungen im Überblick*, Mainz 2010 [= MRGZ, 87], p. 176), in the period between the 4th and the 6th cent. AD, we can observe rabbit domestication in the monasteries located in modern Southern France. It is held that this practice originates from the fact that unborn and newly born animals were said to be an acceptable foodstuff on fasting days, cf. M.W. ADAMSON, *Food...*, p. 36; H. KROLL, *Tiere...*, p. 176. On the other hand, Jean-Hervé Yvinec and Maude Barme do not list any rabbit remains when discussing domestic livestock available in the Northern Gaul in the Merovingian period which leads to the conclusion that in Anthimus' lifetime the animals were not bred in that area yet, cf. J.-H. YVINEC, M. BARME, *Livestock...*, p. 738–751. Neither do the researchers mention rabbits as game hunted by the Franks, cf. J.-H. YVINEC, M. BARME, *Livestock...*, p. 751–755. Therefore, it is highly likely that rabbit meat was rather not served (or served only sporadically) at Theuderic's court.

²⁶ M.W. ADAMSON, *Food...*, p. 36.

²⁷ Mentions of aristocratic youth hunting for hares can be found as early as in *Odyssea*, cf. HOMERUS, *Odyssea*, XVII, 294–295, rec. M.L. WEST, Berlin–Boston 2017 [= BSGR]. This country pursuit was still popular among the elites in the Byzantine period, cf. B. SCHRODT, *Sports of the Byzantine Empire*, JSpH 8.3, 1981, p. 53. Certain Byzantine emperors have been described as avid hunters, cf. A. KARPOZILOS, J.W. NESBITT, A. CUTLER, *Hunting*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. II, ed. A.P. KAZHDAN, New York–Oxford 1991, p. 958. For instance, from MICHAEL PSELLUS (*Chrono-*

wealthy landowners would customarily erect special pens for hares and other wild animals²⁸. According to Varro, such places were referred to as *leporaria*²⁹, which allows us to assume that they were initially built exclusively for hares, only later housing other game species, e.g., deer, wild goats, sheep³⁰ and boars³¹. Such facilities remained popular also in the Byzantine period³².

Since hare meat (just like other types of game) was most likely consumed by the nobility and the rich³³, we may assume that it never became an important

graphie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077), [Isaac I] VII, 72, 1–15, vol. II, ed., trans. É. RE-NAULD, Paris 1928, p. 128 [cetera: MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Chronographia*] we learn that Isaac Comnenus (11th cent. AD) killed hares and cranes in great numbers, and that Michael VII Ducas (11th cent. AD) was a keen hunter of hares, red deer, and bears (cf. MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Chronographia*, [Michael VII] VII, 6, 3–16, p. 175–176; VII, 17, 1–8, p. 181–182). Hares as one of the most commonly hunted wild species in Byzantium, cf. A. DALBY, *Tastes of Byzantium. The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire*, London–New York 2010, p. 71; H. KROLL, *Tiere...*, p. 192–193; EADEM, *Animals in the Byzantine Empire: An Overview of the Archaeozoological Evidence*, *ArM* 39, 2012, p. 100. Hare remains were also unearthed in Constantinople, cf. V. ONAR, G. PAZVANT, H. ALPAK, N. GEZER İNCE, A. ARMUTAK, Z.S. KIZILTAN, *Animal Skeletal Remains of the Theodosius Harbor: General Overview*, *TJVAS* 37, 2013, p. 81, 83; V. ONAR, *Animals in Food Consumption during the Byzantine Period in Light of the Yenikapı Metro and Marmaray Excavations, Istanbul*, [in:] *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Food and Foodways in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. S.Y. WAKSMAN, Lyon 2020, p. 335. Hare meat as a luxury food in Byzantium, cf. J. KODER, *Cuisine and Dining...*, p. 433; IDEM, *Die Byzantiner...*, p. 222; A. ZUCKER, *Zoology*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, ed. S. LAZARIS, Leiden–Boston 2020 [= BCBW, 6], p. 290. One should, however, note that hares were said by some Byzantines to be unclean, as it was believed that their consumption might lead to licentiousness, cf. L. PLOUVIER, *L'alimentation carnée au Haut Moyen Âge d'après le De observatione ciborum d'Anthime et les Excerpta de Vinidarius*, *RBPH* 80.4, 2002, p. 1368; B. CASEAU, *Dogs, Vultures, Horses and Black Pudding: Unclean Meats in the Eyes of the Byzantines*, [in:] *Multidisciplinary Approaches...*, p. 235. On the other hand, Byzantine peasants hunted for hares (as well as other wild animals) in order to supplement their everyday diet with their meat, cf. J. KODER, *Die Byzantiner...*, p. 127. The latter practice (in regard to turtledoves) is also depicted by ANTHIMUS himself (*De observatione ciborum*, 25 [CML VIII 1: 14, 3–6]), cf. M. KOKOSZKO, *Anthimus and his Work...*, p. 74–84. It is accepted that an analogous hunting pattern is said to have been characteristic of Gaullish society as well, cf. J.-H. YVINEC, M. BARME, *Livestock...*, p. 753–755. As far as the importance of hare meat in the diet of the inhabitants of Early Medieval Northern Gaul is concerned, on the basis of osteal remains we know that hares were one of the most popular game, cf. J.-H. YVINEC, M. BARME, *Livestock...*, p. 752–753.

²⁸ VARRO, *De re rustica*, III, 12, 1–7, p. 488, 490, 492; LUCIUS JUNIUS MODERATUS COLUMELLA, *On Agriculture*, IX, proemium; IX, 1, 1–9, vol. II, *Books 5–9*, rec., trans. E.S. FORSTER, E.H. HEFFNER, London–Cambridge Mass. 1954 [= LCL, 408] (cetera: COLUMELLA, *De re rustica*), p. 420, 422, 424, 426.

²⁹ VARRO, *De re rustica*, III, 12, 1, p. 488 ([...] *ac nomine antico a parte quadam leporarium appellatum*).

³⁰ VARRO, *De re rustica*, III, 12, 1, p. 488.

³¹ COLUMELLA, *De re rustica*, IX, proemium, p. 420.

³² N.P. ŠEVČENKO, *Wild Animals in the Byzantine Park*, [in:] *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. A. LITTLEWOOD, H. MAGUIRE, J. WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, Washington D.C. 2002, p. 72–74.

³³ Hares as game eaten chiefly by the rich in the Middle Ages, cf. M.W. ADAMSON, *Food...*, p. 36; J.-H. YVINEC, M. BARME, *Livestock...*, p. 755.

constituent of the Frankish everyday diet. The same conclusion can also be drawn for other species of wild animals, which may explain why Anthimus devoted only four chapters to game in his treatise³⁴. The exclusive nature of the foodstuff is also implied in a passage from the mentioned recipe for hare, which includes a sauce with exotic, and thus expensive, spices³⁵.

The recipe is worded as follows: *leporis vero si novellae fuerint, et ipsi sumendi in dulci piper habentem, parum cariofilum et gingiber, costo et spicanardi vel folio*³⁶ (hares, if young, should be eaten in a sweet [sauce] spiced with pepper, some cloves and ginger, putchuk and spikenard or leaf). In editions by Rose³⁷ and Liechtenhan³⁸ in the discussed chapter one can also find a medical annotation³⁹. In Liechtenhan's edition it reads: *leporem licet comedere et bona est pro dissenteria, et fel eius miscendum cum pipere pro dolore aurium* (hare should be eaten and is beneficial for dysentery, and its bile ought to be mixed with pepper for ear pain). As for the recipe itself, one should mention that the author only lists individual ingredients, with no detailed advice on how to prepare the dish. Nevertheless, on the basis of other meat-based recipes taken from *De observatione ciborum* and other sources, we may attempt to reconstruct the stages of its preparation. Since the preparation of the sauce according to the mentioned recipe has recently been discussed by Maciej Kokoszko⁴⁰, in the present study I shall only focus on its initial section reading: *leporis vero si novellae [...]*. I will also briefly refer to the piece of therapeutic advice concerning hare meat which follows the recipe proper.

The long-standing tradition of eating hare meat in the Greco-Roman world is confirmed by the writings of ancient and Byzantine physicians, who described the impact it had on the human body. One of the earliest remarks on the subject

³⁴ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 6 (CML VIII 1: 6, 8–10); 7 (CML VIII 1: 6, 11–12); 8 (CML VIII 1: 6, 13–15); 13 (CML VIII 1: 8, 5–8). When it comes to the chapters devoted to the meat of quadrupeds (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 [CML VIII 1: 4, 16–5, 15]; 4, [CML VIII 1: 5, 16–6, 5]; 5 [CML VIII 1: 6, 6–7]; 6 [CML VIII 1: 6, 8–10]; 7 [CML VIII 1: 6, 11–12]; 8 [CML VIII 1: 6, 13–15]; 9 [CML VIII 1: 7, 1–7]; 10 [CML VIII 1: 7, 8–13]; 11 [CML VIII 1: 7, 14–16]; 12 [CML VIII 1: 8, 1–4]; 13 [CML VIII 1: 8, 5–8]; 14 [CML VIII 1: 8, 9–10, 5]), the physician focuses on livestock (Chapters 3–5, 9–12 and 14), which indicates that the Franks ate the meat and offal (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 16 [CML VIII 1: 10, 12–14]; 17 [CML VIII 1: 10, 15–16]; 18 [CML VIII 1: 11, 1]; 19 [CML VIII 1: 11, 2]; 20 [CML VIII 1: 11, 3–4]; 21 [CML VIII 1: 11, 5–9]) of domesticated animals more commonly than game.

³⁵ For instance, cf. F. ROTELLI, *Trade and Exploration*, [in:] *A Cultural History of Plants in the Post-Classical Era*, vol. II, ed. A. TOUWAIDE, London–New York–Oxford–New Delhi–Sydney 2022, p. 63.

³⁶ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 13 (CML VIII 1: 8, 5–6). For modern interpretation of the recipe, cf. M. GRANT, *Roman Cookery...*, p. 123–124.

³⁷ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 13, 1–2, p. 73 (Rose 1870).

³⁸ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 13 (CML VIII 1: 8, 7–8).

³⁹ The annotation is present in two codices, Londiniensis (Ayscough) 3107 (saec. XVII) and Londiniensis Harleianus 4986 = 5294 (saec. XI). On codices, cf. V. ROSE, *Die Diätetik...*, p. 58–60; E. LIECHTENHAN, *Ad lectorem...*, p. XII–XIV.

⁴⁰ Cf. M. KOKOSZKO, *Anthimus and his Work...*, p. 62–74; IDEM, *Anthimus the Dietician*, p. 15–30.

can be found in *De diaeta*, a treatise dating back to the late 5th and early 4th cent. BC and constituting part of the so-called *Corpus Hippocraticum*⁴¹. A laconic description in the text reveals that the meat is dry and slows down the excretory system, and yet it still has a mild diuretic effect⁴². Slightly more information is provided by Galen of Pergamon (2nd/3rd cent. AD)⁴³. For instance, from *De alimentorum facultatibus* we learn that the consumption of hare meat thickens the blood and, thus, may disturb humoral balance, but to a lesser extent than beef and mutton. Later the author compares hare and deer meat, presumably in order to imply that both are equally tough (most likely as a consequence of the lack of moisture) and hard to digest⁴⁴. The toughness is confirmed in another passage therein, which states that hare meat should not be salted since the process makes it even tougher, as salt absorbs its moisture⁴⁵. Furthermore, in *De victu attenuante*, the author also claims that the discussed food is as dry as dog and fox meat⁴⁶. Analysis of Byzantine medical treatises proves that subsequent generations of physicians used the data provided by Galen when describing the dietary properties of hares. Such authors as Oribasius (4th cent. AD)⁴⁷, Aetius of Amida (6th cent. AD)⁴⁸, and Paul of Aegina (7th cent. AD)⁴⁹ expressed similar opinions on the qualities of hare meat as those previously listed by the physician of Pergamon.

Byzantine physicians do express that there were a few issues in eating hare, which is clearly visible, for instance, in the fragments by Oribasius and Aetius of Amida who included its meat in their catalogues containing products generating

⁴¹ Cf. J.M. WILKINS, *Hippocratic Corpus, Regimen (ca 430–370 BCE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 416–417.

⁴² *Hippocratis De diaeta*, II, 46 (CMG I 2, 4: 168, 25–26), ed., trans., comm. R. JOLY, S. BYL, Berlin 2003 [= CMG, 1.2.4] (cetera: *De diaeta*).

⁴³ On the physician, cf. R.J. HANKINSON, *Galen of Pergamon (155–215 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 335–399.

⁴⁴ *Galenus De alimentorum facultatibus libri III*, III, 1, 8 (CMG V 4, 2: 334, 13–15 = Kühn VI: 664), ed. G. HELMREICH, Leipzig–Berlin 1923 [= CMG, 5.4.2] (cetera: GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*).

⁴⁵ GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, III, 40, 4 (CMG V 4, 2: 384, 9–11 = Kühn VI: 746).

⁴⁶ *Galenus De victu attenuante*, 8, 68 (CMG V 4, 2: 443, 28–29), ed. K. KALBFLEISCH, Leipzig–Berlin 1923 [= CMG, 5.4.2].

⁴⁷ *Oribasii Collectionum medicarum reliquiae: Libri I–VIII*, II, 28, 10–11 (CMG VI 1, 1: 36, 28–31); III, 16, 4–5 (CMG VI 1, 1: 78, 18–20), ed. I. RAEDER, Leipzig–Berlin 1928 [= CMG, 6.1.1] (cetera: ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*). On the physician, cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Oreibasios of Pergamon (ca 350 – ca 400 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 595–596.

⁴⁸ *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales I–IV*, II, 121 (CMG VIII 1: 197, 20–23); II, 253 (CMG VIII 1: 245, 5–7), ed. A. OLIVIERI, Leipzig–Berlin 1935 [= CMG, 8.1] (cetera: AETIUS AMIDENUS, *Libri medicinales*). On the physician, cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Aëtios of Amida (500–550 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 38–39.

⁴⁹ *Paulus Aegineta. Libri I–IV*, I, 84 (CMG IX 1: 61, 5–7), ed. J.L. HEIBERG, Leipzig–Berlin 1921 [= CMG, 9.1] (cetera: PAULUS AEGINETA, *Epitome*). On the physician, cf. P.E. PORMANN, *Paulos of Aigina (ca 630–670 CE?)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 629.

black bile⁵⁰, i.e., a dry and cold humour⁵¹ which was believed to be particularly thick⁵² and sticky⁵³. For that reason, it was said to be difficult to remove from the body, and its excess was believed to lead to internal blockages, which increased the probability of various ailments occurring⁵⁴. However, from the aforementioned words by Galen, we may conclude that hare meat was not as melancholic as beef and mutton, since it upset the humoral balance to a lesser degree. Therefore, it can be argued that hare was considered not to be particularly harmful when eaten sporadically and in small amounts. On the other hand, the risk of health complications increased if hare meat was consumed during a season that favoured the formation of black bile, e.g., in autumn⁵⁵.

This theory is reflected in the Byzantine dietary calendar compiled by Hierophilus⁵⁶, who states that hare meat should be avoided in September as it is a month

⁵⁰ ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, III, 9, 1 (CMG VI 1, 1: 73, 17); AETIUS AMIDENUS, *Libri medicinales*, II, 246 (CMG VIII 1: 242, 19).

⁵¹ *Galenus In Hippocratis De natura hominis commentaria III*, I, 41 (CMG V 9, 1: 51, 31–32 = Kühn XV: 98), ed. J. MEWALDT, Leipzig–Berlin 1914 [= CMG, 5.9.1] (cetera: GALENUS, *In Hippocratis De natura hominis*). As hare meat was dry it was recommended by Anthimus as an element of a diet to those suffering from dysentery, though the dysentery mentioned by the physician cannot have been the one that was caused by black bile, cf. K.A. STEWART, *Galen's Theory of Black Bile. Hippocratic Tradition, Manipulation, Innovation*, Leiden–Boston 2019 [= SAM, 51], p. 12, 125–127, 144–145.

⁵² GALENUS, *In Hippocratis De natura hominis*, I, 26 (CMG V 9, 1: 36, 3–5 = Kühn XV: 66).

⁵³ GALENUS, *In Hippocratis De natura hominis*, II, 22 (CMG V 9, 1: 85, 6–8 = Kühn XV: 167). Characteristics and properties of black bile have been recently discussed by Keith Andrew STEWART (*Galen's Theory... passim* [especially p. 60–74]).

⁵⁴ For instance, adverse effects from meat consumption that triggers the production of melancholic juices are discussed by Galen in the passage on beef within *De alimentorum facultatibus*. The author states that it increases the risk of cancer, elephantiasis, scabies, leprosy, four-day fever, and the disease called melancholia, while in some people it may also result in enlargement of the spleen, cf. GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, III, 1, 3 (CMG V 4, 2: 333, 1–7 = Kühn VI: 661). The passage is quoted by AETIUS OF AMIDA (*Libri medicinales*, II, 121 [CMG VIII 1: 1–8]).

⁵⁵ Autumn (φθινόπωρον, i.e. the period when weather is naturally cold and dry) as a season in which black bile dominates in the human body, cf. GALENUS, *In Hippocratis De natura hominis*, I, 36 (CMG V 9, 1: 45, 17–18 = Kühn XV: 85); I, 41 (CMG V 9, 1: 51, 31–32 = Kühn XV: 98). On how humoral balance was associated with the cycle of the seasons, cf. J. JOUANA, *Dietetics...*, p. 149–151.

⁵⁶ Despite there being no concrete evidence of when the author lived, modern scholars try to determine the time of his activity on the basis of his treatise. According to Alain TOUWAIDE (*Botany*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine...*, p. 346, note 159) it may have been the period between 7th and 9th cent. On other possible dates, cf. E. DELACENSERIE, *Le traité de diététique de Hiérophile: Analyse interne*, B 84, 2014, p. 102–103; B. CASEAU, *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes. La culture alimentaire à Byzance*, Paris 2015, p. 149–150; M. ΛΕΟΝΤΣΙΝΗ, *Διατροφικές συνήθειες και υγεία: Παρατηρήσεις για τη διατροφή με ζωικά λίπη στις βυζαντινές διαιτητικές πραγματείες (7^{ος}–12^{ος} αι.)*, [in:] *Ιατρική θεραπεία ἔστι μὲν πον καὶ σώματος, ἔστι δ' ἄρα καὶ ψυχῆς: Ὀψεις τῆς Ἰατρικῆς στο Βυζάντιο (14 Δεκεμβρίου 2018, Ἱστορικό Ἀρχεῖο του Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν)* ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ, ed. K. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ, K. ΓΑΡΔΙΚΑ, Athens 2021, p. 46; B. CASEAU, *Quelques réflexions sur les interdits alimentaires dans le christianisme byzantin*, [in:] *Religion et interdits alimentaires. Archeozoologie et sources littéraire*, ed. ΕΑΔΕΜ, H. ΜΟΝΧΟΤ [= O&M, 38], p. 100 (forthcoming). On Byzantine dietetic calendars, cf. A. TOUWAIDE, *Botany...*, p. 346; IDEM, *Medicine and Pharmacy*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzan-*

that contributes to the generation of black bile⁵⁷. Moreover, the author warns against eating the food when discussing the correct diet for those months when the human body was not dominated by this particular humour. Namely, from his work we learn that hare meat ought not to be consumed in October⁵⁸ and November⁵⁹ (when the human body is dominated by [moist and cold] phlegm⁶⁰) nor in May⁶¹ (when it tends to produce mainly [moist and hot] blood⁶²). On the other hand, the author finds the food acceptable (provided that it is combined with some vinegar⁶³ or ὀξύμελι⁶⁴) in July⁶⁵ and August (until the 15th day of the month)⁶⁶, i.e. in the period which was believed to generate (dry and hot) bile⁶⁷. As for October and November, we may assume that providing the body with a tough (due to its dryness) foodstuff such as hare was inadvisable as its digestion required a lot

tine..., p. 379. In the present study I refer to Hierophilus' calendar edited by Roberto Romano, which combines three texts, two of which were originally edited by Jean François Boissonade in 1827 (col. I) and 1831 (col. II) and one edited by Armand Delatte in 1939 (col. III), cf. below.

⁵⁷ *Il calendario dietetico di Ierofilo*, 9, col. I, 575–576; 9, col. III, 581–585, ed. R. ROMANO, AAP n.s. 47, 1999 (cetera: HEROPHILUS, *De cyclo ciborum*), p. 214. Cf. J. KODER, *Stew and Salted Meat – Opulent Normality in the Diet of Every Day?*, [in:] *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 12:19) – Food and Wine in Byzantium Papers of the 37th Annual Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, in Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, K. LINARDOU, Aldershot–Burlington VT 2007, p. 71.

⁵⁸ HEROPHILUS, *De cyclo ciborum*, 10, col. I, 633–634, p. 215; 10, col. II, 634–635, p. 215. Cf. J. KODER, *Stew and Salted...*, p. 71. On the basis of humoral theory, one can conclude that Hierophilus' remark on October as a month when blood is less thick (αἷμα λεπτόν [...]) can be interpreted as his pointing to the exact time which heralded the season when the human body started to produce larger amounts of phlegm (which, just like blood, was considered to be moist by nature but was likelier to be generated in this particular period than blood owing to the coldness typical of the month). Cf. HEROPHILUS, *De cyclo ciborum*, 10, col. III, 615–616, p. 214–215.

⁵⁹ HEROPHILUS, *De cyclo ciborum*, 11, col. I, 669–673, p. 216; 11, col. II, 674–676, p. 216.

⁶⁰ Winter (χειμῶν, i.e. the time when weather is naturally cold and humid) as a season in which phlegm dominates in the human body, cf. GALENUS, *In Hippocratis De natura hominis*, I, 41 (CMG V 9, 1: 51, 29–30 = Kühn XV: 98).

⁶¹ HEROPHILUS, *De cyclo ciborum*, 5, col. I, 327–336, p. 208.

⁶² Spring (ἔαρ, i.e. the period which is naturally warmer than winter but still humid) as a season in which blood dominates in the human body, cf. GALENUS, *In Hippocratis De natura hominis*, I, 41 (CMG V 9, 1: 51, 30 = Kühn XV: 98).

⁶³ Vinegar was effective in stopping the secretion of bile (for instance, cf. *Simeonis Sethi Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, o, 79, 5, ed. B. LANGKAVEL, Leipzig 1868 [= BSGR]) because it was cooling (for instance, cf. AETIUS AMIDENUS, *Libri medicinales*, I, 299 [CMG VIII 1: 116, 1–3]).

⁶⁴ For an explanation when the food ought to be consumed with ὀξύμελι, cf. above.

⁶⁵ HEROPHILUS, *De cyclo ciborum*, 7, col. II, 464–467, p. 211; 7, col. III, 465–468, p. 211.

⁶⁶ HEROPHILUS, *De cyclo ciborum*, 8, col. I, 516–520, p. 212; 8, col. II, 515–519, p. 212; 8, col. III, 519–522, p. 212. In all probability hare meat was considered to be an acceptable foodstuff only until the 15th day of August as from the second part of the month the human body was said to start to produce greater amounts of black bile, and therefore such melancholic foods as hare should be entirely excluded from the menu until the end of September.

⁶⁷ Summer (ἔρος, i.e. the time when weather is naturally hot and dry) as a season in which bile dominates in the human body, cf. GALENUS, *In Hippocratis De natura hominis*, I, 41 (CMG V 9, 1: 51, 31 = Kühn XV: 98).

of internal heat, the deficit of which in the stomach could eventually lead to the production of black bile. In May, in turn, a threat was posed to health as any extra amount of the dry foodstuff could contribute to a stoppage in digestion by means of triggering a deficit of moisture (which was just as indispensable as heat for the process to take place) in the alimentary tract. On the other hand, there was no danger in consuming moderate amounts of hare meat in July and August as long as the food was eaten with vinegar-based condiments since, on the one hand, these were supposed to balance hare's dryness and, on the other, the vinegar was meant to counteract the viscosity of the humour generated in the process of πέψις.

Even though Anthimus provides no detailed characteristics of hare meat, some of his recommendations prove that he was perfectly aware of how its consumption impacts the human body. Firstly, by specifying the product in the treatment of dysentery, the physician showed that he knew both the food's dietetic properties and how to use them in order to cure the mentioned illness. Thus, he recommended eating hare meat, which was dry by nature, so as to minimise the excessive amount of moisture produced by the patient's body. Secondly, clear evidence of his competence in dietetics are the chapters within *De observatione ciborum* where he strongly recommends the meat of young animals (Chapters 5, 10–11, 13)⁶⁸, stating that it is better than that of older animals (Chapters 6–7)⁶⁹. It is important for our deliberations that these observations concern not only *novellae* hares⁷⁰ but also *agnelinae carnes*⁷¹ (lamb meat), *edi*⁷² (goat kids), *teneriores* oxen⁷³, *enulei*⁷⁴ (fawns) and *carnes novellae* of young wild goats⁷⁵, i.e., animals whose meat was said to become melancholic as they grow older. The author's remarks are a direct reference to the dietary doctrine contained, for instance, in Galen's *De alimentorum facultatibus*, where we can read that in the case of animals whose meat is dry by nature when mature⁷⁶ it is more advisable to eat the meat from younger creatures since their flesh contains more moisture, thus its consumption does not cause humoral disbalance⁷⁷. It comes as no surprise therefore that Anthimus recommends the use of the meat of young hares in the discussed recipe.

⁶⁸ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 5 (CML VIII 1: 6, 6–7); 10 (CML VIII 1: 7, 8–13); 11 (CML VIII 1: 7, 14–16); 13 (CML VIII 1: 8, 5–6).

⁶⁹ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 6 (CML VIII 1: 6, 9–10); 7 (CML VIII 1: 6, 11–12).

⁷⁰ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 13 (CML VIII 1: 8, 5).

⁷¹ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 5 (CML VIII 1: 6, 6).

⁷² ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 5 (CML VIII 1: 6, 6).

⁷³ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 11 (CML VIII 1: 7, 14). In this case, the adjective *tenerior* indicates that Anthimus had in mind veal, which is far tenderer and softer than beef, and thus easier to digest. Hence, it was believed that the product does not stimulate such large amounts of harmful juices as meat obtained from older animals. On the subject cf. further part of the article.

⁷⁴ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 7 (CML VIII 1: 6, 11–12).

⁷⁵ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 7 (CML VIII 1: 6, 11).

⁷⁶ Hence, it can facilitate the production of black bile.

⁷⁷ GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, III, 1, 5 (CMG V 4, 2: 333, 15–22 = Kühn VI: 662–663). The doctrine stating that meat obtained from goat kids, lambs and calves (i.e. young melancholic an-

Having analysed the aforementioned information from *De observatione ciborum* and other relevant medical treatises, we can now strive to establish the manner in which Anthimus would have recommended hare meat be treated before cooking. On the basis of accounts preserved by Oribasius, who states that – following teachings provided by Rufus of Ephesus (1st/2nd cent. AD)⁷⁸ – wild game ought not to be cooked immediately after slaughter, we can conclude then that wild game would undergo a process of tenderisation⁷⁹. This advice was also likely to include hare meat, and since the recipe suggested the use of the meat of a young animal, the process would have been relatively short (in comparison to the time required to tenderise the meat of older creatures). Perhaps, just as in the case of peacocks, the procedure lasted no longer than two days. Following on from this process, the meat was prepared, but we have no information whether it was also deboned. This action is recommended in recipes preserved in a Latin compilation of recipes (4th cent. AD) known as *De re coquinaria*⁸⁰, but it is mentioned only twice⁸¹, which implies that it was not a common practice. In addition, it was never recommended by Anthimus himself, so we may assume that it would not have been applied in the discussed case either.

Next, the hare meat was exposed to heat treatment⁸². The exact method was not specified in the recipe, so in order to gain greater insight, we must turn to

imals) is more tender and contains more moisture (i.e. it is easier to digest) than that of mature animals was present in Greek medicine long before Galen as it is found, for instance, in *De diaeta* (II, 46, [CMG I 2, 4: 168, 16–18]). Book II of the latter treatise was translated into Latin (5th/6th cent. AD), excerpted and compiled together with fragments of *De observatione ciborum* into a collection of dietetic advice present, for instance, in the manuscript Vaticanus Reg. Lat. 1004 written in the 12th cent. AD, cf. C. DEROUX, *Des traces inconnues de la "Diététique" d'Anthime dans un manuscrit du Vatican* ("Reg. Lat. 1004"), L 33.3, 1974, p. 683–687. Greek teachings on the subject are present in works composed by medics following Galen's theory, i.e. by ORIBASIUS (*Collectiones medicae*, II, 28, 1–16 [CMG VI 1, 1: 36, 4–37, 14]), AETIUS OF AMIDA (*Libri medicinales*, II, 121 [CMG VIII 1: 196, 26–198, 8]) and PAUL OF AEGINA (*Epitome*, I, 84 [CMG IX 1: 60, 26–61, 9]), to mention but a few.

⁷⁸ On the physician, cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Rufus of Ephesos (ca 70–100 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia...*, p. 720–721.

⁷⁹ ORIBASIUS, *Collectiones medicae*, IV, 2, 7 (CMG VI 1, 1: 98, 2–3). The technique seems to be fairly popular, which is testified to by Galen's commentary on *Prorrheticus*. Technical term applied for tenderisation of meats used by medical doctors reads ἐωλιζειν, and the final product was called κρέα ἔωλα. In everyday language this formal term was substituted with κρέα σαχνά, cf. *Galenus In Hippocratis Prorrheticum I commentaria III*, III, 23 (CMG V 9, 2: 133, 12–17 = Kühn XVI: 760–761), ed. H. DIELS, Leipzig–Berlin 1915 [= CMG, 5.9.2].

⁸⁰ On the cookbook, for instance, cf. H. LINDSAY, *Who was Apicius?*, SO 72.1, 1997, p. 144–154; S. GRAINGER, *The Myth of Apicius*, *Gast* 7.2, 2007, p. 71–77.

⁸¹ *Apicius. A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe text Apicius*, VIII, 8, 6, p. 280; VIII, 8, 7, ed. Ch. GROCOCK, S. GRAINGER, Blackawton–Totnes 2006 (cetera: APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*), p. 280.

⁸² We can draw this conclusion on the basis of proemium, where the physician argues that if the food is not carefully heat processed, it becomes hard to digest and harmful (*si autem [cibi] non bene*

gastronomic literature, which presents the whole spectrum of potentially applicable techniques. One of the experts in *ars coquinaria* who covers the subject is Archestratus of Gela (4th cent. BC)⁸³. In his poem entitled *Ἡδυνάθεια*, preserved by Athenaeus of Naucratis (2nd/3rd cent. AD), he states that hare meat is best when served hot and rare after being roasted on a skewer with only the addition of salt⁸⁴. Thus, we can conclude that the author preferred hare meat to be roasted briefly and directly over an open fire. Though Anthimus was aware of this method, he disapproved of it for health reasons⁸⁵. In the chapters devoted to preparing mutton and boar meat he definitively states that they should be subjected to heat treatment for a longer period of time and not too close to the fire⁸⁶. Otherwise, as he explains in one of the passages, the meat is done only on the outside, and remains raw inside ([...] *si proxima fuerit foco, ardet caro deforis et deintus devenit cruda* [...])⁸⁷. If this were the case, the outside would become dry while the inside would remain uncooked. This would chill down the intestines, and, as a result, meat roasted in such a way would contribute to the production of a humour that is dry and cold. As these recommendations refer to animals whose meat was melancholic and thus of properties similar to those of the hare⁸⁸, we may assume that hare meat should

fuerint cocti, gravitatem stomacho et ventri faciunt, cf. ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, proemium [CML VIII 1: 1, 10–11]). On the subject, cf. C. DEROUX, *Tradition...*, p. 175; IDEM, *Anthime, un médecin...*, p. 1121. Moreover, Anthimus mentions the practice of eating raw meat outside the Greco-Roman world (*gentes alias*, cf. ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, proemium [CML VIII 1: 3, 4–5]), which included Gaul inhabited by the Franks (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 14 [CML VIII 1: 9, 8–9]). Carl DEROUX (*Tradition...*, p. 178–181) maintains that the physician was not opposed to that habit and was particularly interested in the therapeutic properties ascribed to raw *laredum* by the Franks.

⁸³ On Archestratus, cf. A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 23–24. On Archestratus' work in the *Deipnosophistae*, cf. J. WILKINS, *Dialogue and Comedy: The Structure of the Deipnosophistae*, [in:] *Athenaeus and his World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. BRAUND, J. WILKINS, Exeter 2000, p. 35–36.

⁸⁴ *Archestratos of Gela. Greek Culture and Cuisine in the Fourth Century BCE*, 57, 2–6 (57 Brandt, SH 188), text, trans., comm. S.D. OLSON, A. SENS, Oxford–New York 2000 (cetera: ARCHESTRATUS GELOUS, *Ἡδυνάθεια*), p. 207; ATHENAEUS, *The Learned Banqueters*, vol. IV, *Books 8–10.420e*, IX, 399d–e (= Kaibel IX, 61), ed., trans. S.D. OLSON, Cambridge Mass.–London 2008 [= LCL, 235], p. 358, 360 (cetera: ATHENAEUS NAUCRATITA, *Deipnosophistae*).

⁸⁵ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 21 (CML VIII 1: 11, 5–9).

⁸⁶ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 4 (CML VIII 1: 5, 16 – 6, 5); 8 (CML VIII 1: 6, 13–15). The described practice is called in modern Greek *αντικριστό*, i.e. “facing the flames”, cf. I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, “*The Raw and the Cooked*”: *Ways of Cooking and Serving Food in Byzantium*, [in:] *Flavours and Delights...*, p. 177. In all probability, the same technique was recommended in the case of beef (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 11 [CML VIII 1: 7, 14–16]). Since the physician emphasizes the fact that the meat should be prepared at some distance from the fire we may presume that the process was rather prolonged.

⁸⁷ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 4 (CML VIII 1: 6, 1–2).

⁸⁸ Beef as a foodstuff stimulating the production of thick blood and melancholic juices, cf. GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, III, 1, 3 (CMG V 4, 2: 333, 1–4 = Kühn VI: 661). Mutton as a food that

also be exposed to heat treatment long enough to both make it tender and well-done throughout. Even if such practices in no way correspond with the recommendations provided by Archestratus of Gela, it does not mean that they were not applied in the Mediterranean, because, as expressed by the author of *Ἡδυνπάθεια*, there were numerous methods and advice on cooking hare meat (τοῦ δὲ λαγῶ πολλοὶ τε τρόποι πολλαὶ τε θέσεις σκευασίας εἰσὶν)⁸⁹.

The confirmation of the Greek poet's words can be found in *De re coquinaria*, where (in Chapter 8 of Book VIII) we find thirteen recipes devoted to hare meat, as well as accompanying sauces. Importantly, as many as nine contain information on the ingredients of said sauces, which include dates⁹⁰, raisins⁹¹, boiled wine must (*caroenum*)⁹², honey⁹³, straw wine (*passum*)⁹⁴, and Damascene plums⁹⁵, i.e., products that lie behind the dish's sweet taste. When we compare the data presented above with the recipe for hare meat served *in dulci* from *De observatione ciborum*, we can conclude that there was a Mediterranean tradition of serving hare meat in sweet sauces⁹⁶. Intriguingly, besides hare, Anthimus also recommended sweet sauce for beef⁹⁷ and peacock meat⁹⁸, i.e., foodstuffs whose dietetic properties were similar to those attributed to hare⁹⁹. Additionally, a comparative analysis of both

is περιττωματικά and stimulates the production of harmful juices, cf. GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, III, 1, 7 (CMG V 4, 2: 334, 5–6 = Kühn VI: 663). Beef, mutton, and the meat of wild boars as a food inducing the production of black bile, cf. *Oribasii Libri ad Eunapium*, I, 25, 1 (CMG VI 3: 336, 11–12), [in:] *Oribasii Synopsis ad Eustathium filium et libri ad Eunapium*, ed. J. RAEDER, Leipzig 1926 [= CMG, 6.3]; AETIUS AMIDENUS, *Libri medicinales*, II, 246 (CMG VIII 1: 241, 18–20).

⁸⁹ ARCHESTRATUS GELOUS, *Ἡδυνπάθεια*, 57, 1–2 (57 Brandt, *SH* 188), p. 207; ATHENAEUS NAUCRATITA, *Deipnosophistae*, IX, 399d (= Kaibel IX, 61), p. 360.

⁹⁰ APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 2; VIII, 8, 3; VIII, 8, 12; VIII, 8, 13, p. 278, 280, 282.

⁹¹ APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 2, p. 278; VIII, 8, 12, p. 282.

⁹² APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 2, p. 278; VIII, 8, 3, p. 278, 280; VIII, 8, 11, p. 282; VIII, 8, 12, p. 282; VIII, 8, 13, p. 282.

⁹³ APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 6, p. 280.

⁹⁴ APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 10, p. 282.

⁹⁵ APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 13, p. 282.

⁹⁶ Recipes found in *De re coquinaria* (for instance VI, 1, 1, p. 222; VI, 2, 2, p. 224; VIII, 1, 8, p. 264; VIII, 2, 3, p. 266; VIII, 3, 2, p. 266; VIII, 5, 1, p. 268) and *De observatione ciborum* (3 [CML VIII 1: 4, 16–5, 15]; 10 [CML VIII 1: 7, 8–13]; 24 [CML VIII 1: 12, 17–13, 5]), indicate that other types of meat were also served this way.

⁹⁷ The sauce for beef was additionally acidified with vinegar and flavoured with hot spices (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 [CML VIII 1: 5, 3–10]), which made the final product sweet, sour, and spicy.

⁹⁸ Owing to the pepper, the sauce for peacock meat (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 24 [CML VIII 1: 13, 3]) became more of a sweet-and-spicy kind.

⁹⁹ Peacock meat was described as tough, heavy, and sinewy. On the issue, cf. GALENUS, *De alimentorum facultatibus*, III, 18, 3 (CMG V 4, 2: 356, 15–16 = Kühn VI: 701); ORIBASIIUS, *Collectiones medicarum*, II, 42, 4 (CMG VI 1, 1: 40, 29–30); AETIUS AMIDENUS, *Libri medicinales*, II, 130 (CMG VIII 1: 200, 14–15); PAULUS AEGINETA, *Epitome*, I, 82 (CMG IX 1: 60, 7–8). Also cf. M. GRANT, *Commentary on Book 4...*, p. 285. On the analogy between the dietary properties of beef and hare meat, cf. earlier parts of the text.

texts shows that beef and peacock meat were exposed to similar heat treatment, which may suggest that hare meat was prepared likewise¹⁰⁰.

On the basis of Recipe no. 1 within Chapter 8 of Book VIII of *De re coquinaria*, one can presume that the initial stage of meat processing might have involved pre-cooking¹⁰¹. However, it was clearly an optional procedure, since recipes for beef and peacock meat in *De observatione ciborum* allow us to conclude that stewing remained the predominant cooking technique applied to melancholic meats. When elaborating on the types of cooking processes for the discussed meats, Anthimus recommends they be stewed in *iuscellum*, which enables us to infer that this was a method he considered optimum for meats which were dry by nature. The same technique is also suggested in *De re coquinaria*. Recipe no. 6 for *ex suo iure* hare states that the meat was to be stewed in olive oil, fish sauce (*liquamen*), and stock (*coctura*) with the addition of leek, coriander, and dill¹⁰². Even though we have no detailed data on the ingredients of the *coctura*, the aforementioned Recipe no. 1 hints that it may have been a meat stock made from boiled hare. In addition, from Recipe no. 13 we learn that the latter could be substituted with a mixture of water, wine, and fish sauce, spiced with mustard, dill, and a whole leek¹⁰³.

The ingredients mentioned above (especially wine, fish sauce, and olive oil) were commonly used in the cuisine of the Mediterranean since Antiquity¹⁰⁴, so Anthimus would have been well familiar with them. However, it is important to note here that in *De observatione ciborum* the application of the first two is a rarity¹⁰⁵, and the vast majority of recipes recommend substituting them with other ingredients.

Let us now ponder over the possible composition of the Byzantine physician's *iuscellum* for the hare meat stew. It seems highly unlikely that – just as in *De re coquinaria* – it was based on wine, since the treatise leads to the conclusion that the Franks did not commonly use wine for cooking. In *De observatione ciborum*, we only find five remarks on wine, with just two referring to its application in food

¹⁰⁰ Following Anthimus' recommendations concerning meat's thermal processing, DEROUX (*La digestion...*, p. 412) argues that the physician believed that the food is best for the human body when stewed or steamed.

¹⁰¹ APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 1, p. 278. For modern interpretation of the recipe, cf. A. DALBY, S. GRAINGER, *The Classical Cookbook*, London 2000, p. 75–76.

¹⁰² APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 6, p. 280.

¹⁰³ APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 13, p. 282.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. J.-P. SODINI, *Olives*, [in:] *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. G.W. BOWER-SOCK, P. BROWN, O. GRABAR, Cambridge Mass.–London 1999, p. 619–620; D. VERA, *Wine*, [in:] *Late Antiquity...*, p. 749; A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 156–157 (fish sauce), 239–240 (olive oil), 350–352 (wine); M. DECKER, *Garum and Salsamenta*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, ed. O. NICHOLSON, Oxford 2018, p. 642; IDEM, *Olives and Olive Oil*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary...*, p. 1098–1099; IDEM, *Wine and Wine Trade*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary...*, p. 1591–1592.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. further parts of the article.

preparation¹⁰⁶, while the other three concern therapeutics¹⁰⁷. At the same time, Anthimus frequently recommends the use of vinegar¹⁰⁸ in *ars coquinaria* – an ingredient that had long been a staple in Mediterranean cuisine¹⁰⁹. For our deliberations, it is worth remembering that vinegar is the base of the *iuscellum* in which the physician advised the reader to stew beef. Therefore, it seems he was perfectly aware that it would (just like wine) make the meat tender and thus easier to digest. Given this argument, there is every likelihood that the physician applied the same technique for hare meat. Possibly, just like the authors of the recipes in *De re coquinaria*, he would also opt for the *iuscellum* to be slightly diluted with water or (meat- or vegetable-based) stock to neutralise the taste of vinegar.

The overwhelming majority of the sauces for hare meat in the analysed cookery book contained olive oil¹¹⁰, which allows us to presume that it was also listed by Anthimus in his recipe. After all, he recommends its application¹¹¹ considerably more often than animal fats, which does not mean, however, that it was widely available in the Frankish state. This is evidenced in the chapter informing the reader that melted *laredum*, i.e. lard, is an additive which can replace olive oil if the latter is not at hand¹¹².

On the basis of Anthimus' treatise, we can also assume that (going against the grain of tradition domestically) he would not use fish sauce, which was a standard ingredient to ensure the salty taste of almost all dishes in the Greco-Roman world. In fact, in the recipe for suckling pigs, the physician strongly advises the reader

¹⁰⁶ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 (CML VIII 1: 4, 16 – 5, 15); 4 (CML VIII 1: 5, 16 – 6, 5).

¹⁰⁷ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 54 (CML VIII 1: 21, 10 – 22, 3); 64 (CML VIII 1: 23, 13 – 24, 12); 76 (CML VIII 1: 27, 12 – 28, 11).

¹⁰⁸ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 (CML VIII 1: 5, 3); 10 (CML VIII 1: 7, 11); 52 (CML VIII 1: 21, 7); 58 (CML VIII 1: 23, 2); 67 (CML VIII 1: 25, 5–6).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 343.

¹¹⁰ Olive oil was not listed in only two out of thirteen recipes, cf. APICIUS, *De re coquinaria*, VIII, 8, 3, p. 278; VIII, 8, 9, p. 282.

¹¹¹ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 21 (CML VIII 1: 11, 7); 42 (CML VIII 1: 19, 1); 45 (CML VIII 1: 19, 11); 52 (CML VIII 1: 21, 6); 54 (CML VIII 1: 22, 2); 56 (CML VIII 1: 22, 8); 65 (CML VIII 1: 24, 13); 66 (CML VIII 1: 24, 16); 67 (CML VIII 1: 25, 9).

¹¹² ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 14 (CML VIII 1: 9, 5–6). Another passage which suggests the lack of common access to olive oil is Anthimus' passage on *oxygala/melca*, cf. ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 78 (CML VIII 1: 29, 6–7). Conclusions analogous to those mentioned above can also be drawn from the writings by Gregory of Tours, where he often lists various kinds of foodstuffs typical of northern Gaul. Since the bishop seldom mentions olives, we may assume that they were a rare delicacy in the northern parts of *Regnum Francorum* (cf. P. PÉRIN, *Landscape and Material Culture of Gaul in the Times of Gregory of Tours According to Archaeology*, [in:] *A Companion to Gregory of Tours*, ed. A. C. MURRAY, Leiden–Boston 2015 [= BCCT, 63], p. 268). In all probability, olives as well as olive oil, were imported to Metz from southern Gaul, where olive trees were cultivated, cf. M. DECKER, *Olives...*, p. 1099.

against this ingredient, recommending salt instead¹¹³. Therefore, it seems quite likely that he would use the latter to add flavour to the discussed *iuscellum*.

In all probability, his *iuscellum* would also contain some vegetables and herbs to enhance the aroma and flavour of the dish. On the basis of the information in the analysed medical treatise, we can presume that these included celery, coriander, dill, and leek, since Anthimus considered them to be the best ingredients for preparing stocks¹¹⁴. What further increases the probability of their use in the recipe for hare meat is the fact that, except for celery, they were all listed in the aforementioned recipes from *De re coquinaria*. However, we should not exclude the use of celery since it was mentioned among the ingredients of the *iuscellum* described in *De observatione ciborum* which the physician recommended for stewing beef. From the same recipe, we also learn that the dish was spiced with fennel and pennyroyal. When we take into account the similar properties of both types of meat, we can presume that Anthimus would also consider the said ingredients as suitable for hare meat.

Finally, we should address the type of vessel and heat treatment that may have been recommended for cooking hare meat. In his work, the physician seldom mentions the type of pots to be used to prepare individual dishes, and on those rare occasions when the data appeared in his texts, it most often referred to a vessel called *olla*¹¹⁵. This is mentioned, for instance, in a recipe for beef together with a pot named *bucular*, which is significant for our deliberations, since

¹¹³ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 9 (CML VIII 1: 7, 5–7). ANTHIMUS (*De observatione ciborum*, 34 [CML VIII 1: 16, 6]) recommends fish sauce in only one recipe, and even then he opts for its diluted variant (*egrogarium*). Cf. C. DEROUX, *La digestion...*, p. 409–410; IDEM, *Tradition...*, p. 176–177; IDEM, *Anthime, un médecin...*, p. 1117–1119.

¹¹⁴ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 55 (CML VIII 1: 22, 4–5).

¹¹⁵ Cf. ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 (CML VIII 1: 5, 7; 5, 12; 5, 15); 70 (CML VIII 1: 26, 5); 75 (CML VIII 1: 27, 8). One should note that ANTHIMUS equally often mentions a pot called *vas*, cf. *De observatione ciborum*, 10 (CML VIII 1: 7, 12); 76 (CML VIII 1: 28, 7); 83 (CML VIII 1: 30, 11). Kenneth Douglas WHITE (*Farm Equipment of the Roman World*, Cambridge–London–New York–Melbourne 2010, p. 203–204) thinks that the latter word is a generic term, which was used for various sorts of containers, hence it does not define any particular type of pot. Probably, that is why Andrew James DONNELLY (*Cooking Pots in Ancient and Late Antique Cookbooks*, [in:] *Ceramics, Cuisine and Culture. The Archaeology and Science of Kitchen Pottery in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. M. SPATARO, A. VILLING, Oxford–Philadelphia 2015, p. 145) argues that Anthimus uses the words *olla* and *vas* interchangeably. In *De observatione ciborum* we can find more terms referring to vessels: *bucular* (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 [CML VIII 1: 5, 14]), *gavata* (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 34 [CML VIII 1: 16, 6–7]). What is more, a recipe for beef (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 [CML VIII 1: 4, 16]) also contains the word *sodinga*, which has been discussed by researchers analysing Anthimus' treatise for many years. Some experts believe that it refers to a vessel for stewing meat. This is, however, one possible interpretation, as others argue the word may, for instance, describe meat stock. On the subject, for instance, cf. M. CAPARRINI, *Per un approfondimento dei germanismi dell'Epistula Anthimi de observatione ciborum: bridum/spiss, sodinga/prue*, LFi 29, 2009, p. 187–188.

the context in which the two vessels appear allows us to capture an important difference between them. From the sentence where the physician argues that the reader should use an earthen pot called *olla*, instead of *bucular* ([...] *et in bucculare non coquat, sed in olla fictile* [...])¹¹⁶, we can conclude that *bucular* was made of metal. In addition, the chapter that recommends boiling milk in an *olla* not made from bronze ([...] *in olla tamen, nam non aeramen*)¹¹⁷ enables us to presume that *ollae* may also have been made of bronze. The last passage, together with the recipe for beef¹¹⁸, suggests that the noun *olla* without a modifier was understood as a vessel made of clay, which indicates that this was the most common material from which *ollae* were produced.

When we analyse these passages, it becomes clear that earthenware vessels proved more suitable than metal ones for certain dishes. We must note that Anthimus recommended their use for boiling milk¹¹⁹, quinces¹²⁰ and sauces based on vinegar¹²¹. Importantly, the mentioned foodstuffs, with the exception of milk¹²², were characterised by a higher or a lower level of acidity. Therefore, if we assume that hare meat was stewed with some vinegar, we should conclude that it was also advisable to use an earthenware *olla* for the purpose.

Although in the analysed recipe Anthimus does not provide us with any data on how the dish should be heated, we may presume that, analogously to the method described in the chapter devoted to beef, it ought to be stewed over a low heat (*lento foco*). One might suggest that the vessel was put on a tripod or gridiron¹²³. As both items kept the pot at a safe distance from the flames and prevented its contents from burning, the food would have needed to be heat processed for a longer time, which also corresponds with Anthimus' recommendations concerning the preparation of meat dishes. Moreover, the said method guaranteed that the meat would keep its natural moisture.

¹¹⁶ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 (CML VIII 1: 5, 14–15).

¹¹⁷ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 75 (CML VIII 1: 27, 8). Perhaps *bucular* was also made of bronze.

¹¹⁸ [...] *agetando ipsa olla* [...] (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 [CML VIII 1: 5, 7]) versus [...] *et in bucculare non coquat, sed in olla fictile meliorem saporem facit* (ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 [CML VIII 1: 5, 14–15]).

¹¹⁹ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 75 (CML VIII 1: 27, 8).

¹²⁰ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 83 (CML VIII 1: 30, 11).

¹²¹ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 3 (CML VIII 1: 5, 3–15); 10 (CML VIII 1: 7, 10–13).

¹²² According to the second part of the recipe, milk, together with bread pieces, should be heated up slowly in a vessel placed on charcoals. This technique fully justifies the use of the earthenware pot, as its surface takes longer to warm up and the heat is more evenly distributed than in a metal vessel. It also means that the dish can gradually be heated to the desired temperature and there is no risk of quick burning.

¹²³ Cf. J.P. ALCOCK, *Food in the Ancient World*, Westport CT–London 2006, p. 106; C. GROCOCK, S. GRAINGER, *Introduction*, [in:] *Apicius. A Critical Edition with an Introduction and an English Translation of the Latin Recipe text Apicius*, ed. EIDEM, Blackawton–Totnes 2006, p. 79.

In conclusion, we may state that even though the analysed recipe does not contain abundant details on the culinary techniques applied, it still allows us to perform a hypothetical reconstruction of the main principles of cooking hare meat when compared with other passages from *De observatione ciborum* and other source texts. The technique of heat processing proposed in the present study is justified from the perspective of dietetics.

Despite its brevity, the recipe also reveals some information on both, Anthimus' medical competences and the target reader's social standing. As for the former, the physician's qualifications in the field of pharmacology and dietetics are confirmed by the content of his treatise. Firstly, he was aware of hare meat's desiccative properties, and thus he employed it as a medicine in the treatment of dysentery, which required eliminating the excessive amount of moisture from the patient's body. This example clearly shows that Anthimus knew the meat's dietetic characteristics; characteristics which had evolved from the times of *De diaeta* and were finally shaped by Galen. Furthermore, the author recommends the meat of young animals in the analysed fragment as well as passages discussing other types of meat. The passage is not only evidence of his familiarity with the principles of *ars coquinaria*, but it also indicates that he followed the teachings of Greek dietetics, clearly recommending that the foodstuff in question (when compared to meat of older animals) should be neither excessively dry nor tough, and therefore less likely to contribute to the formation of melancholic juices. If so, we can surmise that an analogical way of reasoning is also present in other passages of *De observatione ciborum*, and formulate a hypothesis that the terms *recentior* (used in reference to the meat of boars¹²⁴ and pigs¹²⁵) and *tenerior* (used in reference to the meat of oxen¹²⁶ and ducks¹²⁷) have a similar meaning as the word *novellus* in the entry on the hare¹²⁸. Namely, they do not relate directly to the freshness¹²⁹ or tenderness¹³⁰ of the said foods, as suggested by Mark Grant in his translation, but they are a reference to the dietary principle which considers younger animals to be a better foodstuff in terms of their dietetic qualities.

What demonstrates the high social standing of the target reader is the fact that the recipe requires the use of wild game, since only the rich could fully enjoy the luxury of hunting, in terms of time and money. And even if, they did not participate

¹²⁴ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 8 (CML VIII 1: 6, 13).

¹²⁵ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 9 (CML VIII 1: 7, 1–2).

¹²⁶ Cf. note 73.

¹²⁷ ANTHIMUS, *De observatione ciborum*, 32 (CML VIII 1: 15, 10).

¹²⁸ Analogous conclusion was made by DEROUX (*Anthimus, De obs. cib. 32 (p. 15, 1. 10–11 Liechtenhan): un texte correctement établi, mais en apparence se*, L 65.4, 2006, p. 1011) in his deliberations on *anantes teneriores*. Interestingly, in the Chapter 20 Grant also associates the adjective *tener* with the age of an animal, as he translates the phrase *vacca tenera venter* as “calf belly” (ANTHIMUS, *On the Observance...*, 20, p. 57).

¹²⁹ ANTHIMUS, *On the Observance...*, 8, p. 53 (Grant); 9, p. 53 (Grant).

¹³⁰ ANTHIMUS, *On the Observance...*, 11, p. 55 (Grant); 32, p. 63 (Grant).

in this form of pastime, they would have had enough spending power to purchase game. Another argument that speaks for the fact that the recipe was aimed at a wealthy reader is the passage [...] *si novellae* [...], which indicates that the addressee had the possibility to choose between the meat of younger and older animals. Lastly, the recipe lists a range of exotic ingredients for the sauce to be served with the meat, which is another indicator of the intended reader's high status.

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THE CHIEFTAINS OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE IN LIGHT OF THE CHRONICLE OF MARCELLINUS COMES*

Abstract. It is clear that while *Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes* belongs to most important works from the 6th century, there is significant problem with indicating his personal attitude towards the discussed characters and the described events. The following text is an attempt to answer the question why some of the warlords and generals mentioned in Marcellin's chronicle were shown positively and others not. It seems that the key to the chronicler's assessment of a given person was his origin, attitude to imperial authority and actual influence on the most important events of the era in which he lived.

Keywords: Marcellinus Comes, military history, Byzantium

There is no doubt that the *Chronicle of Marcellinus Comes*¹ presents the most important events in the history of both the Western Roman and Eastern Roman Empires from the late 4th century to the 530s. For the author of the work, however, it was the events taking place in the East that remained the focus of attention. Furthermore, Marcellinus' work was not intended to provide a detailed account of the history of the Western Roman and Eastern Roman Empires. Even a cursory reading of the *Chronicle* allows one to conclude that the author wrote only about those events that left a significant mark on the history of the empire². While it is difficult to find controversy in the selection of events reported, the matter becomes more complicated in the case of narratives on specific figures. This

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¹ For Marcellinus Comes and his work see, among others: B. CROKE, *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, Oxford 2001; M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes Marcellin vir clarissimus. Historyk i jego dzieło*, Łódź 2022 [= BL, 45].

² It is worth noting that Marcellinus' views and areas of interest were strongly influenced by his background. It is believed that he probably came from Illyricum: B. CROKE, *Count...*, p. 21–22, 51–53; W. TREADGOLD, *The Early Byzantine Historians*, Houndmills–New York 2007, p. 328; M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes...*, p. 14.

is particularly evident in the case of the army chieftains of the Eastern Roman Empire. The author seems to deliberately omit the role of some prominent figures, while others, who may not have played a significant role, are given considerable space. At first glance, Marcellinus' actions seem to lack a logical criterion, but this is false. The purpose of this text will be to analyze the role played in the *Chronicle* by four selected chieftains of the Eastern Roman Empire – namely, Belisarius, Aspar, Vitalian and Sabinian the Great – and to answer the question of why they were portrayed in such a way³.

Belisarius. Marcellinus' *Chronicle* describes important military events from the time of Justinian I, such as the Iberian War (526–532) and the campaign of 533–534, which resulted in the liquidation of the Vandal Kingdom⁴. Although in both cases the military talent of Belisarius, who commanded both expeditions, played a decisive role, information about him is nowhere to be found in the Marcellinus' *Chronicle*. The chieftain's name does not appear even once, despite the fact that his role in restoring the power of the Eastern Roman Empire was undeniable⁵. It should be emphasized that it was to him, to some extent, that Justinian owed his hold on the throne during the Nika Riot in January 532⁶. Marcellinus writes about the events involving Belisarius, omitting his name, which indicates that the silence was intentional. This is all the more interesting because, for the author of the *Continuation of Marcellinus' Comes Chronicle*, the aforementioned chieftain occupies a position that reflects his importance⁷.

It seems that the reasons for this omission are to be found in the historian's approach to Justinian. Marcellinus, being closely associated with him, wanted to raise his profile and show him as a victorious emperor. It is noteworthy that the historian was completing his work at a time when there were preparations to celebrate the victory over the Vandals. Since the first years of Justinian's reign coincided with the burgeoning career of Belisarius, high praise of the capable chieftain could have subdued the ruler's image. The author of the *Chronicle* was certainly

³ Consequently, this text is more an attempt to answer the question of Marcellinus' motivations in writing the *Chronicle* than even a cursory compilation of the most notable imperial chieftains from the East.

⁴ *Marcellini v.c. comitis Chronicon*, a. 529; a. 533.1; a. 534.1, [in:] M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes...* (cetera: MARCELLINUS COMES). Thus, the war with the Persians had actually begun several years before 529: G. GREATREX, S. LIEU, N.C. SAMUEL, *Justinian's First Persian War and the Eternal Peace*, [in:] *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, part 2, 363–630 AD, New York–London 2002, p. 82–97. More on the course of the war against the Vandals: J. STRZELCZYK, *Wandalowie i ich afrykańskie państwo*, Warszawa 1992, p. 167–183; M. WILCZYŃSKI, *Zagraniczna i wewnętrzna polityka afrykańskiego państwa Wandalów*, Kraków 1994, p. 183–207.

⁵ For more on Belisarius' military career and his relationship with Justinian see, among others: H. BÖRM, *Justinians Triumph und Belisars Erniedrigung. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Kaiser und Militär im späten Römischen Reich*, *Chi* 42, 2013, p. 63–91.

⁶ G. GREATREX, *The Nika Riot: A Reappraisal*, *JHS* 117, 1997, p. 60–86.

⁷ Belisarius becomes a central figure basically from the beginning: *Kontynuacja Marcellina Komesa (Additamentum)*, a. 535.1, [in:] M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes...*

aware of the numerous conflicts, and may have been an eyewitness to many disputes in the immediate circles of power⁸. Marcellinus, as an active participant in court life, must have known whose deeds should be publicized and who ought to be scarcely mentioned⁹.

Aspar. Another figure underrated in the *Chronicle* seems to be Aspar. The aforementioned chieftain began his career under the orders of Emperor Theodosius II, and it is then that he first appears in Marcellinus' *Chronicle*¹⁰. Aspar attained the dignity of a patrician, the position of *magister militum*, and for several decades (until his death in 471), he wielded enormous power in the Eastern Roman Empire¹¹. The chieftain appears in the *Chronicle* in several places, although these are rather perfunctory mentions¹². Such a portrayal of Aspar may have stemmed from several reasons. First, with regard to times preceding his, Marcellinus relied on available sources and reported events "second-hand"¹³. Second, the fact that Aspar had enjoyed prominence in the circle of power in the East for a long time presented the author of the *Chronicle* with a certain difficulty. It was important for the chronicler to adequately portray the various emperors¹⁴, and to elaborate on the role of the Alanic chieftain would have detracted from the importance of some of them, especially Marcian¹⁵. Third, and finally, Marcellinus shifts the

⁸ Marcellinus thus witnessed the Nika Riot of 532. However, the author takes the responsibility for the events off Justinian and places it on Anastasius' nephews: MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 532; M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes...*, p. 30.

⁹ Marcellinus is considered to have arrived in Constantinople in the late 5th or early 6th century: A. KOMPA, *Mieszkańcy Konstantynopola w oczach intelektualistów miejscowej proweniencji*, [in:] IDEM, M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, *Mieszkańcy stolicy świata. Konstantynopolitańczycy między starożytnością a średniowieczem*, Łódź 2014 [= BL, 17], p. 38–39.

¹⁰ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 425.1. Aspar's career began during the war with the Persians, which occurred during the reign of Theodosius II.

¹¹ For more on this interesting character, read, among others: R.A. BLEEKER, *Aspar and the Struggle for the Eastern Roman Empire, AD 421–471*, London 2022, p. 198–200; G. VERNADSKY, *Flavius Ardabur Aspar*, SF 6, 1941, p. 38–73; B. CROKE, *Dynasty and Ethnicity: Emperor Leo I and the Eclipse of Aspar*, Chi 35, 2005, p. 147–201; M. McEVoy, *Becoming Roman?: The Not-So-Curious Case of Aspar and the Ardaburii*, JLA 9, 2016, p. 483–511.

¹² MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 425.1, a. 427 (consulship), a. 447 (consulship) and a. 471.1, on the occasion of his death. It is worth mentioning that the figure of Aspar appears on the occasion of the usurpation of John, to whose downfall the aforementioned chieftain was also said to have contributed according to other sources: *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*, ed. et trans. R.W. BURGESS, Oxford 1993 [= OCM], p. 424–425.

¹³ Some of the most noteworthy sources Marcellinus used include Orosius and Gennadius: M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes...*, p. 94–97.

¹⁴ For example, the sources suggest that Aspar's attitude had a major impact on the ascension of the imperial throne by Marcian, who had previously served in his troops: *Ioannis Malalae chronographia*, XIV, 27, ed. I. THURN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2000 [= CFHB.SBe, 35] (cetera: IOANNES MALALAS); *Chronicon Paschale*, 450, vol. I, ed. L. DINDORF, Bonnae 1832 [= CSHB].

¹⁵ We know from other sources that the aforementioned chieftain, along with Marcian's wife, Pulcheria, had an overwhelming influence on his election as emperor: K. TWARDOWSKA, *Rzymski Wschód*

responsibility for the death of the chieftain and his two sons from Emperor Leo and places it on the court eunuchs¹⁶. Eager to portray the ruler in a good light, the author of the *Chronicle* elides the fact that Aspar's assassination caused not only riots in the capital, but also hostilities in Thrace, launched in retaliation by Theodoric Strabo, who was related to the chieftain¹⁷.

Vitalian. As mentioned earlier, analyzing the work of Marcellinus Comes, one gets the impression that in the case of some protagonists, the author presents them in a good light because he disliked their opponents. Perhaps this is the case of Vitalian, *magister militum per Thracias*, who at one stage of his career came into major conflict with Emperor Anastasius¹⁸. According to Marcellinus, the chieftain rebelled upon hearing that Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, had been removed from office¹⁹. The scale of the threat to power must have been significant, because according to the author, Vitalian headed towards the capital leading an army estimated at 60,000 soldiers²⁰.

w latach 395–518, [in:] *Świat rzymski w V wieku*, ed. R. KOSIŃSKI, K. TWARDOWSKA, Kraków 2010, p. 98–99; A. URBANIEC, *Wpływ patrycjusza Aspara na cesarską elekcję Leona*, USS 11, 2012, p. 174.

¹⁶ Interestingly, on this occasion, the chronicler emphasizes that Aspar was an Arian: MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 471. The authors of other sources, however, suggest that the cause of Aspar's downfall was his excessive ambition and Leo's concerns about the succession to the throne of Zeno and his grandson Leo: IOANNES MALALAS, XIV, 40; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum libri XIII–XVIII*, XIV, 29, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Lipsiae 1897 [= CSHB]. See also the comment of R.A. BLEEKER: *Aspar...*, p. 203–207.

¹⁷ K. TWARDOWSKA, *Rzymski...*, p. 107; A. URBANIEC, *Wpływ...*, p. 186–187. Moreover, it seems that the consequences of Aspar's murder were far more serious than Leo would have wished. The enraged Theodoric Strabo was only partially pacified and retained considerable influence in Thrace, even during the reign of Emperor Zeno: Ł. JAROSZ, *Teodoryk Strabon*, ZNUJ 140.3, 2018, p. 217. Let us bear in mind that the above-quoted authors present the issue of Aspar's downfall from the perspective of the struggle against Germanic influence in the Eastern Roman Empire, as rightly pointed out by W. TREADGOLD – *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford 1997, p. 150.

¹⁸ The trigger for the conflict was the removal of the bishop, although a common source of soldiers' agitation were the poor conditions of service prevalent in the army, or, interestingly, the conflict between the emperor and the chieftain of a particular army: MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514.1–3; a. 515.2–4; Ł. JAROSZ, *Teodoryk...*, p. 225. Sources indicate that his father was a chieftain in Roman service, Patriciolus: *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta quae Supersunt Omnia*, 242, 1, ed. S. MARIEV, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2008 [= CFHB.SBe, 47] (cetera: IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS); THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, AM 6005, vol. I, ed. C. de BOOR, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES).

¹⁹ As Michael the Syrian suggests, Vitalian and Macedonius may have been cousins, which would justify the ambitious chieftain siding with the ousted bishop: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien: Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1198)*, IX, 9, vol. II, ed. J.B. CHABOT, Paris 1901. This hypothesis is supported by F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I. Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*, Cambridge 2006, p. 164.

²⁰ Even if the numbers quoted by Marcellinus are exaggerated, Vitalian had considerable forces at his disposal, as the region in which he was stationed was notoriously threatened by barbarian incursions. For more on Vitalian and his rebellion, see: 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. 447–452; F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius...*, p. 164–179; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Stutt-

Interestingly, the chieftain was not portrayed in a negative light, despite the fact that Marcellinus highlighted his Scythian origins²¹. Elsewhere in the *Chronicle*, the author describes Vitalian's daring raid, which led to the death of his opponent in the imperial service, i.e. *magister militum* Cyril²². The aforementioned account was conducted so as to juxtapose the courage and valor of the former with the slothfulness and promiscuity of Anastasius' chieftain²³.

It is possible that Marcellinus portrayed Vitalian favorably not because he had any special affection for him, but because of the negative opinion he had of Anastasius, who could hardly be considered an exemplary defender of orthodoxy²⁴. Perhaps the portrayal of Vitalian as a good Orthodox Christian was intended to show the emperor in a bad light²⁵. The rift between the ambitious chieftain and Anastasius proved to be permanent, as the tension between them continued until the end of his reign²⁶. During Justin's reign, Vitalian was given the post of *magister militum praesentalis*, however, after some time, he was assassinated²⁷.

Marcellinus mentions the commander only in a few places, i.e. when the rebellion began, when Vitalian was deposed as *magister militum per Thracia*, and when he was promoted and died shortly thereafter²⁸. Little can be learned about the

gart 2009, p. 297. Vitalian's army probably included not only troops of the regular Roman army but also numerous groups of Bulgarians and Huns: IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, 242; THEOPHANES, AM 6006; F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius...*, p. 165–167; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I...*, p. 297–298.

²¹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514.1. It seems that pointing out his origin was meant to further emphasize a contrast between the God-fearing Vitalian of humble origins and the emperor, who betrayed his duties as a defender of Orthodoxy: А.С. КОЗЛОВ, *Комит Марцеллин, Виктор Туннунский и Марий Аваншский о «чужих» народах*, АДСВ 31, 2000, p. 69–70.

²² MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514.3.

²³ Not insignificant to the narrative is the fact that death found Cyril while he was spending the night in the embrace of two concubines.

²⁴ Moreover, the aforementioned emperor was portrayed negatively throughout Marcellinus Comes' work: B. CROKE, *Count...*, p. 129–133; M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes...*, p. 27–28.

²⁵ Religious issues may have been a factor in this case. Both Vitalian, the aforementioned Bishop Macedonius, and Marcellinus, who reported on these events, had an unequivocally negative opinion of the Monophysite path taken by Anastasius, while the restoration of Orthodoxy and communion with Rome was a constantly recurring demand of the rebellious chieftain: MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 514; F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius...*, p. 164–165.

²⁶ It is noteworthy, however, that the conferring of this dignity was twofold. Firstly, it was intended to free Hypatius, an imperial chieftain captured during fights, from captivity, and secondly, to legalize Vitalian's *de facto* independence within the borders of the Empire, by granting him the title of *magister militum per Thracia*: MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 515.4.

²⁷ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 519.3; a. 520.1. B. CROKE (*Justinian under Justin: Reconfiguring a Reign*, BZ 100, 2007, p. 34–35) suggests that the reason for the killing of the chieftain was an attempt to usurp power. However, some sources indicate that Vitalian was executed in an act of delayed revenge for rebelling against Anastasius and sparking a civil war: IOANNES MALALAS, XVII, 8; THEOPHANES, AM 6012.

²⁸ M.J. Leszka makes a valid claim that Justinian, Emperor Justin's nephew and the future emperor, was probably involved: M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes Marcellin...*, p. 205. In *Secret History*,

period between these events (i.e., between 516 and 519) from the *Chronicle* itself, which may indicate that the entire thread served as an excuse to criticize Emperor Anastasius.

Sabinian the Great. Sometimes Marcellinus describes selected chieftains from the East because he has sincere respect for them and bemoans that, for some reason, they failed. Such is the case with Sabinian the Great. The aforementioned chieftain held the office of *magister militum* during the reign of the Eastern Roman Emperor Zeno²⁹. As the author points out, the aforementioned Sabinian took office at an extremely difficult time for the Empire. The 470s and 480s were a tumultuous period in which the Western Roman Empire finally collapsed, and numerous barbarian peoples roamed the former empire³⁰. One such federation were the Goths, seeking a new homeland for themselves. The Eastern Roman Empire found itself in a difficult position, forced to maneuver through a complicated political puzzle of not always friendly peoples³¹.

As the author of the *Chronicle* reports, under these circumstances, Sabinian tried to defend the state while attempting to maintain his position against attacks from court coteries. Marcellinus assesses the aforementioned chieftain very generously, comparing him to ancient Roman statesmen³². The author also emphasizes Sabinian's organizational talents and his devotion to the Empire, stressing that the latter supported the tottering Senate³³. Moreover, the chieftain was portrayed as the conqueror of Theodoric Strabo, although in fact, the Goths posed a real threat to the Empire at all times³⁴.

Procopius argues that the main culprit in Vitalian's death was Justinian: PROCOPIUS, vol. VI, *The Anecdota, or Secret History*, VI, 27–28, with English trans. by H.B. DEWING, London–Cambridge Mass. 1935 [= LCL, 290]. This view was supported by: A.A. VASILIEV, *Justin the First. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great*, Cambridge 1950 [= DOS, 1], p. 113.

²⁹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 479.1. It seems likely that Sabinian actually held the office of *magister militum per Illyricum*.

³⁰ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 476.2.

³¹ A little more information on the aforementioned topic can be found in: J.R. MARTINDALE, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, A.D. 395–527, Cambridge 1980, p. 967 (s.v. *Sabinianus Magnus* 4).

³² MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 479.1.

³³ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 479.2. In reality, however, Marcellinus was impressed by the uncompromising attitude of the chieftain, who wanted to fight the Goths even at the cost of sabotaging Zeno's strategic plans: MALCHOS, 20, [in:] *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, ed. R.-C. BLOCKLEY, Liverpool 1983 (cetera: MALCHOS).

³⁴ It appears that sheer luck played a greater role in getting rid of Theodoric Strabo than the actions of Sabinian: if we believe the sources, the Gothic chieftain was killed when he fell from his panicked horse onto a spear lying on a cart: MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 481.1. This account is consistent with Jordanes' narrative: IORDANES, *Romana*, 346, [in:] *MGH.AA*, vol. V.1, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, Berolini 1882. For more on the military struggles between Sabinian and Theodoric Strabo, see: P. HEATHER,

Marcellinus further laments the premature death of the chieftain, but does not explicitly name those responsible for this tragedy³⁵. Other sources indicate that Emperor Zeno should be held responsible³⁶. John of Antioch's account, while relevant, does not shed much light on the attitude of Marcellinus Comes³⁷. The author of the *Chronicle* probably knew who was behind Sabinian's death, but, despite his great sympathy for the leader, he did not write explicitly who was to blame³⁸. Marcellinus painted Zeno in neutral colors, which is all the more interesting because he simultaneously omits the controversy surrounding the publication of the *Henotikon*³⁹. On the other hand, the sentiment towards Sabinian may have proved that Marcellinus wanted to include characters worthy of emulation, representing traditional Roman virtues, such as courage, devotion to the fatherland and selflessness⁴⁰.

The author of the *Chronicle* also mentions the figure of Sabinian the Great's son of the same name. The aforementioned chieftain appears in the pages of the work not because of his merits: the only mention describes the defeat he suffered at the hands of the barbarian chieftain Mundo⁴¹. The reasons why Marcellinus mentions the son of Sabinian the Great were probably twofold. First, he was the son of a well-known chieftain. More importantly, however, Sabinian "the Younger" served as *magister militum per Illyricum* in the early 6th century. This is another indicator that the author of the *Chronicle* cared most about the key events from

Goths and Romans 332–489, Oxford 1991 [= OHM], p. 292–298. According to Malchos, the success, though tactically significant, was rather local: MALCHOS, 20.

³⁵ MARCELLINUS COMES, 481.2. B. CROKE (*Count...*, p. 64–66) also does not attempt to resolve the causes of the chieftain's death.

³⁶ According to John of Antioch's account, Emperor Zeno was behind Sabinian's murder: IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, 236.

³⁷ Some scholars, such as R. Kosiński, believe that the reason for the chieftain's downfall was not only his autonomy of action, which did not always agree with the emperor's plans, but his membership in an opposition faction that grew too powerful, which sealed Sabinian's fate: R. KOSIŃSKI, *The Emperor Zeno. Religion and Politics*, Kraków 2010 [= BSC, 6], p. 103.

³⁸ As B. Croke notes, Marcellinus may have viewed Sabinian as a worthy candidate for emperor: B. CROKE, *Commentary*, [in:] *The Chronicle of Marcellinus, a Translation and Commentary (with a Reproduction of Mommsen's Edition of the Text)* B. CROKE, Sydney 1995 [= BAus, 7], p. 102–104.

³⁹ I.e., an attempt to mediate between Orthodoxy and the Monophysites, rejected by Pope Felix III in 848: M.J. LESZKA, S. WIERZBIŃSKI, *Komes...*, p. 26–27. For more on the *Henotikon*, see: J. MEYENDORFF, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: the Church 450–680 A.D.*, vol. II, Crestwood NY 1989, p. 194–202.

⁴⁰ Marcellinus' similar attitude can be observed in the case of another Eastern Roman chieftain, i.e. Arnegisclus. The author does not whitewash the aforementioned chieftain, acknowledging his responsibility for the murder of *magister militum* John (MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 441.2), but confirms his valor and devotion to his homeland paid with his life during the war with Attila: MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 447.5.

⁴¹ MARCELLINUS COMES, a. 505.1.

the perspective of the fate of the Empire, particularly, his home province, which often tipped the balance between the two parts of the Empire. Furthermore, the figure of Sabinian was crucial because he played an important role in the struggle against Theodoric Strabo, while also being the defender of Illyricum⁴².

* * *

Reading the *Chronicle* of Marcellinus Comes allows for drawing some preliminary conclusions about the goals the author set for his work. This seems to be evident in the accounts relating to selected chieftains of the Eastern Roman Empire. On the one hand, the author wished to produce a work that presented certain rulers in a favorable light, even if this required the omission of certain events. On the other hand, Marcellinus did not hesitate to criticize other rulers, although he did not always do it directly, sometimes using the figure of an ambitious chieftain rallying against the emperor. Finally, the *Chronicle* seems to bear the hallmarks of a moralizing work lamenting the decline of customs, but also praising those among the chieftains who were willing to make sacrifices for the fatherland. All this suggests that for Marcellinus, the *Chronicle* was more a tool to achieve goals that were important to him, rather than an opportunity for a fair and impartial account of history.

Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi

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BOOK REVIEWS



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**JAN PROSTKO-PROSTYŃSKI, *A History of the Herules*,
Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu,
Poznań 2020 [= *Historia*, 244], pp. 196.**

In his latest book, Jan Prostko-Prostyński traces the history of the Herules, which back in 2006, Walter Goffart¹ described as a collection of difficult, probably unsolvable, yet fascinating problems. Thus, the author undertook the study of a subject that is extremely complicated and interesting, and he accomplished this task brilliantly.

After an extensive survey and meticulous analysis of the sources, including those where researchers espied traces left by the Herules, Jan Prostko-Prostyński proved that the aforementioned sources document only the existence of this people from the 3rd to the 6th century AD, and there is no evidence of the Herules' survival as an ethnos in later periods, such as the Middle Ages or the Renaissance. He also demonstrated that, although we can speak of their Germanic and Scandinavian origins, the suggestions of researchers – especially Scandinavian – to connect various archaeological artifacts or runic inscriptions with the Herules have no source basis. Moreover, the author illustrated that the starting point of the few Herules' pirate raids on the northern Iberian coastal zones recorded in the 5th century may have been Jutland. Ultimately, he refuted Alvar Ellegård's hypothesis which denied the distinctiveness of the Herules as an ethnic group, arguing that this thesis is contradicted by the terminology used in the source texts. Jan Prostko-Prostyński also evidenced that there was no kingdom of the "western Herules" on the coast of today's

Netherlands, or anywhere along the Rhine; the source texts which supposedly indicated this actually refer to the *Heruli proprie dicti*, a group of the "Azov" Herules led by their own king, who had been moving west for decades. The author also proved that after the Battle of the Nedao River in Pannonia, when the Herules fought against the sons of Attila alongside the Gepids, neither the entire tribe of the Herules nor even part of it was resettled to the Roman Balkans. In Jan Prostko-Prostyński's view, they also did not settle in Moravia or Slovakia, as some researchers suggest, but most likely, after the breakup of Attila's empire, the Herules anchored themselves in Lower Austria or Bohemia. In addition, the author illustrated that during Stotzas' Revolt in 536 in post-Vandal Africa, the entire Herules' military contingent brought from the Balkans by Belisarius sided with the rebels and was completely destroyed after their defeat the following year.

Jan Prostko-Prostyński rightly dates the peak of the power of the Herule Kingdom, after the defeat of the Huns, to the second half of the 5th century. According to him, in the same century, the tribe began to disintegrate. The author points out that this process, which ended already in the 6th century, was the result of political circumstances that were unfavorable for the Herules and contributed to their eventual disappearance from the historical arena as a separate ethno-political entity. Furthermore, the disintegration of the Herules as an ethnos was sharply accelerated by the defeat inflicted on them by the Lombards. Subsequent efforts to secure their independent existence proved

¹ W. GOFFART, *Barbarian Tides. The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire*, Philadelphia PA 2006, p. 205.

futile, and involved their encroachment on Roman territory under Anastasius I (491–518), their Christianization under Justinian I, and the establishment in Italy in 566 of the last independent kingdom under Sinduald. In the end, the Herules disappeared into the mass of Slavs and Avars.

Finally, the *prosopografia herulica*, appended to the monograph and compiled by Jan Prostko-Prostyński, deserves attention as it is a novelty among the existing outlines devoted to the history of this people. It includes not only profiles of kings and noble-born Herules, but also of commanders of various levels and regular soldiers serving in the Roman army.


The author researched the history of the Herules with great care, using widely existing literature on the subject. He analyzed the sources with particular acerbity, producing a work that is original, erudite, and worthy of the reader's attention.

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НИКОЛАЙ А. КЪНЕВ, *Византия и България на Балканите. Студии върху политическата история и българо-византийското имперско противоборство на Балканския полуостров през периода VII–X в. (Византинобългарски студии II)* [NIKOLAY A. KÄNEV, *Byzantium and Bulgaria in the Balkans. Studies on the Political History and the Bulgarian-Byzantine Political Conflict on the Balkan Peninsula in the Period 7th–10th c. (Byzantine-Bulgarian Studies II)*], УИ “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, Велико Търново 2021, pp. 308.

In the last weeks of 2021, the latest book of Assoc. Prof. Nikolay Kănev¹, entitled *Vizantiya i Bălgariya na Balkanite. Studii vărhu politicheskata istoriya i bălgaro-vizantijskoto impersko protivoborstvo na Balkanskiya poluoströv prez perioda VII–X v. (Vizantinobălgarski studii II)*, Veliko Tărnovo: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. Sv. Kiril I Metodij”, 308 pp., ISBN 978-619-208-281-9 [*Byzantium and Bulgaria in the Balkans. Studies on the Political History and the Bulgarian-Byzantine Political Conflict on the Balkan Peninsula in the Period 7th–10th c. (Byzantine-Bulgarian Studies II)*] was published. The book has a second title *Byzantine-Bulgarian Studies II*, with which, as the author

¹ Associate professor Nikolay A. Kănev is an established scholar and lecturer in medieval history, history of Byzantium, medieval history of the Balkan Peninsula as well as medieval sigillography. Currently, he holds the position of the Dean of the Faculty of History at University of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Veliko Tărnovo (Bulgaria). He has developed a lasting and wide scope interests in the medieval history of Southeastern Europe, especially in the field of political, cultural and socio-economic history of Byzantium and the Balkans, the political history of medieval Europe, Byzantine rank hierarchy, sigillography, prosopography, and ideology of power. His scholarly activity is well attested by numerous publications in Bulgaria and abroad.

notes in the preface (p. 9), the connection with a previous monograph – that itself gained its own place in the studies of medieval Bulgarian history and the history of Byzantium – is sought quite deliberately. As a rule, when writing reviews of newly published books, it is appropriate to say more than just a few words about the author, however, here this seems unnecessary. Nikolay Kănev is undoubtedly well-known and his publications are expected and have visible impact in the scholars’ milieu. It is worth noting that with his new book he clearly demonstrates that he has not abandoned his research after he became the Dean of the Faculty of History at University of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Veliko Tărnovo, despite his administrative commitments and efforts in *force majeure* circumstances on behalf of education in the classical humanities and social sciences.

The book reveals the author’s erudition and skills gained over the years. Nikolay Kănev presents his own ideas and concepts in a study of the political history of Southeastern Europe and especially of political ideology (Roman-Byzantine and Bulgarian), as well as in the field of sphragistics and prosopography, which in turn are key to the author’s unconditionally impressive orientation in the imperial rank hierarchy. The monograph is divided into three

main parts, entitled respectively: I. *Between the Nominal and Symbolic Imperial Supremacy and the Real Fragmentary Territorial Control – Byzantium on the Balkan Peninsula in the 7th century. The Establishment of the Bulgarian Statehood on the Balkans* (p. 11–79); II. *The Dimensions of the Bulgarian-Byzantine Conflict on the Balkans During the Rule of Khan Krum* (p. 81–107); III. *Bulgaria and Byzantium on the Balkans in the Late 9th and the First Three Decades of the 10th Century – Between the Newly Lost Byzantine Hegemony and the Rise of the Bulgarian Empire* (p. 109–269). The chronological order and sequence in arrangement of the mentioned chapters seems to be only for the reader's convenience, because despite corresponding directly to each other, the book's main sections are sufficiently semantically and thematically complete and can be read separately. This seems to be an implementation of the idea to highlight three key periods in the rivalry of Byzantine and Bulgarian political state ideology and concepts followed by the ruling elites in both countries in the struggles for domination over the Balkans (p. 8). From the perspective of political ideology, it is clear why Nikolay Kănev does not write (another) history of the wars between the two countries in the early Middle Ages. Instead, he renders a quite different text in which, for objective reasons, it is not necessary to include even a single page about the other two large-scale and prolonged Bulgarian-Byzantine clashes from the era, such as the conflict in the third quarter of the 8th century and the war of 976–1018.

The first chapter of the book offers a detailed view – as much as possible through the prism of the available primary sources – of the turbulent 7th century. Careful attention is paid to the ethno-demographic changes in the Balkans and towards the efforts of Constantinople's rulers to fight for Byzantine survival, to keep the peninsula under control (at least its strategically important areas), and, in case of a favorable turn of events, to turn their nominal supremacy claims into actual imperial rule. Nikolay Kănev notes that, although we see them as episodic “pushes” – in accordance with the lull or the elimination of threats in other directions, and depending on the specific military,

financial and demographic resources that the emperors were able to harness – as a matter of fact, in ideological and political terms these efforts were (almost) constant. It is not in vain, though, that the author considers it necessary to emphasize that in order for the Byzantine ruling elite to benefit from a full set of integrative mechanisms, first, they had to impose direct power over the “new barbarians” who settled on the Balkans. Undoubtedly, the most significant emphasis in this first part of the book is on the actions of Khan Asparuh (ca. 670s–701), starting from the moments immediately before or soon after the death of his father Khan Kubrat (ca. 630s–660s) and reaching the Bulgarian triumph in the Battle of Onglos (680) and its consequences. With a thorough attention to detail in the sources, a depth of knowledge and use of the abundance of studies on the subject, the author focuses on the westward movement of the groups under Khan Asparuh's supremacy as well as on the time and peculiarity of their settlement and subsequent activity in the region along the Danube Delta. For the obvious reasons in that part of the monograph, either clashes with the Khazars, Avars and the Empire or the contacts of the Khan Asparuh's newcomers with the local population in the area of the former Roman province of Scythia Minor are not omitted. After an in-depth analysis, it is emphasized that all this activity in the late 670s–early 680s bears the sign of continuation of a Khan Kubrat's Old Great Bulgaria state tradition and principles of political organization. Respectively, Khan Asparuh's efforts are seen as a kind of relocation to the west and southwest of the preserved/survived state, however, in greatly changed conditions after the death of his charismatic father and the subordination of the “legitimate” successor Batbayan by the Khazars as well as scatter and migration of other Bulgarian groups in different directions. In connection with the latter, Kănev is reluctant to accept an initial agreement in Khan Asparuh's efforts and the actions of Kubrat in the Avar Khaganate and the migration of his group of Bulgarians and the so-called Sermesianoi to the territories of the present-day Republic of North Macedonia, Northern Greece and Southeastern Albania – discussed in the

second paragraph of this book, *The Emergence of the Second Bulgaria on the Balkans – Kuber's Bulgaria in Macedonia*, p. 57–65. The author explicitly specifies that his viewpoint does not exclude any subsequent agreements (from the 680s onwards) between the two Bulgarian groups in question on a common or coordinated policy both against the Avars and against Byzantium at a later stage. The outlines of such a common policy and its threat to the imperial domination of the peninsula are captured in the records of the military endeavors of Emperor Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) in 687–688 (to which a particular monograph's fragment entitled *Byzantium and Its Experience for the Reconquista on the Balkans at the End of the 7th Century*, p. 67–79 is devoted to). Despite the well-known defeat that the imperial troops suffered from the Bulgarians in the summer of 688, it is in view of the results achieved by Emperor Justinian II that Kănev emphasizes the time from 685 to 695 was the most successful period of the Balkan policies pursued by all Byzantine emperors in the seventh century (p. 78).

The second chapter of the monograph under review is more modest in scope than the more extensive first and third ones. The author pays attention to important features such as the ascension of Khan Krum (ca. 800–814) and the fact that he did not receive the supreme power in the Bulgarian state by inheritance. This, in turn, combined with the presence in Byzantium of a legitimate heir to the Bulgarian throne, had its negative influences both in the internal Bulgarian policies and in interstate relations with partners and opponents in the region. Well-known moments from the Bulgarian-Byzantine clash of 808–815 have not been overlooked. However, they are placed in the context of the changed geopolitical situation in the Balkans. Moreover, it is not so much related to the Bulgarian positions in Northern Thrace restored in the 790s, but to the actual liquidation by the Byzantine side of the existing buffer zones along the entire Bulgarian-Byzantine border. Kănev clearly illustrates the increase of the Byzantine military presence on the peninsula. It became more than tangible through the reform of the existing themes of Thrace and Greece

and the newly organized Macedonia, (Western) Mesopotamia, Thessaloniki, Kefalonia, Peloponnese, Dyrrachion and lastly Strymon and the dispatching of the impressive 6000 army unit in Serdica (which the author also considers through the prism of the formation of the new, much larger and branched structure of the Byzantine military districts on the Balkans). In this regard, Kănev draws attention to the fact that despite the success of Khan Krum in the northwest and the territorial expansion in the Carpathian Mountains and the Middle Danube area, at the moment when Emperor Nikephoros I (802–811) managed to concentrate his forces in the Balkans, he could advance in two directions against Bulgaria and threaten its very existence. The author stresses that the first step in the implementation of the outlined scenario came in 807 (with the failed Byzantine campaign against Bulgaria) and since then *Krum's actions [...] were not due to his initial aggression against the Roman Empire, but were entirely caused by the need to seek counteraction against the strengthening of the positions of Constantinople in the Balkans to the detriment of Bulgaria and against [...] the increasingly threatening and openly anti-Bulgarian policy of Emperor Nikephoros I* (p. 89). What is useful to the reader is the outlines of the development of hostilities and the focus on the skillful use of the resources of the Byzantine themes of Mesopotamia, Thrace and Macedonia in the Bulgarian counter-offensive, which began in the spring of 812, and especially the periodization of Khan Krum's rule in three stages, emphasizing their inherent specifics. The proposed view of the time of one of the greatest Bulgarian rulers in the Middle Ages ends with the reasonable concluding words that *it was Khan Krum who built the indisputable factual position of the Bulgarian medieval state as an empire in the sense of a great, vast, powerful, and sovereign state whose rule encompassed many groups of different ethnic backgrounds* (p. 107).


The third and most voluminous chapter is the part of the monograph in which the author seems to consistently strive to abandon easy solutions, entering into a multitude

of controversial issues, often with a critical analysis of a number of recent or long-established views in historiography, arguing their position or adding additional aspects to any of those already suggested by other scholars. It is not easy to create a text in a new, unique and distinctive way when it comes to personalities, events and processes to which hundreds of pages have already been written by some of the world's most prominent scholars in Byzantine and medieval studies. Nikolay Kănev not only copes with this challenge, but also manages to write in a pleasant and readable style, suitable not only for scholars, but also for a larger audience unfamiliar with the Byzantine political concepts, the imperial rank hierarchy or the specifics of the sigillography. Each of the four sections in the third chapter deserves a separate review, which is far beyond the narrow limits of the present lines. Among the most interesting in this part of the monograph are the pages that highlight a "corruption network" that secured positions in the palace itself and was able to impose decisions that were not only contrary to the financial interests of Byzantium, damaging the treasury revenues, but also to undermine long-lasting peaceful relations with a sufficiently powerful neighbor, making its military response inevitable. With the same insightful approach are passages dealing with the Bulgarian-Byzantine relations in the decade after the war of 894–896, the claims of Tsar Symeon (893–927) in the summer of 913, as well as the reasons for the large-scale and bloody clash of 913–927. What is of interest to the reader is Nikolay Kănev's suggestion concerning the efforts of Tsar Symeon

to establish – or to be more precise, to complete its establishment, in view of the Bulgarian policy towards Serbs and Croats from the second half of the 9th century – a specific Bulgarian community of tribes and states in the Western Balkans, with the corresponding Bulgarian supremacy in ideological, political and cultural-religious terms.

Certainly, at least some of the proposed solutions and ideas in the Nikolay Kănev's new monograph will arouse the curiosity of scholars interested in the early medieval history of Southeastern Europe. In fact, for the author of the present lines, one of the book's main advantages is not its supposed "invulnerability" against counter-arguments and future well-grounded criticism. Much more impressive is the fact that instead of looking for direct and easily achievable personal benefits by publishing in English, the author prefers to offer his latest work first to the Bulgarian reader and to enrich the knowledge of the Bulgarian audience. This is Kănev's unconditional answer to the long-standing dilemma for scholars from Eastern Europe whether to publish their most significant research in their native languages or to choose an option in the English (German and French) language.

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THE MOBILITY OF SERBS IN EARLY MODERN TIMES SOME REMARKS ON THE MARGINS OF ILONA CZAMAŃSKA'S NEW HISTORY OF SERBIA

ILONA CZAMAŃSKA, *Historia Serbii. Od pojawienia się Serbów na Bałkanach do 1830 roku [History of Serbia. From the Arrival of the Serbs in the Balkans to 1830]*, vol. I, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2021 [= Biblioteka Europy Środkowej i Południowo-Wschodniej], pp. 280*.

In 2021 a long-awaited monograph devoted to the history of Serbia from its beginnings to 1830 appeared on the Polish publishing market¹. Its author, Ilona Czamańska², set herself a challenging goal of presenting the “real and not mythical” (p. 7) situation of the Serbs over the centuries. The presentation of the history of this South Slavic nation seems justified; until now, no Polish-language publication discussed *in extenso* the position of the Serbian population in various eras, and it has been almost four decades since the last edition of the monograph *Historia Jugosławii* by the doyens of Polish historiography Waclaw

Felczak and Tadeusz Wasilewski³. A synthetic study of national history requires the author not only to introduce the facts correctly, but also to take into account the latest historiographical findings.

The reviewed work has a chronological and problem-based structure, which is the most appropriate system for this type of study. It consists of fifteen segments of different lengths, depending on the analyzed issue. The author begins her narrative by describing the beginnings of Serbian statehood in the 8th–9th centuries. In this context, she rightly refers to the Byzantine account of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which is one of the earliest descriptions of the Serbian presence in the Balkans⁴. I. Czamańska thus introduces the reader to Zagorje Serbia, Duklja and Zeta.

Subsequent parts of *Historia Serbii* focus on a detailed recounting of the origins and causes of the collapse of the Nemanjić state (pp. 29–116). The author provides thorough profiles of such figures as Stefan Nemanja (St. Simeon),

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¹ The introductory section of the monograph announces a second volume on the history of Serbia since 1830, whose author will be Jędrzej Paszkiewicz (p. 7).

² Ilona Czamańska is a renowned scholar of medieval and early modern history of Central and South-eastern Europe. Her most important works include *Moldawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku*, Poznań 1996; *Drakula. Wampir, tyran czy bohater?*, Poznań 2003; and *Wiśniowieccy. Monografia rodu*, Poznań 2007. In 1998, her translation of *Latopis Ziemi Moldawskiej* by Miron COSTIN (1633–1691) was published.

³ W. FELCZAK, T. WASILEWSKI, *Historia Jugosławii*, Wrocław 1985.

⁴ Cf. KONSTANTYN PORFIROGENETA, *O rządzeniu państwem*, [in:] *TNDS.SG*, vol. III, ed. A. BRZÓSTKOWSKA, W. SWOBODA, Warszawa 1995, p. 426–477; P. KOMATINA, *Konstantin Porfirogenit i rana istorija Južnih Slovena*, Beograd 2021, *passim*.

Vukan, Stefan the First-Crowned, and Rastko (St. Sava)⁵. In her reflections, she pays particular attention to the role of *zdužbinas* (foundations – places of eternal rest and prayers for the soul of the ruler), which were vital to preserving awareness of Serbian statehood at a time when Serbia lost its independence.

Moreover, I. Czamańska characterized one of the most prominent medieval Serbian rulers, namely Stefan Dušan (pp. 64–71). She highlighted many aspects of his reign, beginning with the struggle for the throne, through the wars waged (with Hungary and Byzantium) and the imperial coronation, and ending with his legislative activities. Devoting considerable space to this ruler seems well-founded because it was during his reign that the Serbian state was at the height of its power. After his death (1355), Serbia fell into a political crisis, while increasingly frequent Turkish incursions into the Balkans led to significant territorial losses. The culmination in Serbian-Turkish relations was the Battle of Kosovo Field (1389), which – as the author of the reviewed book rightly notes – *led to a complete change in the political forces in the Balkans* (p. 115), and in Serbia, to shifts at the top of power.

While the scholarly literature on the medieval history of Serbia is satisfactory, the same cannot be said of the early modern period, which is marginalized not only in Polish, but also in general historiography. This state of affairs probably stems from the difficulties faced by any researcher exploring the history of a population that lost its statehood, as was the case with the Serbs in the 15th century. The South Slavic lands came under Ottoman domination, and it is the sources of this provenance that offer the most information about the Serbs at that time. From a reliable researcher, this requires not only knowledge of the realities of High Porte, but also the ability to decipher Ottoman sources.

The author of *Historia Serbii* therefore tries to put the fate of the Serbian population into the general context of the functioning of non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire. For

⁵ Cf. B. SZEFLIŃSKI, *Trzy oblicza Sawy Nemanjicia. Postać historyczna – autokreacja – postać literacka*, Łódź 2016.

this reason, she familiarizes the reader with the Ottoman administrative, legal and fiscal system (pp. 170–173). She makes an effort to describe the complexity of the concept of *millet* and ties it to Serbian realities. Additionally, she demonstrates the role played by the Serbian Orthodox Church during this period. This is because in 1557, the Patriarchate of Peć was revived, and its head was the official representative of the entire Serbian community in the Ottoman state. The patriarch was therefore not only a spiritual leader, but also possessed powers characteristic of secular authority. In each case, the scope of the rights and duties of the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church was regulated by the *berat*. In her book, Czamańska mentions one such document, issued to Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta (1698–1748). She also points out that annual fiscal burdens during the reign of this patriarch amounted to 70,000 aspers⁶ and continued to grow (p. 174). However, research by the Serbian historian N. Šuletić challenges her findings. According to him, until 1690, the patriarch had been obliged to contribute 100,000 aspers to the central treasury, and due to the economic crisis of the Patriarchate of Peć from the end of the 17th century, this sum was reduced, and in the time of Arsenije IV, it totaled what the author of *Historia Serbii* reported⁷.

An important contribution of Czamańska's work to Polish historiography is the attention paid to the mobility of the Serbian population throughout history, with a special focus on the events of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. In the foreword, we read that *the Serbs are a nation [...] which on many occasions had to leave their land: individually, in groups, tribes and sometimes almost as an entire population* (p. 9).

⁶ Cf. *Ferman sultana Mahmuda, sina sultana Mustafehana, srbskom patrijarhu Arseniju od godine turske 1143, a posle Hrista 1731*, GDSS 11, 1859, p. 181–182; *Turski dokumenti za istoriju Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Fond Gliše Elezovića*, ed. Lj. ČOLIĆ, Priština 1996, p. 47–48; *Jugoslovenske zemlje pod turskom vlašću (do kraja XVIII vijeka). Izabrani izvori*, ed. B. ĐURĐEV, M. VASTIĆ, Istočno Sarajevo 2005, p. 168–172.

⁷ Cf. N. ŠULETIĆ, *Berat patrijarha Kalinika I, ZMSI 83*, 2011, p. 97–104; *idem*, *Poreske obaveze Pečke patrijaršije u vreme patrijarha Kalinika I (1691–1710)*, ZMSI 88, 2013, p. 9–23.

The relocation of Serbian political and cultural centers to lands north of the Sava and Danube was linked to the Ottoman expansion and subsequent reprisals against the Serbian population by Ottoman authorities⁸.

In the early modern era, three major migratory waves of the Serbian ethnoscapes can be distinguished. The first two were related to the wars (1683–1699 and 1737–1739) fought between the Christian states – mainly the Habsburg monarchy and Venice – and the Ottoman Empire. I. Czamańska especially concentrated on the first migration (pp. 178–182), which is known in historiography as the Great Exodus of Serbs (Serbian: *Velika Seoba Srba*). This event was triggered by the collapse of the Balkan front and the Austrian army having to withdraw from the areas inhabited by the Serbian population, which – along with its Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević – actively supported the Christian troops. The Serbs, fearing retribution from the Ottomans, decided to flee north, initially to the vicinity of Belgrade, and after it was captured by the Turks, they migrated further into the lands of the Habsburg monarchy, reaching Buda, Szentendre, and even Komárno. They enjoyed certain privileges extended to them by Emperor Leopold I. At this point, however, it ought to be noted that the author's discussion of the documents issued by Leopold I is not exhaustive. Essentially, Czamańska presented the most important one from 1690, entirely omitting those from 1691 and 1695⁹. The author of *Historia Serbii* also offered an approximate number of participants in the Great Serbian Exodus, which she believed was 40,000 to 70,000 people (p. 181). As she aptly noted, due to insufficient source material documenting the mobility of Serbs in late 1689 and early 1690, the figures given above should be considered only as an estimate.

In the book, the second migration of the Serbian community is also thoroughly discussed

(pp. 187–189). The author drew attention to the role Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta and his brother-in-law Atanasije Rašković played in these events. What was missing, however, was a clear statement that the second *seoba* was of smaller proportions compared to the first, and that the Serbian exodus took place at specific intervals during the war of 1737–1739. Nonetheless, Czamańska touched on a very important problem that is marginalized by many researchers, namely the social structure and organization of the Serbs during this period. It had an ancestral-tribal character, which translated into the specifics of this population's displacement. As a result, entire families (e.g., the Arbanasi, Klimenti) rather than individuals migrated from vulnerable areas. In this part of *Historia Serbii*, the author acquaints the reader with the Military Commander of the Kingdom of Serbia (German: *Militärkommandantur des Königreich Serbien*), which was of great importance, despite being an Austrian administrative ephemera (1718–1739). It was then that Serbs entered the orbit of the modern state and economic apparatus.

The third wave of migration involved several thousand Serbs who emigrated from the Habsburg monarchy to Russia in the mid-18th century as a result of the reconstruction of the Military Frontier, which greatly diminished the privileges of the Serbian population living in the area. This migration destination was also influenced by the idealized image of Russia, which from the beginning of the 18th century had sought to present itself as the protector of the South Slavic Orthodox population living in both the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg monarchy. With this aspect in mind, Czamańska's outline of the broader context of Russian-Serbian relations is even more valuable. And although Serbs in Russia settled in two provinces – New Serbia and Slavonoserbia – they underwent complete assimilation there. Consequently, it is hard to concur with the author's statement that *their descendants still live in the areas where they settled in the 18th century* (p. 191). This is contradicted, for example, by the case of the Pišćević family. Simeon Pišćević (1731–1797), a representative of the first generation to resettle in Russia, was aware of his ethnic identity,

⁸ For more on Serbian cultural centers in the 18th century, see M. FIN, *Centri srpske kulture XVIII veka*, Novi Sad 2015.

⁹ Cf. J. RADONIĆ, M. KOSTIĆ, *Srpske privilegije od 1690 do 1792*, Beograd 1954; D. DAVIDOV, *Srpske privilegije carskog doma habzburškog*, Novi Sad–Beograd 1994.

while his son Aleksandar Piščević (1764–1805) felt fully Russian¹⁰.

In an attempt to present the beginnings of the modern Serbian state, I. Czamańska synthesized two important events: the Karadorda Uprising (1804–1813) and the Second Serbian Uprising (1815–1817) (pp. 209–222). The author showed the complexity of these national liberation uprisings, as well as the rivalry between Đorđ Karadord and Miloš Obrenović.

The qualities of the reviewed book are indisputable. These include, first of all, an extremely clear and accessible narrative, but also a number of peritextual elements, such as illustrations (over a hundred photographs), numerous maps, simplified genealogical tables, and the author's use of rich and multilingual literature on the subject (mainly Serbian and Polish). Additionally, the organized subject indexes (people, geographical names, researchers) certainly make it easier to navigate through *Historia Serbii*. It is my reviewer's duty, however, to point out that the captions for photographs no. 85 and 86 are incorrect; illustration no. 85 features Dositej Obradović, while illustration no. 86 shows Sava Tekelija.

As intended by the author, the book can be recommended to a wide range of readers interested in the history of the Balkans (p. 7). Undoubtedly, it will also find use in university didactics as important, if not compulsory, reading for Slavic studies and history majors.

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¹⁰ Cf. S. PIŠČEVIĆ, *Memoari*, Beograd 1963; A. PIŠČEVIĆ, *Moj život. Uspomene*, Novi Sad 2004.

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RONALD A. BLEEKER, *Aspar and the Struggle for the Eastern Roman Empire, AD 421–71*, Bloomsbury Publishing, London 2022, pp. XII, 234*.

The reviewed work concerns the life and career of a prominent eastern Roman general, Flavius Aspar. Its author, Ronald A. Bleeker, is an independent scholar who has been an author of an article about Aspar back in 1980, but, as per his own admission (p. vii): *subsequent demands of career and family prevented me from further historical writing for many years*. This book is thus a product of author's undoubted passion, and while it can be commendable and heartwarming to see people outside today's point-driven academia engage with an obscure historical topic, one could expect the results to be riddled with problems stemming from author's detachment from the field. This, however is not the case here, as the reviewed work is a serious academic publication in every regard.

The main body of the book consists of fourteen chapters. The first, *Why Does Aspar Matter?* (p. 1–6), serves as an introduction and outlines the purpose and main points of the work in, best summarized by author's own summary statement (p. 6): *The purpose of this book is to explore the full scope of Aspar's career against the broader background of the Roman world of the fifth century. By exploring these issues, we may come to better understand both Aspar and the reasons for the survival of the eastern Roman empire*. In the following chapter, "Barbarians" and "Heretics" (p. 7–16), Bleeker establishes the complex subject of identity in that period. In the third, *Aspar's antecedents*, he describes Aspar's heritage, his family, ethnic origins, as

well as brings up the revolt of Gainas, to explain the situation of military command on the onset of Aspar's entrance on the political stage of the Eastern Roman Empire. The following chapters describe the subsequent stages of Aspar's political and military career, as well as the historical background of the era. From his early exploits while serving under his father's command, *Ardaburius the Elder & Aspar: Wars in Persia and Italy (421–5)* (p. 33–49), the campaign against the Vandals in Africa, *Aspar in Africa: The War With the Vandals (431–5)* (p. 51–63), and the wars against the Huns of Attila in 440s, *Aspar and Attila: The Wars With the Huns (440–50)* (p. 65–91), Aspar's involvement in the accession of Marcian to the imperial throne in 450 and his service under the emperor's rule, *Aspar and the Choice of Marcian (450–7)* (p. 93–110), and finally, Aspar's role in choosing the emperor Leo, *Aspar and the Choice of Leo (457)* (p. 111–118), the beginning of their conflict, *Aspar's Struggle with Leo Begins (457–65)* (p. 119–129), the part played by Zeno–Tarasikodissa, *The Rise of Zeno (465–7)* (p. 131–140), the failed expedition of Basiliscus against the Vandals, *Leo's African Gamble (467–8)* (p. 141–155), and the culmination of the conflict between the emperor and Aspar, which resulted in the latter being murdered on Leo's orders, *Aspar's Apogee (469–71)* (p. 156–175). The recounting of events is done with attention to detail, which helps in introducing various points of Aspar's biography, and provides additional context. The narrative ends with chapter thirteen, *Aftermath (471–91)* (p. 177–194), in which the author describes the events following Aspar's death, and in the following *Conclusions* (p. 195–206), he provides

* This text was created as part of the project financed from the funds of the National Science Centre, Poland, granted under decision no. DEC-2018/31/B/HS3/03038.

his own observations and closing remarks. The book is accompanied by genealogy trees of Theodosius I, Aspar and Leo (p. ix–xi), map of the Late Roman Empire (p. xii–xiii), *Bibliography* divided into the list of used abbreviations (p. 209), and sections tallying primary (p. 210–212) and secondary sources (p. 213–224), as well as the *Index* (p. 225–229).

According to the publisher, it is *the first full-length biography in English of Aspar*¹, and curiously enough, even that may undersell it to some extent, as the only comprehensive study on Aspar to that point was an article by Georg Vernadsky published in 1941 in German². Suffice to say, the scholarship of late antiquity has made immense progress since then, so Bleeker's work is, in fact, the only modern full-length biography of Aspar. Considering the importance of this figure to the politics of the 5th century Eastern Roman Empire, it is surprising that only now an attempt has been made to paint a comprehensive picture, even if there is a multitude of works touching on select aspects of Aspar's activity, and even more where the general is featured, simply due to his prominence. Any work claiming to be a comprehensive study of Aspar's life and career would need to incorporate that massive scholarly output, and it seems Bleeker's work generally succeeds in doing so, boasting 66 primary sources and nearly 300 modern works in the bibliography. The selection of literature has however a major shortcoming, since the author used barely any German literature, as it is evidenced from its almost complete absence in the bibliography and footnotes. It can be assumed that it is due to author's lack of familiarity with the language, rather than a conscious choice, and while we cannot expect all the scholars to keep up with the academic output in all languages known to man, in this case, however, I would argue the topic requires at least some select works to be used. The most important one to be named is a monumental, more than 1000-page long analysis of the first 3 years of emperor Leo's

reign by Gereon Siebigs, where Aspar and his relationship with Leo and Marcian is prominently featured³. Fundamental works on military elite by Alexander Demandt⁴ and Evgeniy Glushanin⁵ are also lacking. Same can be said about a modern comprehensive study of Isaurians⁶, numerous monographs on foreign barbarian tribes, especially the Vandals⁷ and the Huns⁸, as well as biographies of such important contemporary (and comparable) individuals as Ricimer⁹ and Aëtius¹⁰. Undoubtedly, if at least some of the aforementioned literature was included, it would benefit the reviewed work immensely, providing more detail and often different perspective to that of publications in the English language sphere.

Some specific Bleeker's claims can also be disputed. Building upon the concept of the evolution of imperial power by Meaghan McEvoy¹¹, the author proposes a similar model for the Eastern Roman Empire, according to which Aspar sought to pick 'ceremonial' emperors who

³ A. SIEBIGS, *Kaiser Leo I. Das oströmische Reich in den ersten drei Jahren seiner Regierung (457–460 n. Chr.)*, Berlin 2010 [= BAIt, 276].

⁴ A. DEMANDT, *Magister militum*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XII, suppl., ed. G. WISSOWA, W. KROLL, Stuttgart 1970, p. 553–790.

⁵ E.P. GLUSHANIN, *Der Militäradel des frühen Byzanz*, Barnaul 1991, which is the translated edition of the original work written in Russian – Е.П. ГЛУШАНИН, *Военная знать ранней Византии*, Барнаул 1991.

⁶ K. FELD, *Barbarische Bürger. Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich*, Berlin 2005 [= Mil.S, 8].

⁷ H. CASTRITIUS, *Die Vandalen. Etappen einer Spurensuche*, Berlin 2006; K. VÖSSING, *Das Königreich der Vandalen. Geiseric's Herrschaft und das Imperium Romanum*, Darmstadt 2014; R. STEINACHER, *Die Vandalen. Aufstieg und Fall eines Barbarenreichs*, Stuttgart 2016.

⁸ I. BÓNA, *Das Hunnenreich*, Stuttgart 1991; G. WIRTH, *Attila. Das Hunnenreich und Europa*, Stuttgart 1999; T. STICKLER, *Die Hunnen*, München 2007; K. ROSEN, *Attila. Der Schrecken der Welt*, München 2016.

⁹ F. ANDERS, *Flavius Ricimer. Macht und Ohnmacht des weströmischen Heermeisters in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2010.

¹⁰ T. STICKLER, *Aëtius. Gestaltungsspielräume eines Heermeisters im ausgehenden. Weströmischen Reich*, München 2002.

¹¹ M. MCEVOY, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455*, Oxford 2014 [= OCM].

¹ <https://www.bloomsbury.com/us/aspar-and-the-struggle-for-the-eastern-roman-empire-ad-42171-9781350279261/> [8 IX 2022].

² G. VERNADSKY, *Flavius Ardabur Aspar*, SF 6, 1941, p. 38–72.

were willing to cooperate with a military commander, himself, and in that way control the affairs (p. 196–198). There is no doubt that Aspar wanted to choose candidates he could rely on to realize his own goals, however, this category of ‘ceremonial’ emperors is opposed to a traditional idea of Roman rulers, who possessed martial virtues and were military commanders themselves. If so, why, in both instances, did Aspar choose veteran soldiers for that position? While Leo, in the end, became the ‘ceremonial’ emperor, mostly confined to the palace, the same cannot be said about Marcian, who was a quintessential soldier-emperor, and one of the few late Roman rulers who personally led soldiers on a campaign, which took place in 451 against the Huns in Pannonia (and Bleeker is aware of that, p. 103). The model that Bleeker proposes does not seem to account for those irregularities.

Then there is a problem of Aspar’s motivations. Bleeker seems to follow the ideas outlined by Brian Croke, who comprehensively criticized the older interpretation of the conflict between Aspar and Leo through a framework of an ethnic struggle¹², and rightfully so, however, his own proposal, explaining those events through clashing dynastic ambitions has its own problems. Bleeker, just as Croke does, assumes Aspar wanted to set up a new dynasty and put his own son on the throne (see, eg. p. 101; 108), which somehow would be guaranteed by getting him married to one of Leo’s daughters. Leo’s avoidance in the matter was what led to the emperor and the general quarrelling. This interpretation brings, however, another set of questions. Why did Aspar not secure the throne for his son, Patricius, in 457, when he was almost certainly free to choose whatever candidate he liked, and according to some accounts, was even proposed to access the throne himself (p. 114)? How would the marriage with Leo’s daughter set up the succession, considering Leo was a candidate out of nowhere, not connected to any established imperial dynasty? How did Aspar account for a possibility of Leo having a son born, which

in fact happened in 463¹³? Leo’s wife, Verina, was fit for bearing children, and the emperor’s direct heir would always have a dynastic precedence over a person from outside of imperial family, even if married to one of emperor’s daughters. The idea that Aspar always yearned imperial throne for his family, and was constantly scheming to achieve that goal seems to be taken for granted. However, the above questions would need to be addressed if we were to accept that view. Otherwise, the more likely explanation is that the general initially did not have such ambition, and the plan to put his son on the throne was conceived in the final stages of the conflict with Leo, when that seemed like the last and only chance for the elder general to secure his legacy.

Bleeker also assumes Flavius Zeno was Aspar’s rival (p. 94; 99) for which there is no evidence. In fact, Zeno accepted the candidacy of Marcian, who was after all a former subordinate of Aspar, and took part in steering emperor’s policy towards the Huns, something that Aspar was also deeply concerned with (p. 70). It also seems Zeno and Aspar shared disdain towards Chrysaphius, so it is that much more likely they were allied, or at least were willing to co-operate¹⁴. Bleeker is aware of all those facts (p. 94; 100–101), yet still insists on assuming Aspar and Zeno were political opponents. Similarly, the author’s assumption that Pulcheria was somehow directly involved in elevating Ardaburius the Elder and Plintha to the highest military ranks (p. 35–36) seems to be based on Kenneth Holum’s views¹⁵, is not supported by evidence, and may generally overestimate Pulcheria’s engagement military matters of the period.

Most of those contentious views already appear in the historiography, often in popular and established publications, so Bleeker cannot be accused of making groundless claims, however, it can be said that he could have put modern

¹² B. CROKE, *Dynasty and Ethnicity. Emperor Leo I and the Eclipse of Aspar*, *Chi* 35, 2005, p. 147–203.

¹³ The child, however, died shortly after.

¹⁴ C. ZUCKERMANN, *L’Empire d’Orient et les Huns. Notes sur Priscus*, *TM* 12, 1994, p. 176.

¹⁵ K.G. HOLUM, *Theodosian Empresses. Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, Maryland 1981, p. 101–102.

literature under closer scrutiny and be more critical of it. Especially, since he often shows awareness of evidence to the opposite, yet does not always address them, despite the doubts they raise against the established interpretation.

One can assume that much of the problems with Bleeker's work can be explained by the author having to tread new paths, to take into account many differing interpretations scattered through various monographs and articles, and to create a one comprehensive picture based on them. This never was going to be an easy task, and in some cases, it appears the author struggled with determining which view to side with, and left the reader with several conflicting views and not much in terms of commentary.

Despite those criticisms, there are undoubted merits to Bleeker's work. One of his most important observations is that the conflict between Aspar and Leo should be perceived as a clash of personalities (p. 203–207). Not only does the author present convincing evidence for that to be the case, he also manages to put it very succinctly, which is impressive, considering he describes something intangible and normally difficult to determine through historical research. Bleeker rightfully reminds that even major political developments of the past could originate in personal motivations of prominent individuals, thus illuminating the humanity of the characters he describes.

Overall, Bleeker's work is a welcome addition to the scholarship of late antiquity, especially since the topic he chose was long overdue in having a proper, comprehensive treatment. The author does a good job of assembling information from numerous sources and works of modern scholarship, which is a notable achievement. His book, however, is not without its faults. Bleeker at times struggles to form the variety of views one can encounter in the scholarship, into one, internally consistent picture. Some of the views he sides with are also disputable, more so than the lecture of his work would let the reader believe. However, his findings in regard to the role the personalities of Leo and Aspar played in their conflict will remain an original and valuable inclusion to the scholarship on the matter. In addition, thanks to

Bleeker's efforts, the scholars who would want to take up the topic on Aspar will no longer be in a position that he was in, and his work certainly can serve as a starting point for further research.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A&A	Arms and Armour
A.ECD	Ágora. Estudos Clássicos em Debate
A.PAPhA	Amphora. A Publication of the American Philological Association
AA.ASH	Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AAP	Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana
AAR.MSI	Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice
AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> , vol. I–LXIII, Paris 1863–1940
AASt	Asian and African Studies
AAth	Archives de l'Athos
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ABas	Arhivele Basarabiei
ABB	Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique
ABu	Archaeologia Bulgarica
AC	L'antiquité classique
ACO	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. SCHWARTZ and J. STRAUB, Berlin 1914–
Ae	Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche
AEMA	Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi
AFP	Archivum fratrum praedicatorum
AHar	Acta Hargitensia
AHR	American Historical Review
AIHS	Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AlmH	Almanach Historyczny
Alu	Aluta. Anuarul Muzeului Județean Covasna
AMi	Annales du Midi
AMM	Acta Militaria Mediaevalia
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis
AMP	Acta Musei Prolissensis

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–.
AO.ASH	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AOC	Archives de l’Orient chrétien
Apu	Apulum
APu	Analele Putnei / The Annals of Putna
Ara	Arabica
ARAM.P	ARAM Periodical
Arc	Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica
ARg	Archiv für Religionsgeschichte
ArhM	Arheologia Moldovei
ArM	Archeologia Medievale: cultura materiale, insediamenti, territorio
ArV	Archiva Valachica. Studii și Materiale de Istorie a Culturii. Muzeul Județean Dâmbovița
ASI	Archivio storico italiano
ASic	Acta Siculica: a Székely Nemzeti Múzeum évkönyve
AThe	Acta Theologica
ATox	Archives of Toxicology
ATS	Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien
AUNC.H	Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia
AUVT.AH	Annales d’Université „Valahia” Târgoviște. Section d’Archéologie et d’Histoire
B	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines
B.EEL	Byzantium: A European Empire and its Legacy
B.SBHC	Byzantios. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization
BAELAC	Bulletin de l’AELAC
BAGB.LH	Bulletin de l’Association Guillaume Budé. Lettres d’humanité
BAlt	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
Ban	Banatica
BAR.SLP	Biblioteca dell’Archivum romanicum. Serie I, Storia, Letteratura, Paleografia

BArchiv	Byzantinisches Archiv
BARev	Biblical Archaeology Review
BAus	Byzantina Australiensia
BBE	Bibliothèque byzantine. Études
BBg	Byzantinobulgarica
BC	Bollettino dei classici; a cura del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Edizione nazionale dei Calssici greci e latini
BCAW	Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World
BCBW	Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World
BCCS	Brill's Companions to Classical Studies
BCCT	Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice
BEO	Bulletin d'études orientales; Institut français de Damas / Institut français du Proche-Orient
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik
Bfr	Bosna franciscana
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
Bi	Bizantinistica
BIDR	Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano
BKP	Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie
BL	Byzantina Lodziensia
BMbyz	Byzantina-Metabyzantina
BMd	Bulgaria Mediaevalis
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BP	Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia
BS	Balkan Studies
BSC	Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia
BSEMA	Brill's Series on the Early Middle Ages
BSGR	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
Bsl	Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines
BSLT	Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

BTT	Byzantine Texts in Translation
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
C.AMC	Corviniana. Acta Musei Corviniensis
C.HFS	Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés
CA	Classical Antiquity
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
Car	Carpica
CB	<i>Collection byzantine</i> , publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris 1926–
CC.SG	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series graeca</i>
CC.SL	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series latina</i>
CCAW	Cambridge Companions to the Ancient World
CEMT	Central European Medieval Texts
CFM	Collège de France – CNRS. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae</i>
CFHB.A	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Atheniensis</i>
CFHB.SBe	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Berolinensis</i>
CFHB.SV	<i>Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Vindobonensis</i>
ChH	Church History
Chi	Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
CHR	Catholic Historical Review
CJ	Classical Journal
CLin	Cercetări de lingvistică
CM	Classica et Mediaevalia. Revue danoise d'histoire et de philologie
CMC	Cambridge Medieval Classics
CMG	Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
CMLat	Corpus Medicorum Latinorum
CMT	Cambridge Medieval Textbooks
CMu	Cursor mundi
CoL	Collection Latomus
CP	Classical Philology

CQ	Classical Quarterly
Cri	Crisia / Muzeul Tarii Crisurilor
CSCO	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientaliū</i>
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae</i>
CSP	Canadian Slavonic Papers
CTCP	Complementary Therapies in Clinical Practice
CTox	Clinical Toxicology
CTT	Crusade Texts in Translation
CUF	Collection des Universit�s de France
CUF.SG	Collection des Universit�s de France. S�rie grecque
Cum	Cumidava: culegere de studii si cercetari a Muzeului Judetean Brasov
CVK	Cahiers de la Villa K�rylos
Da	Dacia
DByz	Dossiers Byzantins
DOML	Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOph	Documenta Ophthalmologica
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EB	�tudes balkaniques. Revue trimestrielle publi�e par l'Institut d'�tudes balkaniques pr�s l'Acad�mie bulgare des sciences
ECEEMA	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450
ECR	Eastern Churches Review
EdAA	Estudios de Asia y Africa
EEQ	East European Quarterly
EHi	�tudes Historiques
EHR	English Historical Review
Eme	Emerita
Enc	Encephalos
ERH	European Review of History

ESM	Early Science and Medicine
Ex	Expedition. The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
FC	The Fathers of the Church
<i>FCh</i>	<i>Fontes Christiani</i> , Freiburg–Basel–Wien 1991–
<i>FGHB</i>	<i>Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae</i> / <i>Гръцки извори за българската история</i>
FHR	Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis collectos
FMHA	Florilegium magistrorum historiae archaeologiaeque Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi
FVL	Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde
GAAD	Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi
Gast	Gastronomica. The Journal of Food and Culture
GCRW	Greek Culture in the Roman World
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte</i>
<i>GCS.NF</i>	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge</i>
GDSS	Glasnik Društva srpske slovenosti
GFNS	Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu
GHC	Golden Horde Civilization
GIBH	Godišnjak Istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine (vol. 1–11) / Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine (vol. 12–)
Gla	Gladius
Glo	Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache
GR	Greece & Rome
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
H&P	History & Politics / Universitatea Liberă Internațională din Moldova
H.On-L	Histos. The On-line Journal of Ancient Historiography
Hag	Hagiologia
HAM	Hortus Artium Medievalium: Journal of the International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages

HByN	Hellenica et Byzantina Neapolitana
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HebS	Hebrew Studies
Hel	Hellenica
HelS	Hellenic Studies
Here	Heresis
Hi	Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
HiS	Historia i Świat
HMi	Historijska misao
HPLS	History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences
HTR	The Harvard Theological Review
HTra	Historijska traganja
HZb	Historijski Zbornik
I	Der Islam. Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East
IBI.B	IBI Bulletin / Institut international des chateaux historiques
IDCNA	Infectious Disease Clinics of North America
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IFAB.BAH	Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
IGr	In Gremium. Studia and historia, kulturą i polityką
IHC	Islamic History and Civilization
IJLA	International Journal of Literature and Arts
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
IJO	International Journal of Obesity
IJRPhS	International Journal of Research in Pharmaceutical Sciences
IJTUS	International Journal of Turkish Studies
Ist	Istraživanja
Ix	Index
JACS	Journal of the American College of Surgeons
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAPhA	Journal of the American Pharmaceutical Association
JATBA	Journal d'agriculture tropicale et de botanique appliquée
JCMS	Journal of Cranio-Maxillofacial Surgery

JCSt	Journal of Church and State
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
Jeph	Journal of Ethnopharmacology
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JGR	Jus Graecoromanum
JHB	Journal of the History of Biology
JHM	Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JLA	Journal of Late Antiquity
JMB	Journal of Medical Biography
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period
JSpH	Journal of Sport History
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
JTuS	Journal of Turkish Studies
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
Kor	Koroth
KSM	Krakowskie Studia Międzynarodowe
Kt	Ktéma. Civilisation de l'Orient, Grèce et Rome Antiques
L	Latomus
LBG	<i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität</i> , ed. E. TRAPP et al., Wien 2001–
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LFi	Linguistica e Filologia
LMEH	Library of Middle East History
ŁSE	Łódzkie Studia Etnograficzne
LSJ	H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES et al., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1996

MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
MAISSP	Mémoires de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg
MAISSP.SPHP	Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, Sciences politiques, histoire et philosophie
MAPS	Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society
MBAH	Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte
MBM	Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice
MCLe	Mémoires de la Classe des lettres
MEnc	Medieval Encounters
MG	Medioevo Greco
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i>
MGH.AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi</i>
MGH.E	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae</i>
MGH.LL	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Leges</i>
MGH.SF	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in folio</i>
MGH.SRG	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi</i>
MGH.SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores</i>
MGr	Mythographi Graeci
MHis	Medical History. A Quarterly Journal Devoted to the History of Medicine and Related Sciences
MHR	Mediterranean Historical Review. Aranne School of History, Tel Aviv University
MHu	Medievalia et Humanistica
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.
MLP	Medieval Law and its Practice

MLSDV	Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris
MMAB	Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
MMe	The Medieval Mediterranean
MMS	Manchester Medieval Sources
Mn	Mnemosyne: a Journal of Classical Studies
Mn.S	Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Supplementum
MOFPH	Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica
MRGZ	Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums
MRLLA	Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity
MS.AS	Medicina nei Secoli: Arte e Scienza
<i>MSHSM</i>	Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium
MZBa	Münchener Zeitschrift für Balkankunde
NgrMA	Neograeca Medii Aevi
NMA	The New Middle Ages
NMS	Nottingham Medieval Studies
NNU	Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte
NT.S	Novum Testamentum. Supplements
Nu	Numen
NutF	Nutrafoods. International Journal on Nutraceuticals, Functional Foods and Novel Foods from Research to Industrial Applications
O&M	Orient & Mediterranee
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. KAZHDAN et al., vol. I–III, New York–Oxford 1991
OEH	Ottoman Empire and its Heritage
OHM	Oxford Historical Monographs
OMi	Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders
On	Onomastica
OPhA	Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie
OR	Orbis Romanus

Or.JPTSIS	Oriens. Journal of Philosophy, Theology and Science in Islamic Societies
OsA	Oeuvres de saint Augustin
OSB	Oxford Studies in Byzantium
OSur	Obesity Surgery
OTS	Old Testament Studies
OV	Orientalia Venetiana
Pbg	Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PCRCICO.F	Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis. Fontes
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1857–1866
PhH	Pharmacy in History
Phil	Philologus. Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption
Phoe	Phoenix. Journal of the Classical Association of Canada / Revue de la Société canadienne des études classiques
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1844–1880
Pl	Plants
PlM	Planta Medica
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
PNM	Postępy Nauk Medycznych
PO	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i>
PP	Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies
PP.P	Past and Present Publications
PSNE	Princeton Studies on the Near East
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PZH	Piotrkowskie Zeszyty Historyczne
Qu	Quidditas
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. T. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1950–

RBPH	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
RByz	Réalités Byzantines
RCSF	Rivista critica di storia della filosofia
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. G. WISSOWA, W. KROLL, Stuttgart 1894–1978
REA	Revue des études anciennes
REAP	Revue des études augustinienes et patristiques
REB	Revue des études byzantines
RESEE	Revue des études sud-est européennes
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHip	Revista Hiperboreea. Revistă de istorie, artă și cultură
RHP	Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie
RI	Revista istorică
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité
RIEB	Revue internationale des études balkaniques
RJAZU	Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti
RMCS	Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies
RMMM	Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée
RN	Revue numismatique
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien
ROr	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
ROri	Res Orientales
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte
RRH	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire
RSBN	Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici
RSCr	Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo
RSCST	Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche
RSla	Romanoslavica
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali
S	Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies
S.PN	Seminare. Poszukiwania Naukowe
SAM	Studies in Ancient Medicine

SB	Studia Balcanica
SBU	Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCBO	Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis / Oxford Classical Texts
SCer	Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-Eastern Europe
<i>SchAr</i>	<i>Scholia in Aristophanem</i>
SCLa	Semitica et Classica
SCS	Studia Classica Serdicensia
SDHI	Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris
SDŚ	Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza
SeCer	Series Ceranea
SEER	The Slavonic and East European Review
SF	Südost-Forschungen
SGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
SGLG	Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Grammatiker
SHa	Subsidia hagiographica
SHEO	Studia Historica Europae Orientalis = Исследования по истории Восточной Европы
SiAr	Siebenbürgisches Archiv
SIFC	Studi italiani di filologia classica
SJBMGS	Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
SJsl	Studia Judaeoslavica
Sla	Slavia
Slo	Slovo: Journal of Slavic Languages and Literatures
SLOc	Slavica Occitania
SMIM	Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie
SMSR	Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni
SO	Symbolae Osloenses. Auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latine
SO.SOF	Studia orientalia, ed. Societas Orientalis Fennica
SOF	Studia Oecumenica Friburgensia

SP	<i>Studia patristica</i>
SPhW	Studia Philosophica Wratislaviensia
SPP	Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium
SRev	Slavic Review
SRI	Studii Revistă de Istorie
SRSA	Studi e Ricerche di Storia dell'Architettura
SSBP	Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana
SSGKT	Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Turkvölker
SSGL	Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics
SSLo	Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents
SSRH	<i>Scriptores rerum hungaricarum</i> , ed. E. SZENTPÉTERY et al., Budapest 1937–1938
Star	Starine, na sviet izdaje Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb
StC.AI	Studii și comunicări. Arheologie-istorie
StI	Studia Islamica
SUC	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis
SuvL	Suvremena Lingvistika
SVi	Slavistica Vilnensis
TBA	Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft
TCl	Trends in Classics
TEG	Traditio Exegetica Graeca
TJVAS	Turkish Journal of Veterinary and Animal Sciences
TKPr	Teka Komisji Prawniczej PAN Oddział w Lublinie
TM	Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines
TMon	Testi e Monumenti
TNDS.SG	<i>Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian. Seria grecka</i> , vol. I–VI, <i>Pisarze z VII–X wieku</i> , ed. A. BRZÓSTKOWSKA et al., Wrocław–Warszawa 1989–2013
TrRev	Transylvanian Review
TRW	The Transformation of the Roman World

UJ	Ungarn-Jahrbuch. Zeitschrift für die Kunde Ungarns und verwandte Gebiete
UngJ	Ungarische Jahrbücher
USS	U Schyłku Starożytności. Studia Źródłoznawcze
VAH	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica
VC	Vigiliae christianae: A Review of Early Christian Life and Language
VC.S	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
VChr	Vetera Christianorum
Vim	Viminacium. Zbornik radova Narodnog muzeja u Požarevcu
VP	Vox Patrum. Antyk Chrześcijański
VQR	The Virginia Quarterly Review
VT.S	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
VTUR	VTU Review: Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences
WA	Das Wort der Antike
WBS	Wiener byzantinistische Studien
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WIs	Die Welt des Islams
WJK	Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte
Zap	Zapisi
ZČ	Zgodovinski časopis
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZHWK	Zeitschrift für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde
ZKg	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZMSI	Zbornik Matice Srpske za Istoriju
ŻMT	Źródła Myśli Teologicznej
ZNUJ	Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego
ZSSR.RA	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung

АДСВ	Античная древность и средние века
Ае	Археографический ежегодник
Аор	Археологически открития и разкопки
Арх	Археология. Науковий журнал (Київ) Археографски прилози
Архе	Археология
ББВ	Библиотека Българска вечност
Бе	Българска етнография
БРе	Българска реч
Век	Векове
ВВ	Византийский временник
ВС	Военноисторически сборник
ВЯМ	Вести на Ямболския музей
ГГБ	Годишњак града Београда
ГЗФФ	Годишен Зборник на Филозофскиот факултет
ГЗФФ.С	Годишен зборник на Филозофскиот факултет (Скопје)
ГИФВУКМ	Годишник на Историческия факултет на Великотърновския Университет 'Св. св. Кирил и Методий'
Гл	Гласник
ГСу.Иф	Годишник на Софийски университет. Исторически факултет
ГСУ.ИФ	Годишник на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски“. Исторически факултет
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Доб	Добруджа. Сборник от студии
ДРВМ	Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики
ЕЛ	Език и литература
Епо	Епохи
ЗМслу	Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности / Zbornik Matice Srpske za Likovne Umetnosti
ЗНМБ.А	Зборник Народног музеја у Београду. Археологија / Recueil du Musée national de Belgrade. Archéologie
ЗО	Золотоордынское Обозрение / Golden Horde Review

ЗРВИ	Зборник Радова Византолошког Института
ИБ	Историческо бъдеще
ИИАИм	Интердисциплинарни изследвания на Археологическия институт и музей
ИИБ.Зр	Историјски институт Београд. Зборник радова
ИИБИ	Известия на института за българска история (София)
ИИБл	Известия на Института за българска литература
ИИМ.П	Известия на Историческия музей – Поморие
ИНМВ	Известия на Народния музей-Варна
ИОРЯС	Известия Отделения руского языка и словесности [Императорской/Российской Академии Наук]
ИП	Исторически преглед
ИРАИК	Известия руского археологического института в Константинополе
ИРИМГ	Известия на Регионалния исторически музей – Габрово
Ист	История
Исто	Историја / Journal of History
ЛИИКЯ	Лингвистическое источниковедение и история руского языка
НвЧну.Сф	Науковий вісник Чернівецького національного університету. Слов'янська філологія
Нсе	Нумизматика, сфрагистика и епиграфика
ПБА	Приноси към българската археология
ПДП	Памятники древней письменности
ПсБкд	Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество
САрх	Советская археология
СБАН	Списание на Българската академия на науките
СББАН	Сборник на Българската академия на науките
СЛ	Старобългарска литература
Слав	Славяноведение
ТВТУ	Трудове на Великотърновския Университет 'Св. св. Кирил и Методий'
ТКШ	Търновска книжовна школа
ТОДЛ	Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы Академии наук СССР

УМ	Українська мова
ΦΦ	Φιλολογичесκι форум
ХЧ	Христианское Чтение

* * *

ΑΠο	Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου
ΒΚΜ	Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται
ΒΝΒ	Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη
Βυζ	Βυζαντινά. Ἐπιστημονικὸ Ὅργανο Κέντρου Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου
ΕΕΣΜ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν
ΕΚΕΙΕΔ	Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐρευνες τῆς Ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Δικαίου
ΗΛΛ	Ἑλληνικά. Φιλολογικὸ, Ἱστορικὸ καὶ Λαογραφικὸ Περιοδικὸ Σύγ- γραμμα τῆς Ἐταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν
ΚΑΜ	Κέντρον Ἀγιολογικῶν Μελετῶν
Λαο	Λαογραφία
ΜΒι	Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη
Συμ	Σύμμεικτα

GUIDELINES FOR THE AUTHORS

All manuscripts submitted to “Studia Ceranea” must be prepared according to the journal’s guidelines.

1. Sources should be cited as follows:

Theophanis Chronographia, AM 5946, rec. C. DE BOOR, vol. I, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 108, 5–7.

THEOPHANES, AM 5948, p. 109, 22–24.

EUNAPIUS, *Testimonia*, I, 1, 19–20, [in:] *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. II, ed. et trans. R.C. BLOCKLEY, Liverpool 1983 (cetera: EUNAPIUS), p. 13–14.

Book numbers should be given in Roman numerals. Sources with singular structure are cited only in Arabic numerals. Pages are to be cited only when verses are counted on every page separately.

If the same source is cited for a second (or further) time, an abbreviated version of the title (signalized in the first use with the word ‘cetera:’), and not ‘*ibidem*’, should be used, e.g.:

²⁵ ZONARAS, XV, 13, 11.

²⁶ ZONARAS, XV, 13, 19–22.

2. Books by modern authors should be referenced as follows:

²¹ M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, Oxford 1975, p. 126.

²² И. ИЛИЕВ, *Св. Климент Охридски. Живот и дело*, Пловдив 2010, p. 142.

If the same work is cited for a second (or further) time, an abbreviated version of the title (consisting of the first word(s) of the title followed by an ellipsis) should be used, e.g.:

²³ G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

²⁴ A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 123.

²⁵ G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

²⁶ A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches...*, p. 44.

3. Articles and papers should be mentioned in the notes as:

L.W. BARNARD, *The Emperor Cult and the Origins of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, B 43, 1973, p. 11–29.

P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sebaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, REB 42, 1984, p. 5–145.

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Numbers of fascicles are cited only if pages are counted separately for every volume within a single year.

4. Articles in Festschrifts, collections of studies etc. should be cited as follow:

M. WHITBY, *A New Image for a New Age: George of Pisidia on the Emperor Heraclius*, [in:] *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków in September 1992*, ed. E. DĄBROWA, Cracow 1994, p. 197–225.

Г. ТОДОРОВ, *Св. Княз Борис и митът за мнимото: избиване на 52 болярски рода*, [in:] *Християнската култура в средновековна България. Материали от национална научна конференция, Шумен 2–4 май 2007 година по случай 1100 години от смъртта на св. Княз Борис-Михаил (ок. 835–907 г.)*, ed. П. ГЕОРГИЕВ, Велико Търново 2008, p. 23.

5. Examples of notes referring to webpages or sources available online:

Ghewond’s History, 10, trans. R. BEDROSIAN, p. 30–31, www.rbedrosian.com/ghew3.htm [20 VII 2011].

www.ancientrome.org/history.html [20 VII 2011].

6. Reviews:

P. СПЕСК, [rec.:] *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History / Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum...* – BZ 83, 1990, p. 471.

Footnote numbers should be placed before punctuation marks.

cetera:	<i>ibidem</i> (note: only used for secondary literature)	rec. [here: <i>recensuit</i> / <i>recognovit</i>]
cf.	IDEM/EADEM	[rec.:] [here: <i>recensio</i>]
col. [here: <i>columna</i>]	IDEM/IDEM/EADEM	s.a. [here: <i>sine anno</i>]
coll. [here: <i>collegit</i>]	[in:]	s.l. [here: <i>sine loco</i>]
e.g.	<i>l. cit.</i>	sel. [here: <i>selegit</i>]
ed.	p. [here: <i>pagina</i>]	sq, sqq
et al.	<i>passim</i>	trans.
etc.		vol.

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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The text should be followed by keywords and a final bibliography divided into primary sources and secondary literature. The final bibliography should be fully Romanised and alphabetised accordingly. The ‘scientific’ Romanisation of Cyrillic should be strictly adhered to in the final bibliography; the transliteration table is provided below:

(O)CS: (Old) Church Slavic, **Rus.:** Russian, **Blr.:** Belarusian, **Ukr.:** Ukrainian, **Bulg.:** Bulgarian, **Mac.:** Macedonian. Note: for Serbian, the official Serbian Latin script should be used.

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
a	a	a	a	a	a	a
б	b	b	b	b	b	b
В	v	v	v	v	v	v
г	g	g	h	h	g	g

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
ґ			(g)	g		
д	d	d	d	d	d	d
ѓ						ǵ
е		e	e	e	e	e
ё		ë	ë			
є	e			je		
ж	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž
з	z	z	z	z	z	z
ѕ	dz					dz
и	i	i		y	i	i
і	i	(i)	i	i		
ї	i			ï		
й		j	j	j	j	
ј						j
к	k	k	k	k	k	k
л	l	l	l	l	l	l
љ						lj
м	m	m	m	m	m	m
н	n	n	n	n	n	n
њ						nj
о	o	o	o	o	o	o
п	p	p	p	p	p	p
р	r	r	r	r	r	r
с	s	s	s	s	s	s
т	t	t	t	t	t	t
ќ						ǰ
ћ	ǵ					
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	
ѐ	ě	(ě)	(ě)	(ě)	(ě)	
э		è	è			
ю	ju	ju	ju	ju	ju	
я		ja	ja	ja	ja	
‘			(omit)	(omit)		‘
ω	o					
Ϸ	ę					
Ϸ	ję					
Ϸ	q					
Ϸ	jq					
ǰ	ks					
ψ	ps					
Ϸ	th					
v	ü					
Ϸ	je					
Ϸ	ja					

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